

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

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U.S. Aggression Shocks the World

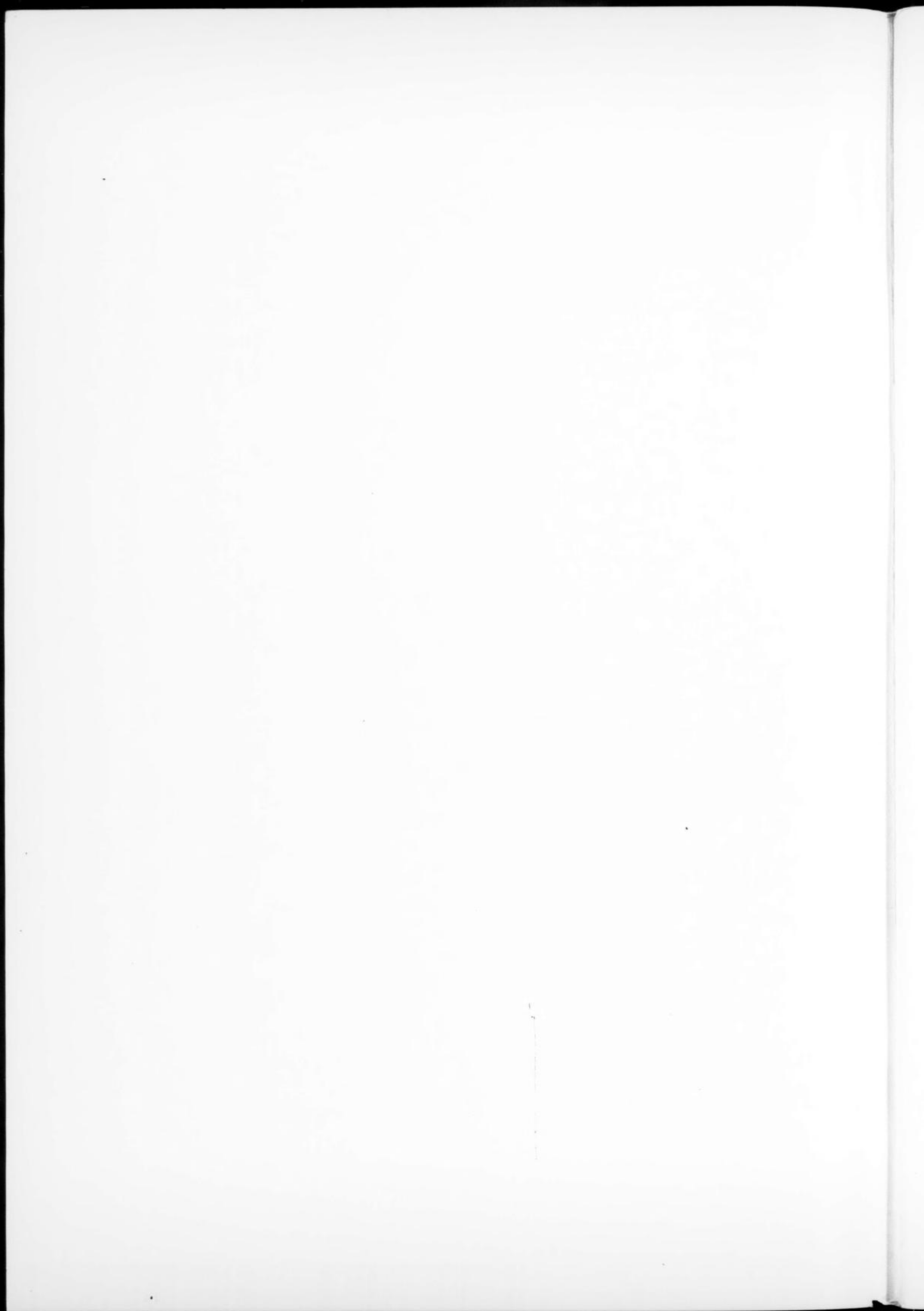
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and Catholics**

—S. Alvarez

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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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U.S. aggression shocks the world

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: LATEST U.S. CHALLENGE TO THE PEOPLES

THE LANDING OF U.S. marines in the Dominican Republic has caused grave disquiet throughout the world. This, the understandable reaction of all who are in solidarity with the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations, is evoked also by anxiety over the perilous consequences with which armed intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state is fraught.

Of course this is not the first time that the armed forces of the U.S. monopolies have flouted the elementary rights of a country whose people are fighting for democracy. Nor is it an isolated instance in the long record of outrages committed by the United States against the Latin American peoples. But some aspects of the Dominican action, above all, the cynicism with which Johnson has sought to legalize the intervention as a universal doctrine, suggest that what we are witnessing is a new, modernized variant of imperialist aggression.

U.S. interference in the affairs of other nations is one of the blacker pages in the history of imperialism. Nor is it by chance that it is the top men of the U.S. monopolies, the leaders of world reaction, who claim that they are fully "entitled" to instal the regime of their choice in any country and to crush any attempt to establish a state system not to their liking. The newly proclaimed "Johnson doctrine" is, in effect, a declaration of war on the rights of nations to independence and self-determination.

I.

The landing of the marines in the Dominican Republic is the latest of the many instances of the gangster methods employed by U.S. imperialism in its relations with the Latin American peoples. There is not a single country in the Caribbean that has not been the victim of this kind of intervention at one time or another. In this sense the present action is simply the addition of another chapter to an old and harrowing story.

The previous thirty years, beginning with the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, witnessed a change in Washington's tactics, a change which had a marked effect on international relationships in the Western hemisphere. While the "good neighbor" policy by no means lived up to its name, the fact is that it did have a certain positive effect on U.S. relations with other countries in this part of the globe. True, the U.S. government did not relinquish its interventionist practices, and in many instances engaged in unsavory intrigues and rigged elections (using its traditional ties with the local oligarchy), but the Roosevelt administration nevertheless avoided such crude methods as landing marines and imposing its own solutions. Subsequent Administrations, however, returned to the use of mercenaries, as in the case of Guatemala, Costa Rica and Cuba. But with all its hypocrisy, Washington preferred not to discuss the moral aspect of these actions. On the contrary, it tacitly admitted that it was violating the generally accepted rule of

law. The idea that the "Big Stick" was now a thing of the past was preached not only by liberals, whose influence in the Americas increased during the Roosevelt administration, but by spokesmen of the oligarchies. That is why the latest aggression against the Dominican Republic has come as such a shock to pro-imperialist Liberals. Commentaries in leading newspapers reveal their consternation over this "new look" in U.S. policy.

Be that as it may, it has to be said that the current outbreak of U.S. aggression in the Caribbean in a sense differs substantially from the old-time "Big Stick" policy. Whereas in the past intervention was designed to safeguard the economic privileges of one or another monopoly or group of finance capital, *this time it was motivated mainly by fear that the mass movement might take a revolutionary turn.*

The significance of the current aggression is that against the background of the new international situation, reverting to the methods of half a century ago is aimed not only against the independence of a small country *but also against the whole concept of independence won by the peoples of the world in a hard-fought struggle.*

II.

The national-liberation movement is not some abstract philosophical category invented by Communists and grafted artificially onto the struggle now underway in the modern world. It is a historical reality which, just because it is a reality, has become—both de facto and de jure—one of the forces influencing the destiny of Man. This is the substance of the United Nations resolution condemning colonialism.

We Communists take account of the national-liberation movement in elaborating our theory. The strategy of the international socialist revolution has always been linked with the struggle of the nations for independence. While championing proletarian internationalism, the Communists have always been to the fore in the fight for independence. They stand for the fight for freedom within national boundaries, and they are equally for militant international solidarity in defense of the rights of all oppressed nations.

The rise of the national-liberation movement after the second world war was the result of the increased militancy of the masses, the establishment of the socialist camp, the ideological bankruptcy of colonialism, and the advent of many other factors favor-

ing the fight for freedom. But even in these circumstances the imperialist powers relinquished their positions only when they were unable either by military or political means to retain their grip on their former colonies. At the same time it is obvious that imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular is desperately trying through neo-colonialist methods to preserve its economic and political domination in these countries. But though its policy is based on neo-colonialism, imperialism often harks back to the "Big Stick."

In Latin America "contemporary" neo-colonialism has a long and notorious history. Despite the fact that nearly all the Latin American countries won political independence more than one and a half centuries ago, the imperialist powers, in effect, rule the roost in most of them. They are able to do so because of the socio-economic backwardness and the financial and economic difficulties of these countries. Since the beginning of the century most of the Latin American countries have been virtually run by U.S. monopolies, sometimes with resort to hypocritical pretexts, sometimes by the less subtle method of armed force as the sole "argument."

The landing of the marines in the Dominican Republic might thus appear to be simply a continuation of the old policy. But the platitudes of Johnson and Rusk in trying to justify the invasion have opened the eyes of the world to the possible consequences of this so-called legal doctrine which in reality is a brazen challenge to the entire modern code of international ethics.

According to this "doctrine," the U.S. government has the absolute right to extend its prerogative to any country in the world. At the same time, the other countries are denied the legal right to resist the violence employed by the United States to establish or restore on the territories of the countries concerned the kind of "order" the imperialists want. A charitable person might have thought that this insolent claim applied only to the Western hemisphere. But no, the same claim is used to whitewash the American war against Vietnam and the military actions in Laos and in the Congo. Moreover, although it is clear that the "Johnson doctrine" is aimed primarily against the newly-independent countries or those still fighting for independence, it is equally obvious that tomorrow the monopolies may well try to exercise their "right to intervene" in some other part of the world—in Western or Southern Europe, in Canada or South Africa, for ex-

ample. In some respects the Washington policy-makers might be said to have even gone farther than Hitler with his notorious "lebensraum" theory. The ominous thing that emerges from Johnson's actions and his "doctrine" is this: *the U.S. government has openly declared war on all the national-liberation and democratic movements of our time.*

With barefaced hypocrisy the present rulers of the United States are working might and main to mislead world opinion with regard to the purpose of their invasion of the Dominican Republic. Adlai Stevenson blandly told the United Nations Security Council that a group of "Communists trained in Cuba" aimed at getting control of the popular uprising. President Johnson, like the footpad shouting "stop thief!" seized the opportunity to announce that the Marines had been landed to protect the Dominican Republic against an international conspiracy. And as if this were not enough, he added for good measure that the invasion had been carried out not by Americans but by forces trained outside the Dominican Republic in guerrilla warfare for the purpose of setting up a Communist regime.

Yet the uprising against the heirs of Trujillo is, as everybody knows, a genuinely popular revolt, and constitutionally legitimate besides. Its aim is to redress an injustice, to reinstate President Juan Bosch who was elected by an absolute majority in 1963. That the uprising is a national movement, that its motive force is the patriotic alliance between the masses of the population and the supporters of democracy in the army, is obvious. The claim that Cuba is involved in the movement is as false as it is absurd.

Only imperialists could seek to impose limitations on the right of nations to self-determination. They alone could imagine the sovereignty of a nation being made conditional on anti-Communist guarantees given by their governments. But reality makes short shrift of the hopes of monopoly capital: the right of nations to self-determination, to which all true democrats have always striven, is now a generally accepted legal standard. Every nation should be free to decide its own destiny and establish the government of its choice. And every nation has the right, if and when it so wishes, to declare for socialism or Communism. He who would deny a nation the right of choice flouts international law. Incidentally, the democratically elected Bosch was overthrown not because he was a Communist. As everybody knows, he was, and is, a bourgeois liberal. As for the Dominican Communists, they are fight-

ing in the front ranks of their people for a "return to constitutional order through popular struggle and not through compromise with the Yankees."

The sense of justice of modern society cannot accept the "Johnson doctrine" any more than it can accept the spheres-of-influence thesis or the thesis about abiding absolutely by the status quo. Any nation in any part of the world, whatever its system of government, has the right to choose its own constitution and to change its system as it sees fit. This is so from the standpoint of law, and it fully accords with the dictates of social progress. On the other hand, the theory that the only way to safeguard peace is in all circumstances to abide by the status quo is clearly reactionary and as such is doomed by history. In fact the surest way to endanger peace is to attempt by force of arms to preserve an order of things that is a flagrant anachronism in the present-day world. To quote the words of the famous Mexican patriot Juarez, "peace means respect for the rights of others."

The "doctrine" by means of which Washington is trying to justify the invasion of the Dominican Republic is a grave danger to peace and can only serve to impel the world more and more towards the brink of war. U.S. imperialism is threatening not only the national-liberation movement but also those countries that have already won independence. With the U.S. Army, Navy and Airforce waging a "dirty war" in Vietnam, it would be naive to close one's eyes to the same danger menacing Cuba, whom Johnson and Stevenson accuse of actively engaging in what they call "Communist subversion."

Imperialism, clearly, will reap the fruits of its policy. The people of Cuba, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, like all other peoples, are resolved to fight for the independence of their countries and their social progress. It would be madness and a deadly peril to world peace to believe that one can pursue aggression with impunity, to forget that the socialist world is pledged to solidarity with the countries subjected to attack. It would be unwise, too, to hope that the differences in the international Communist movement afford an opportunity to trample underfoot the rights of nations. No one should forget that the Communists, as stressed in the Communiqué on the Consultative Meeting of the 19 Communist parties, uphold unity "for the common struggle against the rule of monopoly capital, for active support to the liberation movement and in defense of the peoples who are the object

of imperialist aggression, and for the struggle for world peace based on respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all states." On the other hand, U.S. imperialism has never in all its history been so isolated as it is today. There is not a single nation in the world that does not view its actions with apprehension, that does not see how it threatens the free and peaceful development of the nations. This has become so obvious that even in the United States the aggressive actions of the Johnsons and Rusks are subjected to widespread denunciation.

III.

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960 says: "*International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.*" This appraisal has been fully borne out. The latest proof is the crime committed against the Dominican people.

The invasion of the Dominican Republic is in itself a striking evidence of the collapse of the ideological thesis on which Washington propaganda has been based. The men in Washington have always boasted of their devotion to "representative democracy." When the U.S. Administration wooed some sections of the Latin American public in order to clear the way for the Alliance for Progress, it solemnly declared that henceforth it would not recognize any government that came to power as a result of a military coup. But even Kennedy failed to honor this promise. And after Dallas, the State Department plunged headlong into intrigues aimed at engineering military coups which rode roughshod over the will of the people. The overthrow of President Goulart's government in Brazil is a case in point. And if anyone still entertained doubts on this score, Johnson and his colleagues are doing their utmost in the Dominican Republic to crush a movement to restore the 1963 Constitution and to reinstate the government established in accordance with it. The mask has been cast aside and the "champion of representative democracy" stands revealed as the world gendarme.

Pan-American politics has entered a period of crisis. The Organization of American States, its prestige badly damaged by the arbitrary actions of Washington which have made a mockery of its Charter, is at a dead end. True, on May 6 the United States managed to scrape together enough votes to

adopt the decision to send an inter-American force under OAS command to the Dominican Republic. This decision is now being used to "legalize" the predatory action of the United States. But, as the Cuban delegate in the United Nations pointed out, this resolution is invalid, since it violates the United Nations Charter. Moreover, the voting on the resolution included the vote of the Dominican "delegate" who represents no one since his government, as Johnson stated, had been swept off the political scene by the popular movement. The resolution was adopted despite the opposition of the representatives of five countries. One country abstained on the grounds that any step should be preceded by the withdrawal of U.S. troops. A number of governments which supported the United States' motion were obliged under public pressure at home to question the expediency of sending military contingents to the Dominican Republic. Confusion in the OAS camp mounted when the troops of the reactionary junta, aided by U.S. marines, violated the cease-fire concluded with OAS mediation and the fighting broke out again. Even the slender majority that adopted the May 6 resolution melted away. In Mexico and Argentina a movement began for the withdrawal of their governments from this disastrous alliance so blatantly manipulated by Washington. And the powerful protest movement in Buenos Aires, Santiago, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Caracas, Bogota, Mexico, Panama, San Jose and other Latin American capitals—the response to the outrageous act of invasion—is a serious warning to the U.S. monopolies that the people of Latin America will never take up arms against their own brothers.

The invasion of the Dominican Republic has exposed the demagoguery of the Alliance for Progress. In their effort to make the Dominican Republic secure for investment under that program, the invader has destroyed half of Santo Domingo, the cradle of Spanish-American culture, a city founded in the days of Columbus and where the famous discoverer is buried. Hundreds of Dominicans have died on the streets of their capital, buried under the ruins of its buildings. The Alliance for Progress is not an alliance of the peoples! Its purpose is not constructive endeavor, not to make life better. It is an alliance between dollar tyranny and the hated Wessin camarilla.

IV.

The U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic was launched on the flimsy pretext of protecting the lives of American citizens

who, incidentally, were in no danger whatever. But the moment the U.S. Navy was called into action, it became clear that the combined efforts of the people and the democratic section of the army had defeated the reactionary forces. The new Constitutional government, formed by the parliament elected by the people two years ago, undertook governmental functions and took control of the situation. The armed people defeated the troops supporting the reactionary junta in the streets of Santo Domingo; they occupied the Ozana fortress and were about to storm the San Isidro base, the last stronghold of the reactionaries. It was at this juncture that Johnson announced that the United States was sending the Marines because the Dominican Republic had no government. Thus, the purpose of the invasion was to prevent the free development of the democratic system after it had won, to prevent the restoration of the lawful government. A few days later Washington invented another excuse—the third—for its invasion. This time it announced that “bands of Communists” trained outside the Dominican Republic had seized control of the government and the country.

Imperialism refuses to become reconciled to the fact that the dark days of the Trujillos are gone forever. The imperialists who were on the best of terms with the tyrant are now, despite the irresistible march of history, bent on prolonging the existence of a regime to which Dominicans will never again submit. After the assassination of Trujillo, Washington tried to bar the way to a democratic system by sending the Navy to the shores of the Republic. And when the people nevertheless invested power in a Liberal and Constitutional government, albeit with a limited program, Washington conspired with the remnants of the despotic regime to engineer a coup d'état and to interrupt the process of peaceful constitutional development. And now, after the people had defeated the military camarilla for a second time, Washington, notwithstanding its pre-

vious pious declarations, has again come to the latter's assistance seeking once more to bolster a regime of tyranny and exploitation.

But this time it miscalculated badly. The Dominican democrats have justly declared that the civil war ended in April with their undisputed victory over the reactionary military clique and that they are now waging a national-liberation struggle against a foreign invader and his hirelings. The people are valiantly defending their independence and the sovereignty of their state. The fierce fighting in the streets of Santo Domingo shows that, like the people of Vietnam and all other peoples who have had war imposed upon them, they are determined to win the fight for independence and the future.

Their confidence in victory is based not only on the indomitable resolve of the patriots fighting in Santo Domingo. The tragic situation into which they have been plunged by the old-time plunderers of their resources and exploiters of their labor, calls for urgent and massive solidarity action on the part of all nations. The solidarity campaign has already been launched by wrathful and universal condemnation of this latest act of aggression. People all over the world, many governments in Europe, Asia, Africa and in Latin America are demanding an end to the intervention and the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign troops from the territory of the Dominican Republic. But it is essential that progressives everywhere, all who are democrats and patriots not only in word but in deed, all who are ready to defend mankind, do not confine themselves to protests alone. The people must press their governments to take effective measures, through the international organizations concerned, to render material aid to the people of the Dominican Republic and give every possible support to its valiant freedom fighters. Today the Dominicans are defending the cause of the whole of Latin America, of all nations. And it is only just that their valiant struggle should have the sympathy and support of the entire world.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

(Review of protest actions around the world)

NOT A SINGLE NATION and not a single country that cherishes the ideals of peace, freedom and independence, can be indifferent to what is happening in Vietnam. The U.S. aggression in Indochina has brought about a cleavage of political forces on a world scale. The people of Vietnam, battling valiantly against the American invader, are supported by all the socialist countries, by the overwhelming majority of non-aligned states and by the working people and all progressives in the capitalist countries.

The U.S. imperialists are becoming increasingly isolated. Few even of their most loyal allies dare give wholehearted support to the "dirty war" in Vietnam. And in the SEATO bloc, inspired by the United States and performing the functions of gendarme in South-east Asia, Australia alone has completely tied itself to Washington's adventurist policy in Indochina.

The imperialists evidently have chosen Vietnam in order to "probe" the firmness of the socialist camp. Now they have been able to satisfy themselves that "probes" of this kind bode them little good either in Vietnam or in Cuba or in any other part of the world.

The socialist countries immediately came to the defense of the people of Vietnam in their fight against the U.S. aggression.

The Soviet government, which has repeatedly denounced the U.S. aggression in South Vietnam, immediately after the beginning of raids by U.S. aircraft against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, took concrete steps to help repel the aggression. One of its statements said: "In the face of the above-mentioned actions of the United States, the Soviet Union will be compelled, together with its allies and friends, to take further measures to safeguard the security and strengthen the defenses of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Let no one doubt that the Soviet Union will do this, that the Soviet people will fulfil their internationalist duty in respect to a

fraternal socialist country." During the stay of the Soviet delegation in Hanoi last February an agreement was reached by the governments of the USSR and DRV on joint measures to strengthen the defensive capability of the latter and to hold regular consultations on these questions.

The governments of all the socialist countries without exception condemned the U.S. aggression. They demanded an immediate end to the "dirty war" and withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam, and declared their readiness to fulfil their internationalist duty and to support all steps in defense of the security and independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in the name of preserving peace.

The government of the Chinese People's Republic stated that "the Chinese people will do all in their power to render the heroic people of Vietnam every aid, including aid in arms and military equipment."

A joint statement by the trade unions of the socialist countries also expressed fraternal solidarity with and support for the Vietnamese people. The statement called for the "immediate discontinuation of the U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from South Vietnam, and strict observance of the Geneva Agreements."

The peoples of the socialist countries have declared unconditional support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese patriots. Numerous meetings and rallies are held in all socialist countries under the slogans: "Halt the imperialist aggression in Vietnam! Peace and freedom to Vietnam!"

The public of these countries and their governments are taking concrete steps to help Vietnam. The governments of the USSR, China, North Korea and Cuba declared their readiness to send volunteers at the first request from the DRV. The people of Hungary too have expressed the same feeling. "Many

of our workers, students and soldiers," wrote the newspaper *Nepszabadsag*, "ask to be sent to Vietnam, if need be, to be able to take part in the struggle against the invader."

The Czechoslovak government and the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have decided to give material aid to the people of Vietnam. The public organizations have already sent to the DRV one million crowns' worth of medicine and other supplies. The government of the German Democratic Republic gave material aid to the sum of 500,000 marks. The Association of Free German Trade Unions sent 300,000 marks.

The Party and government delegation of the DRV, headed by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Working People, which visited the Soviet Union in April, pointed out that "the international solidarity and the aid rendered by the Soviet Union play an important part in strengthening the defenses of the DRV and its capability to rebuff the military provocations of the imperialists. Fraternal support of the USSR and other socialist countries reinforces the faith of the Vietnamese people in the final triumph of their just cause."

The solidarity of all socialist countries and their aid testify to the identity of views of the entire socialist camp on the situation in Vietnam and stress the need to embody this identity of views in agreed actions in the face of the imperialist aggression. An important step in this direction was the statement issued by the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, which said in part: "The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties express their internationalist solidarity with the fraternal people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the heroic Party of Working People of Vietnam, and the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, who are waging a courageous fight against imperialist aggression. The Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as their internationalist duty to work to ensure united action by all the progressive and democratic forces in resolute support of the Vietnamese people's struggle for their freedom and independence. We demand the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and its satellites from South Vietnam, and an end to military attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

The Communist parties in all countries—the voice and conscience of the working class, the peasantry and of all progressive sections of the people—oppose the U.S. aggression as

the most resolute and consistent exponents of world public opinion. Statements, protest resolutions, messages of solidarity, letters, appeals and calls to action come from the Communist parties of Europe, Asia, Africa, the Middle East, North and South America and Australia. The Parties are organizing and initiating solidarity campaigns and militant actions by the working people against the policy of military gambles and for aid to the embattled people of Vietnam.

Calls to combat the U.S. aggression have been made by many *international democratic organizations* including the World Federation of Trade Unions, World Peace Council, World Federation of Democratic Youth, International Organization of Journalists, International Students' Union, Women's International Democratic Federation, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, International Trade Union Committee of Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Vietnam, Bureau of the International Conference of Solidarity with the People of South Vietnam and the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization.

In its appeal to the working people and trade unions of the world the World Federation of Trade Unions, on behalf of its 120,000,000 affiliated members, protested against the criminal deeds of U.S. imperialism, reaffirmed its solidarity with the people of Vietnam, and called on all its supporters to multiply their actions aimed at rendering effective support to the valiant freedom fighters in Vietnam.

The Presidium of the World Peace Council held over May 23-30 an International Week of Action joined by all friends of peace in support of the people of Vietnam.

The action of the United States in resorting to naked aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was followed by solidarity manifestations in France.

"Peace to Vietnam!", "Americans—Assassins!", "Get the Aggressors Out of Vietnam!"—these slogans were the keynote of the National Day of Struggle for Peace in Vietnam held in France. Responding to the call of the French Communist Party, of the Peace Movement, the trade unions, political parties and democratic organizations, masses of people marched in the streets of Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, Rouen, Toulouse and other towns. In Paris the demonstration was headed by Henri Martin, whose name has become a symbol of French-Vietnamese solidarity in the struggle against colonialism because of the part he played against the "dirty war" in Indochina before 1954.

In the past three months France has witnessed a new rise of the struggles and mass actions.

On March 8, International Women's Day, the Women's Union organized hundreds of so-called "peace soirées" in towns and villages, which adopted petitions of protest addressed to the U.S. Embassy. Numerous delegations lobbied their MPs and insisted that the U.S. aggression be debated in the National Assembly. The Medical Workers for Peace Committee issued a call to all doctors, medical services, organizations, trade unions, municipalities and the public generally to collect medicines for Vietnam. In many Departments car drivers approaching cities, are met with posters calling for "Peace to Vietnam!"

Participants in numerous rallies saw a documentary "Two Months Among the Maquis of Vietnam" made by Madeleine Riffaud, special correspondent of *l'Humanite* in South Vietnam. Parts of the film were shown on the national TV network.

This broad and intensive day-to-day effort is backed by the explanatory work of the Communist Party which exposes the true nature and the danger of the "local war" waged by the United States in Indochina. The Party expresses its complete solidarity with the struggle of the people of Vietnam and explains the just policy of the socialist countries, and primarily of the Soviet Union which is rendering all-round aid to the fraternal people in resisting aggression.

On April 22 the Political Bureau of the Party called on the membership and on all Party organizations "to multiply all forms of militant action—demonstrations and marches, delegations to the U.S. Embassy and consulates . . . take every step in order to promote mass actions aimed at safeguarding the freedom of the people of Vietnam, establishing peace in Southeast Asia and safeguarding world peace."

No small obstacle is being created by the attitude of the leadership of the Socialist Party which is supporting the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. In an article in *Populaire*, Claude Fuzier, one of the Socialist leaders, tried to justify the U.S. action and charged the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam with aggression. "The question is to find out," he wrote, "whether the Communist leaders have decided to take upon themselves the entire risk, including the risk of world war, in order to raise the red flag over the government palace in Saigon."

Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, replies to this article saying that the Social-

ists were "taking a very light attitude to the risk of world war for the sake of preserving the flag of U.S. imperialism over South Vietnam," that whereas "the Vietnamese are at home . . . the Americans are thousands of miles away from their country in violation of the U.N. Charter, the Geneva Agreements and contrary to the right of nations to self-determination." Giving a clear answer to the question "who is the aggressor" she pointed out that in order to fulfil the duty of proletarian internationalism, the duty with regard to the people of Vietnam and with regard to the American people themselves, it is essential for Socialists and Communists to "fight together for our Vietnamese brothers, for world peace."

The General Confederation of Labor likewise voiced the desire to "adopt a position of unity and take part in joint actions with other trade union centers, not only in France but internationally as well."

The idea of unity is beginning to gain the upper hand among the working people, despite the attitude of the Socialist leaders. Unity of action was achieved in the Alpes Maritimes Department where a common call was issued by the federations of the Communist, Socialist and the United Socialist parties; in Creusot where the protest movement united all democratic organizations and trade unions; in the Paris area, in Rueil and Bonneuil, as well as in universities, factories, offices and banks.

Touching evidence of proletarian internationalism are the messages received in France from North and South Vietnam—messages recalling the joint struggle waged in the past and expressing belief in the French working people and in the success of their struggle.

Public meetings, demonstrations, peace marches and rallies are taking place all over Italy. Commenting on the visit to Washington of Prime Minister Moro and Foreign Minister Fanfani, the *New York Times* stated that the solidarity expressed by the Italian government for the U.S. policy in Vietnam had no practical effect whatsoever. The paper noted that Italy has no legal means to prevent the strong Italian Communist Party from sending volunteers to Vietnam, should they choose this form of aid. The paper adds that although Moro supports the action of the United States in Vietnam, he is powerless to give it any practical aid whereas the Communists are in position effectively to help the people of Vietnam.

The statements in the American press concerning the impotence of the Italian government and the effective activity of the Communists are a recognition of the mass charac-

ter of the movement in support of the liberation struggle in Vietnam, a movement which is spreading day by day. In March the delegation of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, then in Prague, sent a letter to the democratic forces in Italy expressing appreciation of the solidarity displayed by the people of Italy with fighting Vietnam. It noted, in particular, that "among the non-socialist countries Italy is a country in which the protests against the attack of the U.S. imperialists on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are the sharpest. Our people are deeply touched by this proof of sympathy with and support for their struggle . . ."

The public demonstrations held in Turin, Rome, Milan, Palermo, Naples, Reggio Emilia, Ravenna, Cagliari, Salerno, Florence and other towns were followed up by all progressive and democratic forces, by all organizations and citizens, all who cherish peace and hate imperialism.

Early in March nine outstanding men of culture—the writers Massimo Aloisi, Italo Calvino, Carlo Levi, Alberto Moravia and Elio Vittorini, the painters Renato Guttuso and Giacomo Manzù and the philosophers Eugenio Garin and Cesare Luporini—issued a call to defend the independence and freedom of Vietnam.

Intellectuals in all parts of the country responded to this call. In numerous messages, letters and protest resolutions the bulk of the intelligentsia clearly and unequivocally expressed support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people. Moreover, they went farther and took an active part in all mass actions and demonstrations alongside and jointly with the workers, youth, women, all democrats; with the Communist Party, the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, the numerous federations, branches and national spokesmen of the Socialist and Social Democratic parties and Catholic organizations. The nationwide mass actions show that the Italy of the Resistance, anti-fascist Italy and people's Italy will not passively tolerate aggression against another people, that it will fight with all means available until the imperialist aggression is ended.

In numerous industrial centers workers held strikes and work stoppages in protest against the war in Vietnam. In Florence, for example, a group of workers at the VITRUM plant started the strike by turning on the factory siren, following which workers in other industrial enterprises in the city joined the strike. Out of 50 municipal councils in Florence province 35 voted for a resolution in support of the people of Vietnam. A similar

resolution was adopted by the communal council of the Florence province. Thousands of local councils in Italy have voted for such resolutions, despite the opposition of the ultra Right. For their support of the U.S. war in Vietnam the latter are paying with a marked loss of influence.

In Milan and in Milan province one demonstration followed another. On March 28 some 70,000 people attended a meeting called by the Communist Party. In Genoa 50,000 took part in a meeting and peace march on April 7 sponsored by port workers. There were 60,000 demonstrators in Bologna, 10,000 in Naples, 40,000 in Reggio Emilia, 5,000 in Bari, 5,000 in Palermo, 30,000 in Modena. In Rome 100,000 people gathered in the S. Giovanni Square to hear Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Communist Party. On Sunday, April 11, 3,000 demonstrations took place all over Italy under the slogans "Enough of war!", "Johnson, go home!", "Hands off Vietnam!", "Bombs will not break the people!", "Independence to Southeast Asia!"

National delegations from the youth federations of the Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity and the Communist Party agreed to hold a week of action for peace and the independence of Vietnam. In a joint address these organizations said: "Just as yesterday young Italians took action in defense of Algeria, Cuba and the Congo, today they are taking action in defense of Vietnam. The cause of the peoples fighting against oppression and colonialism is our cause." To give an idea of the scale of this movement in Italy suffice it to say that in the first half of May 30,000 public meetings, rallies and peace marches took place, attended by over five million people. Socialists, Catholics and non-party people marched together—a sign not only of protest against the aggression but also of condemnation of the policy of the Italian government which has expressed "understanding" of the imperialist actions.

Indignation was also reflected in Parliament. Both in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate the government was subjected to questioning by MPs of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity who insisted that Parliament give official and unequivocal expression to the people's attitude to the aggression and desire for a peaceful solution through negotiation. The first big positive step was made thanks to this mass pressure. The Nenni Socialist Party, which shares responsibility for government policy, was forced at last to take an attitude of open condemnation of the aggression in Vietnam.

The working people of Italy are helping their Vietnamese brothers materially as well. A group of medical workers initiated a movement to collect money for a field hospital as a gift to North Vietnam. The appeal was signed by professors at various universities, head physicians in hospitals and directors of institutes in many towns. The initiative was crowned with success. First to respond to the call was the Communist Party, which immediately donated 10 million lire and pledged to collect 100 million. The Communist newspaper *l'Unita* donated five million. The leadership of the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity launched a campaign for funds by subscription. Within a few days thousands of doctors had responded to the call, and tens of millions of lire were collected. By May 22 the Communists alone collected over 100 million for building and equipping the hospital.

For two months now the progressive press has paid special attention to Vietnam. *Critica Marxista*, theoretical journal of the Communist Party, devoted its entire March-April issue to the theme: "The Italian Resistance and the Vietnamese Resistance." Thousands of pamphlets, leaflets and posters have been printed and circulated.

Solidarity was reflected also in the visit of the Communist Party delegation to Hanoi where it was received by Ho Chi Minh and other leaders. The delegation expressed the solidarity of the Communists and all working people in Italy with the struggle for peace and the independence of Vietnam, for ending the aggression and withdrawing the foreign troops; it also discussed with the Vietnamese comrades the question of effective aid in their struggle, including the sending of volunteers should they be needed.

Condemnation of the U.S. aggression resounded in the May Day demonstrations held all over the world, and in the public gatherings held on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the end of World War II. May Day marchers demanded an end to the imperialist war in Vietnam. "Peace to Vietnam!", "No to the American War in Vietnam!", "Stop actions threatening nuclear catastrophe!" — these slogans were the keynote of the meetings and demonstrations in honor of the international day of working people's solidarity.

In Britain, the movement of solidarity with Vietnam was joined by many local organizations of the Labor Party, by trade unions in London, Glasgow, Liverpool and other towns and by students. A Committee of Struggle for Peace in Vietnam has been set up to lead the protest movement. The public meeting sponsored by the Committee condemned the action of the Labor government in supporting

the U.S. "dirty war" and insisted that the Government publicly dissociate itself from U.S. policy.

In an open letter to President Johnson the West German organization known as "The International of Opponents of War" urged an end to the aggression. The West German peace supporters justly pointed out that, in its forms and methods, the U.S. war in South Vietnam is in no way different from the war waged 20 years ago by the Nazis. "Just now," the letter says, "we are observing the 20th anniversary of the day the Third Reich collapsed in an ocean of blood and tears, cursed by millions . . . Today, 20 years after, your country is waging a war of aggression in Southeast Asia, thousands of miles away from your shores, a war that has long been defined as 'dirty,' 'brutal,' and 'base.' Today, 20 years after, U.S. aircraft are raining incendiary and demolition bombs on North and South Vietnam, burning, mutilating and killing without discrimination."

The evil consequences with which the war waged by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam is fraught are felt particularly keenly by the peoples of Asia, whose countries are neighbors of Indochina.

In India, for example, thousands attended meetings in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and other cities held under the slogan "Hands Off Vietnam!" The Communist Party, expressing the aspirations of the working people, demanded that the government should end its vacillation and indecision and come out openly for the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from South Vietnam, for ending the aggression. The Communist Party, the All-India Peace Council, the All-India Association of Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Parliamentary Peace Committee and other organizations are holding solidarity meetings throughout the country.

The U.S. aggression and plans to escalate the war in Indochina were denounced by the Parliament of Indonesia. In a resolution the Indonesian MPs called upon parliaments and governments in all countries resolutely to support the just struggle of the peoples of Indochina, and to condemn the U.S. war in South Vietnam and the bombings of towns and villages. The people of Indonesia, said D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Communist Party of Indonesia, regard the U.S. aggression against Vietnam as an aggression against themselves. The National Front of Indonesia condemned Washington's aggression and called for the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. troops from South Vietnam, for dismantling all foreign war bases and discontinuing U.S. military intervention in Asian affairs.

The revolutionary government and the

working people of Burma have resolutely denounced the military gambles of the United States.

Public meetings and demonstrations are taking place in many towns of Japan sponsored by 96 democratic organizations. A meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party condemned the U.S. aggression in Indochina and the policy of encouraging this aggression pursued by the Japanese government. It called on all democratic parties and public organizations in the country to act in common in defense of Vietnam.

The Socialist Party issued a special "Appeal to the People in Connection with the War Danger in Asia." The Appeal stressed the very real danger of the war in Vietnam spilling over into an all-Asian war and urged vigorous action to secure immediate discontinuation of U.S. military operations in Vietnam and withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from that country.

By the decision of the General Trade Union Council (SOHIO) April was declared a Month Against War, in Defense of Peace in Asia, in which all industrial trade unions took an active part. In May this trade union federation, with a membership of 4,210,000, launched a nationwide campaign to collect money for medical supplies for the Vietnamese people.

People of good will in *Australia* are raising their voices in protest. The decision of the Menzies government to bind Australia to the war chariot of U.S. imperialism in Indochina caused sharp opposition and public protests. The labor movement is unanimous in its opposition to the sending of Australian troops to Vietnam.

The Communist Party has called on all patriotic Australians to join the vigorous opposition to the policy of the Menzies government. "The campaign to oppose the sending of Australian troops must continue until the decision is reversed," the statement says. The Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation called for ending the U.S. aggression. Dock workers in Sydney are warning that unless the aggression is ended they will not handle U.S. ships calling in Australian ports.

In *Latin American* countries the mass movement against the U.S. aggression in Indochina and in solidarity with the people of Vietnam is merging with the actions against Washington's military intervention in the Dominican Republic.

The Communist parties have called for militant solidarity with the people of Vietnam, for unity of action of all anti-imperialists, for freedom and world peace. In *Argentina*, *Venezuela*, *Chile*, *Mexico*, *Colombia* and *Guatemala* public demonstrations and protest meet-

ings have been held. The working people are resolved to foil all attempts of the U.S. imperialists to use the troops of some Latin American countries in the colonial war.

The solidarity with Vietnam is manifested in the most varied forms. In *Mexico City*, for example, recruitment has started of volunteers who wish to go to Vietnam to fight U.S. imperialism.

In *Argentina*, the participants in the demonstrations organized by the "Committee of Support for Vietnam" and the organization known as "Argentines Are Friends of Vietnam" attacked enterprises belonging to U.S. capital. In the course of a single day roughly 25 actions by the working people took place in *Buenos Aires*.

Responding to the call of the Association of Latin American Students in the USSR, over 500 students worked on a construction site in *Moscow* and donated the money they earned to the fund for the people of Vietnam.

The governments and peoples of the non-aligned countries are seriously concerned over the situation in Vietnam. Representatives of 17 non-aligned states held a consultative meeting on Vietnam and adopted a joint appeal to the governments and peoples concerned. Complete solidarity with the Vietnamese people was voiced by the President of the Congo (*Brazzaville*).

The Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization called on all peace-loving peoples, progressive and revolutionary forces, on all democratic and anti-imperialist movements in Africa, Asia and elsewhere to pool their efforts and do everything in their power to end the U.S. aggression and give every support to the people of Vietnam. In April the Organization set up a special committee to aid the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

Speaking at the Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity in *Winneba* (*Ghana*), *Youssef Sebai*, General Secretary of the Permanent Secretariat, called for support for Vietnam, for rendering its people every kind of military and material assistance, and for rallying public opinion against the criminal aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

Democrats and working people in all countries of *Africa* and the *Middle East* are joining in the protest movement.

