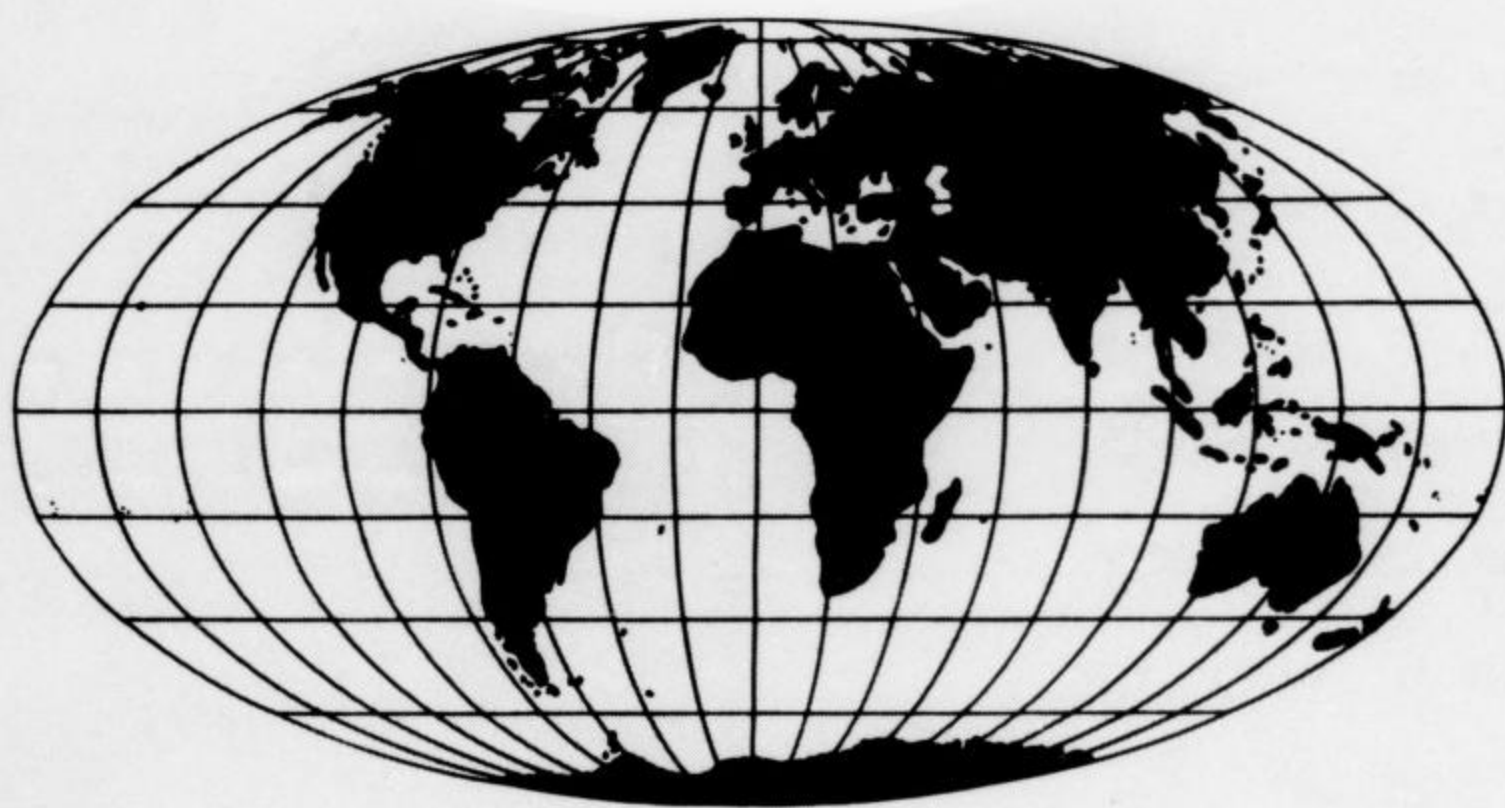


# **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**



## ***Problems of Peace and Socialism***

*In This Issue:*

**Unity of the Socialist Countries  
Is Decisive in Building Socialism**

# World Marxist Review in 1963

**DURING 1963** the journal will continue to elaborate vital problems pertaining to the development of socialism and the latest manifestations of capitalism, the theory and practice of the international revolutionary movement, the economic and political aspects of the fight for peace, for general and complete disarmament; it will elucidate the experience of the work of the Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of furthering the ideas of the Declaration and Statement of the 1957 and 1960 meetings.

Attention will be centered on the following problems:

*The laws of building socialism and communism and of the development of the socialist world system:* the general laws and the specific features of building socialism; the ways of utilizing the advantages of socialism; the interweaving of economics and politics; science and communism; the methods of socialist economic management; development of socialist democracy; the spontaneous and conscious elements in the development of socialist society.

*New phenomena of capitalist reality:* "integration" processes; the effects of the Common Market on the smaller countries, neutral and associated countries; new forms of the exploitation of the working class; the Common Market and the working-class movement.

*The world socialist revolution:* features of a revolutionary situation at the present stage; building the unity of the Left; the motive forces and the content of the democratic stage of the revolution; the correlation of the revolutionary struggle and reforms; features of the strike movement.

*The struggle for peace at the present stage:* changes in the world balance of forces and the perspective of averting war; peaceful coexistence and the world revolutionary process.

*The national-liberation movement:* the socialist system as the mainstay of the newly-emergent countries; the lines of development for the economically backward countries; new forms of colonial exploitation; the USA—the heartland of modern colonialism; motive forces, content and perspectives of the national-democratic revolution in various countries.

*The unity of the world Communist movement and Party building:* the principles underlying the relations between the fraternal parties at the present stage; the enhanced political responsibility of the parties for their actions in the country and on the world arena; the Right-wing Social Democrats and the burning issues of the day; manifestations of revisionism and dogmatism and the struggle to combat them as the condition for unity on a Marxist-Leninist basis; survivals of the personality cult in the Communist movement and overcoming them; the unity of the humanism of the aims and the humanism of the means in the work of the Communist parties; the Leninist standards of Party life.

*Problems of Marxist philosophy:* creative Marxism as the basis of the revolutionary policy of the Communist parties, while revisionism, dogmatism and a mechanistic approach to dialectics are sources of opportunism in politics.

*Communism and problems of world culture.*

The journal will also feature exchange of views with the participation of Marxist scholars on the following subjects: the socialist world system and the national-liberation movement; democracy—socialist and bourgeois; the laws of development of the socialist world system; the problems of unity of the working class in the developed capitalist countries.

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1911

# Journal of the

Exploration of the

Interior of the

State of Texas

1896-1897

by

John H. Brown

and

W. H. Brown

of the

U. S. Army

and

the

U. S. Navy

and

the

U. S. Marine Corps

and

the

U. S. Coast and

Geodetic Survey

and

the

U. S. Fish and

Wildlife Service

and

the

U. S. Geological

Survey



# Unity of the Socialist Countries Is Decisive in Building Communism

Todor Zhivkov

A NEW stage has set in in the life of the socialist commonwealth. The new socialist production relations prevail on the scale of the entire system. Today most of our countries are tackling a new task—*that of building a mature socialist society and paving the way to the gradual transition to communism.*

The fact that all our countries are successfully coping with their tasks is due to the favorable opportunities afforded by the progress made by the socialist world system to date. It is common knowledge, however, that the very best of possibilities do not in themselves guarantee success.

In measure with the growth and development of socialism and with our advance toward communism, the tasks increase both in volume and complexity both in each country and on the scale of the socialist system as a whole. Each step brings with it problems of an entirely new kind. Nor is it a secret that building socialism and communism is accompanied by greater or lesser difficulties, and that the overcoming of these difficulties often necessitates concerted efforts on the part of all.

This is at once the national task of each Marxist-Leninist Party and its supreme international duty. Cementing the unity of the socialist countries, laying the foundations of a common economic policy and exchange of experience in the sphere of economic management are, as the Moscow statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties points out, decisive for overcoming the difficulties and accelerating the rate of development of each country of the socialist camp.

## I.

Pooling the economic efforts of the socialist countries and building a common economy based on rational international division of labor — this is the groundwork for their all-round and ever-accelerating advance, the prerequisite of progress.

Gradual economic, political and cultural rapprochement of the nations is an objective necessity stemming from the material conditions of life and from the expansion of the

productive forces. But it is thanks only to the socialist revolution that society is enabled consciously to utilize this objective trend towards rapprochement of the nations, to combine the efforts of the different countries on the basis of genuine equality and thus draw closer to their common goal. *All-round cooperation of the socialist nations is indispensable to social progress. The fuller and closer this cooperation and the more varied it is, the faster the general advance of all.*

The very nature of socialism presupposes and creates every possibility for close cooperation of all who follow the socialist path. Private property divides people, setting them against one another, whereas socialism brings them together into one great family. This is one of the big advantages of socialism.

The socialist countries have the same socio-economic basis — public ownership of the means of production. Their state systems, too, are identical: power belongs to the people headed by the working class. They have a common ideology — Marxism-Leninism. Lastly, they have common interests — defense of the socialist gains and defense of peace, and a common objective—building a communist society. These, in sum, are the objective basis for the unity and all-round cooperation of our countries. It is on this basis and with due regard to these aims that the relations between the socialist countries take shape.

But unity is not achieved automatically. The objective economic, political and ideological factors do not themselves generate identical views on the vital problems pertaining to the development of the socialist world system and the international Communist movement as a whole. Unity must be fought for. History shows that unity has many enemies in the imperialist camp and is under corrupting pressure from bourgeois-nationalist forces. Revisionists and dogmatists attack unity. Adventurers and apostates, too, are at work to undermine it.

The imperialists seize upon any difference of opinion in the socialist camp in order to



weaken socialism on the world arena, to sap the progressive movements of our time and to crush them. In keeping with these aims, the ideologists of imperialism try to prove that these differences are engendered by the nature of socialism. They indulge in all kinds of figments, at once false and pessimistic: since there are contradictions among the imperialists, they argue, so also will there be contradictions in the socialist camp. Systems may change, but the contradictions remain.

But the hopes reposed by the imperialists in contradictions within the socialist camp are as groundless as the slanderous allegations of the reformists and revisionists. What can one say in answer to the one or the other?

The relations between the socialist countries differ radically from those between the capitalist powers. The difference should be sought in the following. In the capitalist world the monopoly associations engage in a cut-throat struggle for profits. The very nature of imperialism objectively engenders far-reaching antagonisms between the capitalist countries, antagonisms which have existed and will continue to exist no matter which bourgeois party and which bourgeois leader holds power in a particular country. The rivalry between them is relentless.

Things are different in the socialist world. The unity of the socialist countries, as shown above, is rooted in the nature of socialism, in the community of economic, political and ideological aims and interests. This, the bed-rock of their unity, is unbreakable, and objectively paves the way to a still closer unity. This is the main feature of the socialist world system. And yet differences can, and do, arise in our ranks.

Where should we look for the sources of these differences?

As Marxists, we cannot but see that certain differences in outlook, in approach, and in the methods of revolutionary struggle and building socialism are inevitable, inasmuch as each of the fraternal parties works in different conditions, in the specific conditions of its own country. In the search for a solution to the complex political and economic problems, one-sided views may appear, views that are not always correct. These differences, arising within the framework of Marxism-Leninism, do not lead, nor can they lead, to undermining the unity of the international Communist movement, and can be overcome through comradely exchange of opinions, from which the parties concerned and the

Communist movement as a whole stand to gain.

However, in the international Communist movement and in the socialist system there also arise differences which are caused by a departure from Marxist-Leninist principles, from the line generally accepted by the international Communist movement. The Communist parties, as everybody knows, are born, grow and become consolidated in the struggle against all kinds of non-Marxist and anti-Marxist views. The parties are living organisms, bodies of people working in conditions of bitter ideological struggle. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that some members and, in certain circumstances, some links of the Party and the Communist movement affected by an alien ideological influence, should diverge from Marxist positions. Unless this influence is overcome in good time, it leads to the appearance of centrifugal forces, to factional activity and to regression by those who persist in their wrong views.

Thus, an ideological divergence from Marxism-Leninism can, in certain circumstances, lead to political regression by some of the leaders of one or another Party, one or another country. In the event of Leninist standards being violated and a personality cult tolerated in a Party at the helm of state, these leaders may utilize the machinery of state and Party to uphold their views, to impose them on the Party. In a situation of struggle between the two systems, with the imperialists seeking the slightest opening to extend their tentacles to the socialist world, regression can bring with it grave difficulties and dangers for the socialist development of the country. We Marxists should always bear this in mind. Consequently, we cannot deny in principle the possibility of political differences arising in our camp. It is clear, however, that in this case it is not a matter of antagonisms or differences between the socialist countries or Communist parties as such, but of differences between the retrograde leadership of one Party and all the other fraternal parties, all the other socialist countries.

Let us repeat — such differences are not historically inevitable, they are inherent neither in the nature of the socialist system nor in the nature of the Communist parties. Nationalism and other inimical trends will continue to exert pressure on the parties and to engender non-Marxist views. This is beyond doubt. But a normal Party life, a life unaffected by a personality cult and its conse-



quences will be a powerful barrier preventing these trends from penetrating deeply into the Party and influencing the political line of the socialist countries. The virus of nationalism will be with us for a long time. But to this the parties have a powerful antidote: loyalty to creative Marxism-Leninism, Leninist adherence to principle, democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, and open conflict of opinions.

It is on this basis that the fraternal community of the socialist countries and the solidarity of the Communist ranks rest. The socialist community and the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties is not a fortuitous and transient thing, as our adversaries often claim, it is determined by the entire march of history.

The socialist community has gone through several stages in its development. In the early stages the principal common concern of its members was to take military-political measures to safeguard and consolidate people's rule and to ensure the predominance of the socialist production relations. At the same time economic problems came to the fore. After the war the socialist revolution took place in countries with varying levels of development — agrarian, agrarian-industrial and industrial countries. The task was to ensure a speedy development above all of the agrarian and agrarian-industrial countries. Single-handed, not one of the People's Democracies would have been able to cope with this task, all the more so since they had to heal the wounds of the war. The solution was found in mutual aid and fraternal cooperation.

The results of this cooperation can be seen from the example of Bulgaria. Socialism and the aid of the fraternal countries have done more for the country's development in the past 18 years than the preceding six decades of capitalist rule. Our industry now produces in 21 days as much as we produced for the whole of 1939! The Eighth Congress of our Party held last November was able to say: "The results show that the behest of Georgi Dimitrov — to achieve in the space of 15 to 20 years what in different conditions took other nations a century to achieve — has, in the main, been realized."

The all-round cooperation of Bulgaria with the USSR and with the other socialist countries has been decisive in building our modern industry: electric power, iron and steel, machine-building and chemical industries. The scientific and technological aid has

been on a vast scale. The USSR alone has supplied us over 3,000 sets of specifications; over 3,000 specialists have transmitted their experience and know-how to our specialists or have taken a direct part in our socialist upbuilding. Some 500 groups of our specialists studied on the spot the production experience and the technological achievements of the Soviet Union; experts were trained in Soviet colleges and factories.

Today all of us are confronted with a new economic and political task — to lay the groundwork for building a communist society. But can one imagine a complete communist society as an agglomeration of closed organisms isolated from one another? Of course not! Communism presupposes a highly organized production centralized on the scale of society as a whole, concerted planning, organized distribution of material resources and labor, and regulation of the working time.

Dwelling on the prospects for the development of socialist states, Lenin said in 1918: "... Society as a whole must develop into a single cooperative of the working people ... Only one thing is needed now — the unanimous desire to go ahead with an open mind in this single world-wide cooperative."\*

*Ever-growing cooperation and unity of the countries comprising the socialist camp which, in perspective, will merge into a single communist entity with a common economy, culture, science, and with common social relationships — such is the trend of the times.*

The soundness of this thesis is fully confirmed by the fact that *successful advance by our countries is inconceivable without their growing unity in all spheres.*

National exclusiveness in the economic development of any of the socialist countries would have created grave difficulties both for the country concerned and for the socialist system as a whole. The Communist parties reject autarchy and national economic exclusiveness as a policy which is both wrong and harmful.

## II.

Communism is unthinkable without productive forces on a scale which the world has not yet seen. This, however, cannot be achieved without the broadest possible international division of labor, without coordinated and specialized production on the scale of the entire socialist system.

\*V. I. Lenin. Address to the Third Congress of Workers' Cooperatives.



The material and technological base of communism can be created only through *higher productivity of labor*. Higher not with regard to capitalism in general (socialism has long outstripped capitalism as a whole in this field) but with regard to the more developed capitalist countries. The decisive factor in raising labor productivity is the marriage of science and production, all-round automation, specialization and assembly-line production.

Raising labor productivity is, of course, a matter solely for each of the socialist countries. *Moreover, it is the paramount duty of each to utilize in the best possible way the internal resources and possibilities, to tap all the internal, national reserves of economic growth.* Unless this preliminary condition is fulfilled it will, generally speaking, be difficult seriously to pose any question of international cooperation, since in this case the cooperation would, objectively, signify the dependence of one country on the others, although subjectively not one of them would want to live at the expense of the aid rendered by the other socialist countries. The Communist parties categorically reject such dependence as being incompatible with genuine socialist cooperation which presupposes maximum effort on the part of all countries, mutual aid and support.

On the other hand, experience shows that the mobilization of the internal resources and the efforts of each country can produce the optimal effect only in cooperation with other fraternal countries. We shall not be able to achieve a truly revolutionary rise in labor productivity on the scale of the socialist system as a whole without combining all our efforts.

Taking an increasingly greater part in the international socialist division of labor, Bulgaria is concentrating on some branches of machine-building, particularly electrical engineering, on extracting and processing non-ferrous metals, on some branches of agriculture and the food industry, and on chemicals.

In keeping with our possibilities and with the advantages accruing from the international socialist division of labor, we plan to increase hourly labor productivity roughly sixfold by 1980.

*For rate of economic growth* socialism now holds first place in the world. The task now is to consolidate this position and to increase the rates in the decisive branches. Our Party envisages roughly a sevenfold increase in industrial output in the course

of the next 20 years, with output of means of production rising ninefold. It is, however, impossible to solve the problem of rate of production growth and growth of labor productivity (with which it is closely inter-linked) without the fullest coordination and specialization of production on the scale of our entire system.

Fuel, power and raw materials are essential to accelerated rates of growth. But, as we know, the national base in most socialist countries cannot meet this condition. Bulgaria, for example, is rich in natural resources. But its own raw materials base is certainly inadequate for building a full-fledged communist economy. The raw materials which we lack can be obtained primarily from the socialist countries. The biggest part in this respect is played by the Soviet Union which supplies us with nearly half of the needed amount of ferrous metals, most of the oil products and more than half the cotton. The growing cooperation between the members of our community makes it possible to provide all with the resources and materials needed.

Another condition making for rapid development is accelerated capital construction, building new production capacities. But can one imagine this construction without cooperation and mutual aid of the socialist states? New production capacities involve investment and new equipment, designing and building. Can we solve these problems single-handed? The Eighth Congress of our Party called for increasing the basic funds of industry roughly ninefold in the coming twenty-year period. Clearly we would not have been able to plan on this scale had we not counted on the active cooperation of the fraternal countries. Considerable aid will be made available to us by the Soviet Union, which at the moment is helping us to build 32 big enterprises and factory shops including an iron and steel combine in Kremikovtsy, the thermal power station Maritsa-Vostok, an oil refinery in Burgas and a nitrogen fertilizer plant in Stara Zagora.

The socialist countries will begin their transition to communism at more or less the same time, within the limits of a single historical epoch. This concept reflects a new objective law. Depending on the national conditions, each Party will decide how the concept "within the limits of a single historical epoch" should be interpreted. As for our Party, soberly assessing the progress



already made and taking into account all the possibilities, we maintain that it will be realistic to start laying the material and technological base of communism in the middle of the current twenty-year period.

But what does the transition of our countries to communism in the time limit of a single epoch mean from the economic standpoint? It signifies the evening up of their economic levels in the next few decades. We shall reach approximately the same level of national income per capita and roughly the same level of labor productivity and standard of living.

The countries belonging to the system of the international socialist division of labor should, by that time, be prosperous and highly developed countries. This is a law of world socialism. That is not to say, of course, that each country will be producing everything: to pose the question thus would run counter to the very character of modern highly specialized production. Each should produce what is most profitable and expedient from the standpoint of its national resources, natural conditions, traditions, possibilities and the interests of its own development and the general development of our commonwealth. Thanks to this the principles of socialist economic management will be realized: the highest labor productivity, maximum economy, and the highest efficiency in running the national economy. Each benefits from the aid of the other socialist countries, and, by developing its own production, makes its contribution to the general advance of the socialist community.

The gradual evening up of economic levels is possible only through mutual cooperation and the gradual building up of a single material and technological base of the socialist world system.

### III.

We regard every step in our fraternal cooperation in the economic sphere and in all other fields of public endeavor as a tangible contribution to building the single edifice of communist society. The Eighth Congress of our Party pointed out that Bulgaria's economy will continue to develop as part of the economy of the entire socialist world system. The Congress directives for the next twenty-year period stress that further specialization and coordination of production between the socialist countries is basic to the advance of our own country.

Many problems pertaining to the cooperation of the socialist states have either been resolved or are being resolved by the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. The rapid expansion of the productive forces, however, is making ever greater demands upon us. It can be said that the productive forces have already outgrown some of the forms of economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the system of the Council, forms established by us quite recently.

The Eighth Congress fully endorsed the decisions and basic principles of the international socialist division of labor adopted at the meeting of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member-countries of the Council in Moscow in June 1962. The Congress stressed that these decisions were of both principled and practical significance for the entire socialist world system, for extending its influence in deciding international economic and political issues, for the more rational and fuller utilization of the material and man-power resources of the socialist countries and accelerating their advance towards communism.

We should not, however, rest content with what has been achieved, for life is marching onward. And if we wish fully to utilize the advantage accruing from socialism both in one country and on the scale of our entire system, there is only one way to do so: further and more rapid development of our cooperation. The bilateral cooperation hitherto practised on the widest scale can no longer satisfy us. Nor are the forms of multilateral cooperation practised today (in trade, building individual projects, etc.) adequate to meet the requirements of the present. *If we wish to accelerate our advance, it is essential to coordinate the planning and implementation of our entire economic policy.*

The government of Bulgaria agrees with the proposal made by Comrade Khrushchov that a single planning body be set up for the member-countries of the Council, a body which would raise the economic coordination of the socialist countries to a higher level, and which would with full responsibility direct the entire economic development of our community, plan the basic proportions of the development, fix the material balances for the key branches, verify plan fulfilment, etc. Such a body would be of truly revolutionary significance, enabling us to utilize more fully the objective ad-



vantages inherent in socialism, and to raise the level of economic management on the scale of our entire system.

In our view the time has come to give thought also to developing other forms of cooperation. Joint capital construction is of primary significance in this respect. The first experience of joint construction of enterprises has fully justified itself. It will evidently be expedient to extend this practice—for example, by setting up specialized inter-state associations for extracting certain kinds of raw materials or for making definite types of equipment, etc.

The time is ripe too to resolve jointly and more effectively a number of other problems, and first of all that of a unified price system in our trade fully in keeping with the requirements of the international socialist division of labor. This would make it possible to regulate all forms of payments and currency relationships. At present the lack of a common policy on such questions, the uncoordinated exchange rates and prices are retarding the growth of trade between our countries. Linked with this is the matter of credits for joint capital construction. It is high time we pooled our efforts in this direction. Doubtlessly, the decisions adopted by the December 1962 meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, especially the decision to establish a joint bank for our countries, are significant in this respect.

Better transport and communication facilities are also important. The growing trade and cultural exchanges have increased the amount of freight and passenger traffic. This calls for a considerable extension of the carrying capacity of road and rail transport. It will be expedient to combine the inland and marine transport networks with a view to reducing transportation costs. Air transport, too, must be developed. These problems clearly should be resolved jointly.

Lastly, the technological progress imperatively calls not only for a greater exchange of technological information but also for joint research in a number of branches of science and technology. The experience of the Institute for Joint Nuclear Research in Dubna has yielded good results. Similar institutes could be set up in other branches.

Extending the joint activity of the member-countries, implementing the measures aimed at furthering our cooperation will eventually bring us to the single world-wide socialist cooperative envisaged by Lenin. Of

course, this cooperation will not be achieved today or tomorrow. The problems are complex and their resolution will take time. Even the preparatory stages will be fairly protracted, but perhaps not so long as we envisage them at the moment.

In any case the setting up of a single planning body will be a big step toward the aim formulated by Lenin — a single world-wide socialist community in which the economy will be conducted according to a common plan. And joint construction of enterprises to become the common property of the countries taking part in building them can be regarded as the embryo of the new form of socialist ownership — the inter-state property.

Important for rapid advance towards communism is mutual utilization of our experience of socialist construction. This is far from being a blind copy of what is taking place in other countries. Utilizing the experiences of the fraternal countries means carefully to select everything of universal value and to apply this in one's own country in order steadily to increase the efficiency of socialist construction, accelerate the advance and, lastly, avoid possible mistakes. Reluctance to utilize the experience of the fraternal countries and political self-isolation could harm the common cause and retard the building of socialism.

Economic autarchy and national exclusiveness are all the more inadmissible in that we are building socialism and communism not somewhere in outer space but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, in the conditions of an active struggle between the forces of peace and the forces of aggression.

Of particular significance for all the socialist countries is the immense theoretical and practical experience gained by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is summed up in the new Program of that Party. The basic principles of the Program concerning the transition from socialism to communism are fully applicable to our country. The Eighth Congress of our Party declared: "The Program of the CPSU is also our program. The directives for the development of our country would be inconceivable without the CPSU Program, just as our advance towards communism would be both inconceivable and impossible without the Soviet Union, without the latter's victorious march towards communism."



## IV.

It is the prime duty of the Communist parties in power to do everything to strengthen the cooperation of the socialist countries and to cement the unity of the socialist camp. Any departure from this principle would be a crime against the international Communist movement. Much to our regret, it must be said that this, unfortunately, is the course taken by the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor.

Prompted by their profound concern for the need to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement and of the socialist camp, the fraternal parties have done their utmost to help the leadership of the APL to realize the anti-Marxist character of their course and to abandon it. This concern was manifested at the recent congresses of the Communist parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Czechoslovakia, and also at the December (1962) meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. The delegates at these congresses, as well as the representatives of the fraternal parties, spoke with anxiety about the dangerous path on which the leadership of the APL had embarked. Unfortunately, the representatives of the Communist Party of China who attended these congresses took a different stand on this question.

Instead of heeding the views of the fraternal parties, the leadership of the APL is persisting in its mistakes, taking pride in them in fact. It flaunts its mistakes as an historic service to the Communist movement, maintaining that "the prestige of the Albanian Party of Labor and the love and respect shown for it are growing among Communists and working people everywhere".

But what, in fact, is the APL leadership doing, what is its "historic service"?

In the first place, the Albanian leaders are hounding, terrorizing and jailing people whose sole crime is their love and friendship for the Soviet Union, for the CPSU, and for the other fraternal socialist countries, their adherence to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. These leaders have gone so far as to force Albanian citizens married to Soviet women to separate from their wives, who were deported from Albania.

These leaders have reduced economic and political relations with the socialist countries to the minimum, have severed all ties with the Council for Mutual Economic Aid,

and have refused to honor their commitments under the Warsaw Treaty.

These leaders shamelessly call for struggle against the leadership of the CPSU which they charge with allegedly seeking to eliminate socialism from the world arena, with planning to stamp out all revolutionary struggle and to stifle the national-liberation movement. Similar calumnies are hurled at the other fraternal parties, including the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor shout from the housetops that the CPSU and the leaders of the fraternal Communist parties have betrayed Marxism-Leninism or are about to betray it, that they are "revisionists" and that the APL alone remains true to revolutionary theory and practice. And this is claimed by those who openly call for a split in the world Communist movement!

Lastly, the Albanian leaders have declared the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the socialist countries to be a treacherous policy. By their reckless actions they want to discredit this agreed policy. When the aggressive forces in the United States precipitated the crisis in the Caribbean and the world waited with bated breath for the outcome, the Soviet government took energetic steps to avert a nuclear disaster. This policy, which saved revolutionary Cuba and world peace, was supported and approved by the socialist countries, the Communist parties and by sane people everywhere, with the exception of a handful of militarists and misanthropes, and diverse dogmatist-adventurist elements. The Albanian leaders screamed that the Soviet government had betrayed the revolution, that its policy was one of "capitulation to U.S. imperialist blackmail," a policy that could be lauded only by "traitors, cowards and hypocrites." Thus by virtue of their actions the Albanian leaders objectively conjoin with the ultra reactionary, ultra militarist circles in the imperialist countries.

Is this, then the historic service of the Albanian leaders?

The splitting policy of the APL leadership is detrimental to the socialist world system and even more so to Albania itself. Experience shows that any attempt on the part of any country to isolate itself from the world socialist community inevitably leads to a serious aggravation of economic and political embarrassments in the country concerned, to a waste of social labor, a



sharp increase in expenditure, and a slowing down of development. Self-isolation brings with it the real danger of anti-socialist tendencies and, subsequently, loss of the socialist gains. And this is the danger with which the sectarian policy of the Albanian leaders is fraught. By their hostile, non-Leninist actions they are placing themselves outside the socialist camp, outside the world Communist movement.

We cannot agree with the view that the congress of one Communist Party should not express principled criticism of another party on the grounds that this violates the principle of equality of all Communist parties, big and small.

We wholly and unreservedly subscribe to the principle of the equality of the Communist parties, big and small, to the idea of non-interference by any party in the *internal* affairs of another. But is this the point at issue in the given case? The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor have broken with Marxism-Leninism, have betrayed the principles of proletarian internationalism, and, taking a provocative, reckless stand on the crucial issues of the times, are pursuing a policy aimed at splitting the Communist movement. Their attitude, which has long ceased to be a purely internal Party matter, is of *international* significance since it affects the entire world Communist movement and is an obstacle to the consolidation of the democratic and socialist forces in the world arena.

In the light of their responsibility to history, each Marxist Party, each consistent Communist, not only has the right to criticize such subversive activities but is duty bound, after making repeated efforts to reach understanding through private discussions, to expose these actions publicly. After all, what is it that harms the cause of socialism: the fact that the nationalist retrogrades in Albania, unwilling to listen to the reasonable arguments advanced by the fraternal parties, are embarking on one disruptive action after another, committing one grave error after another, discrediting socialism, sully the banner of Marxism-Leninism and bringing grist to the mill of the anti-communists; or open exposure of the adventurists, bringing the power of public opinion to bear in order quickly to overcome the mistakes and remove the canker in the body of communism? Genuine devotion to the Leninist traditions makes it imperative to pose the question precisely in this way.

Furthermore, the recent Party congresses were attended by representatives of nearly all the Communist parties. Our Eighth Congress, for instance, was a truly international assembly which brought together the spokesmen of the parties of 65 countries. Hence the criticism levelled at the Albanian leaders at our congresses has not been censure of one Party by another, but criticism of the leadership of one Party by the entire international Communist movement.

The Albanian leaders, while demanding that the fraternal parties refrain from criticizing their actions, consider themselves entitled to keep up their unbridled smear campaign against these parties. In effect, these leaders seek immunity from Marxist criticism while reserving a free hand for themselves. Has this anything in common with the principle of equality of the parties? Clearly, the best way to help the Albanian Party of Labor and to defend the unity of the world Communist movement is for all the fraternal parties to take a Leninist approach to the matter, to censure, from positions of principle, the Albanian leaders for their desertion of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Albanian leaders insist on all outstanding questions pertaining to the relations between the socialist countries or the Communist parties being discussed behind *closed* doors. But at the same time they themselves conduct in the most *open* fashion a campaign of slander against the fraternal parties.

The Albanian leaders have rebuffed the efforts made by the fraternal parties to examine the disputed issues in the manner stipulated in the Statement of the 1960 meeting. Hence the fraternal parties have no choice but to subject the splitters to open principled criticism. Covering up differences on points of principle affecting the movement as a whole would run counter to the Leninist spirit. Similarly, to keep Party congresses — the highest bodies of all the parties — in the dark about questions pertaining to Party life generally, including those concerning relations with other parties, would be a violation of the Leninist standards of Party life. If the unity of the Communist movement and the solidarity of the socialist countries is to be cemented, no such violations stemming from the personality cult can be tolerated. Reluctance openly to discuss these issues can but play into the hands of the opportunists and factionalists in our movement.



There are in the Communist movement also comrades who, though sincerely devoted to socialism, believe that the differences are not really serious but only the result of misapprehension and lack of understanding. For the sake of reconciliation they, too, are opposed to public discussion, assuming that the splitters can be made to see the error of their ways and to adopt a Marxist-Leninist attitude. But this, in our view, is nothing but wishful thinking, for the splitters regard all Communists who have not taken a definite political stand as potential allies and will only intensify their factional activity. The experience of the international Communist movement shows that evading issues is not the way to solve them.

The unity of the socialist world system and of the world Communist movement can be ensured only by steadfast devotion to principle, by extensive explanatory work, by convincing the erring and exposing the splitters.

The condition for cementing our unity is unceasing effort to combat bourgeois nationalism.

The adventurist line and dogmatism of the Albanian leaders are nothing but a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism. And nationalism, as the classics of Marxism warned us time and again, is the last refuge of reactionaries, the ultimate weapon in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Realizing more and more that its anti-communist policy is doomed to fail, the imperialist bourgeoisie is feverishly searching for cracks and rifts which might be used to undermine the unity of the socialist camp, to split it, if only partly. And Albanian nationalism is just such a crack through which the enemies of the revolution are trying to drive a wedge.

The experience of the Communist world movement has shown that bourgeois nationalism becomes a danger wherever the struggle against it is relaxed, wherever there is a slackening in the education of the masses in the spirit of proletarian, socialist internationalism. Hence the importance attached by the Marxist-Leninist parties to combating all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism.

In our time the concept of socialist internationalism includes unflagging effort to safe-

guard the unity and integrity of the socialist camp. Any action to the contrary only serves the ends of the class enemy.