In *Algiers* a representative conference of various public organizations discussed the situation in Vietnam. In a joint resolution the conference, on behalf of the public of *Algeria*, expressed unconditional support for Vietnam.

A powerful protest demonstration called by the trade unions was held outside the U.S.

Embassy in Bamako, capital of Mali, under the slogans "No to U.S. Imperialism!" and "Yankees Get Out of Vietnam!"

Representatives of the liberation movements of Mozambique, South Africa, Southwest Africa and Rhodesia, gathered in Dar-es-Salaam, sent a telegram to the U.N. Secretary-General, requesting "urgent steps to curb the US, which is trying to create another Congo and unleash world war."

The *United States*, too, has been the scene of a big and widespread protest movement. No event in the twenty years since the Second World War has agitated Americans so forcefully as the bomb-happy policy of the Johnson Administration in Vietnam.

"There has never been a government policy with less support from our people as is the case with this policy of aggression," said Gus Hall. "There has never been a policy so out of step with popular 'consensus'."

Big demonstrations have been held all over the country. On April 10 six thousand people marched in New York. On Easter eve, April 17, Washington witnessed an unprecedented demonstration against the Administration's foreign policy — a peace march in which some 30,000 took part. One of the leaflets distributed on behalf of the marchers said: "The war in Vietnam is a hideously immoral war... It is a terrifyingly dangerous war. And it is a civil war in which the only outside forces are those of the United States." The demonstration ended at the White House where the marchers called, but in vain, for the President.

The movement in the USA against the war in Vietnam shows signs of growing into a real movement of all the people, embracing all walks of life and the most varied organizations, such as the Student's Peace Union and the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs, the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee and a number of trade unions, the Women Strike for Peace organization, societies advocating civil rights for the Negro population, and religious groups. On May 12, for instance, the Pentagon was besieged by hundreds of demonstrators, representing religious groups who had come to protest against the reckless military policy and to "demonstrate the desire of the American people for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam."

A very active role in the anti-war campaign is played by Students for a Democratic Society, which unites representatives of 63 universities.

This role of the students in the protest demonstrations against Washington's military policy in Southeast Asia has compelled the U.S. press to speak about the awakening of

the Silent Generation as the youth used to be considered. Special "peace in Vietnam" and "no war in Vietnam" committees have been set up on university campuses.

For many organizations this condemnation of the war in Vietnam was the first experience of opposition to the foreign policy of the government. The *New York Herald Tribune* has expressed anxiety over the fact that such organizations as the Committee on Racial Equality, which previously occupied themselves solely with internal matters, are now joining the movement against the war in Indochina.

In numerous letters to the President Americans are denouncing the action of the U.S. military; 1,500 university professors and teachers signed an open letter of protest to the President.

The Federation of American Scientists with a membership of 2,500 published a statement censuring government policy in Vietnam. The United Automobile Workers with a membership of more than a million called for efforts for a solution of the conflict in South Vietnam. In a letter to the President some 3,000 clergymen urged him to turn the nation's course "from war to peace."

What are known as "teach-ins" have been held in most universities and colleges, during which government policy in Indochina has been subjected to scathing criticism by professors and students. On May 15 a national "teach-in" in Washington drew an audience of over 3,000 people. The war in Vietnam was sharply denounced by Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau and other scholars. It is symptomatic that McGeorge Bundy, special national security assistant to the President, who had agreed to attend, failed to turn up.

Four and a half thousand prominent citizens — scientists, writers, trade union leaders and leaders of the Civil Rights movement, among them scientist Linus Pauling, the Negro trade union leader A. P. Randolph, writer P. Goodman — signed a "Declaration of Conscience Against the War in Vietnam." Their convictions, they wrote, prevented them from cooperating with the government in the aggressive war inasmuch as the United States is using military means in Vietnam and elsewhere to crush the aspirations of people for political independence and economic freedom.

The Declaration called on all, who can do so for their convictions, to refuse to serve in the armed forces and on those already serving to demand a discharge. Those of the signatories who are due for enlistment, it said, declare their refusal to serve.

The Declaration called on others to refuse

to take part in the manufacture or transportation of military equipment or to work in the sphere of military research and design. The authors said that they themselves would refuse to do so. This document shows that American public opinion is resolutely opposed to the reckless foreign policy line of the Johnson Administration.

The broad anti-war sentiment has affected even the attitude of spokesmen of the ruling circles, who are apprehensive over the military actions against the DRV. Senator Morse, for example, called it a deplorable fact that the United States is now the greatest threat to world peace. The Senator expressed anxiety that the present course of the government in Southeast Asia could lead to a major war. If the president continues to heed the bad advice of McNamara and Rusk, the Senator continued, he will leave the White House as the most discredited President in the history of the country. Morse charged the

President with violating the Constitution by waging a war in Vietnam, the declaration of which was not decided by Congress, the sole body in which the right is vested. Eleven of the nineteen members of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, including its Chairman J. W. Fulbright and M. Mansfield, Democratic majority leader, also criticized the U.S. policy in Vietnam and urged a peaceful solution of the crisis.

* * *

The worldwide movement against the U.S. war in Vietnam is growing day by day. All who cherish peace and the security of the peoples are acting in a united front.

The U.S. rulers and the few governments which support them, having completely counterposed themselves to world public opinion, find themselves in a position of political and moral isolation. In all countries the call of the peace-loving peoples resounds with ever greater force: "Hands Off Vietnam!"

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL POLICEMAN

FOR MORE THAN A hundred years after the War of Independence up to the end of the nineteenth century when it turned to an active policy of imperialism, signalized by the seizure of Cuba and the Philippines in 1898, the United States of America gloried in the proud name of the Land of the Free.

And the name was not without foundation. For, as Lenin commented "the history of modern civilized America opens with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few."

In this Leninist sense it can be said without any fear of exaggeration that the contemporary anti-colonial revolutions, now rapidly approaching consummation in Latin America, Africa and Asia, had their antecedent in the revolt of the American people against British colonial rule.

The birth certificate of the new transatlantic republic which emerged from the revolt—the Declaration of Independence—has taken its place as one of the truly great documents in the long history of man's fight for freedom and democratic rights.

And today after the lapse of nearly two

hundred years the timeliness of its wording, its humanism and its universality stand out most clearly when read in the light of the current United States' actions in Vietnam and Latin America.

When the Declaration denounces the British monarch of the day for "having sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people," are we not reminded of the swarms of CIA officers and marines who have brought so much suffering to the people of Vietnam, and now to Santo Domingo?

For years before the present escalation of the war in Vietnam the CIA had been financing the private army of Colonel Le Quang Tung to the tune of \$250,000 a month. This special force was raised, according to the *The Times* (London) "for clandestine operations in North Vietnam." And the words in the Declaration: "He* has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people" apply in full measure to the current operations of the U.S. Seventh Fleet against North Vietnam. And do we not see the prototype of the

*The reference is to George the III.

30,000 mercenary Hessians used in the war against the Americans in the 30,000 U.S. troops in the guise of "advisers" fighting against the Vietnam people's militia? The description of the Hessians in the Declaration reads like a report of the transportation of U.S. troops today: "He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages."

What the framers of the Declaration of Independence understandably could not foresee in the eighteenth century was that their mid-twentieth century successors, having donned the mantle of imperialism, would be waging a colonial war ten thousand miles away in Vietnam infinitely more ruthless and accompanied by even greater "cruelty and perfidy."

It would be difficult indeed to imagine anything "more barbarous" than roasting villagers with napalm and choking them with gas.

Thus the wheel of U.S. history has turned the full circle, from waging a liberatory war against colonialists to waging a ruthless colonialist war against an Asian people fighting for liberation, to inspiring the bombing of Santo Domingo which killed over a thousand of its defenseless citizens. This is at once the paradox and the shame of the United States. But it is more than that. It signifies repudiation of the Declaration of Independence, the tearing up of the country's birth certificate by the Johnson, Rusks and MacNamaras.

The terror bombing in the two hemispheres and the use of gas in Vietnam are the kind of war for which the Goldwater extremists screamed during the 1964 election campaign; it is the war which the American voters overwhelmingly rejected; in the belief that Johnson really was a man of peace, the people gave him the biggest electoral victory ever won by any American President. Never has an electorate been so cynically deceived. Instead of the peace for which they voted, they find themselves involved in a war of aggression against a small peaceful country in Southeast Asia and in a full-scale invasion of the Dominican Republic in the Western hemisphere.

The Washington correspondent of *The Times* (London) told his readers that it "is important to realize" that the man in charge of the war in Vietnam is none other than the newly-elected President of the United States himself. "Almost nobody," we read, "stands between him and the aircraft and

ships he orders into action. The senior officers who plan the operations are strictly rationed, as it were, in aerial sorties. They never know when the next sortie is coming until this extraordinary Texan draws the flight plan and decides upon the bomb load."

The reason for the American presence in South Vietnam, according to Johnson, is to "defend freedom and democratic principles." How unoriginal! Nearly two hundred years ago George the Third was indulging in similar terminology to justify the presence of his Hessians in America.

Of course it's easy, but not very convincing, to blame Moscow, Peking and Havana for the political troubles now besetting the Johnson Administration in Latin America. And it would be too much to expect Johnson to put the blame where it rightfully belongs—on his own Administration and on previous occupants of the White House. We recall, for example, that marines were landed in the Dominican Republic in 1904, that is, long before Cuba gave birth to Fidel Castro. The second landing of marines took place in 1916, a year before the October Revolution in Russia. And since Mr. Johnson can hardly blame the unborn Castro for the 1904 landing, nor the unborn Russian Revolution for the 1916 landing whom will he blame!

Porto Rico, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama also have had landings of marines at one time or another; they have experienced the Monroe Doctrine, the Big Stick Doctrine of Theodore Roosevelt, the Truman Doctrine, the Eisenhower Doctrine, and now comes the Johnson Doctrine with its message: National Liberation only by permission of LBJ.

Much more explicit and much less sanctimonious about the reasons for these colonial wars is Mr. Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the *New York Times*, the man who is said to do the thinking aloud for the Pentagon and who has no time for the sophistry of the politician. This talk about defense of freedom and democracy, he writes, is a "polite fiction," sheer "cant." The reasons why we are fighting in Vietnam," he continues, "have little to do with making Saigon safe for democracy or freedom." "We are there," says Baldwin, "for reasons of U.S. global prestige and power," and for these reasons, "we probably need to send to Vietnam anything from 200,000 to 1,000,000 men."

For the magazine *U.S. News & World Report*, which transmits the thinking of Big Business, the reason is: "one of the world's richest areas is open to the winner in Indo-China. . . . Tin, rubber, rice, key strategic raw materials are what the war is really

about." It is, then, an imperialist war and, like all imperialist wars, an unjust war.

For the people of South Vietnam it is, as the War of Independence was for the people of America, a just war against a foreign invader and local Quislings, for freedom and national independence.

The American actions in South Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic are, then, a declaration of war against the national-liberation movement of the peoples. But to act as exporter of counter-revolution in the midst of the worldwide anti-imperialist revolution is to court isolation and condemnation.

When we look at the U.S. allies against the people of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic whom do we see? First that old tyrant and American pensioner Chiang Kai-shek, then the South Korean puppets and mercenaries, and these are followed by dictators like Franco and Salazar. It is sad to see in this unworthy company Britain's Labor Prime Minister Harold Wilson who seems to have taken upon himself the role of excuser-in-chief for Johnson's Goldwater type of war, for the napalm burning and gas; true, Wilson paid for this with a revolt of a hundred and more of his own supporters in the House of Commons, with a loss of face throughout his Party and, most embarrassing of all, Goldwater's admiration for his policy and the kiss of political death of Sir Alex Douglas Home, the Tory leader.

Trampling upon the Declaration of Independence was the prelude to trampling upon the Charter of the United Nations. U Thant, Secretary-General of the world body, was curtly informed by Rusk that President Johnson was "very upset" by his suggestion for peace talks on Vietnam in conformity with the Charter.

The NATO allies of the United States, including the British Prime Minister whose exclusive special relationship with Washington is now that of a very poor relation, were kept completely in the dark about the decision to bomb North Vietnam; the member-countries of the Organization of American States were treated in the same high-handed and contemptuous manner. As for the U.S. Congress, it was "informed" about the bombing of North Vietnam and of the despatch

of troops to the Dominican Republic post factum. Such are the workings of democracy in the "open society" over which Mr. Johnson presides.

In 1904 when Theodore Roosevelt first despatched the marines to the Dominican Republic he described his action as the exercise of "police powers." Now sixty years later the present White House incumbent, pursuing the illusion of worldwide U.S. domination, is exercising two-hemisphere police powers.

A policeman's lot, it is said, is not a happy one. But it can be said with even more certainty that in the sphere of politics the lot of the political policeman is a highly ephemeral one.

The true custodians of the national heritage of the United States are the people who so overwhelmingly rejected Goldwaterism in the 1964 election, and not those who trample on charters and treaties and who combine international police powers with international gangsterism.

And friends of peace all over the world have been greatly heartened by the growing opposition of the people of the United States to the Administration's reckless policy in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic.

In their fight at home against the racial shame of Alabama and Mississippi the people of America, white and black, have had their martyrs in the men and women, clergy and lay, bludgeoned and shot to death by racists; within the portals of the White House itself, probably for the first time in American history, freedom fighters conducted a sit-down demonstration in the corridors chanting the slogan: *Freedom Now*.

Never since the days of the Civil War has there been such massive unity between whites and Negroes in the United States; the slowness displayed by the Administration to take action against the racists in Selma, in contrast to the speed displayed in massing troops in Vietnam and in the Caribbean, has opened the eyes of many.

Freedom Now is their slogan too for South Vietnam and for Santo Domingo, for all peoples fighting their wars of independence against world imperialism.

J. GIBBONS

The Communists and social gains in France

JACQUES DUCLOS

ON MARCH 15, 1944, at the moment when we were waiting for the long-delayed second front to open, when the Soviet Union was locked in combat with the fascist invader, when the struggle of the French people against the Nazis and the Vichy traitors was gaining momentum, the National Council of the Resistance, which united many parties and groups fighting the invader, adopted a "program of immediate action against the oppressors, and measures aimed at establishing a more just social system after liberation."

This policy statement on the future of France by the National Council, along with giving added impetus to the liberation struggle, showed that the resistance, far from being the affair of one man, was the affair of the masses and their organizations.

The program of the Council outlined the constitutional, economic, social and political measures to be carried out after liberation. Proceeding from the fact that the drama of France — the defeat and accompanying travail—was caused not by "too much democracy," as Pétain and his clique maintained, but, on the contrary, by too little democracy, and by the systematic violation of democratic liberties, the NCR program envisioned a number of changes.

It provided for the "broadest democracy, restoring to the people their right to vote by reinstituting universal suffrage." To ensure the stability and effectiveness of future governments, the Council pointed to the need to combine "effective control by elected representatives of the people with continuity of government policy."

The program enumerated not only the constitutional measures needed to ensure political

democracy, it proposed in addition measures aimed at establishing "economic and social democracy."

Curbing the power of the capitalists was a cardinal question, since throughout the occupation they had wallowed in the mire of collaboration. The national heritage had been sacrificed to the joint interests of German and French trusts. The big capitalist monopolies had deliberately aided the invader in all spheres—finance, industry and trade.

Four of the big banks—Le Crédit lyonnais, La Société générale, Le Comptoir national d'escompte and La Banque nationale pour le commerce et l'industrie — formed a consortium whose purpose was to ensure the realization of the Franco-German designs.

Similar collaboration existed in various spheres of industrial activity. For example, on October 13, 1943, *Pariser Zeitung* wrote: "The cooperation between the French and German textile industries and specialists is very close."

In 1941 the French Kuhlmann company established the Francolor company in which 51 per cent of the shares were held by I.G. Farben; this venture enabled Farben not only to direct the affairs of Francolor but to control the entire French dye industry.

Leading finance and industry tycoons served on the notorious "organizational committees" set up by the Vichy government for the purpose, as Petain put it, of "investing responsible people with the necessary power to negotiate with Germany."

In reality "the economic collaboration between the French and German capitalists was one of the ugliest episodes of the Hitler occupation." Consequently, to ensure France's in-

dependence and genuine democracy it was necessary to curb the monopolies, "for whom securities and shares are more important than the national flag."

The need for an NCR program in this sphere acquired added urgency when, as the hopes for a Nazi victory began to fade, a section of the big bourgeoisie started a double game: while still looking to Pétain, they began to turn their eyes to de Gaulle as well.

THE NCR PROGRAM

It was for the people, the patriots who were waging a heroic struggle against the invader, to put a stop to this double game and prevent those guilty of treason from capitalizing on it.

To this end the Council program envisaged: genuine economic and social democracy to ensure the removal of the finance and economy magnates from key positions in the economy;

nationalization of the large-scale monopoly-owned means of production, which are fruits of common labor, of the sources of fuel, mineral resources, insurance companies and big banks.

The program also envisaged a social policy in the interests of the working population.

"Members of the movements, groups, parties and political trends united in the NCR" expressed their desire "to remain united after liberation" on the basis of this jointly elaborated program. Thus, at the height of the Hitler occupation the way that could have ensured a consistently democratic France was charted.

The moment de Gaulle returned to Paris, which had liberated itself, the Resistance Council insisted on his proclaiming the Republic from the balcony of the Town Hall. De Gaulle, however, refused to do so on the pretext that since the Republic already existed it would be superfluous to proclaim it.

This attitude could not but put the patriots on their guard inasmuch as it augured a return to the mistakes of the Third Republic which had collapsed in the June 1940 disaster.

Upon becoming head of the provisional government, de Gaulle, who had highly appraised the part played by the national alliance in organizing the resistance, adopted a stand which led to the division of the democratic forces that had formed the kernel of the Resistance.

He busied himself with a referendum on two questions:

1. Is it your wish that the assembly elected today should be a Constituent Assembly?
2. Are you in agreement that, pending rati-

fication of the new Constitution, civil authority should be organized in accordance with the draft law the text of which is printed on the reverse side of the ballot?

The second question was in effect aimed at restricting the powers of the Constituent Assembly, and this despite the rejection of de Gaulle's draft by the Consultative Assembly, which had voted for a sovereign Constituent Assembly.

Our Party stood for a sovereign Constituent Assembly and had reached an understanding on this with the Socialist Party. Thus, it was in favor of replying in the affirmative to the first question, but in the negative to the second question since the intention was to restrict the authority of the Constituent Assembly.

Unfortunately, the Socialist Party violated the agreement and said "yes" to both questions, thereby assuming grave responsibility for limiting the authority of the Constituent Assembly.

In the elections to the Constituent Assembly, held simultaneously with the referendum, the Communist Party, with more than five million votes and 151 seats, was far ahead of the other parties, while the Socialist Party polled about 4.5 million and gained 133 seats.

For the first time in French history Communists and Socialists had a majority in the supreme legislative organ of the country. This opened up new and thrilling prospects before the democratic forces, and the Communist Party resolved to do all in its power to translate the hopes engendered by these prospects into reality.

Immediately after the elections, representatives of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Radical Party, the General Confederation of Labor and the League of Human Rights met and drew up a government program opening the way to the implementation of the program of the National Council of the Resistance.

Since their two parties had a majority in the Constituent Assembly, the Communists proposed to the Socialist Party to form a Socialist-Communist government which would be supported by all who wanted to see the NCR program carried out. On the pretext that the referendum favored de Gaulle, the Socialist Party turned down this proposal and insisted on a three-party government together with the Catholic MRP.

The Communist Party, refusing to adopt an "all-or-nothing" attitude, accepted this proposal. "We believe that the prolonged incumbency of an authoritative and stable government of broad national and democratic unity

holds out the best prospects for our country," Maurice Thorez declared at the Tenth Congress of the Party. "This government should rely on the people in carrying out the program of national and social renovation wanted by them."

Persisting in his attempts to split the democratic and labor forces, de Gaulle tried to prevent the Communists from obtaining leading ministerial posts. But the firm stand taken by the Party and the support accorded it by the people helped to defeat these maneuvers which were designed to discredit our Party and to divide the forces of the Resistance.

These facts show how difficult and strained were the relations between General de Gaulle and the elected representatives of the people. The General's contempt for the deputies chosen by universal vote finally led to his resignation on January 20, 1946.

De Gaulle has since claimed that nationalization and the other major social gains, such as the system of social security and diverse economic and social measures, were carried out under his auspices and, to some extent, in deference to his wishes.

In reality, however, the work of the government headed by de Gaulle was limited to the nationalization of the four above-mentioned deposit banks; as for the commercial banks, the head of the provisional government was strongly opposed to their nationalization.

In the course of the debate on this question in the Constituent Assembly, I had occasion to make the following statement: "It is not a matter of limiting ourselves to the four big deposit banks which are about to be nationalized. We must go further in this direction. Other deposit banks could be nationalized as well." And further "... if we have just joined in voting for the resolution adopted by our Assembly, it is because we earnestly hope that in the not distant future it will bring us to a discussion of a new bill on nationalization. We also hope that this time the commercial banks will figure in the bill."

In the given instance de Gaulle intended to confine the nationalization to the four deposit banks without touching the commercial banks. He was mindful of the links binding him to the big industrial and financial bourgeoisie, links that were later to become stronger. At that time the General's brother Pierre de Gaulle was one of the directors of Banque de l'union parisienne and member of the boards of various companies.

Then as now, Banque de l'union parisienne was connected with the Wendel and Schneider groups. General de Gaulle's son who mar-

ried Henriette de Montalembert, is linked with the Wendel family, and his daughter, by her marriage to General Alain de Boissieu, with the Schneider family.

Incidentally, the present de Gaulle government offers an example of the close interpenetration of governmental power and the big commercial banks. The Prime Minister was at one time general director of Banque Rothschild; Foreign Minister Couve de Murville, Minister of Finance Giscard d'Estaing and Minister of State Louis Jacquinot are also closely linked with commercial banks. Thus, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Banque Rothschild, Banque Lazard, Banque Worms and Banque de l'Indochine have their men in key positions in the state. The regime of one-man rule, as our Party stressed immediately after its establishment, is indeed "an expression of the intensified domination of the capitalist monopolies."

ACTIVITY OF COMMUNISTS IN GOVERNMENT

It should be stressed that it was thanks to the growing pressure of the working class that de Gaulle agreed to nationalize the coal industry in the Nord and Pas de Calais departments, the leading air lines and also the Renault and Gnome et Rhône plants whose owners were particularly compromised as collaborators.

Moreover, de Gaulle's decree on the nationalization of the coal industry was drawn up and adopted in an atmosphere of good will toward its owners and the big employers. This induced Maurice Thorez to declare in his report to the Tenth Congress of our Party: "The coal magnates who are guilty of treason have not been expropriated, their agents remain in leading posts. What is being nationalized is the deficit, while the exploiters are guaranteed regular payment of substantial compensation."

It was only after de Gaulle's resignation that all mineral fuel production, the gas and electrical industries and eleven insurance groups embracing 34 companies were nationalized (on March 17, April 8 and April 25 respectively).

A social security plan, drawn up by the Communist Minister Ambroise Croizat with the cooperation of the trade unions, was adopted, marking considerable progress in welfare for children, families and mothers and for workers in the event of sickness or disability, in raising old-age pensions and extending them to new categories of workers.

Being the best welfare system in the capitalist world and giving the elected representatives of the workers control of welfare funds, this plan is an example of what the working class can accomplish in periods of major democratic advance.

Regulations were also adopted giving the factory committees the right to discuss questions affecting wages and to examine, with the help of accountants, the books of enterprises employing over 50 workers. These regulations strengthened the contact between trade union organizations and the delegates on the factory committees.

Legislation concerning wages and guaranteed employment was also improved: the 40-hour week was restored, with changes in overtime rates; equal wages began to be paid to women; a three-week vacation with pay was granted to workers between 18 and 21, and a one-month vacation for those under 18.

A statute relating to government employees was drawn up with the direct participation of Maurice Thorez and in agreement with the trade unions. Later, successive reactionary governments repeatedly violated this statute and emasculated it.

Some of the demands of the working peasantry were also met, as for example the law on rent, which eased the big landowners' grip on the small tenants and sharecroppers who were given genuine guarantees and ensured a bigger share of the fruits of their labor. The initial results of the production drive, and also the joint actions of the workers and peasants and the organizations upholding their interests mitigated the consequences of the lack of fertilizers and agricultural implements, and at the expense of the big capitalist companies and the wealthy landowners, narrowed the price spread between farm produce and manufactured goods.

Despite the shortage of goods, artisans and small shopkeepers gained from the higher purchasing power of the workers. The domination of the trusts in industry and in the economy generally was restricted by nationalization and by the abolition of the organizing committees and the Vichy bureaucracy, which de Gaulle was reluctant to touch.

On the initiative of the Communists, a law on compensation for war damage was passed to protect the legitimate interests of the public.

Each of the Communist Ministers did his utmost in his particular sphere for the working class and the working people generally, and supported every measure to promote democracy.

THE UNITY POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In 1944 the Communist and Socialist parties formed a Comité d'entente to discuss questions pertaining to unity. The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party proposed that the two parties should merge into a single Workers' Party, and drew up a draft charter of unity;

"The Workers' Party is a party which seeks to end the dictatorship of capital and establish a state that will ensure the exercise of power by the working class in order to break, with the help of its natural allies in town and countryside, the grip of reaction and prepare the advance towards a classless society which will give free rein to the human personality.

"The Workers' Party defends not only the immediate and long-range interests of the workers, it upholds also the present and future interests of the peasants, small shopkeepers, artisans, intellectuals, office employees and all who are victims of exploitation and of the rapacity of the trusts. It works to unite the entire working population in a common struggle against capitalism and for the establishment of a society free from exploitation of man by man.

"The Workers' Party is at once national and internationalist. It is national in the sense that in all circumstances it defends the true interests of France, that it has no intention of mechanically transplanting to France the experience of any other country and wishes to ensure the victory of socialism in France in a way that accords with the conditions and the national spirit of our country.

"It is internationalist in the sense that it seeks to share with the working-class parties of other countries the experience gained by the French working class in its struggle, and at the same time to benefit by the experience of the international movement.

"For this reason the Workers' Party establishes fraternal relations with those parties in other countries pursuing identical aims."

In addition to this draft, submitted to the working people, the Congress addressed the Socialist Party suggesting united action for the immediate period: the holding, twice monthly, of joint meetings of the leading bodies of both parties at national, departmental and local levels; adoption of a joint stand on all major questions in the government and in the Consultative Assembly; joint candidacies in elections, which would not exclude agreements with other democratic organizations; joint propaganda throughout the

country, and regular cooperation among the journalists of both parties.

This afforded broad opportunities for a victorious struggle against the capitalist monopolies, but Léon Blum, who had returned from German captivity, proceeded to disorientate the Socialist workers, then eager for unity.

At the Socialist Party Congress in August 1945 Blum attacked Marxism, rejecting dialectical materialism as a world outlook and a theory of knowledge. His revisionism prompted Blum to demand that the concept of class struggle in the Rules of the Socialist Party be replaced by the concept of "class action."

The reactionaries had not abandoned the field; they adapted the hoary slogan of anti-Communism to the new situation and, subsequently, in 1946, they did not forgive the people for having created new institutions, for adopting "a Constitution which extended the concept and practice of democracy to include secular and social democracy."

All enemies of the republic, all the enemies of France—the men of Munich, the men of Vichy, the Petain men—declared war on the new democratic institutions for which the country had called, and the social measures already carried out. De Gaulle too had his place, and quite a significant one at that, among this motley crew of opponents of social progress.

And anti-Communism, which had brought so much misfortune to France, again served as the rallying point for all reactionaries; it was used as the pretext for disrupting alliances, for subordinating France to U.S. imperialism, for unleashing unjust and ruinous colonial wars, for splitting the democratic forces, for pursuing a policy of social reaction and preparation for war.

REMOVAL OF THE COMMUNISTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT

On May 4, 1947 the Communists, who had supported the workers in their fight for higher wages and price reductions at the expense of capitalist profits, and who had condemned the war in Indochina, were excluded from the government on orders from the U.S. imperialists then seeking to impose their will on a Marshallized Europe.

Emphasizing the anti-democratic nature of this measure, Maurice Thorez declared in Nîmes on May 18, 1947: "... This is a very serious move which will give the reaction cause for rejoicing and republicans food for thought. Apart from the question of prices and wages, the removal of the Communists

raises the question of whether the will of the voters, who have called for a Left government, is not likely to be trampled upon once again as a result of the maneuvers of the Right-oriented majority groups."

Unfortunately for our country, for peace and democracy, Maurice Thorez' prediction came true.

All that has taken place since the Communist Ministers were removed from the government confirms that "... without the confidence of the people, without the confidence of the working class there can be no republican policy, no defense of the republic."

Supported by the working class and the peasantry, the Communist Ministers were able to safeguard the present and future interests of the working class and the people.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

Nationalization of the monopolies. A firm supporter of the nationalization of all monopolies, the Communist Party has never identified nationalization with socialist measures but always stressed the close connection between nationalization and the question of the government responsible for it, for nationalization can benefit the people but it can also be a powerful weapon in the hands of state-monopoly capital.

At the Tenth Congress of the Party, held in June 1945, Maurice Thorez outlined the Communist view on nationalization as envisaged by the program of the National Council of the Resistance, which de Gaulle had opposed: "... We must carry out nationalization as soon as possible because this is the only way to curb the trusts and, consequently, to ensure economic progress and the development of our industry."

Enlarging on this question in an interview given to the *London Times* on November 17, 1946, Thorez said: "We are convinced that at the present stage of social development nationalization, the return to the nation of the big monopolized means of production, is a step towards socialism. Nationalization strikes a blow at the omnipotence of the finance oligarchy, restricts the legal possibilities of exploitation of man by man, and gives a democratic government substantial means for the economic and social restoration of the country."

The Communist Party was still in the government at this time and the Communist Ministers, supported by the Party and the masses, saw to it that nationalization was carried out in keeping with the interests of the people.

The Communist Ministers upheld the interests of the working people, championed social progress, democracy, peace and national independence.

After their removal from the government, French policy took a reactionary course and nationalization became a powerless means of state interference in behalf of the monopolies.

Later, the nationalization was used by state-monopoly capital to increase the power and profits of the big monopolies. This has been the case with Société nationale des chemins de fer français, Electricité de France, Gaz de France and the enterprises of the coal mining industry which, while refusing to satisfy the legitimate demands of their workers, ensure generous gift packages to the monopolies in the shape of preferential tariffs and state subsidies, the taxpayer being made to cover the deficit.

This utilization of nationalization on behalf of the monopolies, while it by no means discredits the *principle* of nationalization as such, nevertheless shows that the manner in which the nationalization will be used depends on the political regime in power.

With this in mind and in view of the need for change and the prospects that nationalization can open up before the masses, Waldeck Rochet said in his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the Party: "Nationalization, carried out by a democratic government, can help the working class advance towards socialism by striking a powerful blow at the domination of the monopolies, at their economic and political power."

Pointing out that, under state-monopoly capitalism, nationalization is used to benefit the monopolies, Rochet added: "But it should be borne in mind that the nationalization proposed by us differs fundamentally from the nationalization known up to now. It is closely linked with the perspective of a democratic regime which will use it in the interests of peace and social progress, in the interests of the nation."

It is obvious that these reforms, although they do not spell socialism, can create more favorable conditions for the fight for socialism.

The Fight Against the Rule of Big Capital. The experience of the anti-monopoly struggle after the liberation is particularly instructive because of the present need to call a halt to the continued appropriation of the country's resources by the economic and financial magnates and to place them in a position where they can no longer oppose the will of the people.

In view of this the Communist Party is

proposing to the democratic parties and organizations a program which could be a basis for a general program envisaging the *nationalization* of the monopolies in the iron and steel, atomic power, chemical, aircraft industries, as well as airlines, big electronic enterprises, big commercial banks and insurance companies, and *democratic management* at all state-owned and nationalized enterprises with the participation of the trade unions.

The program provides for the establishment at all levels of workers' control by extending the rights of the production committees and the trade unions at the enterprises.

Opposed to the concept of the "plan" as a means of reinforcing monopoly domination, embodied in the one-man rule, the Communist Party proposes plans which if carried out in certain spheres of the economy under a truly democratic government would restrict the power of the trusts and promote economic development in the interests of the entire nation. It is thus a question of striking a blow at the power of the capitalist monopolies of which the one-man rule is an expression.

State-monopoly capital, uniting in a single mechanism the power of the state and the monopolies, seeks by its interference to "freeze" wages and retain surplus value at a high level. It interferes in matters of investment, pursues a fiscal policy favoring monopoly capital, and uses accumulations and the nationalized industries to multiply monopoly profits.

This anti-social policy has weakened the influence of the present regime, and the top monopolies are now preparing for the post-de Gaulle period, occupied solely with how best to prevent the Gaullist power being replaced by a genuinely democratic regime which would make inroads in the domination of the monopolies.

The Central Committee of the Party has therefore put the question to the masses: what will be the outcome of the struggle against one-man rule—will it be the replacement of one reactionary regime by another, or will the outcome be a democratic one?

While indicating the way to a democratic alternative, the Party has again stressed the need for the broad unity of the progressive, democratic and national forces and, to this end, for unity of action by Communists, Socialists and other republicans.

In its resolution of April 1, 1965, the Central Committee stressed that it is from this standpoint that the Party "sees the forthcoming Presidential elections and again states that it favors a common candidate on a common platform and will continue to work to

this end. If, however, despite its efforts, this proves impossible, it will nominate its own candidate."

The issue facing the working class and the people of France is that of building an alliance for a victorious offensive against the monopolies which want, with the aid of one or another government, to retain their domination.

Hence the significance of the fight ahead is great indeed. As noted in the book on the history of our Party: "In the struggle against

the most reactionary groups of capital and for the realization of a common democratic program, all sections of the people will side with the working class, will repose confidence in its aims and policy. And thus the working class will raise the level of political consciousness and organization of the masses.

"As for itself, it will in growing measure be able to effect the fundamental political and economic changes essential for the transition to socialism."

People's Democracy — tried and tested road to socialism

ZHIVKO ZHIVKOV

TWENTY YEARS AGO, in the spring of 1945, the combined efforts of the anti-Hitler coalition culminated in the defeat of German fascism. Soon after, the war machine of Japanese imperialism was smashed. The Soviet Union, which had borne the brunt of the struggle, brought the Great Patriotic War to a victorious end. As a result of this epoch-making victory, and thanks to the decisive aid rendered by the Soviet Army, the anti-fascist and national-liberation struggle of a number of European and Asian peoples was crowned with success. Not only were these peoples delivered from the yoke of domestic fascism and foreign imperialist domination, they were now able to step out confidently on the road of people's democracy, the road of socialism.

Each of the countries taking the socialist road, while drawing on the rich experience of the Soviet Union, makes its contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism, augmenting the common fund of experience in building the new society. The experience of the European socialist countries too, with their varied national features and traditions and different levels of economic, political and cultural development, will be useful to other peoples in carrying out their socialist revolution, and the emergence of more socialist states will in turn enrich the collective experience of the entire socialist community. As the Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties pointed out, thorough study, creative application and enrichment of this experience by the fraternal parties are the law of development for all the socialist countries. Pooling experience makes for the speediest realization of socialism at minimum cost in terms of material and spiritual values.

In the twenty years in which the people of Bulgaria have been building the new society under the leadership of the Communist Party they too have accumulated a wealth of exper-

ience in solving the complex tasks of socialist reconstruction.

NEW FORM OF MASS REVOLUTIONARY CREATIVE ENDEAVOR

The Second World War caused far-reaching changes in the Bulgarian scene. Hitler Germany's perfidious invasion of the Soviet Union was a signal for the revolutionary forces to rise to the defense of the world's first socialist state. The Bulgarian working class and the revolutionary forces generally regarded the struggle of the Soviet people as their own and fulfilled their internationalist duty by redoubling their efforts to defeat the Nazi invader.

At the same time the popular struggle in defense of the national interests, against the Bulgarian monarchist-fascist elements who had sold the country to the Nazis, gained momentum. The working class, the working peasantry, progressive intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie threw themselves into the anti-fascist struggle, and were joined — true, hesitantly and only for a time — by other sections of the bourgeoisie whose interests suffered at the hands of German fascism. All the progressive, democratic, freedom-loving forces headed by the working class and its Communist vanguard joined in a united revolutionary liberation movement.

In this fight against fascism and for freedom and national independence an anti-fascist Fatherland Front crystallized. Giving expression to the national aspirations and linking them with international responsibilities, it united all the progressive forces in the country.

The different classes and sections of society which joined the common struggle were prompted by different class aims. The working people, led by the Communist Party, fought not only for national liberation but also for political and social emancipation. Part of the

national bourgeoisie hoped to supplant the corrupt and discredited clique at the helm of state in pursuance of its own narrow class objectives. The outcome of this clash of divergent interests depended on the overall political balance, on the changes in the internal and international situation.

Forms of joint action capable of rallying broad sections of the people and combining the struggle for liberation from fascism and for democracy with the struggle for socialism were found in the general context of people's democracy. Thanks to this the social base of the people's democratic revolution was extended in the course of the struggle, while the bourgeoisie and the reactionaries generally steadily lost support.

The victories of the Soviet Army and the growing armed resistance of the anti-fascist forces within the country created a favorable situation which the Fatherland Front, headed by the Communist Party, ably utilized to carry the revolution to victory.

With the triumph of the revolution on September 9, 1944, power passed over from the hands of the pro-fascist big bourgeoisie to the majority of the nation, the working people of town and countryside. In this the leading role was played by the working class and its Communist vanguard. "Although the immediate aim of the uprising of September 9," Georgi Dimitrov said at the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, "was the solution of democratic tasks, it could not but shake the foundations of the capitalist system in our country and transcend the bounds of bourgeois democracy. This was the principal feature of our September 9 uprising."

After the victory of the revolution the people, led by the Party, gradually took over the commanding heights in the state, ousting the bourgeoisie also from key positions in the economy. *People's democracy thus asserted itself as a new form of transition from capitalism to socialism; it was the Communist's contribution to the development of the world revolutionary process.*

The revolutionary reconstruction of Bulgarian society in the conditions of people's democracy was opposed by the reactionaries, and this opposition developed, with the moral and material support of the foreign imperialists, into a fierce resistance. But thanks to the prestige of the Communist Party, which was supported by the democratic and progressive forces united in the Fatherland Front, and also to the existence of the Soviet Union, the class struggle was prevented from taking the extreme form of civil war.

As a new form of transition from capitalism to socialism, people's democracy has evolved a variety of ways and means of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and promoting the building of socialism. The Marxist-Leninist parties perform their function as the leading political force guided by the universal laws of the socialist revolution and socialist

construction. But they apply these laws creatively in keeping with the national, historical, economic and cultural features of their countries, relating them to the specific conditions of each. What Lenin said about each nation producing "some particular form of democracy of its own, some particular variant of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its own rate of socialist reconstruction of the diverse aspects of the life of society,"* has been fully corroborated.

In the Russian revolution the Soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies emerged as a form of uniting the forces of the revolution, and after victory they began to exercise governmental functions. The people's democratic revolutions and the building of socialism in Central and Southeast Europe show that there are also other forms of cementing the revolutionary forces, such as the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria and the National or People's fronts in other countries, all broadly based on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and other groups of the population.

In our country the participation of the political parties in the Fatherland Front opened the way to a multi-party system of government. During the first months of people's rule the committees of the Fatherland Front, consisting originally of representatives of the Communist Party (the most influential party in the Front), the Agrarian People's Union, the Social Democratic Party and the Zveno People's Union, and, after the revolution, also the Radical Party, were, in effect, the organs of government. No measure could be carried out without them. They appointed their representatives to administrative and other bodies. In a word, the Fatherland Front committees performed the same role in the Bulgarian revolution as did the Soviets in the Russian. The Communist Party worked tirelessly to cement the unity of all the parties in the Front and to help them find their bearings in the new political situation.