Struggle to cement the solidarity of the socialist camp around its natural center, its unshakeable bastion — the Soviet Union — is an integral part of the concept of socialist internationalism. For us, Bulgarian Communists, friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union is the main criterion of the internationalism of each Party and each Communist.

The imperialists know full well that the Soviet Union is the bulwark of our entire camp. Consequently, they are doing everything in their power to create rifts between the Soviet Union and the other countries and to set them against it. True Marxist-Leninists consider it their prime duty to work in every way to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp around the Soviet Union. For this is the guarantee that the aggressive plans of the warmongers will be foiled, world peace made secure and, consequently, the essential external conditions created for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The all-round strengthening of relations with the Soviet Union is decisive for consolidating the socialist camp. Any other policy, and above all the wild anti-Sovietism of the Albanian leaders, strikes at the socialist camp in the most vital area. Such a policy, then, can be called neither internationalist, nor Leninist; it is anti-Leninist and, in effect, anti-socialist.

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True to its internationalist traditions, consistently fulfilling its internationalist duty, the Bulgarian Communist Party has always considered it its prime obligation to exert every effort to strengthen the unity, friendship and solidarity of the socialist countries, to advance mutual aid among these countries to a higher stage, and to cement the unity and solidarity of the international Communist and working-class movement. We are firmly convinced that this is *the most important, the decisive condition for the worldwide victory of socialism, for success in building socialism and communism in the countries of the socialist world system.*



# Under the Banner of Creative Marxism

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN FRANCE

*Leo Figueres*

**T**HE reactionary nature of the de Gaulle regime which represents the interests of the finance oligarchy and the trusts is patent in all spheres of social life. In the sphere of culture it is a factor of regression and obscurantism.

## Against Obscurantism

Indicative in this respect was a recent statement by de Gaulle's Minister for Education. "The beginning of the coming school year will break all records as regards difficulties," he said, referring to the fact that no one knows where to find the classrooms for the hundreds of thousands of children who will be going to school for the first time or how to make good the shortage of thousands of teachers.

To say this is to concede the bankruptcy of past policy which has been aimed, in particular, at doing away with secular education in France. Pursuing a "European policy" in this sphere, de Gaulle and his supporters are out to place France in the position of Italy, Western Germany, Belgium and even Spain, where the Church has been given a free hand to interfere in all aspects of private and public life, and especially in education and culture generally. In conformity with this reactionary policy, de Gaulle lavishes funds on the religious schools while the secular state schools lack premises, teachers and credits; moreover, the situation is steadily growing worse from year to year and threatening the intellectual future of France.

In the beginning the Gaullist government sought to create the myth that it aspired to, and was capable of, pursuing a cultural policy in accordance with the national interest. The cultural and educational sphere was put in the charge of Andre Malraux, the well-known author who after the war began to dance to de Gaulle's tune and eventually became one of the mouthpieces of the "prophet." The appointment of Malraux with his reputation of a "champion of

culture" gave rise to hopes among certain sections of the intellectuals.

But what could be expected of a minister for whom, to use his own words, "culture is not that which exists in life but that which should belong to death?" This reactionary orientation has borne its fruit, and bitter fruit at that. Not long ago the cinematographer Jean Dreville said, and with good reason: "With the advent of Malraux, that eminent master of things cultural, the tiny world of the cinema was filled with hope. This time the helm of the sinking ship seemed to have been put in reliable hands . . . The years passed. Our hopes vanished . . . The basic problems on which the very life of our cinema depends still remain unsolved."

The situation in science is no better. Research is appropriated by the industrialists and the military, and despite the talent of its scientists, France is falling behind in a number of decisive fields of modern science. Thus the pompous phrases about "the grandeur of France" in which both de Gaulle and Malraux have always indulged are, in effect, nothing but a cover for a policy of eroding the prestige of France and undermining one of the pillars of the influence it has exerted on the world — its high standard of education, art, science and culture generally.

The facts, then, dispel the illusions and confirm the views held by the progressive intellectuals who already in 1958 took a resolute stand against authoritarian rule. A considerable part of the intellectuals took part in the struggle against the colonial war in Algeria and the fascists from the OAS, whose activities are still countenanced and even encouraged by the Gaullist authorities. Although it would be an exaggeration to say that all French intellectuals have seen through de Gaulle, it is a fact that, the official demagoguery and pressure notwithstanding, many of them have not fallen for the blandishments of the reactionary government and



are seeking to replace it with a genuinely democratic system.

There is, indeed, a growing response among the intellectuals to the policy of our Party which is rallying the democratic forces behind a common program aimed at this goal. As for the Communist intellectuals, they are working to concretize, each in his own field, the common program which the Party has submitted for discussion to all democrats in order to facilitate unity. This has been done by the Communists working in the sphere of medicine, who have formulated our proposals for the reorganization of medical care. Our engineers, architects, theatre and cinema workers and artists are doing likewise.

The intellectuals and the entire nation can thus see that the Party not only criticizes the Gaullist cultural policy; it also advances its own constructive proposals which open up the perspective of profound regeneration of democracy in our country. And this has raised the Party's prestige among all who cherish our national culture.

#### **The Spread of Marxism and the Influence of the Party**

Ever since its foundation more than 40 years ago, outstanding writers, artists and scientists have been drawn to the Party. It would be difficult to list all the eminent men of science and art who have taken their place under the banner of communism; they range from Langevin to Joliot-Curie, from Albert Marquet to Picasso, from Barbusse to Aragon, and from Vaillant-Couturier to F. Leger and Lurcat. Despite the efforts of the class enemy to minimize its influence, the Communist Party, the party of the French working class, has become also the party of the progressive intellectuals.

The soundness of the Party's policy and the fact that its ranks include the finest and most highly esteemed members of the intelligentsia explain why the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are gaining ground in our country. And they are bound to gain still more ground by virtue of the objective conditions and, in particular, of the achievements of the socialist countries in creating and disseminating the new culture, above all the achievements of the Soviet Union, which leads the world in many fields, especially in technology and science. French cultural workers, knowing that their country is being relegated to a secondary place in this sphere by rulers who are continuing to squander the nation's re-

sources on war preparation, cannot but give serious thought to this fact.

Needless to say, the bourgeoisie has never been reconciled to Communist influence gaining ground among the intellectuals, who play an important role in the state apparatus, in the sphere of production and in spreading bourgeois ideology. On the contrary, the capitalists are doing everything in their power to bring the "prodigals" back to the fold, and, as we know, shortage of means is not one of their difficulties. To the old methods new ones have been added, for the ruling class, too, is aware of the changes that have taken place and tries to adapt itself to them. Controlling the national wealth, the state machine and the media of ideological indoctrination, the big capitalists are in a position to exert all kinds of material, moral and political pressure, beginning with corruption and ending with censorship and ideological intimidation.

But this arsenal of means of corruption and coercion notwithstanding, the advance of communism cannot be halted since it is linked with the development of the class whose interests and historical mission, the complete emancipation of humanity, it expresses. The big bourgeoisie can no longer hope to decree Marxism out of existence. Hence, while not giving up frontal attacks against the ideology of the proletariat, they are seeking to weaken its power of attraction for the working people and the intellectuals.

The capitalists would like to see Marxism regarded as "just another" philosophy; they want it to be considered obsolete and, though suitable in the past, inapplicable to the problems of our time. Hence the emergence of the "Marxologists" and "Marxographers," the bourgeois philosophers and Catholic reverend fathers who have proclaimed themselves Marxian scholars the better to be able to distort and vilify Marxism and to emasculate its revolutionary content. The capitalist class is not averse to discussing Marxism so long as its theoretical precepts are turned into abstractions divorced from the practical task of remaking society. It even welcomes with open arms all who advocate adapting Marxism to the tastes of the day, i.e., to its own tastes.

No small role among the latter is played by the revisionists of all kinds. These include the renegades pure and simple, men like Fougereyrollas who has sold himself to the journal *Preuve* and become a purveyor of American anti-Communism. Others (H.



Lefebvre and L. Sebag) say they want to "amplify" Marxism. Lefebvre boasts that until he came along there was no creative Marxism, while Sebag would replace historical materialism with the "structuralism" of Levy-Strauss, etc.

There are also those who, putting on a more serious front, attack Marxism while claiming to be Marxists. Lucien Goldman, for example, has proclaimed dialectical materialism to be "universal genetic structuralism." The philosophical revival that set in after the First World War was due, according to Goldman, not to the spread of Marxist ideas following the October Revolution, but to the appearance of existentialism, the new fruit of the old tree of idealism.

Jean-Paul Sartre is doing the same thing, though more subtly. Sartre, while conceding that the theory of Marx has scientific value, reduces it merely to one of the methods of investigating and perceiving history. The Marxists err when they speak of the dialectics of Nature, he claims; limiting dialectics to the sphere of consciousness, Sartre holds that it is manifest only in human activity, in history, but not in the processes of Nature external to man. Only through "analogy," "metaphorically," he claims, can human thought project the dialectics of human history to natural phenomena. In his debate with the Marxists, Sartre invokes the natural scientists. But when these provide him with experimental proof of, say, the fact that dialectical contradictions occur not only in social relations but also in the motion of matter, he dismisses their views, saying they are "encroaching on the domain of the philosophers." Although social practice has proved that the dialectics of human thought is a reflection of the objective dialectics of both Nature and history, the existentialists ignore the evidence and continue to expound their theory of pessimistic, sceptical, agnostic and, in the final analysis, sterile knowledge.

Even when they accept certain truths of Marxism, which they can see for themselves is gaining ground, they do so only to assail it as the universal outlook and revolutionary theory of the working class. When Sartre and his friends declare themselves to be creative Marxists and counterpose their "Marxism" to "orthodox" Marxism, i.e., the Marxism of the Communists, it should be borne in mind that their purpose is to lure the intellectuals away from Marxism-Leninism, especially the younger ones, who are apt to fall for the verbal glitter and lack the experience to detect the kernel of idealism in this idle talk.

This is not surprising since it accords with Sartre's political attitude. It would be wrong to regard him as an intellectual ready to cooperate with the Communists without ulterior motives. Sartre does not want the Communist Party to remain a party of the new type, a party whose political line is accepted by all of its members. He hopes that some of the Communist intellectuals will reject its policy and refuse to submit to Party discipline, and he resorts to all manner of devices to sow discord in its ranks. And when our Party draws attention to such tactics, Sartre arrives at the curious conclusion that "*cooperation with the Party, while essential, is impossible!*" As he knows from experience, the Communists are ready to cooperate with all those who stand for democracy and peace. They are working indefatigably to break down all the obstacles to unity, but this does not prevent them from combating anti-communist prejudices whatever form they may take. This applies also to Sartre's efforts to strike at the Party.

Sartre and his friends, moreover, advance a scheme of their own aimed at peaceful coexistence and competition between totally different ideologies. Now it is up to Marxist ideology, he says, "to take over, absorb and rework everything."

It would be dangerous to follow this advice. The coexistence of states with differing social systems and the strengthening of contacts of all kinds, in particular economic and cultural contacts, is the vital issue of the day, the main aim for which the Communists and all other peace partisans are working. But this should not be confused with the coexistence, interpenetration and fusion of ideologies. For from this it would be only one step to preaching class collaboration between the working class and the bourgeoisie, whose ideologies express differing interests and aims. Consistent revolutionaries cannot take this step.

Similarly, the efforts we are making to ensure the unity of the political forces fighting for democracy should not be identified with ideological confusion. It is one thing to work unflaggingly, as our Party is doing, for the unity of the working people and of the Socialist and Communist organizations, and another thing to concede the possibility of Marxist-Leninist ideology merging with the ideology of class collaboration and renunciation of the revolutionary reconstruction of society.

The Communists take advantage of every



opportunity to draw the organizations and activists of the United Socialist Party into the common struggle. But they do not lose sight of the fact that this organization consists of former members of the Socialist Party, a party of the Christian Socialist variety, and also people who at one time or another broke with Marxism-Leninism. It is a composite party without clearly defined ideological foundations; it does not even subscribe to the principles of materialism and atheism.

The viewpoint of its "theoreticians" (for example, Serge Mallet), though they have a predilection for Left phraseology, coincides, incidentally, on certain issues with the positions of Catholic organizations, the Socialist Party and sometimes even with the Gaullists. This applies, in particular, to what the authorities call "renewal of the farm structure" but what amounts to accelerating concentration in agriculture to the detriment of the small and middle farmers. For men of this type the Communist position of working tirelessly to build an alliance between the working class and the working peasantry, of defending the interests of the latter and therefore opposing concentration in agriculture naturally seems "reactionary." Such is the bog in which the newly-baked "socialist" theoreticians sometimes find themselves.

### **Strengthening Communist Ideological Effort**

The results achieved by the Party in its ideological struggle can be fully appreciated only by taking into account the desperate efforts made by the big bourgeoisie and its agents to prevent the spread of communism.

It should be noted, first of all, that the diverse opponents of communism who have been hoping these last several years to see our Party lose ground, especially among the intellectuals, have been cruelly disappointed. Their hopes ran high when they thought they could capitalize on the just criticism of the Stalin cult by the international Communist movement. But they were unable to do so, above all because our Party waged a struggle both against revisionism, which seeks to disarm the working class ideologically and betray it to the bourgeoisie, and against dogmatism, which denies the creative character of Marxism and the need constantly to enrich it with newly-acquired knowledge and practical experience.

We placed emphasis on bringing home to the public the importance of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU

as landmarks in building the new society and in the development of the international Communist and national-liberation movements in our days, the feature of which is the steady weakening of imperialism and the rapid rise of the forces opposed to it.

The measures taken in the USSR and the other socialist countries to make good the damage done by the personality cult and to prevent any repetition of the crimes committed in its name have fully demonstrated the true essence of communism as the loftiest and most consistent humanism. This gives the lie to the threadbare fabrications of Albert Camus and Merleau-Ponty (repeated, incidentally, in the new "basic program" of the Socialist Party) according to which socialist society dooms people to constant terror and negates happiness. How far this is from the truth is eloquently shown by the Program of the CPSU adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress which envisages, besides the building of the material basis of communist society, the flowering of Soviet democracy, the all-round advancement of culture and the affirmation of the new man.

In reply to the machinations of the enemies, our Party stepped up its activities on the ideological front. Numerous works on philosophy, political economy, history, etc., refuting the fabrications and giving a scientific analysis of the issues in question have been published. Notable among these are Roget Garaudy's writings which vividly bring out the profoundly humane character of our theory and our struggle. At present a number of other important works, including a textbook on the history of the Party, are being finished.

Our journals *Cahiers du Communisme*, *La Nouvelle Critique*, *Economie et Politique* and *La Pensee* are doing useful work both in defending the ideas of communism against attacks and in developing them. The editorial groups set up in these publications, besides putting out the journals, conduct considerable research. Moreover, the theses of Communist faculty members of universities and researchers, written from the standpoint of Marxism, have been submitted for official discussion. Even the capitalist press is no longer able to ignore our activity in this sphere, with the result that debates have been initiated between Communists and the opponents of Marxism in which the scientific value of the papers submitted by our comrades has invariably made a deep impression on the public.

Even the educational authorities have had



to recognize the significant role Marxism plays in the cultural and spiritual life of the country. For example, the *Communist Manifesto* was introduced as an optional subject in the senior classes of the lycee. This, it goes without saying, does not obviate the need to extend facilities for the study of the fundamentals of Marxism outside the bounds of the official educational system run by the capitalist state. Hence the decision to set up what we call "new universities," which have already become firmly established in Paris and in provincial centers. Their lecture courses are attended by thousands of workers, office employees and students.

An important instrument in our ideological struggle is the Marxist Research Center established in the spring of 1960 in keeping with the recommendation made by the Fifteenth Congress of the Party. Despite the modest financial means at its disposal, the Center soon became one of the most important scientific institutions in our country. At present thousands of university teachers, researchers, lawyers, writers, historians and technical specialists are taking part in the work of its 20 sections both in Paris and in the provinces.

Some of these sections concentrate on preparing studies on various subjects. For example, the art and literature section is finishing a four-volume *History of French Literature*, compiled by a large number of writers and critics, a task of this magnitude could be accomplished only by real teamwork. Other sections study scientific problems. The mathematics section has taken up an idea advanced by Paul Langevin and is working on a materialist history of mathematics with a view to assessing the current theories and refuting views nourishing idealistic speculation. Special attention is devoted in the sections to training young researchers and in general rendering assistance to students.

In response to a request from the Cuban government 60 university teachers and scientists associated with the Center worked for several months preparing materials for use in teaching philosophy in that country.

The Center is also popularizing Marxism, stimulating interest in it among the public generally and especially among intellectuals and students. For this purpose lectures are sponsored on the findings of French Marxist scientists in various spheres of research.

The Center has organized scientific conferences and seminars bringing together both

Marxists and non-Marxists, some of them jointly with other organizations. In the spring of 1961, for instance, it arranged, together with *World Marxist Review*, a seminar in Royaumont on the subject "Man and His Future," the proceedings of which were reported in the journal. This summer a seminar on cybernetics and biology was arranged jointly with the National Scientific Research Center. The fact that such a meeting was held speaks for itself. That such a young organization as the Marxist Research Center has won the recognition of official institutions is an indication of the place it occupies in the ideological and scientific life of France.