And after 1946 when the leading role of the Communist Party was confirmed by law and a government headed by Georgi Dimitrov, the leader of our revolution, was established, the multi-party system was retained. Unity of action between the Communist Party and the Agrarian People's Union remained the mainstay of the people's rule. Having rejected its previous narrow outlook, the Agrarian People's Union adopted socialism as its political line and since then has been making its contribution to the building of the new society in fraternal alliance with the Communist Party. Cooperation between the two fraternal parties has become particularly close since the denunciation of the personality cult. It is not by chance that Georgi Traikov, the leader of Agrarian People's Union, holds the post of Chair-

*V. I. Lenin. *A Caricature of Marxism*.

man of the Presidium of our National Assembly.

Immediately after the people took over the reins of government a people's militia was formed. It was joined by tried sons of the working people who had taken an active part in the struggle against fascism — partisans, political prisoners, and those who had supported the partisan movement. The fascist parliament was dissolved and the fascist Council of Regents replaced with a new one including a representative of the Communist Party. The monarchy was abolished as a result of a referendum held in 1946. A new Constitution affirming the revolutionary gains of the people was adopted by the National Assembly in 1947. Leaving no room for the machinations of those who would have wished to reverse the march of history, this constitution laid the foundation for progress along socialist lines.

The reorganization of the machinery of state as one of the aspects of the development of people's democracy was effected gradually in view of considerations such as the unsettled international status of the country, the need to enter the war without delay on the side of the anti-Hitler coalition in order to insure the final defeat of fascism, and the need to give priority to a number of democratic tasks. But people dedicated to the revolution were included at once in the government and in the Council of Regents as well as the local authorities. "The administration of the country was headed by new men, men of the working class, men of the people."*

From this it can be seen that the deepening of democracy and the transition to socialism, the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible without the immediate dismantling in entirety of the old machinery of state, provided it undertakes new class functions.

Lenin said that "no revolution is worthwhile unless it is able to defend itself."** After the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, the old army was disbanded and a new workers' and peasants' army formed to defend the gains of the revolution. For direct Party leadership in the army the office of political commissars was introduced. And the young Red Army, performing unprecedented feats of heroism and self-sacrifice, routed the combined forces of the counter-revolution and foreign invaders, and upheld the revolution.

In some European people's democracies, including Bulgaria, the development of events obviated the need to disband the army. Instead, the armies were reorganized. In Bulgaria the people's government removed the previous supreme command, the commanders of the various arms of the service and other high-ranking officers as well as those who had taken part in punitive operations against the partisans and the people generally. In their

place officers loyal to the people who had actively participated in the anti-fascist struggle were appointed. Partisan formations and volunteer units were included in the regular army, and special units wholly devoted to people's rule were formed. In this way a sound revolutionary core, which cemented the mass of the soldiers and the officers with a clean record, was created within the framework of the old structure of the army. This new army fought against the Wehrmacht in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Austria, and made its contribution to the defeat of fascism. Waging a just, patriotic war far beyond the boundaries of its own country, it fulfilled its national and international duty.

In the military sphere the Communist Party proceeded from the Leninist principle of party leadership and class approach, applying these principles creatively in accordance with Bulgarian conditions. The Party had had considerable influence among the soldiers. And when the armed struggle against fascism began, entire units joined the resistance forces, forming partisan battalions and brigades. At the time of the armed uprising, soldiers' committees were set up in the army and played an important role in winning the soldiers over to the side of the people's government. The bulk of the army, excluding the handful of officers who supported fascism, sided with the revolution. For some time the Party did not establish its own organizations in the army but exercised leadership through a system of deputy commanders.

The participation of the army in the Patriotic War and the work carried out by the deputy commanders and Communists generally helped to re-educate the soldiers politically. In the course of this revolutionary process the army was transformed into a new revolutionary force, the loyal defender of the cause of the revolution and socialism.

A big contribution to elucidating the essence of people's democracy as a new form of proletarian dictatorship was made by Georgi Dimitrov in his report to the 5th Congress of the Party in 1948.

The emergence of people's democracy became possible in the climate created by the victories of the Soviet Union in the Second World War and the struggle of the masses under the leadership of the working class for national liberation, independence, democracy and social emancipation.

With fascism defeated on the battlefield and with the Soviet Union defending and helping them, the People's Democracies, Dimitrov said, found themselves in a position to effect the transition from capitalism to socialism not by establishing the Soviet system, but through people's democracy. And experience has shown that being government by the working people, with the working class playing the leading role, people's democracy can successfully perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Along with the political tasks, the people's

*G. Dimitrov. *Collected Works*, Vol. II. p. 613.

**V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 28, p. 104.

democracy is successfully solving the economic and cultural tasks of the revolution, the first and foremost being the socialization of the basic means of production and the rapid expansion of the production forces.

People's democracy emerged and developed in conditions of close cooperation and mutual aid between the socialist countries. The touchstone of internationalism in our time is the attitude towards the Soviet Union, toward the unity of the world socialist system. Any weakening of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is damaging to people's democracy.

And now that socialist relations prevail in town and countryside, the role and significance of socialist democracy have immeasurably increased. The Party recognizes the need to deepen socialist democracy and is giving this question its most serious attention. Following a Meeting of the Central Committee in April 1956 conditions were created for a bold and consistent solution of the problems posed by social development.

The need to develop socialist democracy was stressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the 8th Congress of our Party (1962). The Congress outlined ways of solving the basic problems associated with the gradual development of our state, at the present stage performing the functions of a proletarian dictatorship, into a state of all the people.

The main trend today is active participation by the working people in running the state, in managing the economy and in cultural advance; it is manifested in the broader popular control over the activities of government bodies, in public initiative in the work of state institutions and public organizations, in the regular renewal of the composition of leading government and party bodies.

Our experience has confirmed that socialism gives the individual genuine freedom, it enables the working people to exercise their extensive political and social rights and offers every opportunity for the all-round development of the personality. This is ensured primarily by the creation of the material and cultural prerequisites. The right to work and to choose a profession in accordance with one's abilities and inclinations, the opportunity to obtain an education, the guaranteed right to rest and free medical care, freedom of speech and conscience, steadily rising living and cultural standards, the opportunity actively to participate in the life of society—these are the tangible conditions for the free development of the personality in the socialist society.

THE SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The Communist and Workers' parties in the European People's Democracies displayed a creative approach in tackling the socialist reconstruction of society—socializing the basic

means of production and, on this basis, abolishing the exploitation of man by man. The means used in solving these fundamental problems have varied, depending upon the specific conditions in each country.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, led by Georgi Dimitrov, found and substantiated the forms best suited to Bulgaria. In the immediate years after the uprising of September 9, 1944, it did not advance at once the task of expropriating the capitalist class as a whole. In view of the urgency of the democratic, anti-imperialist tasks and the need to strengthen national independence, our Party concentrated its efforts mainly against those of the exploiting classes who had supported fascism and to whom the reactionaries looked for support. The Party waged a struggle to restrict the economic power of the capitalists, and prepared the ground for a fundamental reorganization of the economy. In this struggle it displayed maximum flexibility and did not follow any ready-made formulas and dogmas.

The first socialist enterprises, opened immediately after the establishment of people's rule, were founded on the existing state-capitalist enterprises and on the enterprises and property of those who had been condemned by courts as war criminals or who had fled abroad. Property acquired unlawfully was also confiscated.

The establishment of a state monopoly of insurance, of the manufacture and sale of tobacco and spirits, state control over the foreign trade of private firms, the formation of mixed private and state enterprises—all contributed to the consolidation and expansion of socialist ownership in our country.

With the nationalization in December 1947 of the capitalist enterprises and banks—the most revolutionary measure undertaken until then in the sphere of the economy—the economic positions of the bourgeoisie were basically undermined and Bulgaria was firmly launched on the path of planned development leading to socialism.

Our experience has shown that the establishment of mixed enterprises and the institution of workers' control at medium-sized and small capitalist enterprises as a transitional stage is in many cases more advantageous to the working class than outright confiscation or nationalization. In the condition of proletarian dictatorship, the existence for a more or less lengthy period of handicrafts and other small and medium-sized private enterprises functioning under the control of the socialist state does not create a threat to socialism or any danger of a revival of monopoly capital.

We have gained some valuable experience also in socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Taking into account many socio-economic factors (the nature of agrarian relations, the correlation of political forces, etc.) our Party did not advance the slogan of nationalization

of the land as a *preliminary* condition for rural development along socialist lines. This creative approach had an exceptionally beneficial effect, making it possible to switch the millions of small farmsteads onto socialist lines with no great difficulty.

In this the Party was guided by Lenin's counsel to the effect that "in the majority of capitalist countries the proletarian state should not abolish private property completely all at once"; and the Party applied Lenin's cooperative plan to Bulgaria, adapting it to our conditions. The chief difference between our agricultural cooperatives and the Soviet collective farms is that the Bulgarian peasant cooperators retain their right to the land contributed to the common pool for which they are entitled to rent. However, as time went on, as the productive forces developed and the income of the socialist farms grew—and also as a result of the political education conducted by the Party in the countryside—the peasant cooperators themselves voluntarily reduced the rent paid for the use of their land and eventually waived their right to rent altogether. This marked a significant change in the socio-economic nature of the peasant cooperatives, it signified a new and higher stage in the development of production relations in agriculture. Instead of being based on two principles, distribution of income was now based on only one principle, the socialist principle: according to the work put in. Thus in our conditions the problem of private ownership of the land has virtually ceased to exist. The land remains the property in perpetuity of those who till it.

Membership in the agricultural cooperatives is purely voluntary. The peasants have seen for themselves the advantage of cultivating the soil collectively.

Once cooperative farming became established, the kulaks as a class ceased to exist. As Engels wrote ". . . in this case too we shall in all probability refrain from expropriation by force, but we can assume that the economic development will teach these hard-heads (the kulaks. Z.Z.) to see reason." Bulgaria's experience has fully confirmed this view. Our economic development has indeed taught the kulaks to see reason. The agrarian reform which limited land holdings to 20 hectares, and in some areas to 30, the law prohibiting the exploitation of the labor of others, the introduction of progressive taxes, and other measures, have knocked the ground from under the feet of the rich peasant. When the cooperative farms were firmly established, the Party and the government permitted the former kulaks to join them. By 1957 nearly all the peasants were united in cooperatives. This meant that socialism had triumphed in the countryside as well, that the transition from capitalism to socialism had been accomplished, and that Bulgaria had embarked on a new stage—the building of an advanced socialist society.

The cooperators retained plots of land for their own use. According to the Rules of the cooperatives, every member has the right to a personal plot of from 0.2 to 0.5 hectares and in the mountain areas up to one hectare. He can keep cattle, sheep, poultry, rabbits, bees, etc. Our experience shows that personal plot cultivation, while it is an additional source of income, does not interfere with socialist farming. Personal cultivation, moreover, is a supplementary source of farm produce. That is why the restrictions imposed on individual holdings by some leading functionaries in the localities had negative results. In the future, when socialist farming will be able to satisfy all the needs of society, the personal plots will lose their significance. The peasants themselves will give them up, just as they gave up the rent.

State farms, too, were created. These are large-scale socialist industrial-type enterprises similar to the Soviet state farms in which the means of production are public, state property.

With the organization of producers' cooperatives the bulk of the handicraftsmen and artisans were placed on a socialist footing.

All this shows that given a concrete approach, it will be found that socialization of the means of production of all the small producers is by no means an immediate necessity. For a time they may even be encouraged to produce certain goods and offer services and thus ensure the fuller and speedier satisfaction of the needs of the population.

Socialization of the means of production has brought about fundamental changes in the class structure of society. The working class has rid itself of oppression and exploitation and has become the leading force of socialist society. Profound changes have taken place also in the social structure of the peasantry. Socialism has put an end to the previous dispersal of the peasants, they have become allies and comrades of the working class in building the new society. The intelligentsia, now closely associated with the workers and peasants, are playing a growing role in the life of the socialist society.

These changes in the class structure of society have given rise to important changes in social and political life. With the abolition of the exploiting classes, the scale and the role of the class struggle has gradually diminished. In the process of the socialist reconstruction the social and political unity of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia is being cemented. The symbol of this cohesion is the solid unity of all the people around the Communist Party.

PRESENT STAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

People's democracy has accomplished its historic task of replacing the capitalist production relations by socialist relations. The all-round development of the productive forces, the establishment of a highly developed material and

technical base of socialism is also being successfully carried out. Having mobilized the natural, material and manpower resources, relying on the all-round assistance of the Soviet Union and cooperation of the other fraternal socialist countries, Bulgaria, in the past an underdeveloped dependent country, is a free and sovereign socialist state with a developed industry and agriculture.

This progress is directly due to the mobilization of the country's inner resources and to socialist mutual assistance and cooperation, in which the Council of Mutual Economic Aid plays a prominent part. A striking manifestation of socialist internationalism, this cooperation is one of the greatest constructive forces of our time. Experience has disproved the contention that in building socialism every country should rely exclusively on its own powers.

During the past few years our country has entered upon a new stage of its development, the stage of all-out socialist construction, the completion of the building of the socialist society as an essential prerequisite for the gradual transition to communism.

In accordance with the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Party (1962), the Bulgarian people are now concentrating efforts on accelerating the development of the power industry, establishing our own iron and steel base, promoting machine-building and a modern chemical industry. These branches are decisive for the advance of our national economy. On their promotion in large measure depends the building of a highly-developed material and technical base of socialism. This implies the steady growth of labor productivity which, as Lenin said, is, in the final analysis, the primary condition for the victory of socialism over capitalism. Much attention is being devoted also to consumer-goods production.

We have now reached the stage where the system of planning and management of the national economy must be improved. The basic principles of the new system were endorsed, and in 1964 it was introduced experimentally at a number of enterprises. These experiments are now being conducted on a broader scale.

The underlying significance of the new system is that it clears the way for the operation of the economic laws of socialism; obviates one-sidedness in management and stimulates initiative. The result will be a more effective combination of planning and initiative based on incentives.

Now that we have gained considerable experience in planning and have trained a large body of economic executives, production collectives can be given more independence. Under the new system greater independence is combined with centralized planned regulation of the basic proportions for the national economy as a whole connected with the distribution and utilization of the national income, currency reserves, capital investments and the

main raw materials and other items in short supply.

"The main requirement for improving the system of planning," said Comrade Todor Zhivkov, "is the creation, with its help and by utilizing economic levers, of material stimuli and conditions that will act as a spur to the enterprises to compile realistic and optimal plans of advantage both to themselves and to the national economy as a whole; in other words, to bring the personal interests of the workers into greater harmony with the interests of the state, of society. To this end it is necessary that cost accounting and material incentives be used consistently and fully and not merely formally as heretofore."

The new planning presupposes revising the system of prices and price formation in accordance with the operation of the law of value under socialism. Prices are an important lever in the hands of the government and its bodies, and it should be retained in the future too. Under the new system more importance will attach to agreements between economic organizations and enterprises. If the new system is to work it must embrace all phases of the process of reproduction.

The development of the productive forces under socialism is bound to lead to higher forms of social production, to specialization, concentration and centralization. One of these is likely to be state economic associations and amalgamations. In Bulgaria amalgamations, including enterprises producing similar lines of output or with inter-connected production, are being set up. These new forms should yield a substantially greater economic effect.

The further democratization of management, combined with economic levers and incentives, is a realistic and concrete embodiment of the principle: "what is good for society is good for the working collective, for the individual worker, for the specialist and for the executive." Greater accord between the personal interests and the interests of society will stimulate development.

The new system is added proof of the ability of people's democracy constantly to develop and improve. But economic relations under the new system cannot improve unless the rights of the workers in the sphere of management are substantially extended. The establishment of economic councils (in the amalgamations) and factory committees (in the enterprises) as public bodies representing the workers is one of the forms in which the democratic principles are applied in management. Factory committees enjoy considerable powers—they take part in drafting plans, verify plan fulfillment, and have a say in allocating the funds of the enterprise.

Management democratization does not violate the principle of one-man management. The factory committees and the economic councils are not a substitute for the manager of the enterprise or amalgamation. One-man

management presupposes full responsibility of the manager for his decisions.

The tendency of people's democracy towards constant development and the search for better methods are proof of its superiority over capitalism. Drawing the masses into all spheres of social, political and economic life, people's democracy imbues them with the spirit of responsibility for the destiny of the country whose masters they are.

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After two decades of struggle and development there is no doubt that people's democ-

racy has played and will continue to play a role of exceptional importance. It has asserted itself as a form of transition from capitalism to socialism, and for a number of countries has become a reliable and historically justified road to socialism.

The friendship and cooperation of the countries of people's democracy with the Soviet Union, the fraternal friendship and mutual aid of all the socialist countries, and consolidation of the unity of the socialist commonwealth are indispensable for the further development of the world revolutionary process.

Creative development of Marxist economic thinking

ZDYSLAV SULC

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S NEW system of planned management of the economy the principles of which were elaborated on the initiative of the Central Committee of our Party and which are now being tried out in numerous pilot plants, will next year be gradually introduced throughout the economy. The system has attracted considerable attention abroad, in socialist and capitalist countries alike. This is understandable, for this new model differs in many respects from the traditional views on socialism, especially those current in the West.

Incidentally, this is not the first time that a socialist country has had to grapple with problems of this kind. The question of the interrelation of the market and the plan, for instance, was posed in the USSR back in the 'twenties', immediately after the emergence of the first socialist state. Owing to circumstances now usually described by the generic term "personality cult," however, the original ideas advanced at that time were relegated to oblivion. Nevertheless, as we see it, in the light of the experience accumulated to date in building socialism it is imperative to return to many of the questions raised then. Socialism must provide full and conclusive answers to them all both in theory and in practice.

The changes now being made in Czechoslovakia have met with approval in the fraternal parties and in the press of the socialist countries. As to the comments of the Western non-Communist press, these by and large fall into two groups.

One group of commentators is least of all concerned with giving an unbiased exposition of the substance of the changes; instead they seize upon them for smear purposes, claiming that socialism has not lived up to its promise and that the new system signifies a step backward in the direction of capitalism. The changes are interpreted as revisionism, a deviation from the socialist road. For instance, the *Paris Combat* argues that Czechoslovakia's "new economic principles were basically inspired by

the principles of the free world." A writer in the *Statist*, called us pioneers in economic revisionism. The *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* joins those who see what they call "liberalization" and "economic revisionism" in Czechoslovakia. Here we have a clear case of wishful thinking, the absurdity of which will, of course, be revealed best of all by the further development of our country.

But the Western press also carries basically sound information concerning our new system. This is the case especially when it turns directly to Czechoslovak sources, as, for instance, the *London Times* did in interviewing Prime Minister Lenart. As for the efforts of Western writers themselves to explain the substance of the new system, these have been less successful. Even when prompted by the best intentions, these attempts often mislead the reader, all the more so since the terminology used in the West does not always correctly convey the actual substance of the changes. Many of the concepts and categories designated by the same terms (this applies in particular to concepts and categories relating to commodity-money relations) denote entirely different things in the West and in our country. The Western reader, naturally, tends to understand them in his own way.

As a matter of fact, we ourselves sometimes lack full clarity on all the points. The reason is that capitalist commodity production, with its accompanying exploitation and unemployment, is still fresh in the memory of our older generation. Small wonder, then, that any talk of commodity production tends to have unpleasant associations for them. Moreover, for more than a decade political economy has been a subject of truly mass interest; besides lectures on political economy in schools and colleges, hundreds of thousands of members of the Communist Party and non-Party people too have taken courses of one kind or another in the subject. But for a long time the way in which it was taught bore the negative imprint of dogmatism.

During the personality cult period economic theory to all intents and purposes marked time; it was mainly a matter of positing generalities, often oversimplified to a questionable point. At the same time the urgent problems posed by the building of socialism were ignored. Vulgarized and often distorted ideas about socialism were made an object of mass study, and these ideas still dominate the thinking of large numbers of people.

After the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, political economy became one of those areas of social science in which dogmatism was most vigorously combatted, not only through criticism of out-dated fossilized notions but through creative treatment of problems emerging in the process of the practical planning and management of the economy. This creative approach to economic theory, which was encouraged in every way by our Party, has borne fruit. It is no exaggeration to say that the new system of planning and management is in a way the first product of our progress in theoretical political economy, though we must frankly warn against any overestimation of the results to date. So far only the first steps have been taken, and many problems still await solution.

At the moment a somewhat curious situation has arisen. While our proposed new system of planned management is the result of progress in our economic thinking, the fact is that many of our people still entertain simplified schematic notions of the economy of socialism. Consequently, implementation of the new system calls for new thinking by these people, for overcoming the vulgarized notions, for a deeper understanding of the nature of socialism and its economy. The initial experience in those enterprises where the new system is being tried out, shows that in its concrete forms it is readily understandable to the working people. And as time goes on people will become convinced of its viability inasmuch as it provides the machinery for flexibly resolving the internal non-antagonistic contradictions of socialism and effectively harmonizing individual and group interests with the interests of society as a whole; inasmuch as it provides the objective conditions for releasing initiative, for harnessing the skills and talents of all members of the working community.

COMMODITY-MONEY RELATIONS ARE NOT ALIEN TO SOCIALISM

For those who wish to understand the essence of our new system of economic planning it is important to know not only the concrete forms and methods involved but also the basic theoretical premises. For if these are understood we shall see the utter absurdity of the hopes our adversaries pin on the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia. Clarity on this score will also help to dispel the fears evinced by some of our friends abroad that maybe the new system implies a departure from the principles of socialism.

If one is, in general, to speak of departure, the sole departure is away from the old vulgarized dogmatic precepts which bore no relation to reality. A deeper understanding of the theoretical foundations of the new system will leave no doubt that it represents a return to the approach to economics and social science generally characteristic of Marx, Engels and Lenin; what is in question is the creative solution of problems encountered in the practical building of socialism.

Until recently it was widely held that commodity production, commodity - money relations and the categories associated with them (value, prices, supply and demand, profit, interest, etc.) were alien to socialism, a survival of capitalism in the socialist organism, and, consequently, that the sooner these alien elements were extirpated the more consistent and genuine would socialism be. This approach accounted to some extent for the fact that the practical management of the socialist economy was directed not at maximum utilization of the possibilities inherent in the commodity-money relationships objectively necessary under socialism, but at curtailing them.

It would, of course, be over-simplification to attribute everything to the personality cult, to see it as the sole source of these views, even though they had their heyday at the time of the cult. Clearly, the objective conditions, too, played a part. As we see it, the roots can be traced to that relatively distant past when the job of running a socialist economy was first tackled.

Needless to say, when the working class led by the Communist Party took over in Russia, there was as yet no clear and comprehensive concept of socialism, nor could there be. In point of fact, its contours are still being delineated in the course of the practical building of socialism. Marx and Engels never essayed to give a detailed description of the future socialist society; what is more, they regarded any attempt to do so as utopian. Their views on socialism and communism were generalizations which could be deduced logically from social development in their time, from the development of capitalism. Moreover, as a rule, their thoughts were projected to the complete Communist society where the old division of labor has already been overcome and the very nature of labor changed, a society in possession of abundant sources of wealth for satisfying the people's needs and hence objectively in a position to do away with commodity-money relations and to go over to the direct distribution of social labor and its products. The same can be said of the pre-revolutionary writings of Lenin in which he primarily examined the conditions and prerequisites for the winning of power by the working class in alliance with the peasants. A concrete picture of socialism as the first phase of communist society, and, in particular, of a concrete system of socialist economy could be delineated—unless one went in for star-

gazing—only on the basis of practical experience.

Lenin fully appreciated this. Hence, the first program for resolving these problems was advanced only after the working class had taken power in Russia, when the key industries and the banks were nationalized and when for the first time in history the entire economy began to be managed as a single consumer-producer cooperative. And this *first program was adopted* (at the Eighth Party Congress in March 1919) *on the understanding that its ideas and theses would be verified in practice and amended accordingly.* A year earlier, at the Seventh Congress (the first after the Revolution) Lenin, stressing the need for such a program, spoke about the difficulties involved and about the urgency of the tasks. "The rate of development is so great that we should not put things off," he said. ". . . Our program will henceforth be based not so much on books as on practice, on the experience of Soviet rule."

Awareness of this spurred on the tireless quests conducted by Lenin and by social scientists generally in the twenties to find the most effective forms of socialism, and especially of its economic system, and the best ways to achieve them. It still remains for historians to make a profound study of the development of the views held by Lenin, who, constantly verifying theoretical concepts against the touchstone of practice, did not hesitate to draw far-reaching conclusions from the experience or to reject obsolete opinions and ideas. This creative approach to the theory of socialism is indeed the salient feature of the Leninist mode of thinking.

The purpose of the present article is not to sum up this questing. That is a field that belongs primarily to Soviet historians. But in order to understand the progress of economic thought which in our country has led to the new system of planning and management it is essential to mention at least a few of the milestones.

Like the other socialist countries, Czechoslovakia in the period of transition to socialism in substance adopted the economic pattern and system of management which had taken shape in the USSR by the early thirties. There was no other model of socialist economy. The new system we are now introducing, however, calls for substantial modifications of this model. Many of the modifications are reminiscent of the principles applied in the Soviet economy of the twenties, when the relationship between the market and the plan and their place in socialist economic endeavor were widely discussed in an exchange of views from which we can still derive many valuable pointers.

Both this discussion and the managerial methods of the twenties, which were marked by extensive utilization of commodity-money relations and a commercial (to use a term current at the time) approach to cost accounting in the socialist enterprises, were in a way a reaction to the practices of the period of war

communism immediately after the October Revolution. At the same time, if we examine the program adopted by the Eighth Party Congress and also Lenin's draft program ("Ten Theses Concerning Soviet Power") submitted to the Seventh Congress, we shall see that the socialist state was regarded as a ramified network of consumer-producer communes keeping account of both production and consumption in which money was a temporary expedient primarily serving as a means of accounting and control; the banks performed functions of a central bookkeeping office, and trade was replaced by distribution; in a word, commodity-money relations were progressively restricted.

The fact that he quickly grasped that this direct "turn to socialism" was premature and, consequently, unrealistic will remain forever a monument to Lenin's genius. For him the Kronstadt rebellion was not only a signal for resolute action against the counter-revolutionaries, it served also as an impulse to a quest for a new economic policy which later became known as NEP. Initially, then, the transition to NEP was prompted mainly by political considerations; it was a matter of preserving and consolidating working-class rule in Soviet Russia by cementing the worker-peasant alliance. But the implications of NEP went farther. As we can see from the economic discussions that took place in Soviet Russia in the twenties, already then the question was advanced—fully in the Leninist spirit—of working out a model of socialism, and, in particular, of its economic system, and highly original ideas were put forward with attention focused on the role of planning and the market and their correlation. These discussions in the spirit of the ideas voiced by Lenin at the Seventh Congress were distinguished for creative questing for concrete ways and forms of building the socialist economy in general and its system of management in particular. In other words, already at that time many of the questions which have now come to the fore in our country and in other socialist countries were posed and subjected to a serious, scientific study. It is not surprising, therefore, that economists in the socialist countries should now return again to these discussions (without, of course, mechanically applying the experience of those distant years to the present time).

Already in the discussions of the twenties different viewpoints clashed. Some, in effect, rejected commodity-money relations and argued that it was essential immediately to create the conditions in which the economy could dispense with them. Others advocated consciously planned utilization of commodity-money relations in guiding the socialist economy. The Twelfth Congress of the Party in April 1923 opted for a method of economic management that would make skilful use of the inter-relation of the market and plan. The decisions of this Congress contain many valuable ideas which are timely even today concerning such questions as the role, nature and potential of the plan, and

the role of the market as a regulator which, as the Congress stressed, cannot be replaced by administrative measures.

For the sake of historical truth it should be mentioned that both those who advocated the market mechanism and the decisions of the Twelfth Congress associated the maintenance of commodity-money relations in the socialist sector primarily with the existence of a capitalist sector in the economy, and especially of vast numbers of peasant cultivators in agriculture.

A more detailed study of the facts would reveal why the opposite concept subsequently gained ascendancy: centralized guidance of the economy was reduced to the state-administrative form alone, while commodity-money relations were to be restricted to the maximum. But the evolution of views on the socialist economy in general and on planning and commodity-money relations under socialism in particular should not be equated with the system of planning which actually took shape in this period. For the fact remains that the economic pattern created in the Soviet Union made it possible rapidly to expand production, to carry out industrialization, and to build up the economic potential which underlay the Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War. But a detailed examination of these questions is beyond the compass of this article. What should be mentioned, however, is that later too, evidently under the impact of practical considerations, the discussion on the operation of the law of value under socialism was reopened, but as before, due perhaps to the personality cult, the idea of restricting and eliminating commodity-money relations was reaffirmed. In particular, Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* put the final stamp of official approval on the view that commodity-money relationships had to all intents and purposes been abolished in the state sector.

Actually the conclusion that commodity-money relations are alien to socialism, a mere survival of capitalism, is indicative of a superficial understanding of Marxist political economy.

As such, commodity-money relations are not a specifically capitalist category, for they existed before capitalism. Their origin can be traced to the break-down of primitive society and the emergence of a social division of labor. Capitalism, having inherited this "invention" of previous socio-economic formations and finding in it an adequate basis for its own development, imparted to commodity-economic relations two specific features:

- 1) it made them a universal, all-embracing form transcending the boundaries of the economy when, as Engels aptly put it, love, honor, and conscience too became commodities;

- 2) it led to the emergence of a specific type of commodity—labor power. Here one of the greatest historical hoaxes is performed—to the worker it seems that he is selling his labor to the capitalist in a perfectly fair transaction

when actually the latter pays him only for the value of his labor power. As a result, the capitalist appropriates the whole of the surplus value (exploits the workers) "by right."

Socialism abolishes these specifically capitalist aspects of commodity production by nationalizing the means of production and creating a cooperative society. Does this mean that the soil from which commodity-money relations spring is thus done away with? Not at the present stage of development. For we know that commodity production derives from the social division of labor, a reflection of the fact that economically independent specialized producers are able to meet their requirements only by exchanging products with one another.

Needless to say, under socialism the market is not the sole link between producers (enterprises). An important part here is played by the plan, which anticipates development instead of allowing the future to be shaped, as it is when left to the spontaneous action of the market, under the impact of external factors operating independently of the will of the separate producers. We shall return to this later.

At the present stage of socialization (concentration and specialization) of production far from all forms of the economic isolation of producers (separate socialist enterprises) have been overcome. Although the socialist economy as a whole is under centralized guidance, it does not allow of detailed planning of every aspect of its functioning to the extent that this is done at the separate enterprises. Since the national economy consists of *relatively independent production-economic units*, it is impossible to effect the division and distribution of labor in every detail from one center (it should be borne in mind that Czechoslovakia's engineering plants alone turn out more than one million different items of output). Only the basic proportions and trends can be defined from the center, while other matters no less essential for the smooth continuation of current production can be decided only by the producers themselves, by the socialist enterprises, on the basis of a knowledge of the consumer demand obtained through the medium of the socialist market. Consequently, the market is the only criterion of whether a given quantity of labor has been expended in the best interests of society.

Further. At the present stage in the social division of labor, labor has not yet become man's prime requirement but remains above all the source of his livelihood, entitling the various participants in the production process to a share of the national income in the shape of money (as the embodiment of abstract labor) which they exchange for the things needed to satisfy their personal requirements. Here too it is the market that in the final analysis shows whether the money paid for expended labor can be exchanged for its equivalent in goods or services, i.e., use values essential to meet the requirements of the individual workers of socialist enterprises.

Clearly, then, *so long as the present character*

of the division of labor remains unchanged, even under socialism the conditions exist for the commodity-money relationship inasmuch as the relations both between socialist enterprises and between these enterprises and individual workers presuppose exchange of goods, which, considering the vast variety and limited quantity of the goods produced, would be impossible without the agency of money.

For this complex process to continue smoothly, without hitches, the quantities of different kinds of labor exchanged must be equal; hence they must be measured in terms of value, of which price is the monetary expression.

In other words, commodity-money relations stem from the material and technological base of socialism; far from being an alien element, they are inherent in socialism at the present stage of development and hence should not be ignored. To deny this would be to flout the facts, to allow the potential contained in socialist commodity-money relations for accelerating the building of socialism and its development into communism to go unused. The commodity-money mechanism provides a *natural driving force making for flexible adaptation of production to consumer demand and tending to reduce the cost of production and improve the quality of the use values produced.* And these are precisely the areas in which purely administrative methods of management fall short.

Socialist commodity-money relations, it should be said, cannot be equated with capitalist relations inasmuch as they assert themselves in the conditions of public ownership of the means of production which, contrary to what happens under capitalism, rules out private appropriation of the surplus product. The socialist public bodies channel the surplus product to meet the needs of the people (medical and other services) as well as to extended socialist reproduction. Moreover, the development of socialist commodity-money relations is not left to the vagaries of chance; on the contrary, they are utilized consciously according to plan to achieve the aims society has set for itself.

COMMODITY RELATIONS AND PLANNING

Let us turn to another group of problems which have given rise to much misunderstanding and even completely wrong interpretations of the underlying principles of Czechoslovakia's new system of planning and management. Some have said that wider utilization of commodity-money relations implies a retreat from planning. This, too, is an instance of the past weighing down on the present, of the tenacity of the old view that commodity-money relations and planning are mutually exclusive, that wherever the former exist things are left to drift and, conversely, that planning is possible only if commodity-money relations are ruled out. Especially during the period of the personality cult the idea gained currency that

modern capitalism with its commodity-money relationships was incapable of planning, which was held to be possible only under socialism.

Such oversimplification—to put it mildly—has nothing in common with Marxism. Marx, whose sole guide was the very beginning of the metamorphosis of *laissez faire* capitalism into monopoly capitalism, pointed out that with the concentration and centralization of capital and production, even under capitalism the sphere of planning would transcend the boundaries of the individual capitalist undertaking. These views were developed further by Engels and then by Lenin, who regarded state-monopoly capitalism with its highly concentrated economic (and especially banking) mechanism as the threshold of socialism, the basis of the future economic mechanism of socialism.

But for all that, despite the bigger role now played by the state in the economy, planning in modern capitalist society is confined within bounds determined primarily by the spheres of interest of the various monopoly groups. Moreover, capitalist planning, being least of all concerned with the interests of the working people, pursues very definite social aims of its own.

In socialist society, on the contrary, the sphere of planned guidance expands together with the sphere of public ownership of the means of production. *For the first time in history, the conditions are being created for planned management of the entire national economy as a single consumer-producer co-operative.* The rapid growth of opportunities for the planned regulation of the economy under socialism is indeed one of its greatest advantages over capitalism.

It is important to remember how socialist planning evolved. It first emerged in the Soviet Union at a time when it was considered essential to restrict commodity-money relations. Over the years a *system of administrative planning* took shape providing for management from the center through assignments handed down to the enterprises in the form of sets of indicators covering the gross value of output, labor productivity, the labor force, the wage fund, and so on. *In time Communists and their adversaries alike came to regard this as purely socialist planning.* This idea struck deeper root in the thirties, when the entire capitalist world was in the grip of a severe crisis, whereas the Soviet economy experienced rapid expansion. Herein lies one of the reasons why after the Second World War all the socialist countries adopted this form of economic planning.

It should be said that in our country, for instance, this form made it possible at the early stage of building socialism to tap reserves which capitalism had not been able to draw on and to ensure the growth of production and a rise in the standard of living. However, owing to our specific features (a relatively developed industry, insufficiency of raw materials and labor power, a high degree of dependence on foreign trade) contradictions emerged in our

economy which the prevailing system of planning and management was unable to solve flexibly and effectively enough. The need to go over from extensive to intensive development, to carry out far-reaching structural changes and to place the emphasis on quality became increasingly obvious. Changes in the system of management were likewise necessitated by the progress of technology, the achievements of which could not be transmitted speedily enough to the production line under the old system of planning. In the light of this, significant changes in the planning system were worked out under the guidance of the Party in 1958 and implemented in 1959 with a view to placing greater emphasis on value categories and, in particular, on profit as the basic incentive at enterprise level. The possibilities afforded by this approach for encouraging the initiative of the enterprises and of the working people generally were not slow in revealing themselves. On the whole, however, the changes did not transcend the bounds of the existing system and only tended to bring out its intrinsic contradictions in bolder relief. This experience and the heightened interest in economic theory both in Czechoslovakia and in the other socialist countries stimulated discussion of the essentials of planning and management leading to the elaboration, on the initiative of our Central Committee, of a blueprint of the new system now scheduled for gradual introduction beginning with next year.

A feature of this system is that it proceeds from the character of the division of labor existing at the present stage in the development of socialism. In other words, it recognizes both planned guidance and the existence of commodity-money relations and is designed to utilize both to accelerate the rate of economic growth. It represents a break with the concept that directives constitute the sole socialist form of planning, a concept which can only limit the range of levers available to the public bodies to regulate the process of reproduction. It should be noted, however, that the new system does not completely renounce directives from the top; its object is to ensure that they are used where and when they yield the best results. In other words, *the new system far from signifying any restriction of social planning creates conditions for making it more effective by substantially increasing the range of vehicles of this guidance and ensuring the application of the most effective form in each given situation.*

Past experience has left no doubt that it is unrealistic and inexpedient to have the central bodies decide such questions as range of output for the enterprises or the technical, technological or economic conditions in which they carry on production. These are matters which the enterprises themselves can decide far better on the basis of a constant study of market demand. The new system therefore gives them extensive powers in this respect. But this does not mean that the central bodies will be de-

prived of the possibility of influencing the operation of the enterprises, or that the latter will be guided only by the "free play of blind forces." On the contrary, the central bodies will have at their disposal a far greater number of much more flexible and effective levers than before. The directive method often merely created an illusion of central leadership while actually things were allowed to drift, since volume of output, productivity of labor and other targets handed down left the enterprises a great deal of leeway to carry out those directives in the way most advantageous for themselves even if this meant ignoring the interests of the consumer.

Under the new system the relations between the central bodies and the enterprises will be governed by *regulations specifying for a prolonged period ahead the limits within which the enterprises are free to exercise initiative, in other words, to enter into commodity-money relationships.* For one thing, deductions from the gross income or profit of the enterprise for use by the state to finance public spending and the most important investment projects will be determined in advance. Consequently, the more efficiently an enterprise operates the more funds it will have both for remuneration of labor and for further expansion. The same applies to deductions from the fixed and turnover funds. Each enterprise, naturally, is interested in making the maximum use of these funds, and this in turn will tend to reduce cost of production and increase gross income. The price, credit and tax policy will be a highly important instrument of central leadership. ...

All this calls for a new approach to the role of the plan, which no longer is designed to regulate all aspects of the functioning of each enterprise, but is mainly intended to ensure balanced proportions and provide the basic guidelines for the economy. Hence the emphasis will be on long-range plans (five, ten, fifteen or more years), which among other things should provide a reliable groundwork for basic investment. Short-term planning, on the other hand, will be shifted mainly to the enterprises. It should be noted that even long-range planning will not be the prerogative of state bodies alone, for the new system calls for the constant and active participation of industrial organizations (trusts, combines, etc.) in this work.

The new system, then, in no way signifies a retreat from planning. On the contrary, it is designed to improve planned guidance, to heighten its effectiveness, and to exert a greater influence on economic growth, which at the present stage of socialization of production presupposes effective dovetailing of the plan and the market, planned utilization of commodity-money relations to ensure the rapid advance of socialism.

NEW APPROACH TO INCENTIVES

The fact that the new system sees in income from the sale of goods or services after deduc-

tions of expenditures on materials and depreciation (i.e., profit) an incentive to enterprises to improve performance has also caused a good deal of misunderstanding, especially in the West. It is actually being asked whether this is not a return to capitalist enterprise, to the profit motive as the basic driving force.