The prestige of the Center found further confirmation during the first week of Marxist Thought observed towards the end of 1961. Sponsored by the Center, the Party federations of the Paris area and the Communist Student Union, the Week gave an opportunity to thousands, especially young people, to hear debates between Marxists and their opponents on such problems as the dialectics of nature and human thought, the motive forces of history, the place of humanism in the cinema, etc. Even the capitalist press had to admit that never before had Paris seen so many people at meetings devoted to complex questions of theory. During the discussions the Marxists again proved the consistency and correctness of their outlook, the reliability and efficacy of their scientific method, and their readiness to accept everything of genuine value in non-Marxist research. Parallel with the debates a large number of lectures and meetings were sponsored at which Marxist researchers set forth their views on topical subjects.

Another week of Marxist Thought in which the experience of the previous one will be taken into account is planned for this year. Its purpose will be to bring Marxist views to a still broader public and, in particular, to win the young intellectuals for these views. The theme of the Week will be "Marxism and Classes in Society." Maurice Thorez, the General Secretary of the Party, will deliver the opening lecture on classes and the leading role of the working class. There will be debates with opponents of historical materialism and a deeper examination will be made of problems now in the center of attention.

Similar activities are conducted also in the provinces, which testifies to the scope of the work the Communist intellectuals are doing together with our sympathizers to uphold and enrich our ideas.



### Discussion of Ideological Problems

This intense ideological activity was, naturally, accompanied by questions of a methodological and theoretical order requiring examination and solution. These questions were first discussed by Communist philosophy scholars during an exchange of views sponsored by *La Nouvelle Critique* in connection with the drawing up of a program for its participation in the ideological struggle.

The discussion proved very useful and was highly commended by the leadership of the Party, whose views on the particular questions were outlined by Waldeck Rochet, Assistant General Secretary of the Party. Later, in the summer of 1962, a meeting of ideological workers under the chairmanship of Maurice Thorez heard a comprehensive report by Garaudy on the tasks in the sphere of philosophy and criticizing the consequences of the Stalin cult manifested in the ideological field. Such discussions on philosophy will be conducted in the future as well.

The discussions helped, in particular, to define what is the province of Marxist philosophy, which some comrades, in view of the high degree of specialization of modern scientific knowledge, sought to limit to the theory of knowledge and the laws of logic and dialectics. Emphasis was placed also on the irreconcilable contradiction between materialism and idealism, even though adherents of the latter may, as experts in their respective fields, contribute to the cognition of scientific truth.

To reduce Marxist philosophy to the theory of knowledge alone would impoverish it, detract from its influence and practical value as the world outlook of the proletariat. Discoveries in the specialized sciences should, on the contrary, constantly enrich Marxist philosophy, the only philosophy affording a general and consistent picture of both natural phenomena and social development. Marxism is the philosophy of those who want to change the world, not merely to interpret it.

Marxist philosophical materialism is endowed with a new quality which no preceding materialist theory possessed. It examines the phenomena of nature and social life in their development, in the process of constant renewal. In an eternal and infinite universe where nothing is immutable but where everything changes and develops incessantly, our knowledge cannot remain static. The secrets of the material world, the laws of nature, are revealed in the measure in which people

acquire new means of perceiving and investigating them. Hence our knowledge, though always relative, is constantly growing and together with this growth the range of the absolute truths perceived by man is likewise extended.

Dialectical and historical materialism, based as it is on scientific cognition of the world and its laws, is a teaching that is optimistic and all-conquering; it holds that there are no secrets today which man cannot reveal tomorrow. It is opposed to all who seek refuge in religious mysticism or in the agnostic scepticism of the existentialists, all who claim that human knowledge and social practice are finite.

Needless to say, it would be dogmatic and one-sided to think that the history of human thought is wholly the product of its materialistic aspect and that the other trends have been completely barren, playing no part except that of the opposite, negative pole to materialism. One has only to recall the contribution made by Descartes, Kant and Hegel to see how groundless such a claim would be.

The Marxist world outlook and theory of knowledge are the product of the evolution of human thought in all its forms. The contradiction between materialism and idealism which dominated the minds of men for 3,000 years by no means signifies that in the course of this long process of evolution some idealist thinkers did not contribute more to philosophy than some representatives of the materialist trend. Idealist thought, be it manifest at the point of departure or in the final conclusion, nevertheless involves the analysis and synthesis of facts which are bound to bring out certain elements of truth. This is something the materialists cannot dismiss, though the fundamental antagonism between the two approaches to the relationship between thought and being, between man and nature, must always be kept in mind. Because they banished the idea of God and mysticism from the real world, the materialist views throughout the centuries clashed with the political and ideological reaction and survived because of the self-sacrifice of their champions. If we recall the undivided domination of theology over the span of centuries, we shall appreciate the obstacles materialism had to overcome in order to survive and eventually to develop into the dialectical materialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The idealistic theories, even though they contained valuable observations and elements of experience, even if they revealed objec-



tively existing general laws, remained basically fallacious inasmuch as they denied, in one or another way, the material nature of the world external to man's consciousness. But without materialism human thought could not have correctly assimilated that which was valuable in the idealistic theories, in particular the emphasis placed on the active role of the mind, to which the founders of scientific socialism drew attention. All the more true is this in our day, when the principles of dialectical materialism have been verified and developed in the course of more than 100 years both by science and the socio-historical activities of millions of people.

The discussion was extremely valuable since it highlighted once again that our world outlook contains a core of objective truth which can never be questioned but on the contrary is being confirmed over and over again by experience and scientific thought. For instance, no future discovery of new processes and phenomena in the material world will be able to shake the thesis that matter is primary and consciousness secondary, though any ambiguity in the relationship between matter and mind will of course be seized upon by idealism which seeks to take advantage of the inadequacy of our knowledge of the laws of nature in order to challenge the possibility of those laws being gradually assimilated and used for the benefit of man.

To say that there are Marxist precepts confirmed by science and practice which are unassailable in no way contradicts the view that our theory is constantly developing. Since our outlook reflects a world in constant motion, and since society is a component part of this world, it is quite clear that human cognition, too, is an unending process. To deny or doubt the permanence of the dialectical and materialist foundation of our outlook would be tantamount to lapsing into relativism and subjectivism, to falling into the idealistic trap. And on the other hand, to regard dialectical materialism as a fossilized consummate system, to reduce it to so many features and laws, as Stalin did, means closing one's eyes to the constantly changing reality and falling prey to dogmatism.

The Party leadership warned the participants in the discussion of these two dangers. Our task, Comrade Thorez told the philosophers, is to fight on two fronts. "We combat relativism, which equates all philosophical views and distorts the true nature of Marxism, and we combat revisionism, which is express-

ed, in particular, in attempts to 'complement' Marxism by constructing alongside it all kinds of 'social theories' running counter to its spirit. And we combat with equal vigor the dogmatists, doctrinaires and scholastics. Marxism is the enemy of all conservatism, of all stagnation. The dead must not be allowed to drag down the living."

The forms and methods of the ideological struggle cannot, of course, be divorced from its content. Proceeding from the correct idea that to one or another degree non-Marxist researches reflect the reality, some comrades stressed the need for a debate between Marxists and non-Marxists so as to assimilate everything valuable which the latter, idealists included, have to offer. Others objected that we have nothing to learn from the bourgeois ideologists and that the most important thing is to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism while deepening and enriching them.

The dialogue between Marxist and non-Marxist thinkers has taken new forms in recent years. This is due to the power of attraction exerted by Marxism and to the fact that many of its opponents, powerless to overcome it, have had to resign themselves to having their work assessed in the light of Marxism.

The Party's view is that in engaging in written and oral debates and discussions with philosophers or other scholars who do not subscribe to dialectical materialism we should accept everything positive in their work, while revealing their errors and demonstrating the superiority of the Communist outlook and method. But under no circumstances should the dialogue be regarded as a form of the "ideological coexistence" advocated by Sartre which would pave the way to reconciliation of opposing ideologies and their fusing.

In this connection Comrade Rochet stressed that the "dialogue is one of the forms of the ideological struggle in which Marxism from its very inception has grown and gained strength. Consequently, it presupposes clear understanding on the part of the Marxists that dialectical materialism dissociates itself from all other philosophies inasmuch as it is a *scientific, practical and party philosophy*, i.e., the philosophy of the working class. And this means that there can be no synthesis or reconciliation between Marxist philosophy and other philosophies just as the class interests of the proletariat cannot coincide with those of the bourgeoisie."

Concrete researches by bourgeois philosophers, social scientists, and especially by



natural scientists, even though they adhere to idealist views, may contain elements of reality, of truth, which we should separate from their idealistic husks and interpret in the spirit of dialectical materialism. But for all that, idealism, whatever its variety, remains diametrically opposed to dialectical materialism, and it is our duty to combat its adherents as well as the compromisers and revisionists who would deprive the working class of its own philosophy, its lodestar in struggles present and future. Debate, then, insofar as it facilitates contact between us and other intellectuals and stimulates popular interest in the contest of ideas, is a valuable form of the struggle against capitalist ideology, though clearly not the only form, as some of our comrades, especially students, seem to think.

Attention was also drawn to the fact that regardless of the place occupied in France today by the Catholic and existentialist schools of thought, the trend adhering to atheism, rationalism and French materialism, the trend nearest to dialectical materialism, should not be lost sight of. It was precisely to this trend that Langevin and Joliot-Curie belonged before they came to Marxism. Moreover, it is to this school of thought that the advice Lenin gave in his well known article on militant materialism is most of all applicable.

While continuing the debate with the non-Marxists, the Communist philosophers and all other ideological workers will, then, also strive to study scientific achievements and to generalize them philosophically in order to combat the inroads of positivism among scientists. They will also intensify their work to disseminate Marxism-Leninism among all sections of society and especially among the students who are particularly susceptible to the influence of bourgeois ideology.

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The Party values highly the work of the Communist intellectuals and urges them to take an active part in public life as well as in the life of the Party. It calls upon them to set the example in the mass organizations uniting intellectuals in defense of their material interests, and to be active in the committees waging a struggle against fascism and for genuine democracy, as well as in the peace movement. In all these organizations our comrades work together with the intellectuals whose ideological concepts we combat but with whom we must join forces in order to win genuine democracy and to safeguard peace on which the future in general and the development of culture in particular depend.

The Communist intellectuals, together with all other members of the Party, will occupy a worthy place in the struggle of our people for freedom, peace and social progress.

## Japanese-U.S. Monopoly Relations

*Mashayoshi Oka*

**A**FTER the Second World War Japanese monopoly capitalism rapidly recovered from its defeat and began to assert itself in a situation marked by dependence on U.S. imperialism. By 1951 industrial output had topped the 1935-1936 level, and by 1961 that level had been exceeded nearly 4.2-fold. In 1960 Japan accounted for 4 per cent of the total industrial output of the capitalist world, and now it is approaching the 1937 level (4.8 per cent), when it held sway over vast colonial possessions and spheres of influence.

Japan occupies first place in the world for shipbuilding; by 1961 it had surpassed Britain for output of cement and for oil refining, taking third place in the capitalist world; it

has forged ahead of France for output of steel, gas, copper and zinc. So far Japanese monopoly capitalism has shared with West Germany the fastest rate of growth in the capitalist world, a fact which is striking in the light of the tendency towards stagnation in U.S. and British industry.

But for all that Japan, even though it is a highly developed capitalist country, is, in effect, a semi-occupied dependency of U.S. imperialism, with which the Japanese reactionaries headed by the monopoly capitalists, betraying the national interest, have allied themselves as junior partners of the USA.

The working people of Japan are, therefore, faced with the task of fighting at once U.S.



imperialism and the Japanese monopoly capitalists. The following characterization given in the Moscow statement of the Communist and Workers' parties is fully applicable to the situation in our country: "In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism, the working class and the people direct the main blow against U.S. imperialist domination, and also against monopoly capital and other domestic reactionary forces that betray the interests of the nation." Such a situation gives rise to a multitude of problems. In this article we shall dwell on only one of these problems—that of the relations between the Japanese and U.S. monopolies—and examine the dependent position of Japanese monopoly capital in its alliance with U.S. imperialism.

### 1.

The compact between U.S. and Japanese monopoly capital in which the latter plays second fiddle took shape in the conditions of the U.S. occupation and domination following Japan's defeat in the Second World War.

Having defeated Japanese imperialism in the Pacific, the U.S. imperialists established their undivided domination of occupied Japan, exercising complete political and economic control of the country, including its administrative apparatus, finance and trade, and taking other measures which reduced Japan to the status of a vassal. Not only did Washington seek to perpetuate its domination, it set out to transform Japan into a military base, into a bulwark of aggression, national oppression and political reaction on which it could rely in its preparations for war against the rapidly growing socialist world system and in its efforts to subjugate the Asian peoples fighting for freedom. All this prompted the USA to embark on the rebuilding of Japanese monopoly capitalism as a subordinate ally.

But although U.S. domination in Japan and the latter's conversion into an American military base are primarily the result of U.S. imperialist policy, the attitude taken by the Japanese monopoly capitalists has also played its part.

Gravely weakened by military defeat and confronted with far-reaching changes in the world situation—the rise and consolidation of the socialist world system, the victory of the Chinese revolution, the spread of the national-liberation movement in Asia, and the rising revolutionary movement at home—the Japanese monopoly capitalists, in order

to preserve their class rule and the system of exploitation, betrayed the national interests and submitted to U.S. imperialist domination. They chose to become a subordinate ally of the USA with a view to regaining lost ground.

The San Francisco "peace" treaty, the "mutual security" treaty and other agreements as a result of which our country, though it formally became a "sovereign state," was deprived of genuine independence, were signed behind the backs of the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic. The real purpose of these treaties and agreements was to give the semblance of law to U.S. imperialist domination within the framework of allied relationships. Such is the background to the present situation in Japan.

The Moscow statement of 1960 says: "The dominant monopoly bourgeoisie in the more developed capitalist countries, which has allied itself with U.S. imperialism, sacrifices the sovereignty of their countries, hoping, with support from the U.S. imperialists, to crush the revolutionary liberation forces, deprive the working people of democratic freedoms and impede the struggle of the masses for social progress. U.S. imperialism involves those countries in the arms drive, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying on subversive activities against the socialist and neutral countries."

All this is glaringly evident in Japan owing to the relative weakness and backwardness of Japanese capitalism as compared with the countries of Western Europe and the USA, and to the stranglehold of U.S. imperialism as a result of Japan's defeat in the war. These specific features distinguish the present situation in our country from that in Britain or France.

Although monopoly capitalism is developing rapidly in Japan, consolidating its positions and again cherishing expansionist aspirations, the fact remains that our country is, in both the military and diplomatic respects, under the heel of U.S. imperialism. Okinawa and Ogasawara have become U.S. possessions, more than 200 U.S. military bases have been set up on the mainland, and the USA reserves for itself a free hand in the territorial waters and air space of Japan. The Japanese "self-defense corps" is to all intents and purposes under the command of the U.S. army, and the Japanese government follows the lead of Washington in matters of foreign policy—beginning with its stand in the United Nations and ending with its relations with the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union.



Although all this is obvious, the Right-wing Social Democrats and revisionists close their eyes to the crucial issue of Japan's dependence on the USA and ignore the task of fighting for independence, seeking in effect to direct the struggles of the Japanese people against only one enemy—Japanese monopoly capitalism. They virtually ignore the role played by U.S. imperialism, which uses military alliances as instruments of aggression and domination over other peoples. The fallacy of these views is patent, especially in the light of the above-mentioned thesis of the Moscow statement of 1960.

Our country is tied hand and foot to the USA not only as regards military matters and foreign policy, but also in the production sphere, finance and trade. The Right-wing Social Democrats and revisionists, however, are unable to grasp this fact. Although the situation in Japan differs from that in the underdeveloped countries, it nevertheless is the object of economic aggression, oppression and plunder by American imperialism; Japan is dependent on U.S. imperialism and subordinated to it in the spheres of finance and trade. But the revisionists close their eyes to this and persist in underestimating or denying the dependence on the USA on the grounds that Japan is not an underdeveloped country.

Lenin did not consider that the question of imperialist domination and dependence on imperialism applied to the colonies and semi-colonies alone, he pointed to the existence of "different types of dependent countries." "The feature of imperialism," he said, "is precisely the domination *not* of industrial but of finance capital, a striving to annex *not* only agrarian but *all* types of countries."

"Finance capital," he observed, "is so powerful a force, indeed, it may be said, the decisive force in all economic and international relations, that it can subordinate and, in fact, does subordinate even states enjoying the fullest political independence. . . ."

Clearly, then, the revisionists completely repudiate the basic tenet of the Marxist-Leninist theory of imperialism when they claim that Japan, since it is a developed capitalist country, cannot be considered a dependent or economically subordinated country.

## 2.

The financial-economic dependence of our country is manifest both in foreign trade and in industry.