Confusion on this score can only be attributed to a superficial comparison of externals and a lack of understanding of the mechanism of the socialist economy. In the conditions of socialist ownership and planned cooperative endeavor this approach to incentives is only another step forward in consistent application of the socialist principle of remuneration according to work done.

In the past, too, we attached much importance to this principle. But the intrinsic contradictions of the administrative method of management caused it to be repeatedly violated, since the only incentive in the enterprises was fulfilment of directives.

In these circumstances it often happened that those factories prospered most which were not too much concerned with the real needs of society as revealed by the market, whereas those which sought to provide the goods in demand were apt to find themselves at a disadvantage. The same applied to quality and profitability of production. The new system of management is based on a different approach to incentives. It proceeds from the fact that socialist production at the present stage of socialization is commodity production. And every commodity has two aspects: it represents both value and use value. A commodity realized as an exchange value by the seller must be a use value for the buyer, be the buyer another socialist enterprise or a private citizen. *The market is the final touchstone of the social usefulness of expended labor.*

This basic principle of commodity production finds realization in gearing incentives to gross earnings. These consist of income from the sale of goods or services after deductions for production expenditures and depreciation. From the gross income the enterprise covers the basic deductions for the state, losses and fines. The remainder is used to pay the basic wages, bonuses and premiums, or for minor investments. Consequently, the better the performance of the enterprise, the more funds it will have both for wages and for expanding its production facilities, and the more will accrue to society in deductions from gross income. Conversely, the consequence of poor management will no longer be imposed on the whole of society but will be felt primarily by those responsible.

Clearly, the functioning of this mechanism involves the solution of many complex problems. But the experience of the pilot plants experimenting with the new system shows that it creates the prerequisites for the consistent application of the socialist principle of payment for labor according to quantity and quality. It likewise makes it possible fully to harness the

initiative of the working communities since from now on *what is good for society will be good for the enterprise*. As a result, the new system will exert an influence transcending the purely economic sphere, providing as it does *powerful stimuli for unleashing the initiative of the working people generally and enlisting them in actual and not formal participation in economic management*.

THE CRITERION OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS

In connection with the new system of planning and management, some new forms of guidance, which at times may seem unusual under socialism, are being verified in practice, specifically in the sphere of public services. Here, too, some people appear to doubt whether these forms accord with the principles of socialism.

The point is that the nature of labor in the service sphere differs radically from that in industry. In view of this, such establishments as, for example, tobacconists shops or small restaurants employing one or very few people, taxi cabs, etc., are being put on a commission basis. Taxis, for instance, are placed at the disposal of the drivers, who turn in a certain percentage of their takings.

Is this in keeping with the principles of socialism? This question might be answered by another: is it a socialist principle to apply to small establishments the principles applicable to highly concentrated and centralized industry? Is it more socialist to have a huge administrative staff and have heavy overheads which make it difficult for public services to pay for themselves?

Socialism is not a collection of abstract moral principles as the Utopian Socialists once assumed. Socialism can demonstrate its advantages by creating better conditions of life for all working members of society, satisfying not only their material but also their spiritual needs and developing the abilities of each. Only from this standpoint can we truly assess what is socialist and what is not. And if the new approach to the management of the public services improves their efficiency, if it is shown that it is possible to do without a cumbersome administrative apparatus and to improve the standard of service without allowing any opening for capitalist enterprise or exploitation of the labor of others, it would be strange indeed to call these measures non-socialist. What all this shows is that even under socialism there will exist for a long time spheres of activity where the conditions radically differ from those of large-scale industry. And methods of management should be adapted to these conditions.

If we say that for us socialism is not merely a system of abstract moral principles, this does not mean that the new system of planning and management ignores the moral factor intrinsic in the human make-up and pursues purely material aims. On the contrary, it creates the conditions for the moral factor to play a bigger role than before. Hitherto its impact was often

weakened or nullified by the fact that the interests of society were not combined effectively and systematically enough with the economic interests of the separate enterprises or the individual workers.

For example, the criteria by which the performance of enterprises was judged until now not infrequently caused the interests of the consumer to be sacrificed to the interests of the producer. To counteract this, public organizations invoked the moral factor, appealing to people's socialist consciousness. But when supplier plants responded, they did so at the expense of their own economic interests (foregoing bonuses, premiums, etc.). This could not but discourage initiative.

The new system is designed to ensure greater harmony between the interests of the individual worker and the interests of the enterprise and society as a whole. What is advantageous for society can be advantageous for the enter-

prise and its workers. In this way the prerequisites are being created for removing the contradictions between material and moral stimuli, for ensuring that both work in the same direction, stimulating the initiative of the enterprise as a whole and of the individual worker.

* * *

We are naturally gratified by the keen interest evinced abroad in our new system of planning and management. Where this interest is prompted by a sincere desire to learn more about socialism in our country we shall do our utmost to satisfy it. As for those of our opponents who discern in these changes a "departure from socialism" or "restoration of capitalism," we can afford to smile at their naivete. Their speculations are based on false premises which ignore reality, and for this reason are doomed to share the fate of so many similar hopes cherished in the past.

Towards an alliance of Communists and Catholics

(New features of the Spanish scene)

SANTIAGO ALVAREZ

THE OPPOSITION movement now gathering momentum in Spain surpasses anything seen during the years of the Franco regime or for that matter in the past 50 years. The starting point and impelling force of this opposition is the new movement of the working class having its source in the workers' committees and permeated with the spirit of unity.

Sections of the population far removed from the proletariat have joined the movement. The protest actions of university students at their "freedom assemblies," and especially their public demonstrations which are supported by many faculty members, go far beyond the bounds of the student actions of previous years.

The opposition also enjoys the sympathy and support of the clergy and even of some of the dignitaries of the Church.

Basically this ferment has its source in the objective situation in Spain.

While recognizing the role played by other political forces and groups it can be said that one of the principal subjective reasons for the scope of the opposition movement is the unity of action between Catholics and Communists.

The Catholics are our main allies today in the struggle against Franco. This is a fact. It is perhaps the most characteristic and encouraging feature of the Spanish scene today.

The ideas expressed in this article about this new feature and our experience are, of course to be regarded as talking points that still need to be concretized and amplified.

I.

This development in the Spanish Catholic movement did not come about suddenly and spontaneously. It originated in the intensification of the struggle of the working class and especially as a result of the joint actions in which Communists and Catholics participated

beginning with the end of the 50s.* The support accorded the working-class struggle by the Workers' Brotherhoods of Catholic Action during the strike movement of 1962 aggravated relations between the Church and the government. This process of rapprochement between Catholics and Communists has quickened in recent months.

Members of the Catholic Association and Catholic Working Youth join our members in strikes, public demonstrations and other forms of the working-class struggle. Many of them are members of the joint committees leading the new working-class movement.

Whereas in the past, Catholic participation in joint actions with Communists was more or less sporadic, now it is broader and more conscious. It is not only that masses of Catholic workers have broken away from the control of the Church, that their striving for unity and their militancy play an extremely important part in the entire process, it is also a matter of what could be described as a new orientation on the part of some Catholics, the "line" of the National Union of Apostolic Laity (true, this "line" has not been fully elaborated and is not consistently pursued).

To cite some facts. At one of the trials of Asturian miners the parish priest of the mining village of Mieres, on behalf of the clergy of his province and with the authorization of the Bishop of Oviedo, testified at the Tribunal of Public Order in Madrid in defense of the miners. Priests have also participated in a number of workers' demonstrations. In many cases leaflets or appeals to strike are printed with their help; the workers' committees often meet on premises placed at their disposal by priests who keep watch to warn the workers of the approach of the police; meetings banned by the authorities are often held in the premises of the parish.

These and other facts show that priests are continuing to act side by side with Communists

*See "The Underground Party and Its Contact with the Masses," by S. Carrillo in *World Marxist Review* No. 4, 1961.

in this new stage of the struggle being waged by the working class and the entire people.

And the feature of this stage is an alliance of Communists and Catholic workers. Based on the struggle for common aims and loyal cooperation, this alliance is the cornerstone of the unity of the new working-class movement.

Catholic students, too, are beginning to take a more direct and active part in the struggle. In the recent student demonstrations members of the Democratic University Federation were joined by members of the Union of Democratic Youth, and Catholic Student Youth, and by students in the Catholic universities in Comillas and Deusto, and of the "Opus Dei" student movement in Navarra.

The stand taken in defense of democracy by the Abbot of the Montserrat monastery, Father Escarre, and his group at the end of 1963 (and also the actions by 300 Basque priests in 1960) was an important step by clergy towards the formation of a more open and decisive opposition to the Franco regime. Father Escarre (now in exile) and his group, who pressed for an amnesty for political prisoners, freedom of conscience and democratic liberties, and for the restoration of nationality rights in the Spanish state, voiced the views of considerable democratic and nationalist Catholic circles. When the hierarchy sought to ostracize Father Escarre some 400 priests in Catalonia rallied to his defense.

When the Tribunal of Public Order, which convicted Sandoval and other Communists, instituted proceedings against another Catalan priest, Father Dalmau, there were renewed demonstrations in one of which a hundred priests marched outside the court house.

This is the first time that Catholic clergy have engaged in such "plebeian" forms of action as meetings and demonstrations—characteristic primarily of the working people—in order to express their protest against the fascist methods of government. The aforementioned examples and also the demonstrations by Basque clergy in Guernica in defense of a fellow priest who in a sermon denounced the police for torturing prisoners are a sign of the times.

Prominent Catholic personalities, too, are voicing their views on internal issues, including the issue of freedom and democracy. In a recent lecture Professor Aranguren, Catholic philosopher, made an impassioned plea for democratic liberties.*

Various Catholic journals, among them *Serra d'Or* and *Cuadernos para el Dialogo*, favor the idea of a dialogue with Communists, uphold trade union freedom, the right to strike, stress the need for structural reforms and, primarily, for a profound agrarian reform.

Comrade Santiago Carrillo was referring to the concrete experience of our Party when he

wrote "... in Spain in particular, Catholic organizations are participating, at times very actively, in the fight for social demands and democratic liberties", that "they frequently join forces with the Communists in the struggle for the vital interests of the masses."**

Events of recent months have confirmed and amplified this experience.

Some weeks ago, Professor Manuel Gimenez Fernandez*** discussing the Papal appeal to Catholics to participate in political life ("Pacem in Terris"), pointed to the need for deep-going structural reforms in Spain. Fernandez believes that this can be accomplished in cooperation with other groups or political parties even if their philosophy is the opposite of Catholicism (for instance, with Communists), "provided there is agreement on concrete issues pertaining to the government of the country."

The formation in January of the Christian Democratic Union corresponds, to some extent, with Fernandez' proposal. The Union's program and its "Declaration of Principles" have many points in common with our democratic program (agrarian reform with the land being handed over to those who till it; nationalization of the banks and big monopolies and respect for the rights of the nationalities). But there is the danger that this program might become just another document if it is not reinforced by mass action, if it does not reflect that which is now usually referred to as social tension. True enough, some of the points in the program are the product of mass action and social tension.

Even more important perhaps than the program and the Declaration was the discussion around these documents when they were being elaborated. During the discussion the anti-Communists had to retreat; they even had to agree to some formulations being modified, which could have been interpreted to the disadvantage of the Communist Party.

Recently a document of very great importance for the nation appeared, signed by 1,161 representatives of the working class and intelligentsia, among them Catholic leaders, priests, Communists and people of other democratic trends. The points contained in this document coincide with the platform of our Party (freedom of association and especially trade union freedom; the right to strike, freedom of information and expression; freedom for all political prisoners and the annulment of responsibility deriving from the civil war).

One of the signs of the new situation in Spain is the retreat of anti-Communism, the failure of the attempts by the dictatorship and agents of imperialism to impose anti-Communism on

*Lecture delivered at the Friends of UNESCO Club, on the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Man, and on the Encyclical "Pacem in Terris."

**Problems of Peace and Socialism, No. 11, 1964, p. 18.

***Professor Manuel Gimenez Fernandez occupies the Chair of Canon Law at the University of Seville. At the time of the Republic and the Government of the Rights (1933-1934) he was Minister of Agriculture and adviser to the Catholic agricultural trade unions. He is one of the inspirers and leaders of the Christian Democratic Union.

the opposition and especially in Catholic circles. Significant in this respect is Professor Ruiz-Gimenez's participation in the defense of Comrade Luis Antonio Gil who was tried together with Sandoval. Professor Ruiz-Gimenez's actions and his rupture with the regime following the debate in the Cortes on the Law on Associations, should be seen in their relation to the new trends in the Vatican with respect to Spain and the steps taken recently by the Spanish Church itself. We have in mind the objections raised by the National Union of the Apostolic Laity and *Ecclesia*, central organ of Catholic Action, to the aforementioned Law on Associations; the editorial in the same journal on the significance of strikes and student demonstrations which, it wrote, "reflect aspirations that have become urgent", etc.

Thus the positive attitude adopted by the Catholic working-class movement and by substantial sections of the Catholic laity to the necessity of ending the fascist form of government and clearing the way for democracy is merging with the new trends in the Church itself, with the trend of the apostolic laity.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that this is a one-way process of smooth development, that it is not meeting with the resistance of some groups pursuing their own ends in the political struggle, in the trade unions, that it is not encountering obstacles placed in the way by the hierarchy, that it does not have to contend with the pressure exerted on the Church by the regime and by circles of the monopoly oligarchy. Be that as it may, one of the features of the present situation is that the Catholic church, envisaging the collapse of the Franco regime, is, consequently, gradually disengaging itself so as not to be engulfed with it when the crisis comes. But whatever the ulterior motives, the fact is that this attitude benefits the democratic movement.

What is even more significant perhaps is that we are witnessing a deep-going process, one in which efforts are now being made to renovate the church in Spain and to effect a radical change.

Let us hear what some Catholic leaders have to say about the factors impelling them to advocate change.

"The Church," Miguel Benzo, General Secretary of Catholic Action declared, "knows of three types of pastorals: the 'Pastoral of Authority' the 'Pastoral of Segregation' and the 'Pastoral of Persuasion' . . . The 'Pastoral of Persuasion' is appropriate when *Christian unanimity* is absent, when lack of faith asserts itself not as an external danger but as something within ourselves . . ." In Spain, Benzo goes on, "Catholic Action up to 1939 was guided by the 'Pastoral of Segregation', after 1939, by the 'Pastoral of Authority' and since 1959 it has been guided by the 'Pastoral of Persuasion' . . ."

After stressing that profound "changes in the structure of the Church, in its way of thinking and in its action" are absolutely necessary, Miguel concludes that the present situation in

Spain and throughout the world makes it imperative for Catholic Action to "adapt its activity to the era of rapid change."

This "era of rapid change" is the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, of the abolition of the antagonistic social system based on exploitation of man by man, of the era of scientific-technological revolution the significance of which cannot be overestimated.

For a number of historical and social reasons these contradictions, universal in their implication, are of a specific nature in Spain owing to internal factors of very great importance.

Constantine views and the deep-seated integralism predominating in the Church hierarchy are rooted in Spanish reality with its archaic structure and its semi-feudal survivals. However, the existence of a strong and militant working class whose political consciousness is steadily growing, the growth of the revolutionary movement which is renovating the nation and more and more isolating the exclusive social group of the monopoly oligarchy, and also the growing ideological influence of Marxism-Leninism—all show that definite changes are taking place in the Catholic movement and in the Church itself, more so in Spain than in any other Western country. It is not accidental that at the Ecumenical Council Monsignor Guerra Campos, Councillor of Catholic Action, Secretary of the Spanish Episcopacy and President of the National Union of the Apostolic Laity, strongly supported the idea of a dialogue with the Marxists.

However, we should not forget what happened during the civil war and afterwards, the fact that the Church bears its share of responsibility for this war and that it has to atone for this grave historical sin which hangs like a sinister shadow over its pastoral calling. The Church's support of the fascist revolt; its indifference over the years to the thousands of shootings and the reprisals generally; its silence about the tortures; its support of the social policy of the regime and its attempts to reconcile the classes in the interests of monopoly capital—all this prepared the way for a profound process in the country, which some Catholic commentators have described as "dechristianization."

As more far-sighted Catholics admit, the "humble classes" began to lose faith in the Church. The Church's spiritual influence has waned. "The youth, particularly the university youth," according to the Bishop of Astorga, "is moving away from the Church." "Surely it is clear," says Father Dalmau, "that in our country the Church has still not convinced a multitude of people."

If the Church really wants to regain some of its lost spiritual influence it will have to be self-critical and, more important still, it will have to thoroughly revise its old attitude, that is, steer a new course. This seems to be the underlying meaning of Monsignor Guerra Campos' speech at the Ecumenical Council.

The period of intoxication with the "victory"

of 1939 has ended; the grievous wounds inflicted on the people by the civil war have healed; there is a resurgence of the vital forces of democracy and progress; the class struggle has entered upon a new phase—these developments could not but affect the Catholic movement and that section of it most sensitive to the new situation.

Compared with the end of the 50s when the Catholic Action's switch-over to a 'Pastoral of Persuasion' had for its background the battles of 1956 fought by the working class and students—a new post-civil war generation not swayed by fascist ideology—the "speed" at which top-ranking Catholic clergy and laymen are now changing their attitude is a response to the speed at which the working-class and mass struggles is developing. This means that the course this struggle takes will be of decisive importance both now and in the future. And this struggle, operating as the principal factor, is reinforced by other factors.

These include, first of all, what the Catholics themselves have described as the "new frontiers of the Vatican," which began with Pope John's Encyclical "Pacem in Terris." This Encyclical, which opened a new period in the life of the Church, has not only made for better relations between Communists and Catholics, despite the efforts of the conservative forces to detract from its influence; it also set into motion forces within the Church who want renovation.

At this point the question arises: to what extent is renovation possible?

The main thing is that in our rapidly changing world the general law of the class struggle (in its broadest and universal meaning) affects both the Catholic movement and the Church itself as an institution. Inside the Church a sharpening struggle is taking place between those who do not want the Church to remain a class, political and ideological instrument of capitalism and imperialism, on the one hand, and on the other—the arch-reactionary elements who adhere to "integralist," "traditionalist" and "conservative" views, as a leading Spanish Catholic describes them. The reactionaries want to prevent the Church from taking the path indicated by John XXIII, and even threaten a split if they can't have their way.

How will the struggle develop? Will the adherents of "modernization," who are inspired by Pope John's precepts, triumph? Will the conservatives be able to impose their views, even temporarily? Or will there be a split?

At the present stage of social development and scientific-technological advance, the physical impossibility of destroying socialism (which for decades was the object of the Church), without destroying humanity is a fact of immense significance. Having realized this, John XXIII wanted the Church to keep in step with the times. If socialism is a reality, then this reality must be accepted, taken into account by entering into contact with it and having a dialogue with it.

This reality and all that it implies for the

general development of the class struggle (including the ideological sphere) will continue favorably to influence the line charted by John XXIII. The Church's movement in this direction is, apparently, irreversible.

But this in itself does not guarantee the triumph of John XXIII's ideas without struggle, does not guarantee the evolution of the Church in this direction, does not remove the possibility of a split. Despite the changes that have taken place in the world, the experience gained by the Church at the dawn of capitalism when the Reform movement arose, cannot be overlooked.

If the forces fighting for the renovation of the Church are to be stimulated, if they are to develop and exert a decisive influence on Church life, we Marxists must take into account the aforementioned circumstances and the influence which, with the development of the class struggle, our own attitude can exert on these forces.

Our ability to see the new and to facilitate, on a principled basis, the unity of Catholics and Communists in working for common national, democratic and revolutionary aims is extremely important.

It is clear to Communists and to millions of Spaniards that the theses advanced by our Party in 1954 on its attitude to Catholic worship and particularly its policy of National accord, elaborated in 1956, made a profound impression on broad circles of Spanish society and particularly on Catholics. We thus facilitated for them unity of action with us, despite the threats of excommunication made by the Holy Office and despite the traditionally reactionary attitude of the church hierarchy.

In our view this experience confirms Lenin's idea, expressed some 50 years ago, that it is far more important for workers to have a *real alliance* here, on earth, in the name of winning common, earthly aims, than differences about the existence of another world in heaven.

We Spanish Communists are sparing no efforts to create such an alliance, for we are convinced that it is not only necessary to fight together with Catholics for these aims right now, but also that it is possible to continue this alliance in the future.

People who take a narrow pragmatic approach might ask what is the purpose of establishing such an alliance if the Church is losing its spiritual influence over the masses. The answer is simple. Despite the obvious weakening of the Church's spiritual influence in recent years, it is still strong in Spain particularly in the countryside and among the petty-bourgeoisie and among women.

The two most important ideological trends in Spain today are the revolutionary Marxist ideology and the Catholic ideology. Hence a *truly popular, democratic and revolutionary struggle implies the participation in it of millions of Catholics*. Even if a new religious conscience exists outside the Church, our aim to draw it into the struggle morally or at least to neutralize it, is one in which all the people are vitally interested. The experience of the

civil war is instructive in this respect. But we repeat, we do not approach this alliance from a purely pragmatic standpoint.

We do not consider it as something accidental and limited to the present stage of the struggle against the fascist form of government, but as something substantial and permanent, something which should continue—as envisaged in our long-range program—throughout the period of democratic development as well as in the socialist future of Spain.

II.

Engels wrote that Christianity originated as a movement of the oppressed, that it appeared at first as the religion of the slaves and free-men, of the poor and the down-trodden. Both Christianity and Socialism, he noted, preached coming salvation from slavery and misery, but whereas Christianity sought this salvation in the other world, in heaven, Socialism sought it in this world, in a reconstruction of society. Lenin, too, stressed the “democratic revolutionary spirit” of primitive Christianity.

These views hold true today too. In the past 25 years Spanish Catholic workers and peasants, who are exploited in the same way as non-Catholics, often had to wage an underground struggle, to seek refuge in the “catacombs.” Many Catholics are still persecuted by the regime which proclaims itself to be a Catholic state.

Catholics now see the decisive contribution made by Communists in defense of the working class and the people, the lofty moral spirit, integrity and revolutionary passion displayed by them in the fight for a better social system; they now understand many aspects of our ideology. They also see that Communists respect their religious beliefs.

The objective conditions which have led many working people to lose faith in religion have created a new frame of mind among Catholics. They frequently now turn to the past, to early Christianity. But unlike two thousand years ago when Christianity taught that salvation would only come in the other world, after death, now growing numbers of believers are fighting, without renouncing this salvation, for a paradise on earth.

The struggle is also teaching revolutionary Marxists a great deal. In contrast to previous years, the religious beliefs of workers are no longer considered an obstacle to their participation in the struggle.

Just as there is a growing understanding that socialism, for which the Marxists are working, is a pressing need, and that the dialectical materialist philosophy is affirming itself as the only philosophy that can give a vision of the future, so there is a growing conviction that personalities whose philosophy is not materialist, can take part (and they are taking part) in the revolutionary struggle for democracy and socialism. This, needless to say, opens up new horizons.

Those sections of Spanish Catholicism demanding that greater attention be paid to social problems are growing. The desire to advance towards a society in which there will be no exploitation of man by man exists not only among Catholic workers. It is shared also by Catholicism in other walks of life. The changes in the Catholic movement are not only prompting the church to “modernize” itself; they are also prompting Catholics to speak about socialism. What in the past was comprehensible only to some outstanding minds and later to progressives is now becoming a more or less conscious mass phenomenon.

This is not accidental. Socialism is definitely leaving its imprint on Spanish reality. The anti-Communist crusade cost our country millions of lives. For years the forces of socialism were hounded and persecuted, only to revive and grow stronger. What is to be done in the circumstances? The words spoken by Professor Ruiz-Gimenez in defense of the Communists at their trial are truly symbolic: “If Communism is an historical fact, it means that God chooses that it should be so.”

Father Dalmau, the Catalan priest, who believes, rightly or wrongly, that “a large part of the Left wing of Italian Christian Democracy holds firm socialist convictions” asserts that this is a heavy blow to those who think that socialism is irreconcilable with religion and those who think that religion is irreconcilable with socialism.

Marxists have never said that socialism is incompatible with the existence of religion among broad sections of the population. Everyday life in the socialist countries is the proof of this. But what interests us particularly is Father Dalmau’s statement that this irreconcilability does not exist in Spain either. That is why he has identified himself with those who believe that “socialism as a technical instrument brings the world more justice than all previous socio-political structures.” “Man’s attitude to labor, the condemnation of capitalism, abolition of classes, the building of socialism—on all these points we must soberly and honestly compare ideas,” writes the priest Jose Maria Gonzalez-Ruiz in *Juventud Obrera*, organ of the Catholic Working Youth, discussing the necessity for a dialogue with Marxists. These facts show how insistently the ideas of socialism are knocking at the doors of the Catholic working-class movement and of the Church.

Some Catholic thinkers in our country are more and more sharply taking issue with the existing system of property and raising the question of the need for structural changes.

Miguel Benzo, for example, says: “How can we speak of the duty of self-perfection when access to the treasures of culture is closed to proletarians and even to the most well-to-do peasants? This is precisely where it becomes the duty of all Christians to contribute to the rapid evolution of social structures since it is

these structures that influence the destinies of people on earth and in the hereafter."

Professor Ruiz-Gimanez expresses a similar opinion. "Political power," he says, "is entitled to expropriate property or companies which because of excessive concentration of economic power, are hampering the fair distribution of the national income and even the independence of the government."

Ruiz-Gimanez goes on: "I have in mind 'socialization' as it was interpreted by His Holiness John XXIII, i.e., as a process of the development of relations between people, as affirmation of the forms of social life which will make it possible for all people and all nations to enjoy the achievements of civilization and technology. But I also have in mind, 'socialization', where this is necessary, in the narrower sense of the transfer to the state, the trade unions and co-operatives or the smaller associations, of the right of ownership, or management, of the sources of the production of wealth which ensure a strong social and political power, but this power should be in the hands only of true representatives of the national or international community."*

In his *Critical Attitude to Social Problems*, the Reverend Jose Maria Diez Alegria, professor of the Georgian University in Rome, quoting from Saint Paul's "Second Epistle to the Thessalonians" that "he who does not work shall not eat," likewise criticizes the existing system of property. Defending only private property in articles of consumption and means of production that are not of decisive importance, he states that "our system of private property, taken as a whole, is contrary to natural law."**

At the Ecumenical Council Bishop Guerra Campos expressed the wish that the Church should be "a reality, standing above the various socio-economic structures. A reality and not only the past; a transforming force looking to the future."

The meaning of the words "various structures" is clear. But the— phrase "a transforming force" can be interpreted to mean that the Church should not link its destiny with capitalism. Can this future be other than socialism, the objective inevitability of which is becoming more and more evident?

It is true that none of the authors clearly define their views on socialism. While recognizing the need for structural reforms and social changes they see the solution in neo-capitalism or reforms. Be that as it may, it should be noted that at this stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the basic socialist alternative stemming from the dialectics of development is increasingly taken for granted also by non-Communists.

The socialist alternative will gain ground all the faster and all the more "naturally" the

more revolutionary Marxists develop mass action and involve the Catholics in this action, by giving constructive answers to the questions posed by them and by the Church.

Spanish Communists have been giving thought to these answers. They concern the secular character of the state; guaranteeing freedom of conscience and performance of religious rites; aid to Catholicism by the state; the possibility of the revolutionary transformation of society without resort to violence; the Party's support of a multi-party system, including Catholic parties, in the period of building socialism.

Some events of the past decade have had particular repercussions in Spain. The socialist character of the Cuban revolution has greatly attracted the youth of the middle classes. The youth is impressed also by the fact that the religious beliefs of the Algerian people, although very different from Catholicism, have not suffered in any way as a result of Algeria taking the socialist way of development.

Speaking of this reminds me of the surprise experienced by a Communist intellectual when on a visit to Cuba he saw in a house the image of Christ alongside pictures of Marx and Castro. He was quite taken aback. He failed to understand the significance of this fact, namely, that the concept of socialism and its practical implementation are increasingly appealing to people's minds.

As Lenin foresaw, the concept of the specific features associated with building a new society is being amplified and enriched. Here, too, the problems can be discussed and solved in an ideological and political debate between Communists, Catholics and other democratic groups.

And in a socialist Spain, too, there will be no coercion, no administrative measures against religious beliefs, against Catholicism. This means that, without weakening the ideological struggle and renouncing our materialist world outlook, we foresee coexistence of Church and socialism for an indefinite period, until there will be created, as Marx said, "a certain material groundwork or set of conditions of existence, which in their turn are the spontaneous product of a long painful process of development."*

Catholics and the Church itself may accept our statements with varying degrees of confidence, but for all that the changing reality should be borne in mind.

Today, as distinct from the 30s, the last decade of the monarchy, the situation in the country is no longer determined by the petty-bourgeois anti-clerical who, while attacking the priest, left intact the economic power of the landlord and the oligarchy. It is no longer the reformist Social-Democratic Party, swayed by anti-clericalism, nor the anarcho-sindicalist trend of unprincipled radicalism, which decides the basic issues of the working class. *Today the Communist Party—the embodiment of the*

*Open Letter to José Maria Pemán, "Cuaderons para el dialogo," No. 1, 1963, p. 5.

**Cuadernos para el dialogo," Nos. 5-6, 1964. Article by Pedro Altares.

*Capital, Vol. I, p. 80.

Marxist-Leninist ideology, the champion of the interests of the working class and democracy — is the guarantee that the revolution will not be diverted from its path into anti-clerical channels. We will not allow this to happen by virtue of our principled philosophical outlook, and all the more so if Catholics, understanding the full significance of the times through which the world and Spain are passing, will fight with us to elevate man to "a higher level of self-knowledge." (Jose Maria Gonzalez Ruiz.)

III.

When in the new correlation of social forces growing numbers of Catholics are upholding peace in the spirit of "Pacem in Terris," when a radical improvement in conditions is demanded, when the right of women to participate in public life is recognized, when abolition of colonialism is hailed and the general belief confirmed that all are equal, irrespective of sex, class or race, when at the Ecumenical Council freedom of conscience is upheld, when proposals are made aimed at putting an end to the moral and material bondage in which the Church kept millions of people or which it helped to maintain by its power—when all this is happening there are unlimited opportunities for unity and cooperation between Catholics and Communists. They are, first of all, the opportunity for joint action at a definite stage (for the restoration of democratic liberties), or over a period of time (for the development of democracy), the opportunity to wage a joint struggle against the moral decline engendered by neo-capitalism which is more and more turning man into a robot; against the violation of human values by the latest forms of exploitation; for structural reforms that will ensure a socialist future; in defense of freedom generally, and of freedom in particular from want and oppression and from the alienation associated therewith, including, to quote Father Ruiz, freedom from "religious alienation."

When Spanish dignitaries of the church declared at the highest level (for example, Bishop Guerra Campos at the Ecumenical Council) in favor of a dialogue with the Communists on questions both of ideology and the future, Communists responded at once. *We believe that a dialogue is not only possible but urgently necessary.* We accept this dialogue because among other reasons, our concept of an alliance between Catholics and Communists is broadening out due to the factors mentioned earlier, and especially due to the influence of the expanding spheres of socialism. We accept a dialogue with Christians also because we "hope to find in it elements of mutual enrichment," to quote Bishop Gonzales-Ruiz.

This approach makes it incumbent on us to study some problems more closely. The social practice of our time and the principles of Marxism-Leninism demand of us that we treat questions of religion and of the Church more profoundly than has been the case up to now.

Bishop Gonzalez Ruiz, whom we have quoted

so often in this article, speaking of Marxism (thus giving added proof of the interest displayed in Spain in our ideology), said that one should not pass unattested judgment on an ideology which influences the lives of so many people and so many nations, and which gives hope to so many of the oppressed and the exploited."

For us it is most important to establish what points of contact the Church proposes as a basis on which millions of believers would help us to realize this hope, proceeding from the immediate material demands of the common social struggle.

Religious misery, Marx wrote, was at one and the same time the expression of real misery and a *protest* against this real misery, religion was the sigh of the oppressed creature, the kindness of a heartless world, the spirit of unspiritual condition; it was the *opium* of the people.

In the hundred and twenty years that have passed since Marx expressed this view of religion, it is the final phrase that has been most often quoted. Generally speaking, this is correct and necessary considering that the ruling classes have always used religion as an opium. But this is not the only aspect Marx had in mind. If we confine ourselves to this aspect we will not find the solution to the concrete and important theoretical and practical social problems facing us today in our relations with believers, and which will crop up in the future as well.

As materialists we deny the "transcendental," the idea of God and the existence of something outside matter. But we should not ignore the fact that millions believe in this "something," that religion exists and that with all its complexities is a real and tangible superstructural phenomenon.

In the rapidly changing world when opportunities are opening up for millions of Christians to help bring about these changes together with Communists, if we accept religion as a form of protest against the "real misery" of which Marx spoke, this will stimulate this protest and bring it to its logical conclusion—struggle to abolish the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression, the social base that engendered this protest. Christians want to find the answer to their protest against "real misery" today, not in the hereafter, "in the millenium to come," the solution offered by religion. Hence their growing opposition.

Ignorance and fear of the forces of Nature, helplessness in the face of his surroundings impelled man to create his own gods. Later, with the division of society into antagonistic classes, religion became a vital part of the superstructure serving the interests of the exploiting classes.

The different historical and social ways of development of the different groups of peoples or civilizations determined the emergence of different creeds, the creation of definite canons and religious norms. In most parts of the world and at all times religion has hampered social

development. However, at certain stages of history, when religion was used by rising classes it gave shape to the real, positive content of the struggle and thus played a positive role. Engels recalled this in his *The Peasant War in Germany*. Lenin too mentioned this in a letter to Maxim Gorky: "There was a time in history when, despite the varying origins and actual meaning of the idea of God, the struggle waged by democrats and the proletariat took the form of a struggle of *one religious* idea against another." "But," Lenin added, "that time has long since passed."

That is quite true. But in the ideas of good, equality and fraternity, preached by the Christian religion—and reflected in the honest and sincere consciousness of believers—there are elements which could be a positive contribution to the liberation struggle. These elements stem not from religion as such; they have been borrowed by religion from the non-religious, objective forms of relations between people as members of society. These elements could be a stimulus and not an obstacle to the struggle. That is our view. Instructive in this respect is the example of Algeria which is carrying out revolutionary changes (not to speak of the processes taking place in our own country). Religion can be an inspiring banner in those instances where the religious movement supports social reforms and socialism. This has been corroborated by some leading Catholics in Spain who have expressed themselves in favor of united action with the Marxists, of "religion not being considered and exploited as an obstacle to human progress."

These developments call for serious reflection. We should give thought also to the changed forms in which religion manifests itself as a reflection, although a "fantastic" one, of the rapidly changing world.

Engels in his *Anti-Duehring* showed the evolution of Christianity through the ages. This evolution continues, reflecting the new reality.

In the encyclical "Pacem in Terris" and at the Ecumenical Council, the very essence of the religious idea is being examined, revised and renovated. In many of the speeches and the draft documents distributed at the Council less is being said about religion in its relation to the transcendental, to God, and more in its relation to concrete ideas and moral values. Marxist philosophers should take note of this.

Nor should we overlook the different Encyclicals determining the Church's attitude to socialism.

The Encyclical "Rerum Novarum," for instance, which appeared in 1891, before there was a socialist country, speaks of socialism in general terms as a "false solution which would worsen the conditions of workers." The Encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno," published in 1931 when the Soviet Union already existed, draws a distinction between "socialism" (reformist) and "communism" which it says "preaches and tries to carry out by all means, including the most violent, a bitter class strug-

gle and gradually to destroy private ownership"; in contrast to this "communism" the Encyclical extols reformist socialism. The Encyclical of Pius XI "Divina Redentoris" which appeared in 1937, the time of the Popular Front in France and the civil war in Spain, spoke about "atheist communism" and condemned it. Pius XII, referring to the same theme, singled out "materialist and atheist communism" so as not to confuse it with "socialism" (reformist). The Encyclical of John XXIII "Mater et Magistra," published after the meeting of representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow in December 1960, refrains from emphatically condemning communism; it might be said to mark the beginning of a transitional phase. And the Encyclical "Pacem in Terris," far from condemning communism, opens new opportunities for Catholics cooperating with socialism as a social system, with communism as "a historical, humanist movement."

"The religious reflex of the real world," Marx said, "can, in any case, finally vanish, when the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow-men and to Nature."* This means that even under socialism when class contradictions and exploitation cease to exist, the disappearance of religion will be a gradual and prolonged process. Referring to Marx's idea that religion will die a natural death as the result of progress in a society which can only be a communist society, Jose Gomez Caffarena, a Jesuit padre of the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature in Alcala de Henares, says: "We Christians can fully accept this challenge."

But Marx's thesis cannot be accepted without accepting, at the same time, the idea of co-operation between Catholics and Communists in creating the society referred to by Marx. This is what Caffarena evidently has in mind.

Bishop Guerra Campos also appears to have been thinking along these lines when he said at the Ecumenical Council, where he proposed beginning a dialogue between Catholics and Marxists: "If in the future society, no matter how perfect it will be, people will still aspire to the transcendental, then we must recognize that this aspiration is inherent in man's nature and consequently admit that the subjective has an objective basis."

We, on the contrary, believe that at a certain stage in the development of Communist society, when the relations between people and Nature will be "perfectly intelligent and reasonable," as Marx said, the yearning for the transcendental, for the other world, will disappear. Thus, logic tells us that the way to test the two positions—the Marxist and the Catholic—is to begin right now joint actions to reconstruct society and to advance, through successive stages, to the creation of a society where both ideologies will be put to the test. So why not make the experiment?

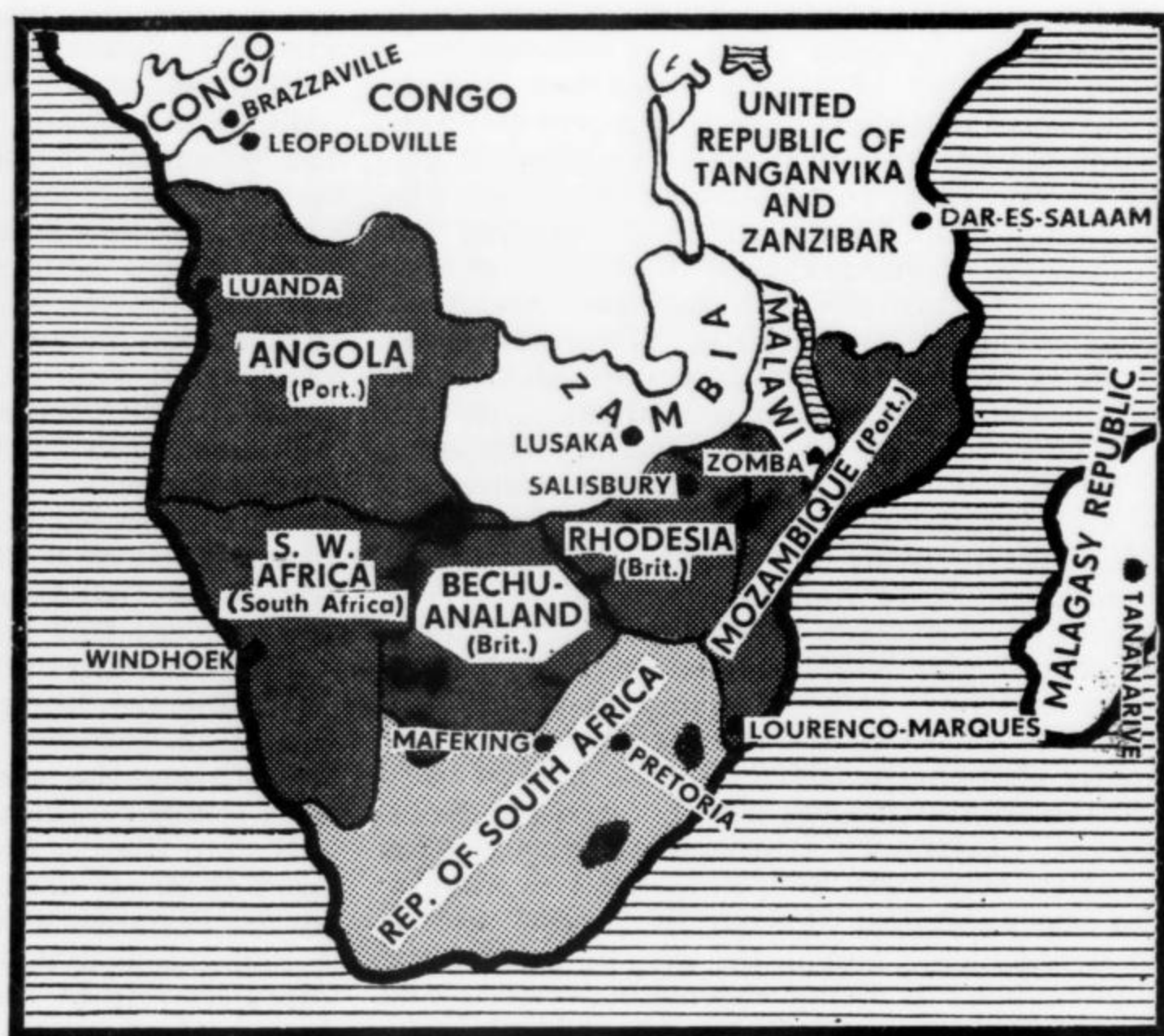
*Marx. *Capital*. Vol. I, p. 19.

Zimbabwe will be free!

(Interview with Eduard Ndlovu)

The Central African Federation, an artificial "creation" of the British colonialists, has fallen apart. Two of its one-time members, Northern Rhodesia (the Republic of Zambia) and Nyasaland (the Republic of Malawi) are now independent. But Southern Rhodesia, now called Rhodesia, is still under the colonial yoke. The people of this country are determined to get rid of the racist regime, drive out the colonialists and win freedom for their country—the land of Zimbabwe.

The situation in Zimbabwe was described by Eduard Ndlovu, General Secretary of the Zimbabwe African People's Union in an interview given to this journal.



How Would You Describe the Present Situation in Rhodesia?

At present, said Eduard Ndlovu, my country is experiencing a political crisis which must be resolved in favor of the African working people. This is the only conclusion that can be drawn in the light of the situation and the alignment of class forces.

The racist government, headed by Ian Smith, has long been nurturing plans to proclaim the "independence" of Rhodesia with a view to perpetuating the domination of the 220,000 European settlers over the four million Africans. In the meantime, the racists are maneuvering,

ruthlessly crushing the resistance of the Africans.

The country resembles a huge concentration camp. Ten thousand patriots are in jail, and fifty thousand have been banished to remote areas for forced labor. Punitive squads scour the country, leaving a trail of wrecked villages and scorched fields. Not long ago the authorities converted an abandoned mine-working (the Connemara Mine) into a prison where more than 2,000 Africans are doomed to a slow death.

In their racial policy the Rhodesian authorities are supported by the reactionary regimes of Verwoerd in South Africa and Salazar in Portugal. The Verwoerd Government supplies

Rhodesia with aircraft and other arms, and so-called concentrated mobile groups are being formed consisting of the combined punitive forces of Verwoerd, Salazar and Smith.

Symptomatic, too, is the close contact between the governments of Rhodesia and West Germany. Secret agreements for military aid provide, among other things, for the despatch to Rhodesia of West German military pilots.

Our people and progressive world opinion are alarmed by the attempts of the Rhodesian racists artificially to increase the European population by bringing in reactionary elements from European countries, who are provided with well-paid jobs, given land and granted all kinds of privileges.

The main responsibility for this state of affairs rests with the British ruling circles. The reactionary Constitution, under which only 10,000 of the four million Africans have the right to vote, was drafted and adopted in 1961 with the participation of the British Government. Despite the demands of African and world opinion Britain still refuses to convene a fully representative conference to adopt a constitution based on the principle of "one man, one vote."

The Government in Westminster falls back on the argument that since Rhodesia is a self-governing colony Britain has no right to interfere to put a stop to the racist terror in our country. But the humbug about non-interference is simply a screen for the powerful British economic and political interests in Central Africa, and especially in Rhodesia, one of the last strongholds of British colonialism.

The British imperialists are acting on behalf of their placemen in our country, the white settlers. This is confirmed by the statement made by Bottomley, British Minister for Commonwealth Affairs, after a recent visit to Rhodesia. The white settlers, he said, should not suffer any loss. This was a reference to the benefits which the white settlers enjoy in Rhodesia, and which enable them to plunder the country and exploit our people in the most ruthless fashion.

What Are the Demands of the Progressive Forces?

The racist reactionaries, who have the backing of world imperialism, are opposed by the four million exploited Africans, whose chief demand at the moment (i.e., the minimum program of the national-liberation movement of the Zimbabwe people) is "one man, one vote." The miners, the workers employed in other industries, the peasants, educational workers, and African civil servants have joined forces to fight for the main objective, namely, government of the country by representatives of the majority.

For a long time we tried to achieve our aims by peaceful means. For a long time—indeed too long—we displayed the greatest patience and

forbearance. Our fight was confined to demands, petitions and demonstrations.

But experience has shown that this is not enough. The racists deny us the right to any political activity whatever. They banned the African National Congress shortly after it was formed and outlawed the National Democratic Party which supported the Congress.

Early in 1962, when we formed the African People's Party, we said that if it, too, should be outlawed we would carry on illegally.

Despairing of winning the support of the British Government for a Constitutional conference, we turned for help to the United Nations. There are a number of U.N. resolutions which urgently recommend that the British government convene a Constitutional conference in Rhodesia and draft a basic law on the principle of majority rule.

We also gained the support of the Commonwealth countries who have favored convening a conference to settle Rhodesia's problems. Many African countries likewise responded to our appeal for support. At our request, the Organization of African Unity recommended to the British Government to intervene actively in the settlement of the Rhodesian crisis. We met with sympathy and understanding also on the part of the non-aligned countries.

But all to no avail; and so our Party, which like all other African political organizations functions illegally, adopted a decision to prepare for all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, to achieve freedom. Today the ZAPU, along with organizing public demonstrations and various peaceful measures, along with active participation in international organizations and forums, has resolved to prepare for the overthrow of the reactionary racist regime.

We have appealed for help in this respect to friendly countries and to anti-imperialist organizations all over the world. And we have no doubt that this help will be forthcoming. Our friends must realize that we have no other alternative. We are faced with a strong and treacherous enemy supported by world imperialism and by the sworn enemies of peace and democracy—the reactionary regimes of South Africa, Portugal and West Germany.

Naturally, we do not regard violence as the only means. We shall make use of all forms of struggle, of all the means at our disposal, including economic and political struggle and explanatory work among the people. We have considerable influence in the trade unions and support the unions in conducting strikes. We realize, of course, that the conquest of power will not in itself solve all Zimbabwe's problems. It is necessary not only to secure the establishment of government by the majority and to win independence, but also to guarantee that independence.

The ZAPU party has sent young men and women to many friendly states to acquire the knowledge essential to ensure the efficient direction of the economy of independent Zimbabwe. It is this policy of careful training that

to a large extent explains why we have not yet gone over to decisive action.

The whole world should know that we Africans are determined to assume responsibility for the political life of the country, for the key branches of the economy. Our independence must be genuine, not fictitious.

As for the race problem, we proclaim full equality for all races and nationalities in a future free Zimbabwe. Solution of this problem will depend largely on the attitude of the European settlers. All who wish to cooperate in good faith with the new people's government of Zimbabwe will be given the opportunity to do so.

What Are the Prospects of Uniting the Patriots?

In 1963 a split took place in the leadership of the national-liberation movement in our country; a group of renegades sold out to the imperialists and formed the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Most of the leaders of the breakaway party are studying in the United States and Britain.

The splitters, however, have failed to rally much support. The vast majority of Africans follows our party. Even some of the ZANU leaders have returned to our ranks.

We believe that in the conditions obtaining in our country the most effective way to achieve unity will be to unite all the patriotic forces into a single revolutionary party, not to create a united front. In this connection the attempts

made by some of the member-countries of the Committee of Nine* to persuade us to enter into a united front together with a handful of renegades who have no following are difficult to understand. Such action is not helpful to our struggle.

However, the majority of African countries, like the friendly countries of other continents, are helping us with material and moral support. We were much gratified by the decision of the recent Afro-Asian economic seminar in Algeria calling on the governments and organizations of the Asian and African countries "to display revolutionary vigilance in rendering assistance to the national-liberation movements in order to foil the attempts of the imperialists to undermine them from within."

The winning of independence by the countries which formerly belonged to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, namely, the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Malawi, is of particular significance for us.

Today when alongside Salisbury, the citadel of racism, a young and independent Zambia is rising to full stature, our people are beginning to see that this is the only system of government that expresses the will of the majority of the population and ensures economic, political and social progress. The confidence is gaining ground in our country that freedom will cross the Zambesi river and come to the long-suffering land of Zimbabwe.

*The Committee of Nine set up by the Organization of African Unity to coordinate help to the national-liberation movement in countries on the continent still under colonial yoke.

"Portuguese" Guinea in flames

"PORTUGUESE" GUINEA is virtually controlled by the revolutionaries; on this small territory, the *New York Times* wrote some time ago, Portugal is being pressed to the wall. Admissions of this kind are seldom found in the imperialist press. But in the given case the facts are too obvious to be concealed. For more than two years the patriots of this small West African country have been waging a successful struggle against Portuguese colonialism, wresting their native land inch by inch from the foreign invader.

Occupying an area of 36,000 sq. km. and with a population of 800,000, "Portuguese" Guinea, as its conquerors called it, was seized in the 15th century and subsequently proclaimed an "overseas province" of Portugal. The African population has never ceased to fight the invader. In 1908 on Bolama Island an uprising, which later spread to the mainland, lasted for seven years.

The liberation movement of the people of Guinea gained momentum after the Second World War. In 1956 the African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) was formed; its members worked in exceptionally arduous conditions under constant threat of falling into the hands of Salazar's secret police.

The dockers' strike in Port Bissao during which 50 strikers were shot in cold blood was a landmark in the development of the liberation movement. Though the strike was defeated, it showed that the struggle against colonialism could be successful only if waged by the combined efforts of all the people.

PAIGC carried on painstaking explanatory and organizational work among the population. Its leaders felt that they had no right to summon the people to rebellion without due preparation. The Party aimed at setting up a network of resistance covering the entire country so that the call for an uprising should reach the most outlying areas.

This work bore fruit. In 1962 the journal *Africa Today*, published in the United States, could still write that peace and tranquility prevailed in the colony and that the Portuguese governor could walk the streets of Bissao without a bodyguard; but by January 1963 the entire country was in revolt.

The 20,000 troops rushed by Salazar to crush the uprising set to work with characteristic savagery. They burned down houses and laid waste to the crops; entire villages were de-

stroyed. Empty napalm crates bearing the United States trademark were found among the debris of African villages. Weapons and equipment captured by the patriots bore the same trademark. A damning indictment of the United States and its NATO partners is the inscription "property of the United States Air Force" on the remains of an airplane shot down by patriots.

But even the combined forces of imperialism have proved powerless to crush the struggle of the people battling for freedom. The inhabitants of the razed villages flocked to join the freedom-fighters. Portuguese military are ambushed at every step.

The resistance is spreading also on the Cape Verde Islands which are an inalienable part of the territory of Guinea. The islanders are joining more and more actively in their country's struggle for liberation. The attempts of the Portuguese imperialists to sow discord between the population of continental Guinea and the inhabitants of the islands have failed.

Today so-called Portuguese Guinea is divided into two zones—the liberated zone which occupies half the total area of the country, embracing the entire south and stretching northward in a broad belt, and the zone where the armed struggle against the Portuguese oppressors still continues. In the liberated areas PAIGC is establishing order, ensuring the safety of the population, conducting educational work and restoring and building up the economy.

Attention is concentrated on the main branch of the economy, namely, agriculture. Farms and plantations abandoned by the colonialists are being turned over to people's committees. Experimental cooperatives are being set up. Thanks to these measures the rice crop, a staple, rose by 20 per cent in a single year.

Trading bodies have been set up to purchase agricultural produce from the peasants and to supply the population with essential goods. The imperialist company Societate Comercial Ultramarina, which formerly had the monopoly of trade in the south, has been forced to close down its branches and wind up its business.

The Party's concern for the welfare of the population is manifested in the development of public health and education in the liberated areas. Many villages now have first-aid posts. At guerrilla bases medical help is rendered to the civil population as well. Schools are being built, the first textbook has been printed and

a campaign for the elimination of illiteracy is underway. Between 1961 and 1964 higher education was provided for 63 young men and women—three times as many as were educated in five centuries of Portuguese domination.

That the armed struggle of the Guinean people continues with unabated success, despite the Portuguese reinforcements, is seen from the communiques issued regularly by the PAIGC reporting the losses inflicted on the enemy in the frequent actions.

A striking demonstration of the strength of the patriots was the engagement fought last year on Como Island, one of the biggest operations to date. The guerrillas had held the island for a whole year and the Portuguese army command decided to drive them out at all costs. After two and a half months of heavy fighting, during which they dropped 400 bombs and fired 8,000 shells, they were unable to advance beyond the swampy flats between the sea and the forest. Most of the villages in the area were demolished, and cattle and crops destroyed. But the population refused to leave the island and together with the guerrillas continued to offer resistance. The Portuguese lost some 600 in killed and wounded. Three enemy aircraft were shot down, several motor launches were sunk and a large quantity of arms and equipment captured. In the end the attackers were forced to withdraw.

At the time of this battle, and not far from the scene of the hostilities, the Party held its First Congress. The Congress, attended by delegates from all parts of the country, noted the success achieved by the patriots in liberating their land from foreign domination; it subjected the Party's activity for the past years to a critical analysis and adopted some important decisions aimed at rectifying the mistakes, activating the armed struggle and the political offensive and improving the economic

and educational work in the liberated areas.

In accordance with the Congress decisions, our Party in recent months has concentrated on reorganizing its structure and building up the armed forces. The armed struggle has now entered upon a new stage. Besides the guerrilla detachments operating all over the country and keeping the enemy constantly on the alert, a regular army of liberation has joined the resistance. Led by trained soldiers, units of the people's army, cooperating with the guerrillas, launch frequent attacks on enemy positions.

"A study of these facts shows that if 1963 was the year in which the armed struggle began, 1964 was a year of development and consolidation of the successes," said Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the PAIGC. "The favorable situation both at home and abroad permits us to look confidently to the future," he said.

On the international plane, the support rendered by the neighboring Guinean Republic, whose government gives asylum and every help to our patriots, is of the greatest importance. Our fighters get modern weapons mainly from Algeria. The Party maintains close contact with opposition forces in Salazar Portugal, and cooperates with the liberation movement in the other Portuguese colonies.

"Portuguese" Guinea is a small country, but the valiant struggle of its people is an example of what a small nation can do when it is fighting for freedom and human dignity. Portuguese colonialism, caught in the vise of the popular struggle of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, is losing more and more heavily. The day is not far off when the people of Portugal's "overseas provinces" will completely throw off the yoke of slavery and join the family of independent African states.

M. AHMADI

Senegal marches forward

THE REACTIONARY POLICY of Senghor's pro-imperialist regime has led Senegal into an impasse. The country is experiencing serious difficulties in the sphere of agriculture and industry, its budget is shrinking and its balance of payments deficit is growing. Dissatisfaction with the regime and its policies is mounting among all sections of the population—workers, peasants, office employees, students, artisans, the petty-bourgeoisie of town and countryside, the national industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and the Moslem clergy.

"In these circumstances," states a recent re-

solution adopted by the Central Committee of the African Independence Party (Senegal), "the overthrow and replacement of the Senghor government is a matter of the greatest urgency."

The regime, which is rotten through and through, can be overthrown only by the joint efforts of all the patriotic forces of the country, the resolution states. "Unity of the patriotic forces is the main issue of the day, one on which our progress depends. All our efforts must be directed toward uniting the masses in powerful national and patriotic organizations."

In its ideological and organizational work the Party proceeds from a profound study of the rise and development of classes in Senegal, the position of the various social groups of the population.

The most numerous and the poorest class is the peasantry which comprises 80 per cent of the labor force. The average size of the plot cultivated by the peasant is 1.5 hectares, but the land rarely belongs to those who till it. In most cases it is the property of the clan or the feudal chief.

The principal crop is groundnuts, which accounts for 85 per cent of Senegal's exports and is the chief source of income for the peasants. Cultivation of food crops is steadily declining. The fate of the peasant thus wholly depends on the groundnut crop and the market price which is dictated by the foreign monopolies.

The agrarian policy of the ruling bureaucracy openly serves neo-colonialism and the imperialist monopolies. The big colonial trusts have retained all their positions in the country. French manufacturers continue to reap fabulous profits from the extraction of oil from groundnuts. The neo-colonialist state apparatus is so closely interlocked with the monopolies that even the centralized state bodies for the purchase of agricultural produce, set up under pressure of the progressive forces in the interests of the peasantry, are completely controlled by foreign capital.

The system of monoculture makes the peasant increasingly dependent on the administration which is controlled by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Government aid in the shape of food, credits and seed is granted primarily to those who vote for Senghor's ruling party.

According to UNESCO data, the average annual income of a Senegalese peasant amounts to 20,000 colonial francs (approximately 80 U.S. dollars). From this meagre sum, however, are deducted the numerous taxes and levies with which the tiller is burdened. After he has sold his crop to the middleman and paid his debts, he is left with an empty pocket and is forced to turn again and again to the usurer. Official Senegalese statistics indicate that from 10 to 60 per cent of all peasant families (depending on the area) are perpetually in debt.

The peasant poverty is appalling. There are no hospitals in the countryside. Illiteracy is almost total in the villages—95 per cent for men and 99 per cent for women. Only 12 per cent of the children are able to attend school.

The peasants are beginning to realize that only through active struggle for a radical change in the agrarian policy and an end to the domination of the merchants and usurers can they hope to improve their lot.

The program of the AIP, adopted at its first congress, stressed the need:

- for irrigation installations to extend the area sown to food crops;

- legislation to prevent the usurers from robbing the peasants;

- cancellation of peasant indebtedness;

- fair prices for groundnuts and other export crops;

- a system of progressive taxation which would remove the heavy tax burden from the poorer peasants;

- a democratic system of distribution of credits and seed.

"The peasants are not asleep," Mahjemout Diop, General Secretary of the African Independence Party, stressed in his book "Classes and Class Ideology" published last year by the Party. "They constitute a powerful hidden force, a mighty but subterranean current. Despite the fact that their rebellions have been repeatedly thwarted by the feudal chiefs or drowned in blood by the foreign imperialists, the peasants, though disillusioned and embittered, have not given up the struggle."

A special place in the socio-economic structure of Senegal is occupied by the cattle-breeders. These include both the owners of large herds and the herdsmen who move from pasture to pasture with their masters' cattle. With rare exceptions, however, cattle represent frozen capital, and owning stock is more of a status symbol than anything else. Survivals of primitive society and the insufficient development of production for the market has retarded the process of social differentiation and the growth of class consciousness among the cattle-breeders, and the ruling clique takes advantage of their backwardness.

Fisheries are an important branch of Senegal's economy. Among the fishermen one finds the proletarians, who have no boats of their own and who work for wages, and those who own motor-boats and who make their living by leasing their equipment. But all fishermen are united not only by traditional solidarity, but also by their dissatisfaction with the regime which, instead of helping to develop and modernize the national fishing industry, has turned over Senegalese waters to foreign fishing companies.

A working class in Senegal began to emerge only after the war, but it has gained considerable experience in the struggle against foreign capital.

According to official data, there are 100,000 proletarians—skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The wages of a skilled worker range from 8,000 to 29,000 colonial francs a month. The unskilled laborer earns from 1,500 to 5,000 francs, although the guaranteed minimum wage established by the government in 1961 thanks to the workers' struggle is over 7,000 francs.

In his above-mentioned book, Diop describes the exploitation of the proletariat, the lack of elementary concern for human beings; the appalling conditions, the lack of sanitation, the long hours (up to 13 hours), the inhuman exploitation of the cheap labor of women and children. And behind all this, a reserve army of 60,000 hungry, homeless people who would take any job if only they could find it.

This is how Diop describes the working class quarters in Dakar: "... These districts were

built recently without any attempt at planning or preliminary draining of the soil. Since the ground is often swampy, the floors in many houses are constantly under water and during the rainy season the level of the water rises to several centimeters . . . Needless to say, in these squalid quarters, with their narrow, winding streets, littered with refuse, there are no schools, no hospitals, no transport, no cinemas, no playing fields. Nothing but hovels stretching for miles in all directions and inhabited by anything from 5,000 to 20,000 people."

The main exploiter of the working people is foreign capital, as an analysis of the class structure of Senegalese society shows. The number of Africans who employ labor is very small. These are mainly merchants, owners of transport facilities, proprietors of handicrafts workshops and the small African enterprises. Only 5,000 Africans employ hired labor in one or another form, the number of their workers ranging from two to 25. The African proprietor shares his meals and his work premises with his workers. His psychology is conditioned by the fact that he himself is a victim of the imperialist monopoly domination in all spheres of economic life.

The petty-bourgeoisie embraces a relatively large section of the population and includes retail traders who supply the villages with vital necessities and whose social status differs little from that of lumpen proletarians, as well as African lower and middle-ranking office workers employed in government offices or in the branches of foreign companies and earning salaries barely reaching subsistence level.

"These sections," M. Diop observes, "petty-bourgeois in their tastes and habits but ground down by the dictatorship of the parliamentary and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, receiving no effective help in overcoming their difficulties, are seized with despair. Civil servants and shop assistants are demanding that in employment preference be given to Africans. They resent not only the presence of the "technical advisers," who have not forgotten the colonial days and behave as if they were the masters, but also the fact that, according to official data, 13,000 or roughly half of all office jobs in Senegal are held by foreigners. The petty-bourgeoisie, like the rest of the people, want to see changes, and they will unquestionably take their place in the national struggle for regeneration."

The economic policy of the Senghor regime combined with the domination of foreign capital is causing increasing discontent among the national bourgeoisie as well. The part played by African businessmen in the import and export trade, in the groundnuts trade and other areas of commerce is negligible and their income puts them closer to the category of the petty-bourgeoisie. As for the African manufacturers, according to figures for 1961, they own only 15 of the 320 enterprises in the country.

Survivals of feudalism still exist, but the feu-

dal element has long since ceased to represent a homogeneous class. They are scattered among the different strata and the gulf between them is steadily widening.

The feudal military elite are one of the oldest sections of the population. Some of them took part at one time in the struggle against foreign penetration, but they were defeated and wiped out. Today their descendants have degenerated into faithful servants of the neo-colonialist regime. The traditional tribal chiefs are now the "traditional advisers" in the service of the government. Many members of old feudal families occupy posts at various levels in the administration and in the army. They fill 90 per cent of the posts of chiefs of the various districts, and have 25 per cent of the seats in the so-called National Assembly, which is elected by methods of terror, economic and political blackmail and falsification of the people's will.

The feudal landowners owe their existence as a class to their allegiance to the present government. Those of them who refuse to bend to the bureaucratic ruling element are ruthlessly dealt with, and being economically at a disadvantage, they lose touch with their own class.

Foreign capital is becoming more and more entrenched in "independent" Senegal chiefly because power has been usurped by the agents of neo-colonialism, the *bureaucratic bourgeoisie* whose number is estimated at over a thousand. This stratum emerged comparatively recently and wields unlimited power thanks to its parliamentary mandates wrested from the people through rigged elections, thanks to the ministerial portfolios which give them control over the economic and political life of the country, thanks to the support of the foreign imperialist monopolies, to the political and military backing of French and world imperialism in general.

The bureaucratic bourgeoisie combines the worst features of all the classes that engendered it: the avarice and dishonesty of the classical bourgeoisie, the arrogance, the striving for luxury, love of intrigue and palace revolutions typical of the feudal elite, and the bribe-taking, clannishness, reluctance and inability to work common to any bureaucratic caste.

". . . The bureaucratic bourgeoisie are the weeds on the fields of the nation," says M. Diop. ". . . If our people want to live and survive they must uproot them from our native soil."

An analysis of Senegalese society from the class standpoint shows that all the objective conditions exist for overthrowing the neo-colonialist regime so bitterly hated by the people. But the parasitic ruling clique has no intention of leaving the stage. Besides foreign capital, it is seeking—and finding—support among some of the more corrupt sections of the Moslem clergy and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie closely linked with the imperialist monopolies.

In its reactionary policy the ruling clique

relies on its widely ramified machinery of coercion which includes the army, the police, the gendarmerie and the republican guard. Senghor ruthlessly crushes the slightest opposition on the part of the masses.

But among the police and the soldiers there are signs of dissatisfaction with the regime, with the rigorous conditions of service, the favoritism and the attempts of the authorities by discrimination, bribery and psychological pressure to incite religious, regional and tribal antagonisms among army officers.

Although the army and police continue to serve the regime, Senghor is already aware that they are not sufficiently dependable and is therefore relying mainly on the presence of the French colonial troops as his best protection against the people's wrath.

The regime is being bolstered not only by its armed forces and foreign bayonets, but by its economic pressure on the peasantry and other sections of the population, in particular through the system of credits, distribution of seed and agricultural machinery. After introducing private ownership of allotments in the towns, the authorities expropriated the best land and redistributed it among some members of the big bourgeoisie and the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie in return for unconditional political support.

Last but not least, a powerful weapon in the hands of the ruling element is the state propaganda machine which employs the most diverse means of ideological pressure to obtain votes at elections, to discredit the patriotic parties, and to split the ranks of the opposition in order to destroy it by a policy of savage repression and legal frame-ups.

The African Independence Party (Senegal) is well aware that it has a big job to do organizationally and ideologically among all sections of the population in order to build up a united front of patriotic forces and realize the potential strength of the opposition.

A serious obstacle to unity, however, is the existence of diverse petty-bourgeois ideological trends, the lack of a clear understanding among some sections of the patriotic forces of the tasks of the present stage of the national-democratic revolution.

Some petty-bourgeois ideologists are attempting to "readjust" Marxism by dismissing "classical" Marxism as being allegedly unsuitable to African conditions. The theory of "the contemporary peasant revolution" held by some patriots in the Senegalese section of the petty-bourgeois African Regroupment Party has become widespread. According to this theory, the most revolutionary class in the agrarian countries is the peasantry allied with the forward-looking intelligentsia, whereas the prospects and possibilities of the emerging proletariat are

extremely limited. The African Independence Party considers that smuggling this theory into the revolutionary movement in the guise of Marxism is harmful and can end in thrusting patriots into the arms of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

Senghor's "African Socialism" is the ideology of the ruling bureaucracy. The basic principles of this "socialism" in the sphere of economy envisages the preservation and expansion of the private capitalist sector. This "theory" denies the existence of classes. It divides society into three "major social groups"—professionals, wage earners and peasants, including cattle-breeders, fishermen and artisans. This thesis of the classless African society is used by Senghor and his followers to provide theoretical justification for the one-party system with the undivided rule of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

The latter, deliberately choosing the path of service to imperialism, are inventing all kinds of "theories" designed mainly to confuse the people with bombastic phraseology. The African Independence Party, therefore, regards this section as the most treacherous enemy of the people.

The Moslem clergy exert a big influence on the masses. "The Senegalese, whatever class he belongs to, is usually caught in the invisible web of religion," the General Secretary of the Party observes in his book. In the present conditions the vast majority of the Moslem clergy, who have always adhered to positions of militant nationalism, are opposed to foreign domination. The independent stand taken by some of them has earned them the hatred of the ruling clique.

The African Independence Party constantly exposes the designs of the bourgeois bureaucracy which is seeking to set religious and non-religious patriots against each other, to bring Islam closer to the Catholic Church, which was brought in by the colonialists and is now supported by the ruling clique. As Diop observes, "the future in Senegal belongs not to a coalition of Moslems and Christians directed against the patriots, but rather, as in the past, to a firm alliance between the Marabouts and all other patriots in the struggle against the foreign exploiters and their agents."

A study of Senegalese society and the alignment of class forces shows that the vast majority of the Senegalese people are ready for a change. The African Independence Party (Senegal) believes that today more than ever before there is a need for and a real possibility of close cooperation of all patriotic forces in the struggle for genuine independence, democracy and social progress.

*Cheikh A. AMIDOU,
Mamadou DIENNE*

Morocco in the grip of neo-colonialism

ALTHOUGH NINE YEARS have passed since political independence was won, Morocco with its vast natural resources, is still an economically backward country. The economy, still bearing the traces of the colonial legacy and almost entirely dependent on foreign monopolies, is experiencing a grave crisis. There are signs of inflation, and appropriations for construction have ceased to grow. The 1964 budget showed a big deficit. Capital continues to flow out of the country. Factories are closing and unemployment is growing. The steady rise in prices hits hardest at the workers and their families. In the past two years the cost of living has gone up 15-20 per cent.

Agriculture, in which the bulk of the population is employed, presents a no less gloomy picture. The peasants eke out a bare existence on their tiny plots which are cultivated in the most primitive manner. The best land is held by the big landowners, feudal owners and foreign settlers, while poverty and land-hunger are the rule in the villages. The question of turning over the land to those who till it has long since been on the order of the day, but so far the peasants have received nothing but promises.

Against the background of the country's difficulties, the inability of the ruling circles, hamstrung by their dependence on imperialism and neo-colonialism, to solve the urgent economic and social problems is becoming increasingly manifest. The just demands of the progressive forces for agrarian reform, nationalization of the key branches of industry, foreign trade, etc., are rejected out of hand.

The failure of their economic policy has apparently been lost on the rulers of Morocco. The three-year development plan (1965-67) ignores the popular desire for social progress, for a better life, and deliverance from the foreign monopolies and the fetters of feudalism. It envisages an annual increase in production of 3.7 per cent which, in effect, is no increase at all, since it is about the same as the population growth.

The plan provides no effective measures for overcoming the backwardness, winning economic independence and ending unemployment. Avoiding the question of a fundamental agrarian reform, it leaves agriculture in its present plight. The government is opposed to in-

dustrialization, although it is hard to see how the training of technical personnel envisaged in the plan can be carried on without it.

The democratic forces have criticized the basic principles of the plan and have advanced alternative proposals in keeping with the interests of the nation. They point out, for example, that the measures projected cannot solve the urgent problems or alleviate the poverty of the people and, in the long run, can only increase Morocco's economic and political dependence on the imperialist powers and the foreign monopolies.

Social injustice, the fabulous wealth of the few and the appalling poverty of the millions, combined with the apparent hopelessness of the situation, are the source of growing dissatisfaction with government policy and an increasing desire for change. The contradiction between the aspirations of the people and the reactionary policy of the government is growing. The weakness of the regime impels it to repressions against the democratic opposition, an explosive policy that serves only to aggravate the already tense situation.

In these circumstances the student demonstrations in Casablanca on March 23, touched off by the restrictions on enrollment in higher schools, ended up as a manifestation of nationwide protest against government policy. The students had the sympathy of the entire city. Nearly 150,000 people joined the demonstration. This is not surprising, for Casablanca has nearly half a million totally or partially unemployed. Since the beginning of the year 10,000 workers lost their jobs when a number of enterprises closed down, and on the day before the demonstration another 300 sugar refinery workers were thrown onto the street.

Alarmed by the scale and political character of the demonstration, the government rushed police reinforcements supported by tanks. General Oufkir, Minister of the Interior, notorious for his reprisals against the participants in the so-called "anti-government conspiracy" in July 1963, personally took a hand in restoring "order."

The police opened fire on the marchers and blood flowed in the streets of Casablanca. Hundreds of demonstrators were arrested.

To prevent further outbreaks of popular indignation, the government resorted to emer-

gency measures. A curfew was declared in Casablanca, and all meetings and demonstrations banned. Troops and police surrounded the working class districts. Telephone communication between Morocco and other countries was cut and all reports of the savage action taken against the demonstration were suppressed. In an effort to distract attention from the real causes of the disturbances, the official press spread reports of a "foreign conspiracy."

But the government's efforts to hush up the incident both at home and abroad proved fruitless. The disturbances spread to Rabat, Fez and Marrakesh where similar youth demonstrations supported by the working people took place. Again the police intervened, and again there was bloodshed. In Casablanca the popular actions continued despite the ban. At the call of the Labor League, solidarity strikes were held in Casablanca and Marrakesh. Meetings and demonstrations of solidarity took place in Algiers, Paris, Moscow, Damascus, Cairo and elsewhere.

The police threw hundreds of patriots into prison.

Emergency courts were in continuous session. Between March 24 and April 1 the courts in Casablanca, Rabat and Fez sentenced over 850 persons to terms of up to two years. In order to build up an atmosphere of uncertainty and fear, the authorities on March 27 ordered the execution of 14 persons sentenced to death by military tribunal last year on the charge of "attempting to overthrow the monarchy and establish a republican regime."

Fearing the temper of the people, the government continues to conceal the toll of lives taken in the March disturbances. According to some sources, however, more than 100 persons were killed, including many women and children, nearly 600 were injured and several thousand arrested.

But terror cannot shake the resolve of the masses to continue to fight for a radical change in government policy and for far-reaching reforms. As the *Vanguard*, organ of the Labor League, commented: "The recent events were a serious warning to the government. The people want reforms and they must get them."

In an effort to mollify the people, King Hassan II has made some concessions: an amnesty for political prisoners has been proclaimed and consultations started with representatives of the opposition parties. Three leading members of the National Alliance of Popular Forces, M. Basri, M. Diouri and A. Bendjelloun, who were sentenced to death for "participating in an anti-government conspiracy," have been released. This is a definite victory for the democratic forces.

The amnesty may help to improve the political climate, but the genuine renewal the country so badly needs cannot be achieved without a radical change in government policy and without extending democracy. Ali Yata, the leader of the Moroccan Communists, has submitted to King Hassan a minimum program of national regeneration pointing to the need to nationalize the basic branches of the economy and to institute public control at the enterprises, to confiscate lands belonging to foreign and feudal owners and turn them over to the peasants, and to increase allocations for education, health, housing and social security. The first step in this direction should be the resignation of the present government, the dissolution of the unlawfully elected parliament and the formation of a representative government which would prepare for new elections. The struggle for these objectives, for freedom and democracy, for economic and social progress calls for the unity of all progressive and patriotic parties and organizations in Morocco.

Ali NURI

The movement for democracy in Greece and the tasks of the Communist Party

ZISIS ZOGRAFOS

SINCE THE REMOVAL from power of the National Radical Union (ERE) Greece is no longer placed on a par with Franco Spain, Salazar Portugal and the revenge-seeking Bonn Republic. And rightly so. But the change that has taken place is usually identified with the restoration of democracy (bourgeois democracy) and this is far from the truth.

At a meeting held at the end of February 1965, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece made a thorough analysis of the process of "democratization" now taking place in the present complex and rather strained situation in Greece, and outlined some concrete tasks and objectives in the fight for genuine democracy.

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The mass movement, in which the leading role was played by the Communists, was the decisive factor in ending the rule of the Right-wing ERE Party, its defeat in two general elections and in *creating the new situation in our country.*

The salient element in this new situation was the *pressure from below*, from the masses who regarded the downfall of Karamanlis as the preliminary to satisfying their demands and solving the many problems facing the country. Throughout 1964 and since the beginning of 1965 the mass movement, with the working class in the vanguard, has been steadily developing in breadth and depth, assuming a wide variety of forms. Suffice it to mention the powerful strike movement involving over 500,000 workers in 1964; actions by the peasants and the middle sections in the towns; the workers' marches in Athens on April 6, 1964 and 1965, with the participation of over 80,000

and 40,000 people respectively, demanding democracy in the trade unions; the second peace marathon in Athens in which about 300,000 took part; protest demonstrations against the presence of ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in Greek territorial waters; big anti-imperialist actions in all cities in support of Cyprus; mass meetings and manifestations for democracy; meetings and petitions bearing tens of thousands of signatures calling for the abolition of all emergency measures, the release of the remaining political prisoners, and a general amnesty. Important too is the growing prestige and strength of the United Democratic Left Party (EDA) which trebled its membership last year and of its youth organization the "Lambrakis Youth."

Thanks to this common struggle most of the political prisoners have been released; some of the workers' economic demands have been satisfied to some extent, despite monopoly resistance and obstruction by the government; some of the country's problems have been solved; the positions of the consistently democratic forces have been strengthened in the trade unions, municipalities, cooperatives and other organizations; the atmosphere of militancy created by the people in the course of the struggle has been maintained and is being developed. The reactionaries have not risked giving effect to their sinister plans (exposed in good time by the CPG and the EDA) to set up a Center Right government and to conclude a deal between the ruling Center Union Party and the ERE, which is the cherished objective of the Court, the plutocratic oligarchy and the foreign imperialists. Moreover it will be much more difficult to realize these plans in the future.

The fight waged by our people, combined with the fight of the people of Cyprus, and the firm support of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries, have been largely instrumental in preventing the imperialists and the home reactionaries from imposing a NATO solution of the Cyprus question.

Notwithstanding these gains, the Central Committee meeting noted that the process of democratizing the political life of the country is a dangerously slow one.

The ERE Party, bent on staging a comeback, is resisting every step toward democracy. For a while this Party of the reactionary Right forces, for tactical reasons, made a pretence of listening to the voice of the people, but it has again discarded its mask and stands revealed as a docile servant of the foreign imperialists and the local oligarchy, the standard-bearer of neo-fascism. Alarmed by the growing influence and prestige of the CPG and the other Left forces, the ERE, backed by the foreign imperialists, primarily the Americans, and the Royal Court, has taken advantage of the vacillating and conciliatory attitude of the Center Union government to launch an offensive against the people's gains with the aim of changing the present situation. In recent months this offensive has been stepped up and has taken the form of provocations and neo-fascist propaganda.

For an understanding of the real role and objectives of this party one has only to point to the recent official confirmation (in documents released by the General Staff) of the charges made by our Party some time ago, concerning ERE's flagrant violation of the will of the people in October 1961 when the general election was used as a screen for a coup. As is now evident from the official papers, this coup, which had long been plotted, was part of a far-reaching design inspired by ex-premier Karamanlis and NATO for "psychological" warfare, i.e., an all-out offensive against the people fighting for their rights and liberties. And the activity of the ERE and its military supporters ever since their removal from power suggests that it has by no means abandoned its schemes.

The democratization is slow and painful chiefly because the Center Union Party, which succeeded the ERE, backing down on its promise of democracy and finding itself in a contradictory position, is retreating before the Right and trying to weaken the mass movement.

The contradictions in government policy reflect the antagonisms in the Center Union Party and the struggle between the differing trends in it. Although it acts as a united party it is more of a bloc of parties and politicians; it uses, as far as it can, more flexible forms of struggle against the working-class movement and the Left, and indulges in blatant demagoguery. Its purpose, however, is to maintain the political rule of the bourgeoisie. It contains in its ranks monopoly and non-monopoly bourgeoisie

alike, Left democrats who took part in the national resistance, and other democratic sections of the population.

The Rights have gained the upper hand in the Center Union government, and this lays its imprint on government policy.

An analysis of the government's record in the eighteen months since it assumed office led the meeting of our Central Committee to the conclusion that its approach to the basic problems, despite certain positive aspects, does not accord with the real needs of Greece and the aspirations of her people; the election promises and program declarations remain unfulfilled. The issues not only remain unsolved but the road to their correct, democratic solution has not even been charted; some of the problems, that of Cyprus for example, have reached a crucial phase.

In the sphere of economy, the government has taken some steps, but this does not mean that the workers' demands have been met or that the government has tackled the acute economic problems correctly. In the struggle waged by the working people against the monopolies, the government sides with the latter. Its policies encourage the employers in their obdurate refusal to satisfy the workers' demands. At the same time it yields to pressure from foreign monopoly capital and continues to barter the country to the foreign monopolies.