The United States enjoys exclusive privileges in its trade with Japan. It accounts for

one-third of Japan's overall export and import trade. In 1961, for example, 25 per cent of the total exports went to the USA, while American goods accounted for 36 per cent of Japan's imports. Moreover, the balance is unfavorable for Japan. In 1950-1960 the unfavorable balance amounted to \$6,807 million, 76 per cent of this being imports from the USA. The balance of payments deficit caused by this lopsided trade is covered by purchases by the U.S. army of occupation (these amounted to \$6,163 million in 1950-1960), U.S. government buying through the International Cooperation Administration, long-term and short-term loans obtained in the USA, etc.

The influx of capital from the USA, American military buying and exports to the dollar zone have thus become vital to the "development" of Japanese monopoly capitalism. An important role is also played by military "aid." In other words, it is by hitching on to the U.S. imperialist policy of military and economic aggression that Japan makes good the greater part of its trade deficit. The fact that trade with the USA and countries in the American orbit accounts for more than 60 per cent of Japan's overall export and import trade is in itself a measure of the extent to which Japan is dependent on the USA.

Apart from ships and certain steel products, the bulk of Japan's exports consists of light-industry goods, while the imports are mostly raw materials and industrial plant. From this, too, it is clear that the dominant position in Japano-American trade belongs to U.S. capital.

A result of this economic dependence is non-equivalent exchange through which the U.S. monopolies plunder the Japanese people.

Besides indirectly affecting Japanese industry through trade, the U.S. monopolies are directly subordinating it to themselves. Since the equipping and training of the Japanese army is in the hands of the Pentagon, the U.S. monopolies have undivided control over the technological side of the Japanese war industry, especially the aircraft plants, which mostly produce military aircraft.

They have also seized the key positions in other key branches, such as oil, rubber and aluminum. Other branches — steel, electric power, chemicals, electronics, nuclear energy and some of the newly-emerged and fast-developing branches — are linked with the U.S. monopolies through dependence on the latter for raw materials, machinery and other equipment, not to mention finance, marketing and other factors. All these branches are in



one or another measure "caught in the net" of dependence, as Lenin put it.

According to official statistics, total foreign investments in Japan amounted in 1950-1961 to nearly \$1,500 million, with the USA accounting for 75 per cent of this sum. Besides, by 1961 Japan had received from the USA nearly \$1,400 million in military "aid." And if we take into account Japan's indebtedness for U.S. relief and economic rehabilitation allocations for occupied areas\* amounting to about \$500 million and also prewar investments to the value of several hundred million dollars, the total of foreign investments and long-range loans, both mostly American, reached by the end of 1961 nearly \$4,000 million (patent and interest payments alone exceeded \$500 million in 1950-1961). In the future, too, the Japanese capitalists will need long-term and short-term loans thus remaining financially as well as technologically dependent on the USA.

The full extent of Japanese dependence will be appreciated if we take into account not only the present international situation and the correlation between the U.S. and Japanese monopoly capitalists, but also the development of Japanese capitalism on the broader, historical plane.

"In Japan and Russia," Lenin said, "the monopoly of military power, vast territory or easy plunder of other peoples, China, etc., partly complements and partly takes the place of the monopoly of modern, up-to-date finance capital."

Prewar Japanese capitalism bore all the hallmarks of backwardness; the country had a semi-feudal system of land tenure, the peasant holdings were diminutive, while industry consisted of handicrafts and small and medium-sized enterprises. This laid its impress also on monopoly capitalism, which achieved on this economic basis a high degree of concentration but was weak in the financial respect, lagged behind in technology, and was able to compete on the world market only in textiles and haberdashery.

The defeat in the Second World War deprived Japanese monopoly capitalism of its main pillar, i.e., to use Lenin's words, of the monopoly of military power, vast territory and easy plunder which had complemented the monopoly of finance capital. U.S. imperialism disbanded the Zaibatsu, broke up the state monopolies in metallurgy and electric

power and returned the enterprises to private hands, etc., thereby creating more favorable conditions for establishing its control over Japanese industry. The revival of monopoly capitalism which followed proceeded in the conditions of U.S. occupation and domination.

The rapid postwar development of commodity-money relationships in the countryside as a result of the land reform cleared the way for the rapid growth of the monopolies. But the main role was played by huge accumulation, the technological renewal and rationalization. Drawing on U.S. "aid," dipping into the state treasury and ruthlessly exploiting all sections of the people, the monopolies did well out of this. At the same time the economic center of gravity shifted from light to heavy industry and to the chemical industry, reflecting the changes in the structure of Japanese monopoly capitalism.

What are the reasons for the increase in foreign investments in Japan in recent years? The reasons are simple. Having been defeated in the war, deprived of its most important resources, its industry backward and its position unstable, Japan in the early postwar years offered little attraction for American capital. As a result, however, of the revival and consolidation of Japanese monopoly capitalism in the recent period, the country offered greater promise from the point of view of the investor and, consequently, there was a big increase in the influx of capital from the USA. From 1950 to 1960 the total of foreign investments in Japan exceeded \$900 million, and in 1961 alone nearly \$600 million was invested.

The important thing at present is not so much the volume of the American investments in Japan as the fact that they are steadily increasing. This tendency, too, is a result of the resurgence of local monopoly capital in a country dependent on the USA; it is dictated both by the interests of the Japanese capitalists themselves and by the expansionist aspirations of U.S. imperialism, which is taking advantage of the relative weakness of Japanese monopoly capital.

Contrary to the facts, the revisionists in our country claim that Japanese monopoly capitalism has been winning an increasing measure of independence in recent years. By doing so they, however, only reveal theoretical helplessness and utter inability to understand the substance and meaning of the increasing U.S. economic aggression against Japan.

\*These allocations were discontinued in 1951.



## 3.

The principal feature of monopoly capitalist development in Japan after the 1957-1958 crisis, as was noted by the Eighth Congress of our Party, was "the building of an economic base for the accelerated revival of militarism and imperialism" as part of the economic policy of the Ikeda government—the so-called "plan for intensified economic development and doubling the national income." The monopolies, investing heavily in new machinery and equipment, are hastily developing heavy industry centers and building large plants with the obvious intention of strengthening their competitive capacity on the world market and venturing into the sphere of foreign expansion.

This, naturally, brings them into sharper conflict with American and West-European monopoly capital. The Japanese monopolies resent the American-imposed restrictions on trade with Japan, the reduction of war orders and purchases by the American government and the policy of preferences for American goods and the U.S. merchant fleet, and are resisting the demand for "liberalization" in the sphere of trade and currency exchange.

Not counting deferments on trade payments granted to other countries, the total export of private capital from Japan amounts to some \$400 million. This is a drop in the ocean compared with the amount exported by the United States and Britain, but as a tendency it should not be underestimated because it is now showing signs of rapid growth. Taken together with the consolidation of the monopolies and the growing concentration this is a definite sign that Japanese monopoly capitalism is gaining ground. At the same time it should be noted that of late this development has been moving toward even greater dependence on U.S. imperialism. With the revival of Japanese monopoly capitalism, the export of goods and capital has been expanded. Owing to the continued restrictions on trade with the socialist camp, however, as well as Japan's dependence on American "special orders", the increase in commodity exports falls to the share of the countries of the dollar zone and to countries linked with the United States through military blocs—South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, South Vietnam and Thailand, a fact which binds Japan still more firmly to the military bloc policy pursued by U.S. imperialism. The same can be said of the export of capital; apart from the fact that the investments

flowing into Japan and the loans received by the Japanese monopolies far exceed the sum of exported capital, the sphere of investment of this capital is limited to areas dominated by U.S. imperialism. Along with the rapid development of Japanese monopoly capitalism there has been a sharp increase in recent times in the influx of American capital and plant; growing too is the number of mixed American-Japanese companies and of Japanese enterprises working exclusively on American orders or turned into subsidiaries of American companies. The U.S. monopolists seek to acquire 50 per cent or more of the shares of the jointly-owned companies, and the practice of providing loans, credits and equipment to Japanese monopoly enterprises or else establishing joint enterprises is becoming more common. All this points to intensified penetration of U.S. private capital into Japan. Moreover, the Japanese monopolists are by no means resisting this process, if anything they welcome it as a means of gaining an advantage over domestic and foreign competitors. This explains why the Japanese monopolies are becoming subsidiaries of the American not only in the electrical-equipment industry, where this was the case even before the war, but also in oil refining, in electric power, machine-building, chemical, atomic and other branches.

The advent of the European Economic Community has given added impetus to this tendency. Japanese monopoly capital has now emerged as a serious rival to its European competitors, and this is due partly to its dependence on and alliance with the U.S. monopolies. True, the Japanese monopolies have begun to compete with the American capitalists in some branches, but on the whole this does not alter their dependent position. While competing with the United States in some commodities, they are forced to restrain themselves and limit their exports. As for the U.S. monopolies, they find it highly profitable to use cheap Japanese labor and to gear Japanese industry to filling American orders, since this enables them to increase their profits and competitive power, and, in particular, to oust Britain and France from the markets of South-East Asia and other areas.

The facts adduced by the Japanese revisionists in support of their contentions do not show that Japanese monopoly capital is in a position to have its own sphere of influence and to be independent, or that it really is striving for such independence. At best these facts point merely to the rapid development



of Japan and the resurgence of Japanese militarism and imperialism. Therein lies the basic error of their reasoning.

"Export of capital greatly accelerates the development of capitalism in the countries to which it is exported," Lenin wrote. "Hence, if such export tends to some extent to retard development in the exporting countries, this is only the price of expanding and deepening the development of capitalism on a world scale."

The phenomenon to which Lenin referred is identical to that which we observe in the countries receiving military and economic "aid" from American imperialism and which have become spheres of investment for American private capital. Remaining "the biggest international exploiter", and the "main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism," the United States at the same time is losing the superiority it once enjoyed.

Export of capital, as we have seen, accelerates the development of capitalism in the country to which it is exported and to some extent retards the development of the exporting country. But another question arises in this connection, namely, how does this circumstance affect the balance of forces: do the forces become equal, or does the balance change in favor of the country into which the capital flows? It does not necessarily follow from the tendency noted by Lenin that there is an absolute shift in the balance of forces in this direction.

The uneven development of capitalism, which has become more pronounced in recent years, causes a change in the balance of forces between the capitalist countries. Certain changes have taken place of late in the balance between the European and American monopoly capital, on the one hand, and the Japanese, on the other. This tends to aggravate Japano-American contradictions. But the crux of the matter in the given instance is to draw the right conclusion from these changes. This is all the more important inasmuch as the revisionists, basing themselves on the fact that Japanese monopoly capitalism is developing faster than its American counterpart at the present time and that there is a rapid revival of militarism and imperialism in Japan, maintain that Japano-U.S. relations are marked primarily by a clash of interests, that Japan has become an independent imperialist power.

But in order correctly to appraise the real relations between Japanese and U.S. mono-

poly capital, it is not enough to consider only the relative change in the balance of forces as a result of the uneven development; one must ascertain whether there has been an absolute change. If so, that change should be examined in all its aspects — military, diplomatic, financial, trade, etc. From this standpoint it will be seen that U.S. imperialism as "the biggest international exploiter," as the "chief economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism" (Moscow statement) is still far stronger than Japanese monopoly capital.

The revisionists either fail to see or else underestimate the significance of the fact that U.S. capital investments, loans, shipments of machinery, etc., are simply economic aggression on the part of American imperialism. Thus, they do not regard the uneven development of capitalism as part of the essential nature of imperialism but reduce capitalist development as a whole to a purely mechanical movement. The very fact that they emphasize only the uneven development also stems from their approach. For them imperialist domination, irrespective of the level of capitalist development in the subordinate country, is merely a transient and fortuitous phenomenon. This explains why they equate imperialist resurgence with imperialist independence.

To do this is to commit a grave theoretical error, to disregard completely Lenin's theory of imperialism.

Our approach to the matter is as follows: although the development of Japanese monopoly capitalism in recent times can be regarded as a process of imperialist regeneration, this does not mean that Japan already is an independent imperialist force; this process is accompanied by the economic aggression of U.S. monopoly capital in Japan, while Japanese monopoly capital, although dependent on the United States, turns the situation to its own advantage, carrying out its plans for regenerating militarism and imperialism. We attach exceptional importance to these circumstances and believe that they are not fortuitous, but have emerged by virtue of the logic of development.

Uneven development sharpens the conflict of interests between the monopoly capitalists of the different countries, and this makes it more and more difficult for them to act in unison. This is clear. At the same time, however, at the opposite pole on the world arena is the steadily growing socialist camp, the



rising tide of struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, the movement for peace and the national-liberation movement. This tends to bring the monopoly capitalists of the different countries closer in their efforts to resist the forces of democracy, peace and socialism, to intensify their aggression, national oppression and political reaction and to preserve their system.

Although uneven development has aggravated the contradictions between the U.S. and Japanese monopolies, the fact that the international and domestic situation is becoming increasingly unfavorable for them does not make these contradictions the main thing in American-Japanese relations; on the contrary, it serves to preserve their alliance. Moreover, under the circumstances, Japan is bound to play the subordinate role in this alliance.

Japan, then, can hardly be said to have the status of an independent imperialist power in the matter of export of capital or the economic division of the world, not to speak of territorial division. Hence, considering that

(although imperialism in Japan is growing) the salient feature at the moment is Japan's dependence on the United States, to regard Japan as occupying an independent imperialist position would be wholly incorrect.

Recognizing that Japanese imperialism is regaining strength, our Party program gives the following appraisal of this process:

"Monopoly capitalism in Japan, intensifying the exploitation of the working people, seeking to increase the penetration of Japanese goods and capital into foreign markets, binding our country to the plans for nuclear war harbored by American imperialism, possesses, economically speaking, imperialist features and is taking the way of rebuilding militarism and imperialism."

This definition fully accords with the experience of the revolutionary struggle in our country: Japan is a semi-occupied country dominated by U.S. imperialism, and by virtue of this, the Japanese people are forced to wage a struggle against two enemies—U.S. imperialism and Japanese-monopoly capitalism.

## The Conditions of the West German Peasantry and the Policy of the Communist Party

*Heinrich Bergmann*

THE agricultural situation in Federal Germany is marked by a struggle for survival on the part of the thousands of peasants who are being ruined and driven off the land by the policy of atomic armament and integration in the European Economic Community. Resisting the designs of the monopolists and the militarists, the majority of the farm population reject the EEC as a NATO auxiliary serving the interests of the international monopolies and the aggressive West-German militarists. The peasants are resisting the seizure of land for military purposes and the so-called "structural changes" designed to accelerate capitalist concentration in agriculture. The demand for a new farm policy is winning more and more support, and a democratic peasant movement against the encroach-

ments of the monopolies, the big landowners and the militarists and in support of a policy of peace is beginning to take shape.

The Communist Party of Germany has issued a document entitled "The National Policy of the CPG in the Peasant Question," addressed to the population of West Germany and urging the workers and peasants to join forces in the struggle for peace and political and social security, i.e., for democracy and social progress.

### **The Agrarian Policy of the Adenauer Government Spells Ruin for the Peasants**

The clash between the interests of the monopolies striving for maximum profits and pressing on with the arms drive, and



those of the West German peasants is becoming more and more manifest. Monopoly rule and the agrarian policy of the Adenauer government, hinged on NATO and the EEC, no longer threaten only certain sections of the peasants but the peasantry as a whole.

The rule of the monopolies and the banks is changing the traditional face of the countryside and shaping a new social and political structure typical of state-monopoly capitalism. Differentiation is carried further and the ruination of peasant proprietors accelerated. Land and capital are being concentrated in the hands of highly mechanized capitalist farms with abundant working capital.

The government agricultural bodies and the capitalist and Social Democratic economists hold that to be "profitable" a farm should range from 50 to 100 or 150 hectares. (1 hectare=2.471 acres) The large numbers of small and middle peasants who cannot keep up with the technological progress and lack the necessary capital are doomed to go under. Professor Heinrich Niehaus, member of the advisory board of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, has described the process in these words: "Technical progress requires constant adaptation, and the farmers unable to do so are left by the wayside as economic corpses."\*

Niehaus classifies the farmers as follows: 1) those who have "readjusted," i.e., who have turned to capitalist farming; 2) those satisfied with less than maximum profit; 3) the "indifferent" peasants, and 4) the "rentiers."

All these groups exist in fact, including those whom Niehaus calls the rentiers; the latter rent land, loan money to other peasants and, generally speaking, are a parasitic element in the countryside. What Niehaus fails to see is that increasing numbers of peasants are becoming proletarians or semi-proletarians and that a rapid process of alienation of the producers from the means of production is under way.

Symptomatic in this respect are the changes in the structure of farm production. Whereas in 1948 some 80.2 per cent of all the farms held 39.5 per cent of the arable land, in 1960 their share declined to 32.6 per cent.

The measures taken by the monopolies to change the farm structure are aimed at in-

tensifying concentration in agricultural production along the same lines as in industry. In 1960 Fritz Berg, President of the Federal Manufacturers' Association, categorically demanded discontinuation of all support to "economically weak, small and medium-sized enterprises." In his opinion the farms should be run by "peasant employers" and should "correspond to the structure of handicrafts and industrial economy."