To make matters worse a lowering of tariffs in the Common Market, which our country joined with the blessing of all the bourgeois parties, is due shortly and will pose new problems for the precarious Greek economy. More ominous still are the alarming symptoms in the economy of the capitalist countries which are likely to increase foreign monopoly pressure on Greece's economy, further complicate the solution of the urgent economic problems and intensify the offensive of the monopolies and the local oligarchies against the standard of living and rights of the working people.

Official foreign policy betrays two basic weaknesses: the absence of an independent foreign policy (even in NATO and in the Allied commitments) and an organic inability to understand the changes taking place in international relations and to develop political initiative accordingly.

Some of the steps taken by the government, largely under mass pressure, accord with the deep-going desire of the people for peaceful coexistence and cooperation with all nations (the Greco-Bulgarian agreements, rapprochement with Yugoslavia, the acceptance by Prime Minister Papandreou of the invitation to visit the Soviet Union). But the usefulness of these steps is overshadowed by a series of other measures running counter to the national interest (permission for a missile base on Crete and agreement in principle to participate in the multilateral nuclear force, rising military expenditure, permission for ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, equipped with missiles, to call at Greek ports and the criminal silence on the

"dirty war" of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam).

As for the crucial problem of restoring and extending democracy, the Center Union government has not done anything to consolidate the democratic situation in the country, uproot the neo-fascist Right-wing groups and help democratize the legal and state institutions.

The extremely timid steps taken by the government in this direction have been accompanied by dangerous deviations, by measures reminiscent of the Karamanlis regime (civil mobilization of strikers, police violence against demonstrations, reinstatement of enemies of the working class in the leadership of the Central Confederation of Labor, reprisals against students who organized a demonstration against the "dirty war" conducted by the American imperialists in Vietnam and the efforts to solve the Cyprus question via NATO). The government has not legalized the democratic changes, even those that have already been affirmed by the march of events.

Inconsistency in such a vital sphere as democratization was clearly manifested in the matter of the emergency measures dating back to the civil war period and the reactionary regime that followed it.

The bill for "the repeal of the emergency measures," drafted more than a year ago, has not yet been submitted to parliament, even though it falls far short of its avowed purpose. Thus, two years after the fall of the Karamanlis government and eighteen months after the establishment of the Center Union Government, the emergency measures of the civil war period are still in operation, insofar as they have not been nullified by the people's struggle.

The fascist law No. 375 on "espionage" is still in force, and 88 political prisoners, including eight women, are still held in jail. Law No. 509 banning the legal activity of the Communist Party and the organization of the Resistance movement also remains in force, as do the "certificates of social convictions" and exile for political reasons. Thousands of citizens are still denied political rights. Repatriation of political emigres is limited to individual cases. Political refugees and their children born in exile are not permitted to visit their relatives in Greece. Notwithstanding the agreements with Bulgaria and the improved relations with Yugoslavia, fascist law No. 376 is still in operation. Under this law, the northern areas of Greece were declared a "forbidden zone" from which the military authorities, or rather the ERE militarists who have retained their former posts, are empowered to deport democrats considered "dangerous to national security." At the same time the key positions in the administration remain in the hands of men of the extreme Right, while the Court camarilla, the semi-military detachments in the countryside (TEA), the reactionary officers' organization (IDEA), the central information service (KIP), the fascists in the security organs, and the fascist organ-

izations close to the government continue to poison the public life of the country.

In a word, if ERE were able to stage a comeback at the present moment, the laws presently in operation would be enough to "justify" its regime of lawlessness.

This brief review shows that the problem of restoring, strengthening and extending democracy in Greece remains as acute as ever, despite the attempts of the government and its propaganda to create a different impression at home and abroad. Not only is there no genuine democracy, there is not even that truncated bourgeois democracy found today in Western Europe. On the contrary, we are faced with the serious danger of the restoration of the detested Right regime.

Developments in the brief period since the meeting of our Central Committee have confirmed the correctness of its conclusions, and also its prediction that the class struggle would be intensified. An idea of the nature of the present regime can be gleaned from the decision of the Congress of the International League for the Defense of Human Rights, held in Athens on April 17-20, urging the government to restore democratic freedom in Greece.

An added source of tension is the meddling by foreign imperialists, primarily U.S. imperialists, in Greek affairs. The reason for this interference is obvious. Extending their aggression in Indochina and stepping up their provocations against peace, the U.S. imperialists are anxious to have a "reliable" climate for themselves in all countries. This explains, for example, their blatant interference in the affairs of Turkey, an outpost on NATO's Southeastern flank, as well as their pressure on Greece, another NATO strongpoint. It also explains MacNamara's statement that "Greece and Turkey are threatened by Communists," the visit of the U.S. Navy to our territorial waters, the constant visits to our country of U.S. generals and politicians and of the U.S. Ambassador to the Prime Minister, and also the arrival of the missile-carrier *Rickets*. Symptomatic was the statement by Lemnitzer, NATO supreme commander, that Greece and Turkey are bound to take an active part in the collective-security plans in the area of NATO's southern flank and be ready to fulfill any mission that might be entrusted to them.

Another no less important reason for U.S. interference in the internal affairs of our country is its desire to overcome the difficulties on NATO's southeastern flank caused by the Greco-Turkish conflict over Cyprus and to repair the breach created by the Cyprus situation. The imperialists are now doing everything in their power to get the Cyprus question "settled" as soon as possible via NATO.

II

In view of the urgency and complexity of the present situation, and taking into account

the shortcomings in our work both before and after the general election, the CC focussed the attention of the membership on certain basic problems.

First. The specific situation that has taken shape makes it imperative for our Party to have a clear attitude, to have an independent policy, flexible tactics and to display boldness and resolution in pursuing its line. The CC noted that the Party program should serve the members as a guide in their efforts to unite the masses and democratic forces and organize their actions. This applies not only to the program of national-democratic changes adopted at the Eighth Congress of the Party, but to the concrete program of struggle for democracy in the internal life of the country which we have suggested to the other democratic parties as a basis for joint struggle and cooperation.

Here are the principal points of this program:

- an economic policy that would make it possible to make better use of the natural resources, to provide work for the able-bodied population, safeguard the national resources from the foreign monopolies and raise the standard of living;

- a foreign policy of peace and peaceful co-existence with all countries; make the Balkans a nuclear-free zone; trade with all countries, especially the socialist countries, and a policy that would lead to active neutrality;

- political changes at home; annulment of all undemocratic laws and measures, removal of fascists from the administration, freedom for political prisoners, legal status for the CPG, a general amnesty, measures to curb the fascists, democratization of legislation and state institutions, workers' participation in political life.

The Central Committee considers it the duty of the Communists to do everything possible to bring the program and the solutions we offer to the knowledge of the working people everywhere. Restoration of democracy will depend on the ability of the Communists to make this program the possession of the masses, to advance the slogans that reflect the demands of the masses, to elaborate and submit positive solutions on all problems, big and small, to explain in the course of the struggle for the solution of urgent problems the need for fundamental national-democratic reforms. Moreover, it is essential to forge, maintain and strengthen contact with the masses, not to lose touch with the masses and always to bear in mind that no one is going to make a gift of democracy to the people, that *democracy can only be the fruit of their own struggle*.

If we appear to insist on what might seem to be self-evident, namely, that the Communists should be guided by the program of the Party and pursue a clear-cut independent policy, this is because in the *specific* conditions in which our Party worked both before and after the general election tactical mistakes were committed which tended to obscure the difference between our policy and that of the Center Union

Party, and this could not but have negative consequences for our political activity.

Second. Stressing again and again that our Party, the democratic movement and all who want a normal democratic way of life should strive to foil the plans of ERE and the Right generally, wrest the masses from their influence and deprive them of the means and opportunities for utilizing terror and violence, we draw the attention of the Communists to the need to elaborate the right tactics with regard to the Center Union and its government.

These tactics should take into account the fact that the policy of the government is determined by socio-economic factors and primarily by ties linking part of the Center Union with the monopolies, by its internal antagonisms, the anti-communism of its leadership, and by the pressure of the foreign imperialists and the reactionaries. But it is also determined by the presence in the Center Union of anti-monopoly elements, by the democratic sentiment of those sections still under its influence and of its lower-level functionaries as well.

We also bear in mind that since the removal of Karamanlis the masses have pinned their hopes on the Center Union, and that they harbor illusions with regard to its desire to pursue a consistently democratic policy.

On this basis we organize the mass struggle to compel the government to honor its pledges, to satisfy the demands of the people, for genuine democracy in all spheres of public life. We will support any government measure that benefits the people, any action against the Right, anti-democratic, neo-fascist tendencies. We criticize and expose the shortcomings of the government, we condemn and combat government measures that are detrimental to the people.

Our Party opposed the Center Union's "two-front" tactic of democratic unity without the Communists, i.e., the tactic of "standing aloof" from both the Rights (who represent a real and serious danger) and from the CPG and EDA, who unite the most active democratic forces and are fighting selflessly in defense of the democratic gains of the people. In effect this tactic boils down to combating democracy and the Left, to surrendering to the neo-fascist Rights and, in the long run, falls in with the designs and policies of the reactionaries and foreign imperialists. We believe that the "two-front" policy cannot offer any constructive solution of the problems facing the country. There can be no genuine democratic process until the policy of discrimination is abandoned and the anti-Communist psychosis overcome.

In elaborating our own tactics we do not lose sight of the fact that despite the zigzags in the democratization process the tendency toward democracy today is irresistible in view of the deepgoing social, economic and political changes on a national and international scale, and the powerful impact of the progress of the socialist countries. Our tactics are also based on the knowledge that there are forces in

Greece that are capable of preventing a return to neo-fascism in any form and of ensuring a democratic approach to the solution of national problems. These are the forces which overthrew the Karamanlis regime, and they represent the overwhelming majority of the people. The anti-democratic solutions advanced by ERE are rejected even by those people who are under its influence. They are beginning to understand the need to dissociate themselves from the neo-fascist conspirators.

That is why the achievement of unity, and primarily working-class unity, the cooperation and cohesion of the democratic forces, continues to be the prime and urgent duty of the Communists.

The struggle of the working people, the municipal elections in which EDA registered further gains, the adoption by parliament (the deputies of the Center Union and the EDA) of the EDA proposal to place ex-premier Karamanlis and the ERE ministers on trial for economic swindles—all are evidence of the effectiveness of united action and democratic cooperation.

Stressing the need for greater effort to unite the working people, especially those under the influence of the Center Union and the ERE, for political as well as economic demands, our Party considers it its duty to work for a policy of broad alliances jointly with middle and lower level functionaries of the Center Union and in general with those of its leaders who are closer to the people and who heed its voice. Our experience is that the most effective means of upholding and reinforcing the democratic trends in the Center Union and among its progressive representatives is by rallying the masses for the vigorous presentation of definite demands: to meet the needs of the working people, to foil the designs to set up a Center Right government and to shift the axis of government policy in the direction dictated by the interests of the people and the country.

In the course of this struggle from above and below our Party strives to convince the masses that democratization can be ensured by a government based on all the progressive forces inside and outside parliament and pursuing a genuinely democratic program.

Third. We believe that all activists, all members and sympathizers of our Party should realize that the best way to avert a Right danger and to carry out the program of democratization is to build up a powerful, united, anti-fascist, anti-monopoly mass movement in which the working class would play the main role.

Our Party considers it necessary resolutely to rebuff the attempts of both the Center Union and, especially, of ERE to hinder the growth of the mass movement. From initial attempts to divert the working people from the struggle by means of propaganda, the Center Union is switching to violent suppression of strikes and other mass actions. For the neo-fascist ERE and all who stand behind it the mass movement is the main target of their attacks. The slightest action taken by the workers is de-

picted as being inspired by "rebels" as part of the "fourth round" (the term used by the Rights in referring to the civil war allegedly being plotted by the CPG and the EDA).

We are not unaware that the neo-fascist propaganda is liable to evoke a certain response in a country that has experienced civil war and in which anti-communist prejudices have been zealously fostered for so many years. But what is important is that these inventions are being refuted by everyday experience. Taking part in the mass actions are tens of thousands of people who, though not Communists, are compelled to fight for their vital interests. In the course of the struggle they come to see the groundlessness of the myth of Communist danger. Our Party holds that the lesson to be drawn from this experience is that the mass movement must be stronger, better organized, and given a more effective leadership enabling it to utilize all forms of struggle, from the simplest and on partial issues to the most complex issues affecting the nation as a whole.

Attaching first-rate importance to the working-class struggle, the Communists concentrate their attention on developing a powerful trade union movement both in order to satisfy the demands of the working class as well as to ensure democracy in preparation for the forthcoming Congress of the Confederation of Labor.

Our Party is confronted with the task of extending the movement for peace which affects the broad mass of the people, of promoting the struggle for the independence of Cyprus, for a foreign policy of peace, for reducing military expenditure and the term of military service, for an atom-free zone in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, and for a policy of neutrality. Our Party believes that the interests of Greece demand her withdrawal from NATO and the Common Market.

There are good opportunities and an insistent need for a mass movement to restore, strengthen and extend *democracy*. The demands that are being advanced in this respect (abolition of the emergency measures, democratization of legislation and state institutions, release of all political prisoners, repatriation of political emigres, legalization of the CPG, a general amnesty) agitate people in all walks of life.

The Meeting of our Central Committee focused attention on *the need to step up the struggle for the legalization of the Communist Party*. In advancing this demand, the Party is convinced that this is a matter of concern not only to the Communists but to all democrats. The ban on our Party is aimed, of course, primarily against the Communists, but in effect it militates against the people as a whole, against their rights, their liberties and their interests. It is the source of all kinds of anti-democratic actions and enables the government to persecute any political opponent.

In our opinion the solution of the urgent problems confronting the country calls for the mobilization of all the forces of the nation. Hence it is necessary to put an end to the in-

tolerance and discrimination, to create conditions for a free exchange of opinions, for the battle of ideas, to circulate and popularize the programs and policies of all political parties without exception. This truth is winning more and more recognition, as can be seen in the steady growth of the movement for the legalization of the Communist Party. Political and public leaders, ministers of the government (when they were in the opposition) and the leaders of a number of parties have spoken in favor of lifting the ban on the Communist Party.

If the struggle for the legalization of our Party is to succeed it is essential that our own membership and activists should be satisfied that this demand is both realistic and feasible. It can be realized if we intensify our political and organizational work, if we display boldness and imagination in our work, if we succeed in making this demand a broad popular issue. Lastly, success in our struggle for legalizing the Party and for satisfying the general demand for democracy will be assured if we draw on the international solidarity and support that have always been of inestimable value to our movement.

One of the tasks of the Communists is to bring the truth about the present political regime in our country to world public opinion.

III.

With the sharpening of the struggle between the democratic and reactionary forces on the issues of democracy, a profound study of all the problems involved and the mustering of social forces is essential. In these circumstances it is most important to defend the purity of our ideology and our political line, both against dogmatism and sectarianism, as well as against revisionism.

Undermining activities by anti-Party groups which have not ceased since 1956, without, however, winning any support among the Communists and other militants in our country, have flared up anew in connection with the differences in the international Communist movement. The anti-Party groups hoped to take advantage of these differences to emerge from their isolation.

A feature of dogmatists and revisionists alike, both at home and abroad, is that their common target is the policy of the CPG, that they use the same methods of slander and distortion and even open provocation; they are rent by internal squabbles and disagreement and they shift from one position to another with the greatest of ease. Another feature common to both deviations is that their views are often a mixture of contradictory dogmatic and revisionist concepts. But the most important thing is that they have no special program of their own to counterpose to the program of our Party.

As regards the dogmatists, they cannot understand the significance of action on partial issues, they cannot see the tie-up between the

struggle for democratic gains, for democratization and the struggle for national-democratic reform (we refer, of course, to those who recognize the national-democratic reform as the immediate strategic objective; after all, some dogmatists believe that the coming revolution in Greece will be directly a socialist revolution). True to its "all-or-nothing" principle, dogmatism continues to insist on a "policy" of noisy slogans, "pressing" and "basic revolutionary" changes. If these views were to gain the upper hand, the realization of the basic objectives of the movement would be postponed for years, as was the case in the past as a result of the adventurist thesis advanced by the dogmatists in our country.

The dogmatists are violently opposed to the program of democratization. Here again they demonstrate their inability to understand that the democratic demands, far from being a "deception of the masses," promote the mass struggle and enhance the prestige of the working-class party. The dogmatists ignore Lenin's counsel that "so long as the struggle of the working class for the conquest of power is not on the order of the day it is our duty to make use of the bourgeois forms of democracy." By equating Papandreou with Karamanlis, as they did before in the case of Plastiras, leader of the National Progressive Center Union, whom they lumped together with General Papagos, leader of the neo-fascist "Greek Assembly" party, the dogmatists are playing into the hands of the reactionaries who are doing their utmost to frustrate our Party's efforts to unite the broadest possible public and political circles in order to isolate and defeat the ultra-reactionary neo-fascists and advance the cause of democracy in our country.

Here too they ignore Lenin's thesis contained in his work "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder." "The divergencies between the Churchills and the Lloyd Georges,—with insignificant national differences these political types exist in *all* countries — on the one hand, and between the Hendersons and the Lloyd Georges, on the other, are quite minor and unimportant from the standpoint of pure, i.e., abstract Communism, i.e., Communism that has not yet matured to the stage of practical, mass, political action. But from the standpoint of this practical mass action, these differences are very, very important."

This position of the dogmatists on home issues fully accords with their erroneous position on the basic problems of the international Communist movement.

Revisionism, on the other hand, makes a fetish of immediate, partial demands, denying the need for mass struggle and rejecting the basic objectives of our movement. The revisionists regard national-democratic reforms not as a revolutionary change brought about by the struggle of the masses, with the working-class playing the leading role, but as a change towards bourgeois democracy. This is the basis for their theory that the leading

protagonist of this change can only be the progressive section of the bourgeoisie, whose political spokesmen are the progressives in the Center Union leadership.

Despite the fact that dogmatism and revisionism are powerless to affect our Party line, this does not mean they are not dangerous. Dogmatism and revisionism, like any other anti-Leninist, anti-Marxist deviation, have their objective roots in the complex and contradictory situation both on the international arena and at home in Greece. They are the result of the pressure of objective difficulties on the ideologically and politically weaker elements, and of the penetration of bourgeois ideology into our ranks. The weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes in the policy and activities of our Party, in their turn associated with the specific conditions of our development and the illegal status of our Party, are contributory factors. Moreover, dogmatism is actively supported also from without by actions aimed at disrupting and splitting our Party and our movement.

That is why the meeting of our Central Committee said that the urgent task of the Communists was to improve political, organizational and ideological work all along the line.

The meeting emphasized that we must uphold the purity of our theory and general line among the rank and file in order correctly to orientate the masses and to win them over to our side. Our ideological front will be strong

if we preserve its militancy, if we rebuff hostile ideology and propaganda, consistently expose the anti-Party deviations and popularize the line and program of our Party; if we advance well-considered proposals on political, economic, ideological and social problems and on questions relating to the spiritual life of society, questions that are of vital concern to the people and the country; if we lead the working people in the struggle for their vital demands, for democracy, for national-democratic reform and for socialism.

* * *

The Communists of Greece realize that the burden of solving the many urgent problems lies on their shoulders, that the road of struggle in the van of the people against the foreign and local monopolies, against home and foreign reactionary forces will be far from smooth. But they face their task with optimism, for they have behind them the rich experience of years of struggle; their policy, confirmed by reality, meets with a growing response among the people who are beginning to see that the CPG is pointing the correct road to democracy, peace and progress. The power of attraction of the Communist ideology is growing under the impact of the achievements of the socialist countries, which are winning the sympathy of more and more working people in our country and throughout the world.

Years of valiant struggle

(35 years of the Communist Party of El Salvador)

ALBERTO GUALAN

THE 35 YEARS OF THE existence of the Communist Party of El Salvador have been years of an unrelenting struggle against foreign imperialism and reaction at home, years of successes and of setbacks, years in which a proletarian, revolutionary party capable of becoming the recognized and authoritative leader of the people steadily took shape.

I.

The Party was formed at the time of the world economic crisis of 1929-33. Under the able leadership of Farabundo Martí, associate of the legendary Sandino, it soon became a political force in the country. In 1932 it headed the uprising of the working people against the dictatorship of General Martínez. This was

the biggest revolutionary action of the 30s in Central America.

Despite the scale of the movement and its initial success, numerical superiority was on the side of the counter-revolutionaries who, taking advantage of the mistakes made by the then inexperienced leadership of the Party, succeeded in crushing the uprising. Defeat was followed by a ruthless terror which took a toll of more than 20,000 workers, peasants, students and intellectuals. Among the victims were most of the leaders of the Party. A regime of military tyranny has ruled the country ever since. Although the men heading the regime have changed, the tyranny has not.

The Communist Party, however, despite the losses, has braved the terror. It has actively participated in the struggle, although it has not always been able to head this struggle. It has suffered, too, from division in its ranks. The sharp ideological clash between the two trends, "obrerism" from the word "obrero," meaning "worker"—Ed.) and "intellectualism" engendered factionalism and undermined unity. Moreover, erroneous views were current in the Party on the need for contact with the masses and whether this contact was useful or not. It was held that any advertising of the Party and organizing the struggle of the working class would "provoke" the enemy who could "destroy the Party at any moment." This view, which prevailed in the Party practically throughout its existence, was manifested in an absence of propaganda activity. The Party paper, whenever it was published, was distributed only among the members. Needless to say this attitude had a crippling effect on the Party's mass work. To cite two examples:

1. "The essential thing is to strengthen the Party. With a strong Party we will be able to conduct widespread propaganda and develop the mass struggle." This formulation, dating from the ill-fated 1932 uprising, was repeated after every new wave of reprisals.

2. "First organization, then strikes." In effect this formulation, which prevailed in the trade unions during 1947-51 (after the strike movement in 1945, which was drowned in blood by the authorities), restrained the masses from engaging in strike action.

This approach violated the dialectical link-up between the mass struggle and the growth of the Party. These shortcomings, characteristic of any Communist Party in the initial phase of its activity, plagued us for many years. The approach to organizational and underground work was primitive; we switched from one position to another; membership did not grow, political study was carried out in a

haphazard way; knowledge of Marxism-Leninism was slight, and we lacked an experienced proletarian center.

Apart from the very rare instances when our literature found its way into the hands of the people, the Party's participation in the mass struggle was primarily through individual members. As a result some Communists became well-known and won prestige. But because of the general weakness of the Party, this "personalism" sometimes resulted in leading functionaries succumbing to enemy pressure, either in siding with the enemy or simply dropping out of the Party. This explains why the formation of a leading proletarian core was retarded for more than twenty years, why the process of accumulating and generalizing revolutionary experience was interrupted.

II.

The stagnation in the growth of the Party and its isolation from the masses were overcome during the periods of the upsurge of the class struggle, when militants who headed the struggle joined the party. This in turn cleared the way for doing away with the old irresolute style of work, with the factionalism and other weaknesses. It will not be out of place in this connection to review the Party's activities during the periods of revolutionary upsurge.

On April 2, 1944 part of the armed forces, with mass support, revolted against the dictatorship of General Martinez who had been in power for 13 years. The revolt, however, was unsuccessful and the dictator, after several days of fighting, gained the upper hand. Another reign of terror set in. But this time the people struck back; they declared a general strike and Martinez had to flee the country.

For the Party the significant feature of the 1944 events was that it was in the course of this struggle that it finally achieved internal unity.

Another factor that greatly influenced the development of the Party was the strike movement in 1946 which facilitated the subsequent reorganization of the entire trade union movement. Until December 1948 unions were illegal. The Party urged the unions to launch a struggle for legalization and for the economic rights of the working people, and itself began to play a leading role in the growing trade union movement.

As the conditions of struggle changed, the Party changed its methods of work. Work in the unions made it necessary to reorganize its branches. Many strike leaders joined the Party

with the result that contact with the masses was considerably strengthened during the upsurge of the class struggle in 1946-52. Beginning with 1951 the Party paper *La Verdad* began to appear regularly and our literature generally found wider circulation. This, alas, was a shortlived revival. For a new wave of reprisals was unleashed against the Party in 1952, with the result that publication of the paper ceased and with it the circulation of Central Committee decisions and documents.

For a long time the view was current in the Party that its weakness was the outcome of unending reprisals that have been its lot since 1932. The renewal of the terror in 1952 served as another "practical" argument in favor of going into isolation. However, subsequent years proved the untenability of this thesis. During 1960-63 the Party was subjected to even more brutal reprisals than in 1952. And yet far from losing ground the Party strengthened its contact with the masses and its influence rose. This was because the revolutionary upsurge of 1958-62 and the changes in the international situation made it possible to break with the old concepts dating back to the time of the reprisals of 1932, and which invariably came to the surface after every successive wave of terror. In 1952 the enemy was able to weaken the Party and compel it to retreat because these erroneous views had not been completely discarded (true, practical steps had been taken to work out a new line). The circumstance that the Party did not have a big membership and enough functionaries made itself particularly felt at times of crisis. The growth of influence achieved, thanks to the dedicated work of our members in the trade unions, was not accompanied by a corresponding growth of Party membership. So that when the police arrested a few dozen Communists the Party found itself isolated from the masses and its organization considerably weakened.

III.

In 1958 a new revolutionary upsurge began which profoundly influenced the growth of the Party. The upsurge was stimulated, objectively, by the fall in coffee prices on the world market (coffee accounted for 65 per cent of the country's exports at the time). The crisis lasted up to the end of 1962 and was most acute in the second half of 1960 and the whole of 1961.

Processes in the socio-political life of the country, which at once stimulated the rise of the revolutionary movement and which to a considerable degree were a result of the rise, were:

1. The unity trend in the trade unions which made it possible to set up a trade union center in 1957 (it was subsequently split by imperialist agents).

2. The struggle waged by the working class (at the end of 1958 and throughout 1959) for their economic demands, which later grew into a political struggle against the government.

3. The leftward swing in the student movement which found expression in street actions.

4. The formation of democratic organizations (a women's organization in 1956 and a youth organization in 1958) which helped to bring to the fore numerous activists and functionaries who ever since have played an important role in the people's struggle.

5. The establishment in 1959-60 of a revolutionary mass party which helped to deepen the political awareness of the people.

6. The holding of public meetings and demonstrations sponsored by the democratic organizations in solidarity with the peoples of Latin America and other countries.

The Cuban revolution and the deep-going anti-imperialist and, later, the socialist changes carried out by it, greatly influenced the working people of our country. Other international factors which influenced the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador were the progress made by the socialist countries, the national-liberation movements in Asia and Africa, and the awakening of the peoples of Latin America to mass action against U.S. imperialism.

Although the Party undoubtedly played the decisive role in organizing and guiding the struggle of the working people during the period of revolutionary upsurge, the fact remains that at first it repeated many of the old mistakes. Only a small number of local organizations and members took part in practical activity. Publication of the Party paper was not resumed and literature was not distributed; extreme "caution" was displayed with regard to giving leadership to the trade union movement, the Party confining itself to influencing the outcome of labor conflicts.

With the sharpening of the economic crisis at the end of 1960 the mass struggle became more organized, militant and widespread. As a result the regime found itself in a protracted political crisis which at times verged on a revolutionary situation.

For the people the way out of the crisis necessitated changing the semi-feudal agrarian structure of the country, a tax reform that would put an end to the superprofits of the home and foreign capitalists, abolishing

all privileges for U.S. monopoly capital, accelerating industrialization, removing all the barriers to foreign trade and expanding trade with the socialist countries and, finally, reforming the legal code and the courts to ensure democratic rights and liberties. But the government of Colonel Lemus, acting on behalf of the big bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialists, chose the opposite course.

Since the government's measures further worsened the conditions of the working people and, consequently, increased their determination to take action, Lemus fell back on reprisals (August-September 1960). This, however, led to more demonstrations and clashes with the police, to the opposition forces banding together for joint action.

The opposition of the Rights (acting for the middle sections of the rural bourgeoisie and some groups of the latifundists), dreading another Cuba (and, of course, exaggerating the immediate possibility of this) decided on a "preventative" military coup. The purpose was to remove Lemus and form a government which, by making some democratic concessions, would solve the political crisis and head off a revolutionary explosion. The "moderates" won over to their viewpoint some of the active petty-bourgeois groups including participants in the student movement. (Among them were revolutionary elements who favored an alliance with the Communists.) The coup was carried out on October 26, 1960, practically without a shot being fired. The same day a governing junta was formed composed of three civilians and three army officers.

The Party played a leading role in the mass actions against the Lemus government. It was the Communist Party which, more than any other party in the country, helped to unite the Opposition. It was the Party's line and its application—attended by risk for every Communist—which made possible the holding of numerous demonstrations. The government was prevented, as a result, from becoming master of the situation. The mass participation of the people was achieved largely because of the policy pursued by the Party in the preceding three years, a policy aimed at creating (or helping to create) democratic organizations that would educate the masses through militant action.

The movement against the Lemus government acted as a powerful stimulus to the Party in overcoming its weaknesses. Our propaganda began to be heard, we opened our doors to young activists. But it was still necessary to make a complete break with the old ways.

IV.

With the overthrow of the Lemus government the political crisis entered upon a new phase characterized by a sharpening of the economic crisis caused by the flight of capital abroad, by scheming and plotting on the part of the military, the U.S. Embassy and the oligarchy against the new government, by continuation of the mass struggle for fuller democratic rights and the abolition of the old machinery of military tyranny. The new government had to contend with two contradictory trends. Being the result of the popular struggle it was compelled, on the one hand, to promise the masses a democratic policy. On the other, the representatives of the agrarian bourgeoisie, which had engineered the coup, predominated in the government, the leadership of the armed forces remained in the hands of the former president, Colonel Oscar Osorio.

The military-civil junta was not in power long enough to strike a balance between these two trends.

Our policy at the time was to secure the governing junta the support of the people in face of the machinations of the reactionaries and, at the same time, to organize and rally the masses for action. We supported the popular demand that the alcaldes and councillors in the municipalities be removed (all had been installed by Lemus by means of the faked elections of April 1960).

It was in this period that the Central and Right groups opposed to Lemus insisted on us ceasing our work in the rural areas. The differences that arose in this connection led to the collapse of the united front established in 1959. These differences were due not so much to our mistakes as to the clash of class interests. Since some latifundists and rural bourgeoisie—irreconcilable enemies of any form of organization for the peasants and agricultural laborers—were represented in the united front its division was to be expected. More flexible and purposeful work in the front would most probably have made it possible to isolate the Rights and to win over (or at least to neutralize) the Centrists, and we would have been better prepared, consequently, to counteract the reactionary coup.

The government, anxious to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the reactionaries, turned to a Right, anti-Communist position. This was particularly noticeable after the collapse of the united front. The U.S. imperialists, however, were not satisfied. They wanted a military regime that would be directly under their control and which would without hesitation

crush the growing popular movement. Hence the military coup of January 25, 1961, engineered by the U.S. military mission and carried out under its direct supervision. The military civil junta was replaced by a military-civil directorate which included representatives of the oligarchy and agents of the U.S. imperialists. But it was not long before the marriage of imperialism and the oligarchy, on which the new regime was based, fell to pieces under the impact of Kennedy's reformist demagogic policy embodied in the Alliance for Progress.

But the schemes of the reactionaries to confront the masses with a fait accompli went awry. Thousands of workers, students and representatives of the middle sections came out onto the streets of the capital on January 25, demanding that the overthrown government be restored. The masses were determined to fight. They marched to the barracks where the garrison had not yet come out in support of the organizers of the coup, and demanded that they be given arms. And again the numerical weakness of the Party and its sectarianism prevented it from heading the struggle and leading it to victory.

Soon after the victory of the reaction it became clear that the Communists and the organizations working under their leadership were the only ones to remain true to the people in the conditions of savage terror. As for the other parties and political organizations, they deserted the masses and sought to prove that they had always been anti-communist and should therefore not be persecuted.

The Party and the democratic movement led by it, on the contrary, exposed the government's maneuvers, showed that U.S. imperialism was behind its actions and called on the people to wage a resolute struggle. By December 1961 the Party was leading a nationwide struggle against the tyranny, and the movement guided by it became the biggest mass force in the country.

The interlacing of the economic crisis with the political crisis at the time of the decisive actions against Lemus, the deepening of contradictions within the ruling classes as a result of the overthrow of two governments in 82 days and also as a result of the Alliance for Progress with its anti-latifundia demagoguery, the growing militancy among the masses—these were the salient features of the fluctuating revolutionary situation up to 1962.

Our Party revised its line in keeping with the new situation resulting from the coup of January 1961; the task now was to prepare for a popular uprising. It was to this end that

the new underground organizations were formed.

This line proved to be correct. It coincided with the sentiment of the masses and enabled the Party to grow. For the first time since 1932 the Party called for the conquest of power and worked out its strategy and tactics accordingly. This line (although accompanied at times by manifestations of "leftism") completed the process of change in the tactical concepts that had taken shape after the reprisals of 1932.

Having broken with the old concepts we began rapidly to overcome our other weaknesses. Within six months the Party had doubled its membership. By mid-1962 the membership was three times that of January 1961. Our literature now had a fairly wide circulation and the people came to know more about the Party and its policy. At the same time other democratic and revolutionary organizations intensified their propaganda work. Public meetings and demonstrations became a common occurrence, as many as three or four being held in the course of a month.

Another serious shortcoming in the Party at this time was the absence of a Party program. For years this circumstance had not been given thought. But with the Party now an influential political force it was imperative to have program documents. Accordingly, the Central Committee at a meeting in March 1961 discussed the outline of the future program, which served as the basis for the drafts of the general and agrarian program submitted for discussion in 1962-63.

The efforts to make good the theoretical weakness proved to be the most difficult task of the Party. In 1962 two-thirds of the membership had been in the Party under a year and even less.

This state of affairs led to a kind of fever of "leftism," manifested in underestimating the economic and legal forms of struggle, and in an even greater underestimation of the need for a united front.

These distortions had a particularly damaging effect on the Party's preparations for the uprising. News about the preparations was spread orally and in written form, thus creating the impression among the public that armed action to seize power was on the order of the day. But the time was not ripe for decisive action. The existence of a revolutionary situation does not necessarily mean that power can be seized. Needed in addition is the existence of an advanced, mature party, organizationally capable of carrying out the complex task of leading the proletariat and the entire people. Despite its successes the

Party was not sufficiently mature, strong and influential at the time to head the struggle for the seizure of power. As for the other democratic and revolutionary organizations, they were still too young, and their fervor and militancy were not enough to compensate for their immaturity.

In order to seize power it is necessary to have the support of the rural masses who in El Salvador consist mainly of agricultural laborers employed on the coffee, cotton and sugar-cane plantations. We had only begun to work in the countryside, and it would have been premature to expect this category of working people to make a big contribution to the revolutionary struggle, especially considering that the enemy still exerted considerable influence among the agricultural population. Hence, the revolution had little chance of rallying the rural population, while the enemy, on the contrary, was able to use a substantial part of this population to suppress the revolution. These and other factors prevented the successful outcome of the revolutionary situation at the time. The mistake of the Party and the organizations under its leadership was that in their agitation and propaganda they proceeded from the incorrect premise that the revolutionary situation would soon develop into a victorious revolution.

The idea of preparing for an uprising was correct in the sense that it was necessary to prepare the Party and the masses for armed struggle should the development of events make this imperative. The Central Committee was fully justified therefore in taking this line when the military clique took savage measures against the people who wanted to fight. The positive effects of this decision have already been analyzed. However, in the course of the struggle an incorrect tendency manifested itself—to turn the slogan for *immediate* preparations for an armed uprising into the underlying principle of the Party's work among the masses, to spread the idea that the revolution would triumph in the near future. This concept is as far removed from the Party's intrinsic policy as romantic leftism is from the scientifically substantiated tactics of Leninism. In theory the Central Committee made a distinction (true, not always clearly enough) between these aspects of one and the same line. But as this erroneous view gained currency, the Central Committee itself came to accept it. Although this mistake did not have disastrous consequences it nevertheless did some damage to the movement later, towards the end of 1962.

V.

In November 1962 the revolutionary tide sharply receded.

The economic crisis which had begun in 1958 and which had stimulated the revolutionary upsurge was now a thing of the past. The economy began to pick up, unemployment decreased and other factors appeared which contributed to the ebb in the revolutionary tide.

Confronted with this situation the Central Committee, because of inadequate Marxist-Leninist grounding, centered attention on the purely political causes for the ebb and on the mistakes made. This one-sided analysis produced new subjective factors which still further complicated the situation. Subsequently, however, the Party made a more profound study of the situation, amplifying its analysis in documents submitted to its Fifth Congress.

The years since the end of the Second World War, and particularly beginning with 1950, the Fifth Congress noted, were years of accelerated development of capitalism in town and countryside. This, a deformed development, retaining much of the survivals of feudalism, was accompanied by the steady penetration of foreign capital, chiefly U.S. capital. In agriculture growth of production was confined to export crops only (coffee, cotton and sugar). This doomed to stagnation and decline entire branches of the national economy, made industrialization dependent on imported raw materials which, in turn, reduced the function of the national industry purely to that of processing and packing the semi-finished products received from the United States and other developed capitalist countries. However, notwithstanding its deformed character and dependence on imperialism, the development led to important changes in the social composition of the population, to the formation of a rural and industrial proletariat which at present accounts for more than two-thirds of the gainfully employed population.

Basing itself on an analysis of capitalist development and the changes in the class structure, the Central Committee in its report to the Fifth Congress pin-pointed the Party's chronic weakness—its isolation from the socio-economic changes taking place in the country.

Our agricultural proletariat first made its appearance in the last century on the indigo plantations, and later on the coffee plantations. It was a proletariat that took shape on farms where the survivals of serfdom still prevailed and where the development of the

productive forces was at an extremely low level. The employment, on an ever wider scale, of wage labor in town and countryside resulted in the growth of handicraft workshops which gradually became centers of capitalist commodity production. These workshops were gradually squeezed out by shops employing up to 100 and more workers. The development of railways at the turn of the century promoted the growth of handicraft production for the market. This, in turn, led to the extension of capitalist relations to the basic branches of agriculture and created the conditions for the formation of a national market.

The Communist Party took shape as an independent political party in the early phase of the country's capitalist development. Most of its members came from the workers in the handicrafts sector.

The larger workshops continued to exist and even to expand up to the Second World War. After the war, however, when coffee prices increased on the world market and consequently the volume of imports, it became clear that handicraft production was on the way out. The big workshops practically disappeared.

Along with the growth of imports after the Second World War, new industrial enterprises began to be built. The financial base of this process was, on the one hand, the rapid accumulation of capital by the big bourgeoisie as a result of the rise in coffee prices and, on the other, the growth of U.S. investments in the construction of enterprises in our territory. Handicraft production, already weakened, was now completely undermined by the developing industry with which it could no longer compete. Although their numbers continued to grow the handicraftsmen were dispersed. This affected their militancy which in the class struggle in 1932 and even in 1946 shook the very foundations of the oligarchy and imperialism. It also affected the militancy of their unions. The number of industrial workers began to exceed the number of handicraftsmen, and industrial output to exceed handicrafts output.

After the reprisals of 1932 our Party was reduced to a handful of valiant fighters who had to contend with sectarianism and other weaknesses. But it maintained its contact with many of the workers employed in handicraft production, and increased its membership among these workers. However, because of the waves of reprisals and also because of its narrow tactical outlook, the Party failed to keep up with the changes in the sphere of production and in the social composition

of the population. For many years it was associated only with that part of the proletariat from which it had sprung. Hence the low percentage of industrial workers in the Party, the numerous "Left" mistakes and other shortcomings which, in their aggregate, were responsible for the extremely slow process of the Party's growth.

Taking these factors into account the Fifth Congress defined, as the Party's principal task, establishment of contact with the industrial and agricultural proletariat (more than 300,000 agricultural laborers are employed on the coffee, cotton, sugar cane and other plantations), to win more members primarily among other groups of the working class, without however, losing contact with the handicrafts sector, which has given the working class movement its most experienced and politically mature cadres.

The Fifth Congress examined two program documents, the draft of the general program and the draft of the agrarian program which were approved on the recommendation of the Central Committee. The two documents have been submitted to the Party, the working class and the people for their views before being finally approved at the next or an extraordinary congress of the Party.

The Congress also adopted new Party rules which ensure the observance of inner-Party democracy, centralism, collective leadership and other Leninist norms of Party life. The Rules reflect the experience accumulated by our Party and the fraternal parties of other countries. The Fifth Congress was a landmark in the history of the Party for it was at this congress that for the first time a profound and objective analysis was made of the Party's development, particularly its development in the past 14 years.

Furthermore, the Central Committee report and drafts of the general and agrarian programs for the first time gave the Party a picture of the national economy, its development, its perspectives and the immediate and strategic tasks arising from the changes in the country's economic, social and political structure. Thus, the former one-sided political analysis of the situation, as a result of which the Party committed a number of mistakes, was replaced by a scientifically-substantiated Marxist-Leninist political line.

After the congress the Party's activities increased noticeably, and its growing ideological and organizational maturity is making itself felt in the trade unions, the student, youth and women's movement, in the various Party organizations, old and new.

The situation in the country has been marked by disturbing features in recent years. As a result of the maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists to reduce prices for all raw materials exported by the Latin American countries, the prices for Salvador's three main items of export—coffee, cotton and sugar—were reduced last year. The penetration of foreign capital, chiefly U.S. capital, has given rise to new contradictions. The Alliance for Progress program has swelled the country's foreign debt. The first loan payments will be due when the budget revenue will be at its lowest owing to the fall in export prices. The contours of a new economic and political crisis are already taking shape. Experience has borne out the truth of the Party's thesis that in conditions of dependence on imperialism and exploitation, national development is inevitably uneven and of a deformed character, and brings great suffering in its wake for the working people of town and countryside.

There is no doubt that the Party, now that it is better equipped theoretically, has better

contact with the working class and is exerting a stronger influence on the national and political life of the country, will be able to cope with the tasks of the oncoming crisis. (An analysis of our Party's policy at the present stage, and also its tactical and strategic line elaborated at the Fifth Congress, are of exceptional importance and call for a separate article.)

The experience of our Party once again shows that the formation and development of a working class party is an arduous process, a process beset with difficulties, failures and temporary reverses. The maturing process of the Communist Party of El Salvador was a long one, much longer than for many of the other fraternal parties. This process has not yet been completed. We have only entered its decisive phase.

The vanguard of the working class, like the working class itself, cannot be destroyed. The Communist Party of El Salvador is celebrating its thirty-fifth anniversary full of strength and vigor.

For a national democratic front

THE NINTH National Convention of the Socialist Party of Nicaragua, held at the end of last year, was a big event for our working class. The Convention summed up the results of the past work and adopted a new Program. Since 1948 when the first program was adopted the world balance has substantially changed in favor of the forces of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. Our new Program takes account of these changes as well as of the present-day situation in the international Communist movement.

It concentrates, naturally, on the internal situation and on the Party's policy. Above all it was necessary to chart the path of struggle for liberation from the rule of the imperialist monopolies and the local oligarchy.

In Nicaragua power is held almost entirely by the Somoza brothers, sons of the ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza. This family of big latifundists and capitalists have long exercised their tyrannical rule over the country. The democratic forces and the people as a whole are waging a hard struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. In 1963 the family conducted the usual election farce for the Presidency.

This time, too, the family aimed at presenting the Presidency to one of the brothers, An-

astasio, presently Commander-in-Chief of the Army. But, in view of the democratic opposition and other political difficulties encountered in recent years, the Conservative opposition of Fernando Aguero, they were, for one thing, unable to achieve their aim and had to agree to the election of René Schik as President. In other words, they had to make a concession to the civic forces of the country. Although Schik is little more than a puppet, we maintain that this outcome is better than having a Somoza for President.

Still, political control rests decisively with the War Department (for Schik cannot take a single serious decision without consulting it) and, even more so, with the U.S. Ambassador, who, through Anastasio Somoza, can give orders by-passing the President. That is why the Party pointed out that the present government is as much a Somoza affair as all previous governments; and the Ninth Convention set the task of fighting against the government all along the line, of waging a political struggle to prevent it from carrying into effect its pro-imperialist designs.

Our country is dominated by a military dictatorship disguised in the mask of civilian authority. Nicaragua is one of the strongholds of

the struggle against the democratic and revolutionary forces in Central America and the Caribbean.

In recent years monopoly penetration in our country has been stepped up. The so-called integration of Central American countries has opened the floodgates to the penetration of U.S. capital.

In the Atlantic zone of Nicaragua, in which the main mineral deposits are concentrated, only 30 of the more than 1,000 mines are working, and even those are owned by U.S. and Canadian companies. Here economic issues are closely intertwined with the issue of national sovereignty. An example: recently one of the U.S. companies built a port for its own exclusive use at the mouth of the Prinzapolca River, without obtaining permission from the executive and legislative authorities.

Neither loans under the Alliance for Progress program nor investments by U.S. monopolies and banks help the Nicaraguan economy. Whereas 10 years ago our debt to foreign monopolies amounted to 10 million cordobas, or roughly \$2 million, today it has reached 640 million cordobas, or \$90 million, on which we pay huge interest every year.

As a result the conditions of the working class have worsened. During 1964 the cost of living went up by 25 per cent. Food shortages and the low purchasing power make our people dependent on U.S. doles.

Against this monopoly domination and the domination of the local oligarchy our Party is organizing the struggle of the popular masses.

The Ninth Convention paid special attention to trade union work. The disruptive policy of the agents of the bourgeoisie in the trade union movement has resulted in the formation of a number of rival unions: the Confederation of Working People (a pro-government organization), the National Confederation of Democratic Working People, the Social Christian Confederation and the General Confederation of Labor. The pro-government confederation includes mainly the Corinto port workers and the personnel servicing the highways. The Social Christian Confederation unites principally bank and sales employees in the capital and some other small unions; this contrasts with the National Confederation which is a mere group of leaders with hardly any prestige among the masses. The General Confederation of Labor comprises the unions of building workers, printers, boot and shoemakers, transport workers and another eight federations all over the country. Our Party wields considerable influence in this organization, the biggest trade union association. However, the fact that we are leading the greater part of the organized working class does not mean that the issue of unity has been solved. Our purpose is to achieve unity of action of the trade union movement. We are not posing the question of organizational unity, for experience has shown that at present such unity cannot be achieved. But we are for unity of

action. This means that whenever a union calls a strike or submits demands to the government, all the other unions should give it their support. This is the practical realization of unity, and the leaders of other confederations agree to this way of action.

Despite the existence of four confederations and a large number of unions, the working class in our country is still poorly organized. One reason for this is that the workers have no faith in social legislation. Somoza demagogically adopted a number of laws allegedly designed to uphold the rights of the workers, but these have never been adhered to. He was the first to oppose the formation of unions in his enterprises and plantations. Besides, the indifference of the working people to trade unions is due to the splitting activity of the agents of the bourgeoisie. The Ninth Convention pointed out that the Socialist Party should intensify its work to organize the workers.

No less important, in the opinion of our Party, is work among the peasantry. The Convention approved the activity of the Party in the matter of organizing the peasants and supported their fight for land. According to Article 30 of the land reform law peasants who occupied plots of land for a number of years before the adoption of the law are entitled to claim these plots as their property even if they have owners possessing title-deeds to them. The Party organizes the movement of the peasants who demand that the land they occupy should be transferred to them. Today when this movement has assumed a mass scale the government is no longer in a position to take repressive action against the peasants. It goes without saying that this struggle is rallying the peasants around the Party.

The Convention decided to campaign for a bigger membership, but under the condition of strict selection and admittance of the most active comrades. This is important because there are many in Nicaragua who call themselves Socialists but who dispute the correctness of the conclusions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings and, as a result, oppose the line of our Party and the world Communist movement on many issues. People with such views would not be of much use to our Party.

The Socialist Youth organization was also represented at the Convention. Delegates discussed the problems of the youth and the task of uniting students and young workers in various kinds of organizations for political education.

The Convention discussed the Party paper and decided on steps to improve it and to enable it to become the newspaper of the democratic movement. The work of our journal *Ideas Nuevas*, published illegally, was analyzed in detail. It was pointed out that, while being a vehicle of theoretical research conducted by our Party and the best exponent of its ideology, this journal suffers from technical shortcomings.

Ideas Nuevas reprints article from *Problems*

of *Peace and Socialism*, examines ideological differences and problems of national liberation. Recently we published a series of articles on the rise of Marxism, refuting the claims of the bourgeoisie that Marxism has become obsolete. In addition, we publish a bulletin *El Socialista* in an edition of 1,000 copies, which is distributed among new Party members and sympathizers.

Nowadays when ideological questions are of special significance for the Communist movement, our Party pays close attention to raising the ideological and theoretical level of members.

Our members, like all Marxist-Leninists, display a keen interest in problems of unity of the international Communist movement. After discussing the report on the ideological differences in the movement, the Convention opted for continued support to the Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, and a communique expressing the viewpoint of our Party on this issue was published.

When drafting its Program and charting its tactical line, our Party proceeded from the correlation of the political forces in the country.

The Party decided that it is necessary to launch a struggle all along the line against the rule of the Somoza family. The Party holds that for this it is necessary to rally all the opposition forces in a National Democratic Front.

Not only the working class, the peasantry and the small bourgeoisie are advancing democratic demands. Many representatives of the national bourgeoisie also voice their discontent with the policy of the U.S. monopolies. Even in the National Congress voices are heard against agreements with the United States or against restrictions on our foreign trade in the interests of the USA. The high import prices and other problems are impelling the national bourgeoisie to ponder over the need for trade with the socialist countries.

All this justifies the optimism of our Party with regard to the possibility of building a National Democratic Front which would take the country onto the democratic road.

This front would unite all the democratic forces against the dictatorship of the Somoza family and imperialism. For purposes of this unity we have elaborated a program known as the "Plan for Basic Reforms."

As regards the tasks of national liberation the Socialist Party comes out for abrogation of the Bryan-Chamorro agreement, which accords the United States the right for all time to build a canal across the territory of Nicaragua and to construct naval bases; we stand, too, for the expropriation of the property of the mining companies; we want to return to our country its natural riches or at least to make sure that these companies pay taxes, as is the case in Chile and in Argentina. In our country the tax paid by foreign companies is barely 3 per cent of the value of the extracted minerals — gold, copper, tin and silver. In Chile, for example, they are taxed to the ex-

tent of 65-67 per cent. We should have the right to establish diplomatic and trade relations with all countries, for this is necessary if we are to get rid of tutelage by the U.S. monopolies.

We want trade union rights restored, land to the peasants, industrial development and the democratic parties accorded a legal status and equal rights with the traditional parties.

We demand democratization of the army and abolition of control over it by the U.S. military missions. The army should be subordinate to the national military bodies and stand guard over the national interests and not be a tool of neo-colonialism as is the case today.

But to unify the democratic forces is not an easy task. The point is that the other opposition groupings have different views on the ways and means of building a democratic front.

There is the proposal for a National-Liberation Front, advanced by the Sandino Party headed by Carlos Fonceca Amador, an ex-member of the Socialist Party. The Sandino Party holds that the grip of the Somoza family can be ended only by way of an armed uprising.

The Party of Republican Mobilization (PRM), friendly to us, conceives of an anti-dictator front in which the main role would be played by the opposition Conservative Party. The PRM has no clearcut program, claiming that in the struggle for an anti-dictator front such a program would only lead to defeat. It says that it is simply necessary "to fight for democracy" and this will unite all the forces anxious to end the rule of the Somoza family. To the question whether this attitude signifies renunciation of the struggle against imperialism, the PRM spokesmen reply that in Nicaragua imperialism is personified by the Somoza family, and they reduce the entire struggle for democracy to the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. This thesis is fraught with dangers since it reposes leadership of the movement in the Conservative Party which, though presently in opposition, is one of the parties of the oligarchy.

Naturally, our Party cannot agree to these concepts, especially that of the anti-dictator front as conceived by the PRM. We subscribe to the idea of a National Democratic Front on the grounds that unity of the democratic forces is possible only on the basis of a definite program, taking account of the proposals made by all the democratic groups belonging to the front. The anti-dictator front will take shape in the course of the struggle and will become a democratic force organized under the general banner of the National Democratic Front, a counter-weight to the forces of the Conservative Party, the biggest party in the country. The point is that the Conservatives are followed by thousands of middle peasants, handicraftsmen and petty-bourgeois, who mistakenly believe that all their problems would automatically be solved by ending the rule of the Somoza brothers. That is why, in order to be in a position

to discuss the issue of struggle against the Somoza dictatorship with the Conservative Party on equal terms, it is necessary first to form a National Democratic Front and unite all the democratic forces. We maintain that the highest form of organization will be the United Front of National Liberation, which can finally free the country from the political and economic domination of imperialism and the local oligarchy.

The forces capable of forming a National Democratic Front are, primarily, the Socialist Party, the Party of Republican Mobilization, the Party of Revolutionary Action, the Christian Social Party, the Independent Liberal Party, the Party of Central American Unity and the Conservative Party of Nicaragua (a break-away from the traditional Conservative Party). Its backbone should be the organized workers, peasants and students. The students are keenly interested in the Front and the bulk of them support the theses of our Party.

Our Party works persistently and painstakingly with the above-mentioned political groups. Although we disagree with them on a number of points, the Party holds that we are bound to work with them because being part of the democratic forces they are against Somoza and can traverse at least a part of the road together with us. For example, the Sandino Party cooperate with us in organizing the peasant

movement and in the student movement. Thanks to an alliance between our members and the Sandino supporters in the University, reactionaries have been removed from the student leadership, and today this leadership is in the hands of the Left as represented by the Union of our Party and the Sandino Party. On a whole range of questions we also agree with the Social Christians, especially on the issue of the fight for democracy. They have declared their readiness to work with the Communists and support joint action with us. We can also arrive at agreement with the Independent Liberal Party, which has been in opposition to the government for a number of years.

Potentially, the Conservative Party of Nicaragua, which is now represented in Congress, can also be a member of the democratic front. We have friendly contacts with some of its representatives.

From all this it follows that the idea of building a National Democratic Front is not a groundless fancy; it can be accepted by a number of influential political forces in Nicaragua. We maintain that it is necessary to utilize all legal opportunities available in order to develop the democratic movement which, sooner or later, will have to tackle new tasks of momentous importance.

Pablo SEGOVIA

18th congress of the Communist Party of Luxembourg

KEYNOTE of the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Luxembourg was the significant success achieved by the Party in the communal elections in 1963 and in last year's general election.

In the communal elections the Party increased its vote in the working-class centers of the South, with one exception, and in Pattingen-Rodingen it won a seat for the first time in many years. In the capital the percentage of votes cast for the Party rose from 4.22 to 5.9.

Even more impressive was the success in the general election in which the Party increased the number of its seats from three to five (out of the total of 56) and polled roughly 12 per cent of the vote against 8.9 per cent in 1959. The results in the central electoral district, where the Communist vote rose from 3.96 per cent in 1959 to 8.95 per cent, caused consternation among the Right. In the capital

9.3 per cent of the voters gave their support to the Communists as compared with 4.2 per cent in 1959 and 5.9 per cent in the 1963 communal elections. From the standpoint of votes won, the Party should have at least six seats in Parliament.

In the report delivered to the Congress by Comrade Dominique Urbani on behalf of the Central Committee, the electoral success was explained by both the influence of international developments and the correct policy pursued by our Party. After the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the working-class movement has made headway as the results of elections in Italy, France and Belgium testify. It is the merit of the Luxembourg Communists and the reason for their success that "they ably and unhesi-

tantly utilized the conclusions of the Moscow meetings and made them the basis of their practical activity."

The report of the Central Committee examined the new situation created by the success of our Party and by the general swing to the Left. The Socialist Workers' Party, the most influential party in the country if we are to judge by the number of votes it polled, nevertheless agreed to form a government coalition with the Social Christian Party, the party of big business, which still holds key positions in the administration. Its ministers are in charge of finance, foreign policy, public education, the army, police, civil service, etc. The Socialists were allotted the so-called technical ministries such as the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministries of Labor, Economic Affairs, Budget, Public Works, Transport, etc. As was the case under the coalition that existed in 1951-59 (after which power passed to the clerical-Liberal coalition) the Socialist Ministers are "captives" of the Social Christian Ministers.

It goes without saying that the Communists do not identify this coalition with the previous governments. To do so would be a mistake, considering that some sincere Socialists believe that the present government can help to carry out at least part of the socialist program, although, as the Communists see it, this belief is largely based on self-deception. The Communists have declared their readiness to support wholly and completely every social improvement proposed by the Socialist Ministers. They maintain that still greater social and democratic demands could be won and reactionary schemes frustrated if the broad sections of the people were rallied and the cooperation of all Left forces, including Communists, organized. The conditions favor this.

The record so far of the new government has disappointed members of the socialist Party. The 1965 budget hardly differs from previous budgets. The rising cost of living, far from being halted, is fostered by the government by way of raising prices and tariffs. In the social sphere nothing is being done to prepare any major reforms. Thousands of pensioners are still below subsistence level, and nothing is heard any longer about introducing a second minimum wage for skilled workers (constantly demanded by the Socialists). Lower-level civil servants, railwaymen and office employees are disgruntled, for one "rationalization" after another is carried out at their expense.

The report exposed the "prosperity" myth cultivated by bourgeois and Right-wing Socialist propaganda. The rise in the standard of living that has taken place so far with its accompanying modernization of workers' homes equipped with modern appliances (radio, refrigerators, washing machines, etc.), answers the needs of modern production and can no longer be regarded as luxury. On the other hand, automation is acting as a spur to intensification of labor and is accompanied by ris-

ing industrial accidents and cases of nervous debility. Despite the boom and the abundance of goods in Luxembourg, large numbers of factory and office workers earn between five and seven thousand francs a year, which is very close to the minimum needed for subsistence. The steady decline in the purchasing power of money reduces to nought the wage increases won by the working class, while the profits of big business show a colossal growth.

In the future, too, the Communists will be in the van of the struggle for better conditions for the working people and to secure for them a bigger slice of the "national cake." They welcome the negotiations now under way for a merger of two trade unions: the Association of Trade Unions (Socialist) and the Federation of Free Trade Unions (close to our Party). This merger will add considerably to the militancy of the trade unions. As a result thousands of hitherto unorganized workers will be drawn into trade union activity. This being the case, the Christian trade unions, too, will hardly be in a position to keep aloof from the struggle for long.

In addition to fighting for effective participation in management by the working class (the Congress resolutely rejected the ideology of "co-partnership"), it is necessary to curtail and ultimately abolish the power of big capital in the interests of the people. For many socialism is no longer a bogey; even many Christian workers are beginning to think in terms of socialism. In order to break the monopoly of big capital a fight must be waged to reinforce and extend democratic institutions. The problems of this struggle occupied a prominent place both in the C.C. report and in the Congress discussion.

In recent times, especially since the shift to the Left in the 1964 election, there has been a growing trend among the progressive and democratic forces to enter into cooperation. For the first time unity of action has been achieved by all youth organizations; all, with the exception of the Social Christian organization, took part in the campaign against conscription. Young Communists, Socialists, Liberals and students campaign jointly. When the Social Christian Minister of Defense used the secret police against the youth and ordered the imposition of strict penalties in the barracks, the youth became more determined.

Another important step was the setting up of a national committee of solidarity with the Spanish people in the struggle against Franco. The committee includes, besides youth organizations (again with the exception of the Christians), a number of other Left organizations and trade unions. The same circles urged joint protest action against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. These unity trends, backed by the talks on the merger of the two above-mentioned trade union associations, were strikingly reflected in the composition and in the speeches of the delegates. Among the numerous

guests there was a large group of students and Left intellectuals.

The Congress report stressed the need for a new foreign policy for Luxembourg. The Communist demands to discontinue the arms race, abolish conscription and return to the traditional status of permanent neutrality (which existed in Luxembourg prior to 1940) have met with a wide response ever since the "European" illusions were dispelled (arising from the transfer of the European Coal and Steel Community offices to Brussels and with the merger of the executive bodies of the EEC, ECSC and "Euratom") and since cracks began to widen in both the "Europe" and "Atlantic" camps. The idea of peaceful coexistence advocated by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is gripping larger numbers of our people. The economic, social and scientific successes of socialism, on the one hand, and the barbarous militarist policy of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, on the other, have had an impact on public opinion.

All who spoke in the debate denounced the U.S. war in Vietnam and the revenge-seeking policy of the Bonn government. Delegates resolutely demanded that Luxembourg withdraw from military alliances and establish friendly relations with all the socialist states, including the GDR. Congress reaffirmed complete solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for national liberation and independence. Attention was focused on the two main tasks confronting the working class in the developed industrial countries of Western Europe:

- vigorous action for disarmament, international understanding and world peace;

- unite the working class and all the progressive and democratic forces to ensure that the victory of socialism, this best social system, be achieved, preferably by non-violent means.

Delegates unanimously stressed the need for unity of the world Communist movement. The resolution adopted unanimously pointed out that the Communist Party of Luxembourg sup-

ports the recommendations of the 19-Party consultative meeting which proposed the holding of a preliminary consultative meeting of representatives of the 81 parties that attended the 1960 Meeting in order to hold a well-prepared international conference of all fraternal parties. It shares the view of the Moscow meeting that all unfriendly and abusive polemics be discontinued in the interests of objective and comradely discussion of all issues facing the world movement, and pledges to do all in its power "to help overcome the difference and strengthen international unity."

A feature of the Congress was the spirit of proletarian internationalism, emphasized by the presence of representative delegations from the fraternal parties of the Soviet Union, France, Italy, West Germany and Belgium. Many fraternal parties sent greetings. The speeches by foreign guests and the reading of fraternal messages became an enthusiastic manifestation of unity of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The Congress took up in detail current problems of inner-Party work. The leading bodies, and the Central Committee and Presidium were elected unanimously. Comrade Dominique Urbani was re-elected Chairman of the Party. New Rules providing for broad democracy in Party life were adopted. The statement of principle adopted by the Seventeenth Congress in 1964 in connection with the rules points out, in particular, that the CPL is fighting for the triumph of socialism in Luxembourg in conformity with the national conditions and traditions of the working class, and in so doing it considers it fully possible to establish socialism in a peaceful way and based on the multi-Party system.

The electoral success of the CPL and its growing prestige show that it is on the right way. The Eighteenth Congress of the Party has equipped the Luxembourg Communists with a program of struggle for the solution of the tasks arising before us in the light of the new perspectives of the country's development.

Rene URBANI

Ireland's path to independence and socialism

THE MARXIST-LENINIST parties in Ireland, the Irish Workers' Party in the Republic and the Communist Party (Northern Ireland), have published their programs: "Ireland Her Own," adopted at the Fourth National Conference of the Irish Workers' Party in Dublin (March 1962) and "Ireland's Path to Socialism," adopted at the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party (Northern Ireland) in Belfast (June, 1962), in which they define the country's road to independence and socialism.

When work first started on the preparations for these programs, the possibility of publishing a joint program for both parties was first of all considered. However, the Joint National Council, composed of representatives from the Executive Committee of the two parties, reached the conclusion that because of the division of Ireland into a sovereign state: the Republic, and "a state" (Northern Ireland), subordinate to the United Kingdom of Great Britain, it would be necessary to prepare two complementary programs dealing in detail with the specific conditions to be found in each part of Ireland. This method of approach would present a clearer picture of present conditions in Ireland and facilitate the preparation of a program of advance to an Irish Socialist Republic and the winning of socialist power in Ireland. The aim set out in both programs is the establishment of progressive governments in both parts of Ireland, and the completion of the national independence struggle through the winning of an all-Ireland progressive government.

The national independence struggle which the Irish people had waged for centuries against British colonial domination resulted in the winning in 1921 of political independence for twenty-six of the thirty-two counties of Ireland. This area was known as the Irish Free State and later transformed into The Republic of Ireland. British imperialism retained direct control over six of the counties of Ireland — Northern Ireland.

Although the Republic is an independent state, nevertheless British imperialism, as the program of the Irish Workers' Party points out, still has a large grip on sections of its economy.

The banks in the Republic are closely tied with British interests: according to figures issued by the Irish Trade Union Congress in

1961, out of 36 directors of Irish banks 24 were also on the boards of British banks, insurance companies or firms. The section of industry in the Republic, which includes flour milling, petrol, rubber and chocolate firms, has assets of over £12 million and is largely controlled by British monopolies, with a small sprinkling of U.S. capital.

A large part of the wealth produced by the people of the Republic is not invested at home but in Britain and in colonies still under British control. Thus in 1960 the commercial banks held £104 million in assets outside the Republic and had only investments amounting to £31 million at home.

The major political parties associated with the government of the Republic acquiesce in this position. This policy has resulted in large-scale emigration, constant heavy unemployment, 160,000 old-age pensioners living on the verge of starvation, poor medical services and inadequate housing.

In spite of this indictment, the Fianna Fail government in the Republic and the chief opposition Party, Fine Gael, both look to an all-out dependence on foreign capital and monopolies to solve the economic problems of the Republic.

In Northern Ireland the British imperialists are aided and abetted by the Unionist Party (the Government) which the program of the Communist Party qualifies as "... the political arm of the industrial, commercial and financial magnates, to which were joined the remnants of the landed aristocracy." Also, the Unionist Party were able to gain support amongst the Protestant sections of the working class and small farmers by confusing political questions with religious differences. Hence, the British Tories were able to organize a counter-revolutionary force in Northern Ireland, threaten civil war and by this means impose the separation of Ireland into two states.

That the Northern Ireland government is subordinate to Britain is clearly shown in the matter of financial relations. Ninety per cent of the revenue raised in Northern Ireland is collected by Britain, which includes: income tax, customs and excise, and the various profits taxes. With the level of such taxation being decided by Britain and the Northern Ireland government having no power to control it, the

consequences for the economy of Northern Ireland have been disastrous. Further, Northern Ireland suffers from an export of capital—£420 million being invested outside its borders.

The monied section of Northern Ireland only puts 21 per cent of its resources into local undertakings, 79 per cent are exported abroad through the banks which, with only two exceptions, are controlled by British concerns.

The ruling party, the Unionist Government, despite the conditions which have resulted from dependence on imperialism, still look to that force "to solve" their problems. Hence, to fill the vacuum created by the export of capital they canvass feverishly for foreign capital. But this does not solve the problem. No less than 55 per cent of the value of property and investments in Northern Ireland is held by outside interests.

Thus, in this situation, the Northern Ireland government lavishes public money as inducements to foreign monopolies. The program says: "In the course of a decade the Northern Ireland taxpayers have subscribed the sum of £22 million to the building of factories as inducements to Britain and American business concerns."

The direct result of this state of affairs has been the concentration of businesses into fewer and fewer hands, the swallowing up of the less powerful enterprises by the giant monopolies. The once independent concerns are not swallowed by more powerful local competitors—they pass into the hands of British and other foreign monopolies.

British imperialism is a retarding force on the political, social and economic development of Ireland as a whole. And it is pointed out in the two programs that this will be increasingly emphasized as the crisis of British capitalism further develops.

Both programs point out that, resulting from the growing strength of the world socialist system, conditions have become more favorable for the struggle against imperialism, the winning of national independence and the achievement of a socialist Ireland. Hence, this analysis of both the Irish Marxist parties, which is based on their own experience, corresponds with the 1960 81-Party Moscow statement which the two Irish Marxist parties signed.

Resulting from the growing strength of the world socialist system, the international forces for socialism and progress, the national independence movements and the forces for peace, there arises the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in Ireland. This possibility is envisaged in the program of both parties. With socialism in Ireland as their objective aim, both programs see the way forward through the winning of progressive governments in the Republic and in Northern Ireland, under working-class leadership, based on policies of opposition to imperialism, for national independence, for democratic rights, for satisfaction of the needs of the people, etc.

Of course, differences in the two parts of Ireland mean that the program and the forces to achieve these progressive governments are not exactly the same. Firstly, the Republic is a sovereign state with all the essential legislative and fiscal powers that are embodied in national autonomy. Hence, a progressive government in Dublin would have the powers to develop economic independence, to prevent the export of capital, to nationalize the banks, to control trade, to protect home industry against foreign monopolies and to set up new state industries under democratic control.

But this is not the case in Northern Ireland, as all such powers are held by the British Parliament; therefore, a progressive government in Northern Ireland would have to take such powers, and this, of course, would bring it into sharp conflict with British imperialism.

Moreover, in the struggle for more democratic rights the issue of religious discrimination, which is used by the Northern Ireland government as a means of dividing the working class, is not a factor in the affairs of the Republic. An essential for advance in Northern Ireland is the winning of 'Protestant' workers for the struggle against the Unionist Government-sponsored discrimination in relation to Catholics in employment, housing, electoral and democratic rights generally.

"Abolition of all anti-democratic laws, an end to civil and religious discrimination, and an end to the rigging of electoral areas in the interests of the wealthy," states the Program of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, "can be accomplished by united action of the people. The organized Labor movement is the force to lead the struggle for democracy and the rights of the individual to participate with equality in public affairs. The Communist Party has this struggle as its foremost aim."

The class forces which are essential to achieve progressive governments are not exactly parallel in both parts of Ireland. Because of partition and the effects which flow from it, there are greater possibilities in Northern Ireland for winning the national bourgeoisie for a progressive government, based on an anti-imperialist program. However, broadly speaking, the forces which can bring about progressive governments in both parts of Ireland are based on: the working class, small farmers, small businessmen and intellectuals.

The Working class is the best organized force to lead the struggle for an end to imperialism's exploitation of Ireland. With the establishment of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (an all-Ireland workers' organization) much has been done to break down the barriers erected by imperialism in order to divide the workers. Such an organization is a direct blow to the agents of imperialism in Ireland.

Both programs of the Irish Marxist-Leninist parties, which discuss at length the programs for progressive governments, clearly demonstrate that the conditions for the winning of

such governments in both parts of Ireland are present in struggle based on programs of opposition to imperialism, for national independence and for the raising of the people's living standards. Both programs call for measures to ensure full democracy in public life, nationalization of the entire banking and finance system, nationalization of all major industries which are linked with imperialist interests. They also envisage the comprehensive development of the cooperative movement and agriculture. Progressive governments in both parts of Ireland would be able to carry out broad plans for the development of all aspects of the social services: housing, pension, health, education and culture.

Both programs underline the need for economic cooperation between the two parts of Ireland and for the development of trade with all countries.

Both Marxist-Leninist parties in Ireland stand for peaceful coexistence between nations with different social systems, test-ban agreements, the end of nuclear missile bases, the withdrawal of all military bases from foreign soil, the achievement of general and complete disarmament. Both programs stress the need for the outlawing of all forms of colonialism and emphasize that progressive governments in Ireland would support all peoples struggling to free themselves from colonial oppression.

The Irish Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Northern Ireland emphasize the need for the reunification of Ireland: "The removal of partition would release all the forces, and they are many, from the subjective features that inhibit the common struggle of the Irish people in their aspirations for a new life. It would unite the working class and national movement on a scale never known since the beginning of this century. It would release the people from the bondage of politico-religious and sectarian extremes which have been the stock-in-trade of British imperialism and its supporters, and direct the energies of the people against all the forces in Ireland who oppose progress." (Ireland's Path to Socialism.)

The programs envisage the reunification of Ireland taking place through the fusion of the struggles against imperialism on all fronts as they develop in both parts of Ireland. The exact conditions under which an end to the division of Ireland, created by British imperialism, will take place cannot be written down as in a blueprint. What is given in the programs is a guide based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the objective conditions in both parts of the country. No doubt to some extent the struggle against imperialism will develop differently in the Republic and in Northern Ireland.

The basic factor in the struggle for Irish national independence is the anti-imperialist cha-

racter of the struggle, which can unite all the progressive forces in both parts of Ireland around a common slogan: an end to imperialist domination and non-alignment with the imperialist camp.

The winning of political power by the working class and the establishment of a socialist state in Ireland, where the ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange is in the hands of the workers, is declared to be the only means of securing a final solution to complete national independence, full democracy, the end of all unemployment and an end to the exploitation of man by man.

The means to attain socialism is by working-class struggle in all spheres—economic, social, ideological and political. It is in the course of the struggle for an end to the domination of imperialism, for national liberation, for peace, for the raising of people's living standards, for progressive governments in both parts of Ireland that the majority of the people, under working-class leadership, can be won for the establishment of a socialist state.

The Communist Party of Northern Ireland proclaims in its program that the winning of a majority of the people for a socialist policy, and the establishment of an Irish Socialist Republic based on the will of the people, must be accompanied by measures to ensure socialist democracy in the entire state organization.

The programs of both parties emphasize that the British working class is a powerful ally of the Irish movement for progress.

With socialism in Ireland as their objective aim, both Marxist-Leninist parties are now engaged in building strong parties "of a new type," which is an essential factor in the effective rallying of the forces in both parts of Ireland for progressive governments in Dublin and Belfast, based on the unity of the working people in the fight against monopoly capitalism. Through this means the Joint National Council of the Marxist-Leninist parties in Ireland see the freeing of our country from the control of foreign monopolies and alignments with imperialism, the end to the separation of the country into two states and the establishment of a Socialist Government in Ireland.

Conditions in the world are on our side because, as the program of the Irish Workers' Party states: "The strength of the socialist countries, with their crisis-free economic systems, and the growth of the newly independent ex-colonies, have created a new situation in the world. No longer can imperialism dictate its will to the whole world. The weakening of world imperialism which has resulted from these developments, has placed countries such as Ireland in a much stronger position to resist imperialist pressure and to maintain their independence."

J. STEWART

The situation in Iraq and the position of the Communist Party

THE MEETING OF THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iraq held in April thoroughly examined the political situation in the country. It discussed a draft policy statement which is being widely discussed by the membership. In the statement the Central Committee declares that in future Party functionaries and rank and file will have a bigger say in determining the attitude of the party and formulating its policy.

The meeting also approved a resolution denouncing the U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the people of South Vietnam who are waging a just struggle of liberation.

The C.C. decision condemned the undermining activity of the imperialists and their agents, personified by Israel and CENTO, against the Arab liberation movement, and also called on the Arabs to close their ranks in order to foil the schemes of the imperialists and Zionists.

Noteworthy too is that during the past year the political line of our Party was debated not only by its members but also by many non-members. It can be said that the political line is the product not only of the wisdom of the Central Committee but also of the consciousness of all Communists and revolutionaries who have passed through the trials of the 1958-59 democratic revolution, through the ordeals of the Kassem military dictatorship, the Baathist counter-revolutionary regime and the present militarist regime. Our Party has emerged from these ordeals closely united. The new political line will be of great help in building a united national democratic front. The statement of the Central Committee is published under the heading: "For the solidarity of all anti-imperialist patriotic and nationalist forces. For the overthrow of the dictatorial military regime of Aref-Yahia, for a provisional government of national coalition, for ending the legacy of past dictatorships, for democratic freedoms, for a democratic settlement of the Kurd question and for bringing life in the country back to normal on a firm democratic foundation."

The C.C. meeting decided on the need for this political line after a thorough examination of the situation in the country and of the activities carried out by the present regime. In one year alone punitive expeditions executed more patriots than did the monarchy in its last 25 years. The undeclared war has been resumed

against the peace-loving Kurdish people who insist on their lawful national rights and who want unity with their Arab brothers on the basis of equality. Several thousand Communists and democrats languish in jail, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Power is concentrated in the hands of a military junta, which has deprived the patriotic forces of any legality and freedoms.

The present rates of the implementation of the land reform law are such that it will take 25 years to complete it, but even if fully carried out hundreds of thousands of peasant families will still remain landless while millions of acres will be owned, as before, by big landowners. In Kurdistan the implementation of the land reform has been generally suspended in the hope that this will draw the Kurdish feudal lords into the struggle against Kurd patriots.

As regards the attitude to the oil monopolies, the present regime has retreated even where the people won successes under the Kassem dictatorship. New loopholes have been opened for the penetration of foreign capital in other spheres as well, while economic cooperation with the socialist countries has been curtailed.

The statement of the Central Committee emphasized that "the features of the present regime are jingoism, political reaction and military dictatorship. This characterization cannot be changed by the presence in the government of some nationalist patriots or their support for the government." The statement calls on the anti-imperialist Arab nationalists who have posts in the government to relinquish them and join with the people's opposition. It also calls on all patriot forces and on the people to unite and overthrow the Aref-Yahia dictatorship; to realize the basic political demands of the people, specifically a democratic settlement of the Kurd problem; to hold free general elections and secure democratic freedoms.

The Communists, while leaving the final, concrete and detailed elaboration and formulation of the political platform of the united front for the front itself to decide, have submitted for its consideration a draft platform, including such points as a democratic settlement of the Kurd problem (also the issue of autonomy), a general amnesty and legal measures against the Baathist crimes, reinstatement of those who have been dismissed for political reasons, freedom of the press, for political parties and

trade unions, purging the administration of agents of imperialism, removing the shortage of consumer goods, lower prices, steps to abolish unemployment and fix a just minimum wage, social insurance, restoration of Iraq's rights in the oil corporations and the realization of plans for a national oil company, reducing the maximum size of land holdings, industrialization, economic planning, development of the state sector and defense of the private sector against foreign competition, consolidation of Arab solidarity and active support for the Arab liberation movement in Palestine, Aden and Oman, closer relations with the UAR and the other independent Arab states and gradual transition to the realization of Arab unity on a firm democratic foundation and taking account of the will of the Arab peoples, a firm foreign policy in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and support of the national-liberation movements, and consolidation of friendly relations and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

On the special significance of political democracy in Iraqi life, the statement of the Central Committee has this to say: "The idea of social democracy should not be made to replace political democracy or used as a pretext for depriving the people and the patriotic forces of the right to political activity and other democratic freedoms. The anti-imperialist elements in the Arab Socialist Union are called upon to reconsider their attitude to the multi-party system and to political freedoms, to reject the idea of the one-party system, and to disavow responsibility for the policy of the present regime.

"Our Party is resolutely against the intrigues aimed at deepening the differences among the patriotic forces. With regard to the need for cooperation with the anti-imperialist nationalists, it feels that this cooperation can develop on the basis of mutual trust and respect, not on encroachments on the ideological and organizational sovereignty of any of the parties or organizations. Our Party, which came into existence 31 years ago, is part and parcel of the country's history and one of the pillars of its political life. Our Party was born in order to give resolute expression to the interests of the working class, to be the instrument of its struggle, the standard-bearer of its historical mission

and the exponent of its Marxist-Leninist teaching."

This, in the opinion of the Communist Party, is the way out of the present political impasse in Iraq, and this is the way to further progress and people's welfare. The Party calls on all democratic and progressive forces to rally closely in a united national front to attain this aim. The imperialist and reactionary forces, while taking advantage of the present disunity and supporting the Aref government against the Arab and Kurd peoples in Iraq, simultaneously come up against their own alternative for they realize that the Aref government is on the verge of collapse.

Conditions for the democratic way out of the present crisis and also to forestall imperialist plots are becoming increasingly favorable. The regime is fatally isolated from the masses and the majority of the patriotic forces.

The statement highly appreciates the role played by the governments of the UAR and Algeria in the Arab world and on the international arena in support of world peace, the national-liberation movement and the struggle to abolish the strongholds of colonialism. The Iraqi Communist Party regards the success and important social changes in these countries as a victory for the working people of the entire Arab world. It calls for close cooperation of all the patriotic forces of Iraq and the UAR leaders. While it welcomes any constructive criticism from other patriotic parties as a positive instrument conducive to mutual cooperation, the Party regards as equally legitimate constructive criticism of the UAR leaders, for example, for their incorrect attitude to the national-liberation movement of the people of Iraq, in particular, for the support they are still rendering the present dictatorial Aref regime.