There have been other changes too in the West German countryside, caused by the influx of millions of settlers and the fact that since 1948 about 1.5 million peasants and farm laborers formerly employed full-time in farming have entered industry. With 850,000 small and middle peasants unable to make living on the land and therefore compelled to seek employment in industry, many rural residents now go to work in the towns. The peasants squeezed out of agriculture and turned into workers with small holdings provide the war-industry monopolies with a reserve of cheap labor.

The military and economic policy of the monopolies and the monopoly-dominated government is accelerating the ruination of the peasants. The market for farm produce is almost completely controlled by the monopolies and the banks. The differentiation among the peasantry and concentration in agriculture also serve to send up monopoly profits. Another lever used to this end is the state.

The government's annual "Green Plan" is aimed at speeding up concentration in the guise of "aid" to the peasants. But the more state funds are spent to encourage large-scale farming, the greater the number of ruined peasant farms. Whereas in 1958-1959 an average of 82 farms went under daily, by 1960 the figure had risen to 204. The traditional and inevitable lag of agriculture behind industry under capitalism is accentuated by the policy of militarization, which speeds up the wholesale ruination of the peasants.

### **The Agricultural Common Market Serves the Interests of the Monopolies**

The rate and extent of the changes in the structure of farm production and consequently the rate at which the small peasant farms are being eliminated are determined by the economic preparation for war and by the agricultural Common Market inaugurated in the summer of 1962 as the EEC entered upon its second phase. The West German

\* H. Niehaus, *Economic and Agrarian Policy in Modern Society*. Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart, 1957, pp. 274.



monopolies which call the tune in the EEC and their partners in the international state-monopoly associations look upon the agricultural common market as an instrument for squeezing more profits out of the countryside and building up the food reserves needed to back up the aggressive designs of NATO.

Price levelling and the competition offered by EEC members with the most favorable conditions for promoting farm production are creating new difficulties for some branches of agriculture in other Common Market countries. Speaking in Paris in April 1961, Manshold, the Vice-President of the EEC Commission, proclaimed wholesale ruination of the peasantry as official EEC agricultural policy. In the next 15 years, he he said, some eight million peasants, farm laborers and members of peasant families working on family farms are due to be driven off the land in the Common Market countries, including 4.5 million in Italy, two million in France and one million in Federal Germany.

The Brussels decisions on the agricultural Common Market set up an international farm produce cartel of the monopolies and their governments with all the attributes of internal state-monopoly "regulation" and high tariff barriers against third parties. The upshot is that the farmers are getting less for their produce, while retail prices remain exorbitant.

Adenauer deliberately deceived the peasants when he declared that his government would protect their interests and seek special conditions for West Germany at the Brussels talks. The agricultural Common Market was boosted as a blessing for the consumer; it was said to mean cheaper and better farm produce. Now the real essence of capitalist integration has been fully revealed: with the establishment of the agricultural Common Market prices soared in the Federal Republic. Since July 1, 1962, eggs, vegetables, meat and meat products have gone up by 15-20 per cent and more. The weekly *Volkswirt*, a monopoly mouthpiece, had to admit that "the artificial inflation of prices has evoked deep dissatisfaction with the Common Market among broad sections of the population." Only the wholesale monopolies and the newly established state "price-skimming" office\* gain from this measure. The latter will net some DM. 600-700 million annually. The peasants, who

suffer from the competition offered by cheap imports, will not receive a penny. On the contrary, they have been deprived of the state bonus for eggs, which amounted to DM. 300 million a year.

If formerly the Common Market policy ruined the small peasants, now even the rich farmers and agricultural capitalists are incurring substantial losses. As West Germany's principal grain producers, they are affected by the decline of grain prices to the EEC average. The Peasant Union has estimated that the loss amounts to DM. 2,000 million annually. This accounts for the cautious attitude which the Peasant Union leaders have taken towards the EEC and the agrarian policy of the Adenauer government. The West German monopolies are thus coming into conflict with those sections of the population which hitherto have been regarded as their solid supporters. Indicative of the agricultural policy of the monopolies is the proposal submitted by their leading organization, the Federal Manufacturers' Association, to compensate the agricultural capitalists for their losses from the state budget. The object is to consolidate a few thousand large-scale farms and make them a new source of profit. At the same time the peasants are being crushed even more ruthlessly, while the working people generally are made to pay for this policy through higher prices for farm produce and heavier taxation. In this way the international "green cartel" encroaches on the interests of all the non-monopoly sections of the population.

*The transition to large-scale capitalist farming, which is accelerated by the EEC, is thus effected at the expense of the peasants and their vital interests.*

With the monopolies in the saddle, the productive forces in agriculture cannot develop in the interests of the working people. The advantages of large-scale farming will benefit the peasants only in a socialist society, as can be seen from the example of the cooperative labor of the farmers in the German Democratic Republic.

The aggressive groups of monopoly capital regard the agricultural Common Market as a food base for NATO. Speaking at a session of the Western European Union in Paris on May 31, 1960, Strauss stressed that "military needs" should play a decisive role in all planning. And the West German official journal *Agrardienst* declared on this score on January 29, 1960, that "without the Euro-

\*The reference is to the channelling to the Federal Treasury of the difference between the import prices and the higher prices charged the consumer.—Ed.



pean Economic Community and association in the sphere of agriculture NATO could not exist."

The hardships imposed on the peasants by the EEC are aggravated by the fact that the militarists are demanding more land for military purposes. By 1960, according to official data, 217,000 hectares of peasant land had been confiscated for "direct military purposes" and 2.7 million hectares for "non-agricultural purposes." Under the NATO MC-70 plan some four million hectares are to go the same way in the next few years.

The Adenauer government is seeking to break the growing resistance to the policy of war preparation by means of emergency laws and labor service legislation designed to bring military compulsion to bear on the workers and peasants. The object of the obligatory service and statutory labor law, for instance, is to compel the peasants to place their homes, land, tractors and cattle at the disposal of the militarists. These laws geared to war-time needs seriously infringe on the peasants' rights already in peacetime and involve the countryside in the overall process of militarization of the economy.

To these measures aimed at placing the peasants at the mercy of the government of the monopolies and militarists is added outright plunder of the farm population by the monopolies through the high prices charged for farm machines, fertilizers, chemicals and other essentials.

In order to keep their heads above water, the peasants have had to mechanize farm work and introduce more efficient techniques. This has cost them DM. 20,000 million. To raise this sum, they have had to sell land worth more than DM. 12,000 million and timber to the tune of DM. 10,000 million. At the same time the prices paid for tractors and other farm machines, on the one hand, and for farm produce, on the other, continue to widen. If the prices paid for produce in 1938-1939 are taken as 100, in 1960 the index went up to 204, while the index of the initial and maintenance costs of farm machines and implements rose to 252.

As a result of farm mechanization the monopolies have netted billions in profits, while the peasants have sunk still deeper in debt. The debt burden increased from DM. 2,480 million in 1948 to about DM. 15,000 million in 1960. The annual interest payments went up from DM. 190 million in 1949 to DM. 750 million in 1960.

Not only the makers of agricultural equipment but also the chemical and oil concerns are battenning on the peasants.

The monopolies, then, are in equal measure the enemies of both the workers and the peasants. Only through joint worker-peasant action can their offensive be repulsed and a peaceful and happy future without monopolists or militarists be ensured.

### **New Political Developments in the Countryside**

The process of differentiation and concentration in Federal German agriculture confirms the thesis of the Program of the CPSU that the monopolies occupy "dominant positions in agriculture as well." As a result, big changes are taking place in the class relationships in the rural areas. The big landowners and the bulk of the well-to-do peasants support the dominant monopoly-capitalist parties — the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union — and the Free Democratic Party, which is a monopoly party in a "liberal" guise. In the Bundestag elections on September 17, 1961, many peasants voted for the Free Democrats, who demagogically posed as opponents of the EEC, while the Christian Democrats, who frankly stood for the EEC policy, lost heavily in rural votes. This was a reflection of the growing discontent with the anti-national policy pursued by the ruling parties on the peasant question.

The economic pressure exerted by the monopolies gives rise to dissatisfaction primarily among the middle and small peasants. The latter, anxious to break away from the political tutelage of the reactionaries, are searching for new allies in their struggle for survival. They demand "social and economic equality," as it is put, for example, in a decision adopted by the Feuerbach group of the Peasant Union organization in Friedberg (Hesse). There is also a desire to unite in cooperatives and to uphold democratic rights in the peasant organizations, which are still run by the big landowners.

Politically, the peasants are beginning to realize that West German militarism is their enemy. But owing to a number of reasons — above all the influence of clericalism, unbridled anti-communist propaganda, the treacherous policy of the leadership of the Peasant Union and the Right-wing Social Democrat chiefs, and also the hesitancy shown by the labor movement in seeking alliance with the peasantry — a political awakening is still comparatively slow.



Even though the peasant movement is growing, the reactionaries ensconced in the leadership of the Peasant Union — expropriated landlords from the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries who have joined the Christian Democrats and who are pursuing a revenge-seeking policy, Junkers linked up with the higher clergy — still wield considerable influence. Like Adenauer and Strauss, they are supporters of nuclear armaments and are doing their utmost to make the Federal Republic a hotbed of war.

The old Nazi leaders from the *Reichsnaehrstand*\* have also worked themselves into influential positions in the Peasant Union and the cooperatives. They are the most rabid disseminators of anti-communist slander and promoters of revanchist designs against the German Democratic Republic. Most of the former Nazi rural functionaries, having joined the Christian Democrats and Free Democrats, are setting the tone in the rural organizations of these parties. For ideological leadership they look to men who held the political reins in Hitler's *Reichsnaehrstand* and who now occupy influential positions in agricultural organizations, in the Laender governments and parliaments. One of the latter is Guenter von Pacyna, former chief editor of *Reichsnaehrstand* and now editor of a bulletin put out by the Lower Saxony Countrymen's Union. Pacyna, who openly propounds his old Nazi views, is trying to enlist the peasants behind Adenauer. Gustav Hacker, former Nazi agricultural expert for the Ukraine, is Minister of Agriculture in Hesse where the Social Democrats head the government. Another fascist, Dr. Sonnemann, who from 1933 to 1936 functioned as chief of staff to the "peasant Reichsfuehrer" Darre, became State Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Agriculture in 1949. All these men are supporters of the revanchist policy of German imperialism.

The biggest farmers' organization, apart from the cooperatives, is the Peasant Union, which seeks to win the rural population for the policy pursued by the Adenauer government and the militarists. The presidents and vice-presidents of its higher councils are all men of the big landowners and the banks.

Vice-presidents of the Union are the Christian Democrat Bundestag deputies von Feury, Bauknecht and Wittmer-Eigenbrodt. These "spokesmen of the peasantry" are all big landowners who champion not the interests of the peasants but the NATO and EEC

policies of the monopolies and the militarists. The majority of the Union's leaders have given their blessing to all the laws and ordinances of the Adenauer-Strauss government. Every now and then, however, they are compelled to make a pretence of listening to the peasants and to the officials of their organizations who want a change in agricultural policy and are interested in safeguarding peace. For example, Froehlich, President of the Peasant Union in Rhineland-Palatinate, addressing a peasant demonstration in Kaiserslautern, had to admit that the burden of armaments was the big problem confronting the farm population in the Palatinate. Statements of this kind reflect the growing opposition of the peasants to the policy of the militarists. In both the Peasant Union and the cooperatives the working peasants stand for a democratic national policy, a policy of peace, and are demanding that the full strength of these organizations be brought to bear against militarism and the EEC. But to do this, these organizations must be put on a democratic footing and strengthened, and genuine champions of the peasants' interests elected to their leading committees.

The Brandt-Wehner group of Right-wing Social Democrat leaders is also courting peasant support. However, the Social Democratic Party's agrarian policy bears the stamp of its defection to the imperialists. Its leaders are collaborating with the imperialists in the EEC and share full responsibility for the plight of the peasants. In the Bundestag they have joined with the militarists in supporting the "green plan." In the agrarian policy statement issued by the leadership of the Social Democratic Party in August 1960 not a word is said of the role of the monopolies or of the way the latter are plundering the countryside, while approval is given to the policy of "changing the farm structure" and "eliminating strip farming." The Right-wing Social Democrat leaders argue that farms of less than ten hectares are incapable of survival. In this matter too, as in so many others, they are trying to outdo even the Christian Democrats.

This policy is encountering growing opposition on the part of the Social Democratic rank and file and sympathizers in the countryside. As for the Communists, they regard it as their task to awaken the Social Democratic rank and file to the need for joint struggle against confiscation of land and against the NATO policy. There are tangible possibilities for organizing jointly

\*State agricultural organization in Hitler Germany.—Ed.



with our Social Democratic comrades a broad movement against Bonn's policy of war and impoverishment of the peasantry.

All-round militarization of the economy which is turning good farmland into airfields, ranges for maneuvers and missile bases and which is driving the rural youth into the war factories, is having a big effect on the thinking and actions of the peasants. The demonstrations held in recent years in Eifel, Hunsrueck, Bavaria, Lueneburger Heide and near Kaiserslautern protesting against the confiscation of land, against the air and missile bases and the damage caused by the military maneuvers show that the peasants are becoming increasingly active against militarism and for peace. In many localities there have been joint protests by the workers and peasants against the aggressive designs of the militarists, and action groups have been formed to oppose the Bonn policy of war preparation.

The Adenauers are trying by means of anti-communism, chauvinist and revanchist propaganda and draconic laws to stifle the anti-imperialist movement and prevent the workers and peasants from forming a militant alliance. To ensure realization of their designs the militarists are reviving the Hitler cry of *lebensraum*. Land-hungry peasants are advised, as a "way out," to dedicate themselves to "pioneering labor in the name of Western civilization," and the "*drang nach Osten*" slogan has been resurrected. In an article in the *Deutsche Bauernzeitung*, Rehwinkel, President of the Peasant Union, exhorted the peasants to play their part in the seizing of territory in the East all the way to the Urals. Ahrenz, Minister of Finance in Lower Saxony, looks forward to the day when the German farmer will again "follow the plough over the broad fields of the East."

#### **The National Peasant Policy of the Communist Party of Germany**

The Communist Party is steadfastly combating the policy of revenge. Reminding the peasants of the experience of the two world wars, it is urging them never again to sacrifice themselves to the interests of monopoly capital, but to fight together with the working class to make peace secure and thereby the conditions essential for imparting a new dignity to the peasants as a class and for building a democratic and peace-loving social system without monopolists or militarists. The West German peasantry, like the farm population in the other capitalist countries, is confronted with the alter-

native of either submitting to the policy of the monopolies and the militarists, which means allowing itself to be plundered and ruined, or choosing struggle together with all the monopoly-oppressed sections of the nation under the leadership of the working class. In this connection the Communist Party's document on the peasant question states:

"The omnipotence of the monopolies and their armaments policy threaten the workers and the peasants in equal measure. Hence, only through joint action can they ensure peace, social security and well-being for Germany."

The Party's agrarian policy takes as its starting point that joint struggle by the overwhelming majority of the people under the leadership of the working class can safeguard the peasants against the disastrous consequences of the profit-grabbing, war-mongering policy of the monopolies, of the anti-national policy of participating in the EEC. The Communists explain to the peasants that the way to ensure a peaceful future lies through struggle against the monopoly capitalists, struggle for democratic reforms in the countryside.

The demand of the day — one on which the salvation of the peasantry depends — is that of signing a German peace treaty and of proclaiming Germany's neutrality. This would substantially lighten the burden of the armaments drive, prevent the confiscation of land envisaged in the NATO MC-70 and MC-96 plans, and secure the return of much of the land requisitioned to date. A reduction in the military budget would release funds for subsidies and cheap credits for the peasants and for financing education and other services in the rural areas. The agricultural Common Market with its pernicious consequences could be done away with and an economic policy according with the national interest and independent of the monopolies implemented instead.

An agrarian program of this kind would guarantee the peasants a decent living. This would benefit also the industrial workers, since it would mean cheaper food. Hence the working class fully supports the demands of the peasants.

The agrarian measures proposed by the Communist Party constitute a program of both immediate and long-range action. The urgent task is to put an end to the policy of bleeding the peasants on the pretext of "changing the farm structure."



Things would be different in the countryside if the post-1945 land reform and resettlement laws adopted in the Laender but blocked by Bonn were implemented. Although most of these laws fall short of a democratic policy in the peasant question, they nevertheless would provide land to tens of thousands of peasant families and settlers at the expense of large holdings exceeding 100 hectares. The holdings of land speculators, industrial monopolies and the big banks and insurance companies should be turned over to the peasants. The Party proposes that the money needed to compensate the landowners be taken from the military budget.

The Party also proposes to earmark 10 per cent of the Federal budget for aid to the peasants. Instead of the "green plan," measures are suggested which would promote peasant farming and ensure the continued existence of the small and medium-sized farms. In particular, it is urged that long-term credits at interest rates not exceeding two per cent be provided from the public funds. State funds should also be allocated for interest-free loans, for grants to finance repayment of debts, and for subsidies. Rents should be reduced, with the state paying the difference, and the tenants' interests protected by long-term leases.

The growing mechanization of agriculture necessitates a big road-improvement program. Since the communities and the peasant mutual aid societies cannot provide the funds for this, the Communist Party proposes building roads at state expense. This applies also to water conservation.

Other planks in the program are the demands for more democracy in the villages and promotion of the cooperative movement and public organizations. Most of the existing cooperatives are controlled by the monopolies and the banks, and, consequently, hardly uphold the peasants' interests. The Communists stand for strong cooperatives controlled by the peasants themselves which could counteract the pressure exerted by the industrial and wholesale and retail farm produce monopolies through their price policies.

In order to compete with the big capitalist farms, the small and middle peasants are forming machinery pools and other associations, but are hampered by lack of capital. Subsidies would help to develop this type of activity. The Party urges the peasants to strive for democracy in these organizations so that they might defend the interests of the small farmers. Democratic measures

would help to prevent the cooperatives from developing along the lines of capitalist concentration and make them instruments for protecting the peasantry. Needless to say, in the conditions of monopoly domination, the cooperatives cannot acquire a socialist character, but they can play a progressive role.

The demands advanced by the Party accord with the vital interests of the peasants. They are in accord with the sentiment in the peasant movement against the policy of the militarists and domination of the industrial monopolies and banks. These demands provide the democratic and peasant movement in the Federal Republic with an all-round program. If the working class will work for joint action with the peasants, their struggles can be channelled into the mainstream of the general anti-imperialist movement for a change in Federal German policy, for a democratic system under which the monopolies and militarists would be ousted and the popular forces would become the decisive factor ensuring a policy of peace and progress.

The Communist Party explains to the peasants that the fight for a genuinely national agricultural policy is a democratic struggle serving the cause of peace. Although at the present stage no socialist demands are put forward, the Party is acquainting the West German peasantry with the progress made by the peasants in the German Democratic Republic and in the other socialist countries.

The agricultural policy of the GDR is already influencing the working people of the Federal Republic since it shows that the workers and the peasants can forge ahead faster without the monopolists, Junkers and militarists. In the GDR the fruits of labor are enjoyed not by big industrialists and bankers but by the working people. Its experience teaches the West German peasants that cooperation in a socialist society is, in the final analysis, the only thing that will save them from ruination.

The prerequisite for a genuinely national agrarian policy is a strong alliance of the working class and working peasantry. Hence the Communist Party urges the workers and peasants to take joint action against the Bonn militarists and aggressive monopoly circles.

The democratic, anti-militarist orientation of the peasant movement depends to a great extent on the worker-peasant alliance and on the development of joint action. For the



nationalist elements are trying to channel peasant discontent along lines that would further their revanchist ends, as the Goettingen rally of 8,000 peasants clearly showed. The duty of the working class is to ensure that the anti-democratic trends inimical to the peasants be nipped in the bud.

Building the worker-peasant alliance in West Germany, however, involves overcoming considerable difficulties. So far the peasant actions have not been given sufficient support by the working class, and though there have been joint actions, not all of them have been adequately organized and sufficiently militant — a shortcoming due to some extent to deficiencies in our own work, for Communists often forget that building the alliance of the workers and the peasants is one of the most important tasks of the Party.

So far the factory workers have not taken part in the big peasant demonstrations in Dortmund and Kaiserslautern. The peasants, too, seldom seek contact with industrial workers and their trade unions. Still, there is growing recognition of the need for united action. Factory papers in the Saar, for instance, have been calling for joint struggle. A case in point is the *Einheit*, a paper put out in the steel mill in Burbach, which urged the workers to send messages of greetings to peasants' meetings. During a demonstration in Zelle, the spokesmen for the peasants urged them to learn from the example of the working class and its trade unions. At a peasant demonstration in Dortmund the Communist Party distributed leaflets setting forth its viewpoint. The local Party organization impressed on the Dortmund workers

and on their union officials the need for joint struggle with the peasants against militarism and the armaments policy.

Like the farm population in France, Italy and Switzerland, the Federal German peasants, too, are organizing against the EEC and price manipulations by the monopolies. In the agricultural districts of Lower Saxony they have been calling for "demonstrations with tractors such as have been held in France" and for a "march on Bonn." The Lower Saxony Peasant Union has formed an action committee. The Communists support these committees and urge that they be organized in all villages so as to take effective action without delay against those responsible for the plight of the peasants, i.e., against the monopolies and the militarists. The action committees should contact workers' organizations and the workers in the enterprises in order to join forces against the common enemy.

In this way the worker-peasant alliance essential for putting an end to the Adenauer policy can be built.

A militant alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany will impart added strength to the protest movement of the peasants and integrate it with the common struggle of all the peace-loving forces for a radical change in West German policy. At the same time it would be the first step towards the abolition of the injustice which the peasantry has suffered for so many years under capitalism. Forging ahead side by side with the working class the peasantry will then assume its rightful place in society as one of the main forces of the nation.

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# Martinique Fights for Autonomy

*Armand Nicolas*

**T**HE powerful upswing of the national-liberation movement is one of the features of our time. All peoples still under the colonial yoke have been gripped by an urge for freedom which will sweep colonialism off the face of the earth. Martinique, a small island in the Antilles, one of the last outposts of the French colonial empire, is no exception. In this article I should like to discuss some specific features and conditions of the struggle waged by the people of Martinique under the leadership of their Communist Party

## Pages from History

Seized in 1635, Martinique has been under French rule for over three hundred years. The indigenous population, of Caribbean origin, was exterminated by the colonialists and the island populated with slaves brought from Africa. The slave system continued until 1848. In the course of the centuries the French settlers and the ruling classes in France waxed rich on the sweat and blood of the slaves.

Despite the terror maintained by the slave-owners, the history of this "civilization" of the whiplash was also a history of struggle against slavery. In time a free colored stratum emerged as a result of intermarriage. This brought into being what might be called a colored bourgeoisie (landowners, merchants and professional people) who demanded equality with the whites, i.e., French citizenship. They were, however, regarded as inferiors by the colonialists and denied political and civil rights. The progressive people among this small and medium bourgeoisie played an important role prior to 1848 in the fight against slavery and in directing it towards achieving equality with the French.

The revolution of February 1848 in France marked a turning point in our history. With the overthrow of the monarchy, favorable conditions for the liberation struggle were created in Martinique. In May 1848 the island was swept by rebellion which compelled the local authorities to abolish slavery. At the same time, the French Socialist and abolitionist Victor Schoelcher, then State Secretary for Colonies, succeeded, despite the resistance of the pro-slavery forces, in winning the French government over to his views and

issuing a decree abolishing slavery. The slaves were granted French citizenship and all the political rights won in revolution of 1848 (universal suffrage, election of deputies to the French National Assembly, etc.). Thus the emancipated slaves became "citizens of France."

But their equality was short-lived and illusory. In 1852 the Second Empire, while it did not restore slavery, removed the Negroes from the political arena and introduced forced labor. In 1871 an uprising broke out in the southern and central parts of the island. The Third Republic subsequently recognized in principle the popular demands and granted full French citizenship rights to the inhabitants of Martinique.

In 1946, soon after the war against fascism, in which many of our sons fought in the ranks of the Free French Forces, the French government, which then included the Communists, overriding the resistance of the big bourgeoisie in Martinique (consisting mostly of the white descendants of the slaveowners), amended the statute of the island. Martinique became an "overseas department of France."

## The "Assimilation" Demand

Throughout the three centuries of our history, the progressive forces have fought mainly to break the resistance of the reactionaries and to win equality with the French. This struggle was unquestionably progressive, although in practice "assimilation" along these lines proved to be an erroneous and utopian demand since it could not put an end to the colonial regime. But since "assimilation" was the demand of the majority of the people, the Martinique federation of the French Communist Party actively supported it. It should be borne in mind that the national consciousness of the people had not yet been awakened, and that the opponents of "assimilation" were the local reactionaries and big capitalists who sought to keep the people in a state of subordination and inequality.

It is impossible here to examine in detail the "assimilation" demand which would appear to be an anachronism and reactionary in an epoch marked by the rapid development of the national-liberation movement. Suffice



it to say that French colonialism succeeded to some extent in blunting the national consciousness of the people and depriving them of a sense of their own identity.

In theory the people enjoyed the rights of French citizens. Colonial exploitation was camouflaged by the fact that the basic means of production belonged not to the imperialists but to the local big bourgeoisie. The lion's share of the land, the sugar refineries, some other small industrial enterprises and two out of the four banks are owned by ten wealthy Martinique families. French imperialism controls mainly foreign trade, flooding the island with French manufactured and agricultural products and buying the local produce (sugar, rum, bananas and pineapple) at low prices. In other words, colonial superprofits are shared by the French imperialists and the local big bourgeoisie allied with them.

On the local plane this caused the working masses (the agricultural laborers who make up half of the labor force, the sugar refinery workers, dockers, etc.) to feel that they were exploited *above all and mainly* by the local employers. Colonialism was not seen as the chief enemy, and class struggle on a local scale took precedence over the anti-colonial struggle.

Moreover, the French authorities introduced a specific type of colonial rule. The "old colonies" (Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion and Guiana) occupied an exceptional position in the French colonial set-up. Whereas in Africa and Asia the French colonialists ruthlessly plundered the national resources, maintained forced labor regimes and kept the people in ignorance, in Martinique their policy was more flexible.

With the rapid colonial expansion of France in the epoch of imperialism, the need arose for "empire-builders." The Antilles came to be regarded as a source of auxiliary cadres for colonizing Africa and Asia, for the French imperialists found it more convenient to subjugate colonial peoples through the agency of other colonial peoples whom they had turned into their obedient servants. Moreover, the French rulers sought to cover up the ruthless exploitation of the colonies by pointing to their possessions in the Antilles as an example of "benevolent" colonization. Martinique was their alibi, and hence they could afford to coat the pill. For instance, the progressive forces in 1873 won free and compulsory secular education. While nothing was done in Africa to eliminate illiteracy, in our country rapid progress was made in this

sphere. Today only 20 per cent of the population over 40 are illiterate; 90-95 per cent of the children attend school.

At the same time education was used by the colonialists to rob the people of their national identity. In the schools the children are taught to regard France as their motherland; the textbooks, the same as those used in French schools, tell them that they are the descendants of the Gauls. They are taught nothing of the history of their own country, and very little even of its geography.

Political life in Martinique was a pale reflection of political life in France. The parties and other organizations were subsidiaries of their French counterparts. Incidentally, it should be noted that the democratic movement in Martinique developed in close contact with that of France, which meant that it often inherited the narrow outlook and shortcomings of the latter. The aims and forms of the struggle for democracy in France, arising from the conditions of a developed imperialist country, were mechanically transplanted onto the soil of an underdeveloped colonial country.

After the people had been granted political rights in 1871, the small and middle bourgeoisie, who held the center of the political scene, advanced the idea of Martinique's integration with France. Eventually, the people acquired the right to be members of the French government and to occupy other top posts (the present President of the French Senate, for example, comes from the Antilles).

The first Marxist groups in Martinique appeared only in 1920, after the October Revolution, simultaneously with the establishment of the French Communist Party. But they took an incorrect course, patterning themselves after the Party in France and directing their struggle toward the proletarian socialist revolution, whereas in our conditions the road to socialism inevitably lies through the abolition of colonialism, i.e., through the anti-imperialist revolution.

All this retarded the development of a national consciousness. Consequently, until as late as 1946 our people considered themselves "privileged" members of the French colonial set-up. They spoke of "our Indo-China, and "our" Algeria, and regarded themselves as "citizens of a great nation."

### **Martinique, a "Department" of France**

Paradoxically enough, it was the juridical elevation of Martinique to the status of a Department that opened the people's eyes to the fact that they were actually under colo-



nial rule. Indeed, the colonial oppression had never been so blatant and crude as after the "assimilation." Making Martinique a Department had been a hoax. It had always been a colony, and a colony it remained.

Martinique, in fact, bears all the hallmarks of a colony. The economy is a monoculture (sugar cane) based on big plantations and completely dependent on France. The primitive industry hinges on the processing of sugar cane (sugar and rum). Foreign trade has been monopolized by France, which accounts for some 90 per cent of both imports and exports. Martinique, a producer of agricultural products for export, is a closed market for French manufactures.

All the social consequences of colonial exploitation are glaringly evident — a low standard of living, unemployment, malnutrition, inadequate sanitation. Not only has the government failed to extend to the people the rights and privileges enjoyed by citizens of France, it is perpetuating discrimination and trampling on the principle of equality. Economic and social discrimination is patent in the matter of wages, family allowances, social security, privileges extended to office personnel, etc. The local administration is headed by French officials. The colonial authorities are steadily tightening the stranglehold of the imperialist state, the colonial companies and local big bourgeoisie.

The colonial yoke, then, has grown heavier since 1946. The chronic economic crisis caused by colonial rule has been aggravated. The Gaullist state, upholding the interests of the French monopoly capitalists, is doing its utmost to perpetuate the colonial structure; its "economic plans" are aimed at increasing the island's dependence on one crop and restricting local manufacture. Apprehensive that local production might infringe the interests of the French capitalists, it fixes ceilings for sugar and rum output and raises obstacles to establishing new branches of agriculture and industry since this might reduce the sales of French goods. Since 1946 many colonial companies have been formed. The island's main industries are hard hit by a crisis of "over-production," which promises to be further aggravated by the Common Market. To put down popular discontent, the government has not hesitated to use violence; in 1948 the police opened fire on strikers in Carbet and in 1950 in Chassin.

It is not only the increasing colonial oppression that has made the people of Martinique feel that they are not "100 per cent French."

The main factor stimulating the national-liberation movement is the steady strengthening of the socialist camp which is influencing the thinking of all colonial peoples. The Bandung conference, the rapid liberation of Africa, and especially the Cuban revolution, have all helped to awaken the national consciousness of our people. The change in political status of the neighboring territories in the Caribbean and the fact that Trinidad and Jamaica have gained independence, has also had its effect.

### **The Communist Party and the Fight for Autonomy**

The Communists were the first to give expression to the awakening national consciousness. In September 1957 the Martinique federation of the French Communist Party, with the assistance of that Party, was reorganized into the Communist Party of Martinique, whose Inaugural Congress rejected the "assimilation" policy and called on the people to fight for a status that would enable them to "manage their own affairs."

The "assimilation" policy not only runs counter to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, it is an insidious way of justifying colonial rule. Its rejection by the Communists was preceded by explanatory work and ideological struggle in the Party. The triumph of the new line at its First Congress marked the birth of the first genuinely Martinique political party.

The new line rapidly gained ground among the working people, while encountering strong resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie, both big and small. The Communists were charged with demanding independence for Martinique which was, allegedly, "too small and too poor to be independent"; the press and politicians serving the colonialist interests joined in a demagogic chorus arguing that "if France were to leave it would be a calamity" and accusing the Communists of seeking to make Martinique a Soviet base," etc.

In December 1959 the growing poverty of the people and the racism of the white supremacists sparked off a powerful outburst of popular indignation. For three days thousands of working people, especially the youth, battled the police in Fort-de-France, the capital (population 85,000). Three were killed and scores wounded and arrested. These events stirred public opinion also in France, and in order to appease the people, the government went through the motions of embarking on a policy of economic development for Marti-



nique and extending the powers of the local Assembly.

These events proved to be a turning point in awakening the national consciousness. For the first time the people had taken part in the political struggle against colonialism. The Communist Party played the decisive role as the organizer of this struggle.

The Second Congress of the Communist Party, held in July 1960, defined the aims of the anti-colonial struggle and called for the building of an anti-colonial front with the autonomy of Martinique as its goal. The question of *the right of the people to administer their own affairs, and of new relations with France precluding all ties of a colonial nature* became the topic of the day. This was a demand for a new political status providing for a legislative assembly and a government responsible to it. The Party called upon all forces opposed to colonialism—the workers, the peasants, the small urban bourgeoisie, the students and the national bourgeoisie—to unite in a front based on the alliance of the working class and the peasants. This platform reflected the level of national consciousness at the time.

Many fighters against colonialism abroad ask us why we do not demand independence. Independence, and primarily political independence, is of course the only way to get rid of colonialism. But the Martinique Communists cannot disregard the popular sentiment. They should be in advance of the masses, but not so far ahead as to lose touch with them; they must avoid falling into dogmatic, subjective errors and taking their own impatience for the national sentiment. At present, when the people still feel themselves morally bound to France, the policy of the Communists is to endeavor to awaken the national consciousness, to develop a Martinique patriotism.

That this line is the correct one has been borne out by experience. Since the Second Congress of the Party the idea of autonomy has struck deep roots, especially among the young people. The Students' Association, the Trade Union Confederation (the strongest trade union center), the Antilles and Guiana Front, whose members reside in France, and the three big political parties—the Communists, Progressives and the United Socialists—reject the Department status and demand autonomy.

The struggle took on a new vigor. New democratic organizations such as the Women's Union, the Communist Youth League and the Anti-Colonialist Youth League, were founded.

The revolutionary trade unions gained considerably in strength. The Communists played the most important role in organizing the people.

At the end of 1960 and the beginning of 1961 a powerful wave of economic struggle swept the country. Mothers' demonstrations were held. There was a strike of agricultural laborers which lasted for six weeks, and strikes of dockers, sugar refinery and building workers, as well as of bank clerks. These strikes differed from the previous actions; they were fought not only for better conditions but also against the colonial policy of the government. The government resorted to force to break the strikes. On March 23, 1961, gendarmes opened fire on a demonstration in Lamentin demanding freedom for two arrested strikers; three people were killed and twenty-five wounded.