Now as before, our people place their hopes on the solidarity of the progressive forces of the world, on support in their difficult struggle and, in particular, on aid to the Kurd national revolution. International solidarity of progressives throughout the world was an important factor in bringing about the isolation and overthrow of the counter-revolutionary Baathist regime. In the future, too, this solidarity will undoubtedly play a no less decisive role in accelerating the downfall of the present military dictatorship of the Aref-Yahia clique.

NADJI

Circulation of Marxist-Leninist literature in Argentina

AT THE END OF LAST YEAR the Cartago Publishing House in Argentina completed the first Spanish-language edition of Lenin's works in 42 volumes. The translation was done from the Fourth Russian edition of the Works prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow.

Spanish-speaking men and women active in the working-class movement and research workers now have at their disposal the treasure-house of Lenin's writings. The Argentine edition was undertaken at a time when the new stage of the most deep-going transformation of human society, the stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism, poses new problems which cannot be correctly resolved by intuition in a spontaneous manner.

In Latin America the dissemination of Marxist ideas dates back to the time of the First International. Later, the Communist parties, which began to be formed about 1918, became consistent propagandists of Marxist-Leninist works. After the Second World War when the world realized the power of the Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin, when revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries resulted in the rise of the socialist world system, and in our days when the revolution in Cuba brought socialism to the American continent, Marxist-Leninist literature attracts all who feel concern for the destiny of man. This made possible the "miracle" of publishing Lenin's Works in Argentina in extremely difficult conditions.

The translation was undertaken between 1958 and 1964 — a period that witnessed a coup d'état and a series of clashes between rival military groups, all the way to street fighting in Buenos Aires; during much of this time decrees were in operation which prohibited the popularization of Marxist ideas and under which hundreds of people were imprisoned. Thus, the work was done either in semi-legal conditions or at a time when all legal activity was banned and even the Cartago Publishing House was closed by the authorities. The police repeatedly raided the printshop and the warehouse of the Publishers, arrested members of its staff and confiscated books. But each time, thanks to the resolve of the publishers and the support and solidarity of the workers and the public generally, the work resumed and the authorities were forced to release the staff and return the confiscated books.

I do not think there are many other examples of publications of this kind being undertaken in similar conditions. And if we were to disclose the secret of this in just two words, we would have to say that publication became *possible* because it was really *necessary*. The interest in the Works is the proof of this. Despite all the obstacles, the average circulation of each volume amounted to 6,000 copies. Moreover, some of the volumes were sold out before the edition was completed, so that reprints were necessary. Besides, some volumes were published as separate works, such as "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" (in 5,000 copies), and "Philosophical Notebooks" (10,000).

All these years in Argentina were characterized by the rise of the working-class and popular movement, by strikes in which up to 12 million workers took part. At times the strikes assumed such militant forms as occupation of enterprises, mass demonstrations ending in clashes with the police. The strikers advanced not only immediate economic demands but also such basic demands as nationalization of the enterprises owned by foreign monopolies, release of political prisoners, repeal of the repressive laws and decrees banning the Communist and Peronist parties, restoration of democratic freedoms, and respect for the right of nations to self-determination, specifically that of the people of revolutionary Cuba.

Simultaneously with the strikes, big actions were fought against the rising cost of living, for democratic liberties and academic freedom, against the despatch of troops to the Caribbean, against the threat of coups, against oil concessions to foreigners, for nationalization of the electric power industry, for peace and disarmament.

And the circulation of Marxist literature substantially increased despite the conditions of illegality into which the Communist Party was forced. A questionnaire submitted to progressive publishing houses in Buenos Aires revealed the following figures: between 1957 and 1963, 743 Marxist books and pamphlets were put out in editions totalling 6,643,750 copies. To these should be added 202 issues of theoretical and political journals with a total edition of 1,761,970 copies. In the first six months of 1964 another 50 books and 15 issues of journals were published.

Some more figures. In the same period the

following works were printed and sold out completely: "Capital" and the "Theory of Surplus Value" by Marx, "Selected Works," "Correspondence" and "On Religion" by Marx and Engels (5,000 copies each), "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" by Engels (10,000 copies), "The State and Revolution" by Lenin (10,000 copies). The last two works appeared in a series entitled "Marxist-Leninist Library" together with 25 other works.

Much has been done in the way of elaborating Marxist theory by Argentine writers. Among their books mention could be made of the 4-Volume Selected Works of V. Codovilla (10,000 copies), "Penetration of the U.S. Trusts in Argentina" by J. Fuchs, "Dialectical Materialism" by E. Troise, "Dialectical Psychology" by J. Thenon, "Marxism and Humanism" by H. P. Agosti, "Argentina: The Present Situation and the Prospects" by B. Marianetti, "Economic and Social Life in Argentina" by M. Isacovich, "History of the Argentine Working-Class Movement" by R. Iscaro, as well as "Guidelines for Trade

Union Education" (the circulation of each ranged from 5 to 10 thousand copies). This, of course, far from exhausts the list. Circulation of Marxist journals is likewise growing. Last year the readership of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* reached 14,000; of *Nueva Era*, theoretical and political journal of the Communist Party, 15,000 copies; of *Quadernos de Cultura*, a bimonthly published for intellectuals, 6,000; of *Revista Economica*, a quarterly, 4,000. The bulk of this literature is circulated among a working-class readership.

The political and social base of the rise in the working-class and democratic movement is highlighted by the fact that between March 1963 and May 1, 1964, the Communist Party enrolled some 50,000 new members, bringing its total to nearly 150,000, and also the fact that, thanks to the mass actions, mainly of the working class, our Party regained its legal status at the end of last year.

Alberto FERRARI

HEROES OF THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNISM

A life dedicated to the people

"HIS FACE TURNED pale, and I could see that he was seething with rage and indignation. The column of demonstrators had just turned into Kartnerstrasse when there was an explosion. The Nazis had thrown a stink bomb. The man next to me kept repeating: 'The same thing all over again, that's how it all began.' As we passed the screaming crowd he touched me on the shoulder and said: 'Look at them, listen to their yelling . . .' There wasn't a policeman in sight. Suddenly the ringleaders of the counter-demonstration rushed us. They were followed by others. Then I caught sight of a fellow of medium height holding something in his hand. The next minute he had struck the man next to me. A few seconds later this elderly person, streaming with blood, was lying on the ground." This is how an eye-witness described the death of Comrade Ernst Kirchweyer, former Resistance fighter and veteran of the Communist Party of Austria.

These tragic events took place in Vienna, not in the 30s when the Brownshirts were on the rampage, but as recently as March 31, 1965.

This first political assassination in Austria since the war shows that fascism has not been completely rooted out. "Twenty years after

liberation from the dictatorship of National-Socialism the Brown shadows are again looming over Austria," the *Neues Oesterreich* warned. "These shadows, gathering over schools and universities, are stretching to certain spheres of public opinion, are enveloping justice. . . ."

Provocative actions by a certain Borodajewycz, a faculty member of the Vienna Academy of World Trade, who boasted of his fascism, propagated anti-Semitism and slandered the people of Austria gave the neo-fascists their cue.

The streets of the capital became the arena of a clash between two forces — between the many thousand anti-fascist demonstrators, on the one hand, and the few hundred fascist thugs, on the other. The democratic student body, other youth organizations and Resistance fighters demonstrated under the slogan: "Austrian students will not tolerate anti-Semitism and anti-democracy in their high schools!" In the fascist counter-demonstration the reactionary student corporations and Nazi unions united with ex-Gestapo men, members of the neo-Nazi "Austrian Liberation Party." It was not the first time that these elements had taken part in terrorist acts. Recall their armed raid on Parliament in the autumn of 1961. The

authorities showed the utmost leniency at the time, sentencing the criminals to a mere 10 months' imprisonment. They lost no time upon their release in plotting new terrorist acts. On March 31, armed with steel rods and other weapons, they rushed the demonstrators with cries of "Long live Auschwitz!" It was in this unequal encounter that Ernst Kirchweger was foully murdered.

Ernst Kirchweger was born in Vienna on January 12, 1898. A true son of the working class, he dedicated his life to the struggle of the proletariat. He joined the Social Democratic youth organization when still in his teens, and later the Social Democratic Party. In 1916 he served in the Navy where he joined the revolutionary sailors who hoisted red flags on their ships' masts and broadcast: "Enough of the slaughter! Freedom and fraternity!"

After the first world war the young worker studied intensively. He became active in his trade union, was a member of the Schutzbund, the armed organization of the Austrian working class.

In the February days of 1934 when the Dollfuss regime, with the support of the Italian fascists, launched an offensive against the working-class movement which had been betrayed by the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders, Ernst Kirchweger, like many of his comrades, joined the Communist Party. He was one of the first to start political work, to organize the trade union movement in conditions of illegality. Hiding from the police he put out an underground trade union paper and organized the collection of funds for the families of the victims of the February events.

During the Nazi occupation Kirchweger's flat became one of the underground centers of the anti-fascist struggle, which kept the people informed of world events, was the meeting place of the Resistance fighters, organized relief for the victims of the Hitler terror.

Friends of the fearless anti-fascist recall how after the liberation by the Soviet Army in 1945 he devoted all his energies to building the new, free Austria.

A self-educated man who later became the head of a large publishing house, Ernst Kirchweger always strove to impart his knowledge to others. The most important thing, he used

to say, was to "enlighten and once again enlighten people, and the youth in the first place, for then they will understand things."

The news of the foul murder of the 67-year old Communist, a man with a great heart and inflexible will, reverberated throughout Austria. His funeral became a powerful anti-fascist demonstration in which more than 20,000 people took part — workers, Ministers, Communists, Socialists, Catholics. The funeral orations were a vow to bar the way to neo-Nazism. The speakers stressed, one and all, the premeditated character of the crime. Reinhold Knoll, a Catholic student said: "By his life and by his death Ernst Kirchweger showed that trends which we thought had been buried and done with, and which have so sharply come to the surface of late, had been operating for a long time already."

The country was swept by a wave of public meetings the keynote of which was unity of all the patriotic forces to combat neo-fascism. Even capitalist papers warned against the danger of conniving with the fascist elements and stressed the need to repulse them.

Speaking at a public meeting in Vienna, Friedl Fuernberg, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria, refuted the anti-Communist allegation made by Chancellor Klaus that Communists were the enemies of democracy. "Today, as we stand at the grave of our fallen Comrade Kirchweger, it is in place to say to Klaus that he would do well to reflect before hurling our people into misfortune with methods such as the assertion that both are to blame — the murdered and the murderer. All thinking people cannot fail to see that Socialists, Catholics, non-party people and the Communists did the right thing in coming out jointly against the Nazi menace. We must together prevent new sacrifices being made in our country.

"Only unity of all democratic forces can prevent a repetition of similar crimes, only unity can bar the way to neo-fascism. Ernest Kirchweger's words, spoken after the liberation of Austria in 1945, will then come true: 'At last an end has been put to this for all time. Never again will there be fascism in Austria.'"

R. FALKE

Solidarity with victims of injustice and lawlessness

THE 1960 STATEMENT of the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers parties called for a "powerful international campaign for the liberation of all those fighting for peace, for national independence and democracy."

The French Communist Party has given its active support to peoples fighting for their freedom. On May 4 *l'Humanite* published a letter received from a group of Vietnam people who had lived at one time in France. "For us who lived in France," reads the letter, "who had the honor to fight side by side with French democrats and peace partisans, who joined with you on more than one occasion in protesting against the war in Vietnam and Algeria, against rearming West Germany, for all of us the fact that the people of France went out onto the streets of Paris, Marseilles and Grenoble in support of our people, is a source of added strength and reinforces our resolve to fight and work for the good of our country."

The French working-class movement has a splendid tradition in this respect. Its history is a record of solidarity actions: in support of the young republic of Soviets, and later, in 1923, against the occupation of the Ruhr; demonstrations in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, various manifestations against the colonial wars in Morocco, Syria, Vietnam and Algeria and in support of the people of Spain, Greece and Portugal.

The Communists have always worked to bring all democrats and progressive people together in the fight against reaction. It was on this basis that the association known as the French Organization of Popular Assistance (FOPA) was formed.

Today the organization enjoys the support of hundreds of thousands of people of differing political views, religious and non-believers, who take an active part in collecting funds and other campaigns sponsored by the organization. Its prestige was gained in the grim years of the Hitler occupation when many of its members were shot for their patriotic activity. Today it renders increasing aid to the victims of lawlessness and social injustice. It has been particularly helpful to strikers' families and to the victims of police repressions.

The FOPA also functions on an international plane. It has earned a worldwide reputation as an indefatigable organizer of solidarity campaigns with the victims of repressions everywhere.

During the war in Algeria, 3,000 Algerian prisoners, political and trade union leaders, chose FOPA lawyers to defend them in court. Forty of the association's lawyers made frequent visits to Algeria at considerable risk to themselves. Millions of francs were collected at factory gates to cover their expenses. Two ambulances were presented to the Algerian Red Cross and campaigns conducted — in several cases with success — to secure pardons for Algerian patriots under sentence of death. On the other hand, more than 350 French citizens, civilians and servicemen, and their families, received material and legal assistance when court proceedings were instituted against them for their efforts to secure a peaceful settlement in Algeria.

Meetings to demand the liberation of recruits who refused to fight in Algeria were held all over the country. Protest demonstrations took place in most departments on FOPA initiative. In October 1961 the police attacked peaceful demonstrations of Algerian residents in France; many were held in detention camps where conditions were notoriously bad. Backed by the trade unions, the FOPA exposed the police brutality and the racist actions of the authorities, and organized demonstrations of solidarity with the prisoners and with exiled Algerian patriots.

After the conclusion of the Evian Agreements, the FOPA helped 160 French doctors and medical assistants to go to Algeria. Two hundred and fifty tons of medical supplies, food and clothing were sent to Algerians. More than 30 million francs (old) were spent on the purchase of surgical instruments for the freedom-fighters and for help to Algerians released from prisons and camps. Today too the organization continues its solidarity with independent Algeria, by sending clothing and medical supplies and other help in the shape of books in Braille for the 5,000 young Algerians who lost their sight.

The French Popular Assistance Organization is well known also to Spanish republicans.

During the Civil War in Spain various organizations, including the League of French Girls, collected food, clothing and surgical instruments for the Republican soldiers. Up to the present, solidarity with the victims of Franco repressions is manifested in a variety of ways: protest meetings, solidarity conferences, petitions and speeches by public figures. The Organization devotes special attention to collecting funds for the families of prisoners and for sending lawyers to Spain.

At his trial in December 1964, Jose Sandoval, member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, asked the FOPA lawyer, then in Madrid, to convey "deepest gratitude to the French people."

Aid and solidarity have been extended to prisoners in Burgos and Carabanchel, to the families of the Asturian miners, and also to the immigrants coming to France in search of political asylum.

The organization renders moral and financial support also to Portuguese political prisoners. Here are a few excerpts from letters received from the Caxias prison in Portugal: "Here in Caxias, under constant surveillance by the enemy, perpetually at the mercy of brutal warders, we have been inspired by your heartwarming message. We felt once again that you are with us in our struggle, and it was as if the walls of these dungeons in which the butchers would bury us alive had collapsed on the instant. . . . Your help has also reached us! Thank you, dear friends. Our confidence in victory is growing day by day. . . ."

The FOPA maintains close contact with Greek patriots, and particularly with the Athens Association of the Families of Political Prisoners. The people of Greece owe their initial successes in their fight against the repressions in no small measure to the French democrats. In Paris and Rouen meetings were held demanding an amnesty in Greece and solidarity rallies, and letters and money orders sent to the prisoners. At present a campaign of solidarity with 120 prisoners in the Averoff jail, including eight women, is underway, and the FOPA committees are winning growing support for their cause. On Mothers Day, French mothers marched to the Greek consulate to demand the release of the imprisoned women.

A campaign of solidarity was conducted in support of the young people of Martinique confined in the Fresnes prison in 1963 and of the victims of repressions in Madagascar, on Reunion, in Morocco, Cameroun and "Portuguese" Guinea.

Help is accorded also to immigrant workers in France in the shape of distribution of clothing among African workers, defense of immigrant workers by the organization's lawyers, etc.

The work of the organization is important also because it brings together democrats of diverse views in a common struggle for justice and liberty. It thus helps to unite the progressive forces of France, strikes telling blows at the imperialist machine of repressions and contributes its share to the struggle for freedom, democracy, friendship among peoples and social justice.

Julien LAUPRETRE

For amnesty in Venezuela

THE HISTORY OF THE governments of Betancourt and Leoni in Venezuela is one of ruthless suppression of any opposition.

In December 1958 Betancourt, a Democratic Action candidate, polled enough votes to form a government supported by the main political parties. Most Venezuelans hoped then that his government would restore democracy and civil liberties, long trampled underfoot by the ruthless Jimenez dictatorship. But these hopes began to fade in the very first months of Betancourt's rule. Instead of working out a sound industrialization plan and putting an end to the exploitation of our national resources by foreign capital, chiefly North American, Betancourt concentrated on suppressing any movement for genuine democracy.

At the end of his stay in office Betancourt was supported only by some groups of the Democratic Action party, which was rent by profound antagonisms, and by the Christian

Democratic COPEI. All other parties and groups had joined the opposition. To stamp out the opposition movements, Betancourt set up a multitude of police organs lavishly supplied with weapons and money. Indeed, the establishment of DIGEPOL, the political police of the Ministry of the Interior, judicial police controlled by the Ministry of Justice, the SIFA and SIM military police organizations, state and municipal police detachments, and the paramilitary police of the ruling Democratic Action, was the chief result of Betancourt's five-year rule.

Leoni, who succeeded Betancourt as another Democratic Action President, inherited the police organizations and "methods of work" of his predecessor. These two governments perfected the repressive methods used by Jimenez's *Seguridad Nacional* against the Communists and even members of the Democratic Action itself. The present government is ruthlessly persecut-

ing members of the democratic opposition movement, especially leaders of the National Liberation Front, the Armed Forces of National Liberation, the Communist Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement.

The list of crimes, which opened with the shooting of a demonstration of unemployed in Concordia Square in Caracas a few days after the Betancourt government's inauguration, is growing daily. In violation of the Constitution, the Democratic Action leaders, the army command, Minister of the Interior Gonzalo Barrios and the state governors break up demonstrations and arrest and kill fighters for a democratic government. The police, aided by the army, are conducting wholesale reprisals in the regions where guerrilla detachments operate. Many of their crimes have been exposed in the National Congress and in the press and brought to the knowledge of world public opinion. They are also well known to the Attorney General, himself an obedient tool of the regime.

Here are but a few pictures of the hell in which our people have to live:

Jose Gregorio Rodrigues, Communist Party leader, was thrown out of the upper storey of the DIGEPOL building;

Ali Paredes, a young Communist, was shot in his own home in the presence of his mother and sisters;

Vasquez La Torre, his comrade, was hanged in the Miranda State police office;

Trino Barrios, peasant leader, and Professor Soto Rojas of Central University were murdered by DIGEPOL agents in Caracas;

in Barinas State, a young man by the name of Ortega was hanged from a tree;

in retaliation for the guerrillas' seizure of a village in Falcon State, a military plane dropped a bomb on a group of six villagers on the way to their fields; all six were killed;

Burro Island, not far from Caracas, has been converted into a concentration camp; prisoners are kept under the open sky, in conditions which doom them to a slow death. Their number includes prominent political leaders, such as Eloy Torres and Luis F. Ojeda;

victims of the regime in San Carlos Prison in Caracas include former Communist and LRM members of parliament, outstanding leaders of these parties: Jesus Faria, Gustavo and Eduardo Machado, Guillermo Garcia Ponce, Jesus Maria Casal, Pompeyo Marquez, Teodoro Petkoff, and more than a hundred officers opposed to the government. The treatment of the former MPs is particularly inhuman. They are confined in the so-called Smoke Cave deprived of sunlight and denied medical care. Jesus Faria's condition is particularly grave. He needs treatment prescribed by a specialist, but a doctor was allowed to see him only after numerous public protests.

The police frequently use the "roulette system," transferring their victims from one prison to another till the Minister of the Interior examines their cases, deny them meetings with

relatives, conceal their place of confinement, and so on.

Official violence is countered by a growing movement for freedom for the political prisoners which neither the banning of meetings, dispersing demonstrations demanding respect for law, nor assassination of democrats can check.

The terror and the absence of civic liberties have impelled the opposition parties to unite. The government crisis caused by the demand for an amnesty became so serious that Uslar Pietri, one of the pillars of the regime, threatened to resign.

The rallying of the opposition forces was followed by a vigorous resurgence of the mass movement against the government's economic policy responsible for the soaring cost of living. Seeing that the army is unable to crush the guerrillas, the government decided on a new campaign of violence and launched it on April 1 by ordering the Caracas police to open fire on a peaceful demonstration headed by opposition deputies and senators. More than twenty persons were wounded and Miguel Angel Guerra, a university student, was killed. Vice-Admiral Larrazabal, former provisional President of the republic, who was among the demonstrators, was beaten up by the police. "I hold the government responsible for this bloodshed," Larrazabal declared, "and I ask it whether it intends to rule by democratic methods or wants the people and the opposition parties to reply by force of arms."

Mass demonstrations were held in all cities in protest. Resorting to their predecessors' methods, the authorities enacted a decree giving emergency powers to the government and entitling it to brand its opponents as conspirators and imprison them for up to 90 days. In this way, a procedure which can only be used to protect the security of the state against a real threat, was turned into a weapon against the opposition. Its organizations and newspapers were banned and many of its leaders arrested.

Realizing that repressions alone would not break the spirit of the people, the government resorted to a diversion. It arrested an Italian doctor, accusing him of having entered the country with a large sum of money allegedly sent by the Italian Communist Party "on orders from the Soviet Union." This cock-and-bull story was too crude even for the pro-imperialist press. The government's intention is not only to hit the opposition, but also to deceive public opinion as to the character of the solidarity with our struggle displayed by our brother revolutionaries all over the world and especially by the democratic movement in Italy. But this sinister design will hardly help.

The opposition counters every blow by intensifying the struggle, improving its organization and extending the work to explain the democratic and national character of our movement.

The terror in Venezuela is a flagrant violation of rights of man. That is why we urge world

public opinion to render our people material and moral support in their struggle for a democratic and patriotic government which would respect civic freedoms and rights.

At present the Italian democratic organizations, which vigorously support our struggle, are preparing an International Conference for an Amnesty of Political Prisoners in Venezuela.

At the beginning of June democratic organizations of European and other countries will send their delegates to Rome to outline measures for stepping up the movement of solidarity with our people's demand for freedom for the thousands of Venezuelans languishing in prison, a demand supported by upright people the world over.

J. PEREZ

Another wave of terror in Iran

WIDESPREAD DISCONTENT with the regime of Iran is a feature of political life in that country. One expression of this was the recent attempt on the life of the Shah. The fact that the attempt was made in the palace and by one of the Shah's bodyguards shows that resentment is high even among people who enjoy the Shah's confidence.

The attempt on the Shah was used as a pretext for reprisals. According to the foreign press, some 150 persons were arrested, among them a group of young engineers, students and army officers, all charged with complicity in the plot. Although it is clear from official reports that the charge is unfounded, the lives of these people are in danger. One of them, Parviz Nikkhah, a 25-year-old engineer, is reported to have died under torture.

The ground is burning under the feet of the Shah. The Shah, evidently, is aware of this for immediately after the attempt on his life he declared that he wanted to set up a regency council which would rule the country in the event of his death until the Crown Prince came of age, that is, until 1978.

This was the second terrorist act in Iran this year. In January Prime Minister Mansour was killed when on his way to parliament to submit a bill handing over Iran's petroleum resources in the Persian Gulf to imperialist monopolies. Then, too, a wave of reprisals swept the country. Many members of the nationalist religious organization "Champions of Islam" were arrested. Over the past 15 years this organization has assassinated a number of prime ministers (Hagir, Razmara, Zangane). Four members of the organization were sentenced to death.

Terror cannot, of course, be regarded as an effective means of revolutionary struggle. But the numerous attempts on top officials of the regime is a reflection of the popular resentment with government policy, a policy of betrayal as a result of which Iran is losing its independence and becoming more and more a colony of U.S. imperialists. For example, a special law was passed recently guaranteeing diplomatic immunity to all U.S. subjects resident in Iran.

Destitution is the lot of the working people,

which even the country's rulers are compelled to admit. There are close to one million unemployed. The weak national industry is being squeezed out by competition from abroad. The lion's share of the budget goes for the upkeep of the 220,000 strong army, police force, gendarmerie, and commandos and shock detachments, and to meet commitments as a member of CENTO.

Intensified repressions is the authorities' response to the legitimate demands of the people to improve their lot and to ensure elementary democracy. Terror has always been a favorite weapon of the Shah. In 1946 he slaughtered with the help of U.S. military, thousands of Azerbaijanian democrats. In August 1953, again with the help of the imperialists, he effected a coup after which the notorious commandos were formed. The Shah and his clique have adopted fascist methods in the struggle against the masses.

The prisons are filled with patriots who have never been brought to trial and who are shot in groups whenever the people take action against the regime. This was the case after the assassination of Prime Minister Mansour. And shortly before that a group of patriots belonging to the Bour-Ahmed and Mamasani tribes were shot.

In June 1963 when in many towns the people demonstrated against the regime, the authorities retaliated with brutal repression which resulted in several thousand people being killed. In the capital 150 tanks were brought out against the unarmed people.

In this country which is one vast prison the prevailing atmosphere is that of fear, suspicion and mistrust. Political organizations of both the working class and the national bourgeoisie have been smashed and their leaders jailed. Not a single legal newspaper or journal of the opposition appears; deputies instead of being elected are appointed by the Shah.

In cases where political prisoners are tried, the trials are held in camera by military tribunals. Executions are often associated with the oil question. Many of the shootings "reek of oil" as the people say. In 1954, for example,

several members of the People's Party (Tudeh) were shot shortly before the oil resources were handed over to an imperialist consortium. And now, too, consolidation of the positions of the oil monopolies is accompanied by bloodshed the aim of which is to intimidate the people and to intensify exploitation.

The People's Party consistently defends all patriots, irrespective of their political convictions. Our Party has called on progressives throughout the world to rally to the defense of Iran's patriots, to protest against the actions of the Shah and his masters—the Anglo-American imperialists. Special committees in defense

of Iranian political prisoners have been formed in a number of European countries. In Great Britain the committee is headed by the eminent philosopher Bertrand Russell who has proposed sending an authoritative legal commission to Iran to examine the authenticity of the indictments against the members of the opposition. Iranian students studying abroad (some 20,000) have initiated a campaign in defense of the political prisoners. National student organizations in many countries have also protested against the actions of the Iranian authorities. The voice of world public opinion can save the Iranian patriots.

A. HUSSEINI

WMR

reviews

The new work by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

PRESIDENT Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, in addition to his qualities as statesman and leader of the African national-liberation movement, is a thinker who has made a profound study of the complex problems of the African revolution; extirpating the last vestiges of colonialism, throwing light on the forms and methods of neo-colonialism, advocacy of African unity, the continent's role in world politics, its economic and social prospects — these and other issues have been the subject of his investigations. As far back as 1947 Dr. Nkrumah showed in his pamphlet *Towards Colonial Freedom* the place Africa was destined to take in the struggle against world imperialism.

Ghana was the first country in tropical Africa to win political independence after the Second World War. This determined its place in the national-liberation movement of the African people. It became a beacon illuminating the way to independence for other countries. The first meeting of representatives of eight independent African states took place in Accra in 1958. The first conference of the people of Africa was also held here. These two gatherings marked the beginning of a resolute and organized drive against the positions of colonialism and imperialism in Africa.

This explains why problems affecting not only his own country but the entire continent loom so large in Nkrumah's writings, including his latest work, *Consciencism*.*

*Kwame Nkrumah. *Consciencism*. Heinemann, London, 1964, 122 pp.

Nkrumah has made it his purpose theoretically to substantiate the possibility and necessity of far-reaching social change in Africa. He knows full well that the face of the continent can be changed only through the conscious creative efforts of its people. And since under colonial rule Africans were, in effect, barred from the wealth of knowledge accumulated by man, today, when most African countries have won national independence, the question of preparing the people to counteract the ideological offensive of imperialism and neo-colonialism has come emphatically to the fore.

Which ideological concepts to accept and which to reject — this is the question Nkrumah examines. Believing that "practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty" (p. 78) and regarding philosophy not as a mere collection of abstract schemes and systems but as an instrument of national and social emancipation, he draws a clear line between idealism and materialism. His sympathies are with the materialist philosophy, which not only explains the world but helps to remake it. It is symptomatic that Nkrumah chose as the epigraph to his *Consciencism* the passage in a letter by Engels to J. Bloch in which the writer underscores the indispensability of the materialist conception of history.

Nkrumah dwells on the relationship between philosophy and society and the ability of philosophy correctly to assess and explain the social and political processes under way on the

African continent. Of particular interest are the sections in which he discusses the specific problems of the African revolution, and especially the perspectives of the newly-emerged African states.

As in his previous books, in particular his Autobiography, Nkrumah again stresses that capitalism is unacceptable for the newly independent states of Africa; "capitalism," he writes, "would be a betrayal of the personality and conscience of Africa" (p. 74). He shows that capitalism is contrary to the traditional African society. The fact is that in most countries of tropical Africa the forces favoring the capitalist way are insignificant. The local bourgeoisie is very weak, still in the embryonic stage, and in many countries it virtually does not exist as a class. African society, in which capitalism is represented mainly by foreign monopolies, is basically outside the orbit of capitalist production relations. In most parts of the continent there is no private property in land, and joint cultivation prevails. The transition of peasants who till their land jointly to non-capitalist lines is a faster and less painful process than the uprooting of capitalist relationships among peasants clinging to their private plots and dominated by a private property mentality. The absence of big enterprises owned by a local bourgeoisie, forming and enlarging the state sector and nationalizing the foreign enterprises make it possible comparatively rapidly to develop new production relations in Africa's towns. Various socialist trends have gained wide currency. As Nkrumah points out, Africa today is discussing not so much the way the newly-free countries should take (for in many of them the choice has already been made in favor of socialism) as the "various conceivable types of socialism" (p. 105).

As is known, Ghana has made definite progress along the non-capitalist way since winning independence.

For many years now Nkrumah has been elaborating a theory of socialism applicable to African conditions. Socialism alone, he maintains, offers the possibility of achieving in the shortest time a good life for the people, because socialism presupposes public ownership of the means of production—the land and its resources — and the utilization of these means for production for the people. Socialist production is the production of goods and services to meet the needs of the people. It is not production for the sake of private profit which deprives the masses of the goods and services produced, leaving their needs and desires unsatisfied. The aim of the Convention People's Party of Ghana, Nkrumah has often said, is to build a socialist-type society in which the free development of each will be the condition for the free development of all—a model society compatible with African circumstances and conditions.

It should be said that he does not confine himself to an exposition of the general prin-

ciples of socialism. All the talk about socialism and economic and social reconstruction, he says, will remain talk unless attention is paid to radical industrialization and the agricultural revolution, and also to socialist education. Socialism, he goes on, will remain a slogan until industrialization has been achieved.

Ghana's first seven-year plan (1963/64-1969/70) is projected towards these aims. Its main task is to put an end to the colonial structure of the economy and begin socialist reconstruction through all-round promotion of the state and cooperative sectors. Based on the principle that "the growth rate of the public sector must always exceed the growth rate of the private sector in agriculture and industry," this plan ushers in a transitional period of twenty years or so during which it is proposed to make Ghana a "predominantly industrial and trading country."

Nkrumah shows the fallacy of the concepts of those bourgeois writers who hold that African history began with the coming of the Europeans. Numerous researches and archeological finds of recent years have shown that Africa had important centers of civilization long before the colonial invasion. The superb bronze sculptures and the exquisite specimens of bone and wood carving and pottery that have been found testify to a high level of aboriginal African culture. Referring to these researches, Nkrumah points out that the history of Africa "needs to be written as the history of our society, not as the story of European adventures" (p. 63). He does not deny the influence of European culture; he simply stresses that "African society must be treated as enjoying its own integrity; its history must be a mirror of that society, and the European contact must find its place in this history only as an African experience, even if as a crucial one."

Nkrumah also discusses the dangers with which neo-colonialism is fraught for the people of Africa. This is a subject to which he has given much thought. Last year he published a comprehensive article in the *Accra Pan-Africanist Review* ("Neo-Colonialism in Africa") examining the insidious methods used by imperialist powers to divide Africa and subordinate the development of the newly-free states to their own interests. At present, as I learned during a recent talk with Nkrumah, he is working on a book tentatively entitled "Neo-colonialism as the Last Stage of Imperialism."

Summing up his research, Nkrumah writes: "... By means of the foregoing set theoretic methods the necessity of a union of independent African states is established, a union integrated by socialism, without which our hard-won independence may yet be perverted and negated by a new colonialism" (p. 118).

The book has won a worthy place in the ideological struggle presently under way in Africa and has evoked keen interest also beyond its boundaries.

A. ISKENDEROV

An embattled people

A PEOPLE WHO HAVE taken to arms for freedom and independence cannot be brought to their knees. This is the message carried by Wilfred Burchett's stirring account of the courageous struggle waged by the people of South Vietnam against the U.S. aggressors and their stooges.*

The author, an Australian journalist, spent eight months with the South Vietnamese Liberation Army. Through guerrilla trails cutting across jungles, mountains and rice fields, now on foot, now on horseback or bicycle, he and his guerrilla guides made their way to the very outskirts of Saigon, often passing within yards of enemy foreposts. Burchett lived with the guerrillas, sheltered with them from U.S. bombing, and traversed the entire country along secret routes stretching for hundreds of miles and leading to the garrisons and strong-points of the enemy. He saw how people lived in the liberated towns of the Mekong delta and in the "strategic villages"—the concentration camp-like compounds in which the U.S. strategists have herded the people in an effort to "isolate the guerrillas from the population." He interviewed the chairman of the National Liberation Front, the commander of the Liberation Army and ordinary people.

The liberation war, Burchett stresses, is waged not by scattered guerrilla detachments but by the entire population. This makes the National Liberation Front impossible to destroy. It is the real government of two-thirds of South Vietnam, enjoying the full support of the people.

The workshops set up in the jungles to make mines and grenades, the field hospitals equipped with laboratories and X-ray installations, the effective system of self-government operating on liberated territory, the land reform, and the building of schools and hospitals in the Mekong delta—all show that not only are the people determined to achieve complete victory over the U.S. aggressors and the corrupt Saigon regime, but they are already laying the foundations of a new life.

The people of Vietnam are the heroes of Burchett's book, and his sympathies are wholly with them. Two unassuming guerrilla girls who together with seven young men repulse an attack by a company of enemy troops and save their village; women who, holding their children in their arms, unflinchingly face the muzzles of guns aimed at their homes; peasants who become skilled makers of mines and gren-

ades in the jungle workshops; the men of the Liberation Army who watch every step taken by the enemy and hit hard at every opportunity; the inhabitants of the "strategic villages" who give constant support to the guerrillas, and the people of the liberated areas who are working untiringly to build a new life—these are the true makers of their country's history, the men and women whose spirit the American invaders and their puppets are seeking in vain to break.

In the epilogue Burchett tells the story of the raid on October 31 last year on the secret U.S. base in Bien Hoa.

To clear the 320-hectare site occupied by the air base, used for bombing attacks on the liberated villages of Bien Hoa province and the spreading of poisonous chemicals, the Americans evicted some 35,000 peasants from their plots.

The raiding party was led by Hoin Minh, one of the evicted peasants, who, like most of the men in his group, had seen his home razed by bulldozers and his rice-paddy plowed under. In the course of the operation, which was supported by local people, thirty-six B-57 bombers costing \$26 million were destroyed or put out of commission.

The success of the South Vietnamese patriots demonstrates the utter bankruptcy, in both theory and practice, of the so-called "special war", i.e., war in which Asians are used against Asians. Burchett shows that this "special war", on which the U.S. brasshats pin so much hope, is simply the military expression of U.S. neo-colonialism, just as the imperialist expeditionary forces of the past were an expression of the classical colonialism.

The developments in Southeast Asia are the proof that no "special war" can crush a people resolved to win freedom and to build a new life for themselves.

The author has not the slightest doubt as to the outcome of the truly national struggle waged against the U.S. aggressors and their puppets. "The lunatic fringe in Washington," he writes, "is certainly capable of the ultimate madness of bombing Hanoi, Haiphong and other towns in North Vietnam. But they can never alter the outcome of the war in the South by this. They can never bring the people of the North or the South to their knees . . . To enlarge the war . . . would be to start a process that would erase every trace of U.S. presence in Southeast Asia, clear down to Singapore.

"There is only one way out: complete withdrawal from Vietnam."

D. S.

*Wilfred G. Burchett. *Vietnam. Inside Story of the Guerrilla War*. International Publishers, New York, 1965, 253 pp.

Argentina today and tomorrow

BENITO MARIANETTI'S *Argentina. The Reality and Perspectives** is a valuable addition to the literature available on Latin America.

A public leader and writer, Marianetti draws a broad canvas of Argentina, its past and present, and discusses the social changes for which its progressive people are working.

The passion with which the author examines events, economic developments and the thinking and actions of the various classes and sections of society, public personalities, parties, trade unions and cultural organizations in no way detracts from the objectivity of this meticulously documented and politically pointed book.

It is of interest not only because of the wealth of information, but also because of the freshness of the author's approach to controversial problems debated by Latin American historians, including some theoretical and practical problems of the present-day revolutionary movement.

Marianetti paints a picture of an Argentina unlike any other Latin American country. As a result of the influx of European immigrants mostly from Spain and Italy but also including many Germans, Slavs, Jews, etc., as well as the almost complete disappearance of the indigenous Indian population decimated first by the conquistadors and then doomed to extinction by the local bourgeoisie, the ethnic and social composition of the population differs greatly from, say, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia or Paraguay. Industrial development since the last two decades of the nineteenth century has been accompanied by the growth of the working class, which today accounts for a substantial percentage of the total labor force and is an important factor on the political and social scene. The national bourgeoisie is strong and resourceful, full of good intentions but fearful of the people and hence inclined to enter into treacherous compromises with the latifundists and imperialists. Nor should the growing role of the middle classes, especially of the intellectuals, be overlooked.

Separate chapters are devoted to the working-class movement and political parties—the so-called traditional parties (the Radicals, Conservatives and Socialists), the more modern

parties (the Peronists and Communists) and other political organizations and alignments, such as the Popular Union and the Left forces. The author delineates the broad vistas of the Argentine revolution. He examines the causes of economic recession and the other symptoms of contemporary contradictions, and criticizes the concepts and aspirations of the ruling classes (from the liberal or "development theory" concepts to the suicidal haphazard solutions offered by the Right-wing Socialists and other reformists). His conclusion is that the structural and super-structural crisis in Argentina can be solved only by the struggle of the masses under the clear-cut and consistent leadership of the working class.

"So far," Marianetti says, "the ideologists of the middle strata have aspired to leadership of the revolution in our part of America. On many occasions they have been in a favorable position to carry it forward. Yet, mass support notwithstanding, they have suffered defeat. They were defeated because they wavered and retreated when they should have pressed onward. And not infrequently they betrayed the revolution" (p. 554).

Marianetti holds that neither the bourgeoisie nor the middle classes alone can carry out the revolution in the Latin American countries. It can be effected only under the leadership of the working class, the one class capable of remaining consistent to the end. But he underscores that leadership by the working classes by no means signifies denying or minimizing the importance of the other progressive sections of society.

The book is a reminder to foreign readers, especially readers in other continents, to be on guard against superficial generalizations of the Latin American scene. It will also help Latin Americans to avoid over-simplification and to see not only that which is common to the dependent and lagging countries, while bearing in mind that for all the variety of ways and means of struggle stemming from the specific features of each country, all of Latin America is faced with one and the same key problem—the problem of national liberation in conditions of peace which would enable them to forge ahead along the road of economic, political and social progress.

Pedro MOTTA LIMA

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