### New Wave of Repressions

In an effort to break our resolve to overthrow the oppressors, the colonial authorities launched a new wave of repressions. The army and the police were alerted. The gendarmerie was reinforced and armored cars and helicopters sent in. To date more than 1,000 million old francs have been spent on building barracks for gendarmes. The police force has been strengthened too. At first the French government planned to transfer to Martinique the Foreign Legion expelled from Algeria, but, confronted by protest demonstrations in Guiana, Martinique and Guadeloupe, it was forced to abandon the idea for the time being. The armed forces were reorganized; whereas hitherto most of the troops stationed on the island were local conscripts, the French government, no longer trusting the local men to carry out the repressions, decided to send them to Guiana and France and replace them with white troops from the metropolis. An air force unit was stationed on the island. And to cap it all, a former OAS general was placed in command of these forces.

The Prefect who heads the local administration was vested with wider powers. In violation of the civil-service law, he was given the right to expel from the country "any official whose conduct endangers public order."

The U.S. imperialists, too, have exerted pressure on the French government "to stamp out the hotbed of communism" in Martinique. U.S. army officers are frequent visitors to our country.



The authorities have taken new actions against the anti-colonial movement, and especially against the Communist Party, the best organized and most militant force on the island, the vanguard of its people. On several occasions the leaders of the Party and its press have been prosecuted on trumped-up charges. For example, Camille Sylvestre, General Secretary of the Party, and myself, as a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, received heavy sentences for, allegedly, wanting to "remove Martinique from French sovereignty with the aid of foreign powers." Camille Sylvestre was convicted several times for "criminal libel." Georges Gratiant, member of the Political Bureau of the Party and mayor of Lamentin, the second biggest town in the country, was convicted for denouncing the role of the colonialists in organizing the 1961 shooting of demonstrators. Students have been persecuted for "endangering the security of the state" by issuing a leaflet against the colonial regime.

Four leaders of the Communist Party holding official positions in the Administration (Georges Mauvois, Secretary of the Central Committee, Walter Guitteaud, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Trade Union Confederation, Guy Dufond, General Secretary of the Communist Youth League, and myself) were given appointments in France and when we refused to leave the country were dismissed from our posts.

The Prefect has gradually abolished the few existing democratic freedoms. Our newspaper *Justice* as well as leaflets and pamphlets have been confiscated time and again. A number of French and foreign journals (*Présence Africaine*, *Esprit*, the progressive Catholic journal, and *Témoignages et Documents*) have been banned from the country for publishing articles on the situation in the French Antilles, and the first two issues of the students' journal *Matouba* were confiscated. The Party bookshop is under constant police surveillance and customers are frequently searched. Freedom of assembly is flouted. Youth meetings and conferences have been banned. Communists were arrested during the elections of November 1962. In violation of the law, the Communist Party alone was denied broadcasting facilities at the time of the referendum in October 1962.

This lawlessness is accompanied by police terror; pressure is brought to bear on people who attend our meetings or who vote for our candidates.

People from the Antilles living in France are also persecuted. For example, the Martinique writer Edouard Glissant, winner of a French prize for literature, has been refused permission to return to his native land. French democrats championing the cause of our people are also persecuted. The Gaullist government has disbanded the Antilles and Guiana Front which carried on the anti-colonial struggle in France. A press conference on the subject of the reprisals in the Antilles was banned in Paris.

### **The Organization and Consciousness of the Masses Are Growing**

The reprisals have evoked strong popular resistance. Demonstrations and mass meetings, in which the youth are particularly active, have become frequent. The crude violations of all democratic standards have opened the eyes of many to the fact that Martinique remains a colony.

That the anti-colonial forces are striving for unity is evident from the establishment of the Defense of Freedom Front consisting of 12 organizations (the Communist, Progressive, and United Socialist parties, Women's Union, Students' Association, the Trade Union Confederation, etc.). Thanks to the efforts of our Party to promote unity, the anti-colonialist parties have drawn closer, as the elections to the National Assembly in November 1962 showed. Despite the bribery practised during the elections and the outrageous falsification of election results, the anti-colonial parties polled the largest number of votes. The Communist vote was 20 per cent higher than in 1958. One out of every four cast their ballots for the Communist candidates. This was a major victory for our people.

Thus, in the final analysis, it is in the struggle that the political consciousness of the people matures. True, there still are obstacles to be overcome. For instance, some sections (professionals and civil servants) are opposed to any change in the political status of the country. The colonialists have created strata which enjoy a certain material security. The standard of living of officials, for example, is from four to ten times as high as that of workers, and they enjoy privileges denied to the other working people (paid holidays with a trip to France every two to five years, etc.). These sections fear that the ending of colonial rule would bring about a more equitable distribution of the national income, especially if a popular government is established which would encroach upon their interests.



There are also sincere people who still cherish illusions with regard to French democracy and are against separation from France; still others believe that only democratic changes in France can solve the problems of Martinique. Moreover, there are differences between the parties opposed to the Department status, and some of their leaders are reluctant to ally themselves with the Communists.

But the people are learning from their own experience, and our Party is helping them in this. Encountering more and more the brutality of the colonialists, they will soon see that *there is only one road to win freedom from colonial rule—the road taken by other colonial peoples*. The facts show that Martinique, though nominally a "Department of France,"

is under the heel of the most odious of colonial regimes. The official claptrap to the effect that "Martinique reflects the achievements of the genius of France" is refuted by the reality.

We are waging our struggle at a time when the colonial system is disintegrating, when the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is more and more asserting its superiority, and when the small nations are in a position successfully to resist the imperialists, as Cuba has demonstrated. Colonialism is making its last-ditch stand. The people of Martinique, headed by their Communist Party and backed by the solidarity of all peoples, are fighting for freedom, for their dignity and for their national identity.

## Art and the Individual

Grigori Chukhrai

THE postwar period in the Western cinema was marked by a predominantly progressive trend. This trend, which appeared in France, Britain, America and other capitalist countries, found its most vivid expression in the Italian cinema, in what came to be known as *Italian neo-realism*.

The films made by the Italian neo-realists were remarkable for their humanity, for their thoughtful attitude to the life of the people. The neo-realists sought their heroes not in mansions and drawing rooms, but on the streets of their native cities, in the working-class districts and on the fields. They showed the contrast between the material poverty and the spiritual wealth and nobility of their characters. Combating injustice, Italian neo-realistic art glorified the nobility of man, the human body and human emotions. The characters were men of imagination and generous impulses, and perhaps the finest thing about these films was their portrayal of the normal, healthy human love relationship.

Today film critics in the West say that neo-realism is "outdated." Nowadays the Western screen is dominated by films crowded with all kinds of horrors, murders, brutality, sex, moral and psychic abnormalities.

Prostitutes, pimps and homosexuals are the leading characters. Love, the pure, natural

love between the sexes, is regarded as old-fashioned and outmoded. The human body, and the female body in particular, has been robbed of its beauty and poetry by senseless public display and outrageous violation of nudity. The shrieks of the victims in their death agony, blood spurting from contorted mouths, the sickening crack of breaking bones, scenes of rape and like obscenities are served up as "aesthetic" entertainment.

The popularity of films of this kind might be put down to the vogue which has proclaimed them "the latest thing in art," to the philistine's morbid desire for the sensational, to the commercial nature of the bourgeois cinema or even to politics. But this is not the whole story.

There are many sincere and honest artists in the Western cinema whose work deals with the horrors and abominations of life not in order to achieve cheap effects or in deference to the wishes of the bourgeoisie, but out of the artist's natural desire to express his attitude to reality. Their films are in no way an apology for capitalism. Today, when capitalist Italy, for example, is experiencing a boom with all the accompanying outward signs of prosperity, its most distinguished artists are making films showing that this capitalist society is gravely ill, revealing the



deep and painful process of the individual in conflict with society, *the crisis of the individual*, the brutalization and degradation of the human personality.

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Federico Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* was, undoubtedly, a big event in the Western cinema. Its remarkable success among film audiences, the praise accorded it by the critics, the triumphs at international festivals and, last but not least, the debates it evoked are all proof that the film has turned the spotlight on some serious problems. Opinions as to its merit may differ, but it leaves no one unmoved.

Some people, while paying tribute to Fellini's talent, maintain that his film is untrue, that it slanders modern Italy. Others, on the contrary, insist that everything in the film is the stark truth, an exposure of the immorality of the upper crust of bourgeois society, and their main argument is that the events portrayed are authentic, and had actually been reported in the Rome newspapers.

But, of course, it is not the authenticity of the facts in themselves that is important. We believe implicitly in the truth of *Romeo and Juliet* without asking whether the artist copied his theme from life or whether it was the product of his imagination. The essence of a work of art and its truth consist in *what* the art expresses. And the truth of Fellini's film must be sought in the artist's *outlook*, which is expressed with such force in *La Dolce Vita*.

The film opens with a brilliantly conceived episode—a Christ-like figure, arms outstretched in blessing, is seen floating over Rome. The papier maché effigy, suspended from a helicopter, floats over the working-class districts of the city, over the mansions of the rich on the roofs of which semi-nude young women are basking in the sun, floats over St. Peters. With breathtaking suddenness, the scene changes and Fellini switches us to a fashionable night club, patronized by the bored and pampered elite, the prey of the scandal-sheet reporters.

The central figure in the film is the journalist Marcello. Marcello is in his element in this scintillating, satiated world. It is his bread-and-butter. But not by bread alone does man live, and in the midst of the glitter and glamor Marcello is alone and afraid. On the face of it, he has scant cause for worry. He is in love with a beautiful girl whom he intends to marry. But his love brings happi-

ness to neither of them. In the world to which Marcello belongs marriage is a hindrance, restricting one's freedom and tying one down. Marcello seeks free love and believes he has found it. But has he? What he has found is not love, but lust and debauchery.

So what to do? Return to the good old times, with their old customs and morals? No! The brilliant and subtle episode of the arrival of Marcello's father shows that there can be no return to the past.

What is to be done? Where is man, lost amid the debris of modern life, to find salvation? In the supernatural, perhaps?

The Madonna is rumored to have appeared to two children in a small town. Marcello hurries to the scene of the "miracle." He has no difficulty in ascertaining that the thing is a fraud which has been sensationalized by the press, the cinema, television, and the Church, and that the "holy children" are little rascals schooled by their parents in the art of lying. Instead of a miracle, he finds falsehood and venality, a crowd of despairing, lonely, wretched people, shockingly ignorant and desperately in need of some miracle to believe in. And all this misery and despair culminates in a paroxysm of hysteria which costs the lives of many of the faithful.

Perhaps the way out is to be sought in culture, in serving the ideals of enlightenment and art? Fellini replies with the tragic episode of Marcello's encounter with a man of culture. Marcello is delighted to have made this contact, he hopes that friendship with this intellectual and his charming family will help to steer him onto the right road. But his friend is haunted by a spiritual torment even more terrible than that which troubles Marcello. Insensate fear of the latest scientific discoveries and the disaster into which he believes they are bound to thrust mankind, drives Marcello's friend to suicide and the murder of his children.

Once again Marcello comes up against a blank wall.

Lonely and stunned, having failed to find spiritual release, Marcello plunges once more into a life of unrelieved debauchery. In the penultimate scene we see these satiated men and women, their senses dulled by over-indulgence in the cloying pleasures of "the sweet life," bereft of all sense of humor, decency and self-respect—all that distinguishes man from brute—engaging in a wild orgy.

This episode is summed up, as it were, by the horrible sea monster hauled ashore by the



fishermen. The dead eye of the monster seems to be staring at its human counterparts who flock down to the water's edge to view it.

To have ended on this note of despair would have been unendurable. Fellini feels compelled to give us some glimmer of hope: the little fair-haired girl, symbol of purity and faith, who calls to Marcello from the other side of the beach. But the debauched, besotted Marcello cannot hear her voice. Neither can we, for it is a faint voice and its message is uncertain.

Fellini's film is an honest and talented portrayal of the terrifying loneliness of the individual in modern Italy, his fruitless search for some contact with real life, his shallowness, degeneration and doom.

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The ideologists of capitalism talk a great deal about the freedom of the individual which, we are told, is the exclusive privilege of the Western world. It is on this freedom, they assert, that the human personality can truly thrive.

Yet the works of Western artists paint an extremely gloomy picture of the relationship between the individual and society, showing that the individual is experiencing a profound crisis, that the human personality is becoming shallow and trivial.

The reason for the deterioration should be sought in the character of the social relations which sets man against man, in the incessant struggle which saps the strength of the individual and opposes him to the community, to society.

Non-adherence to any broad, unifying idea, complete aloofness from society is sometimes mistaken for independence, for freedom, something to be flaunted with pride. But in reality the freedom of the individual from society, like the freedom of a plant from the soil that nourishes it, can only spell disaster.

Born of society, enriched by its experience, informed with its will, the individual always finds application for his creative power. The sense of belonging to society, of being a part of the human race elevates him in his own estimation. The need to serve his fellowmen makes him conscious of his worth, gives meaning to his life.

For the individual who dedicates his life and abilities to society, the reward has always been not only happiness but immortality. "People, I loved you. Be vigilant!" Julius Fucik wrote on the eve of his execution. "Do not weep for me," Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya

cried from the gallows, "I am happy to die for my people!"

In our time, too, there is no dearth of vivid and powerful personalities. But the bourgeois artists do not notice them, for their attention is focussed on the agonizing conflict of the individual versus society. Being part of the society that bred them, they study that process, mirror it and express it in all its unsightliness. Their heroes have lost all contact with society, they are enveloped in the gloom of their own solitude and haunted by the presentiment of doom. They cast about frantically in search of an anchorage, and failing to find it, they now raise their eyes in despairing supplication to God, now bitterly renounce him, now hurl themselves in a frenzy of destruction against everything about them, or cry aloud in agony at their solitude.

One of the films made by the Italian director Antonioni was billed as *The Cry*, and indeed all of Antonioni's work is an agonizing cry of despair, despair born of the tragic sense of loneliness and void.

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When we speak of the degradation of the individual in bourgeois society we, clearly, do not mean every individual in the capitalist countries; we refer to that process on which the attention of the "new" Western cinema is focussed at the present time.

I recently had occasion to meet one of the French "nouveau vague" film directors, Claude Chabrol. I had seen his films, and although the subjects he tackles are not my subjects, I could see that here was a sensitive and perceptive artist with a serious and thoughtful approach to life and a fine feeling for the cinema. It was a pleasure to make his acquaintance.

We met in a little town not far from Paris where Chabrol was shooting scenes for his *Ophelia*. We had ample opportunity to get to know one another and to exchange ideas. Chabrol belongs to the *anti-hero* school. He argues that there are no heroes, there are only human beings, men and women who want to live, and, in his view any exhortation to heroism is false and hypocritical. What interests him is not the spirit of the exploit, but, as he put it, its "mechanics." I could not agree with him.

"No heroism?" I argued. "What about Raimonda Dienne who threw herself in front of a munitions train enroute to a colonial war? What about the people who fight for their rights at the risk of their lives?"



"Yes, but where is the guarantee that they are doing the right thing? What if their exploit is useless?" he replied.

"That is another matter," I objected. "One may question the need for an act of heroism but that does not alter the fact of heroism itself. I was a soldier in the last war and I saw heroism, and heroes. Civilization owes its existence today to those heroes, and for me their memory is sacred."

Chabrol looked thoughtful.

"Perhaps there was heroism in France during the Resistance. But nowadays things are different . . ."

Judging by his rather wistful, half-hearted defense of anti-heroism I gathered that privately he did not wholly share that view. Chabrol refuses to take anything on faith. He is making a study of heroism, endeavoring to understand its "mechanics" and, in the end—I am sure of it—he will!

Anti-heroism, a widespread and highly fashionable theory, has deeper roots than would appear at first glance. Heroism has always been one of the most striking manifestations of the human spirit. Joan of Arc, Savonarola, Giordano Bruno, Zoya Kosmodem'yanskaya, Frederic Joliot-Curie, Julius Fucik—these are heroes whose deeds, regardless of the circumstances in which they were performed, will always retain their aesthetic value and significance.

But when the individual loses touch with society, heroism becomes incomprehensible and inexplicable. For the individualist, social ideals appear to be a delusion, and human beings worthless and inimical to one another. Those who show themselves capable of deeds of valor are dismissed as fools and simpletons, and heroism itself, as a sham. Yet it is normal for the individual to wish to be of service to society. To deprive him of the possibility of serving his fellowmen is to strike a blow at the foundations of his being and is tragic in its consequences.

This tragedy is shown with subtlety and warmth in *The Best Years of Our Lives*, a film made shortly after the Second World War by the distinguished American director William Wyler. It is the tragedy of men who, having known the satisfaction of fulfilling their civic duty by fighting on the battlefronts not only for their own country but for all humanity, return home only to find the ideals they fought for trampled upon and reviled, while they themselves are powerless to prevent it. Once active citizens, they are now

forced to become mere taxpayers, thrust back into a world living according to the principle of "every man for himself." A bitter sense of loss torments the ex-servicemen. One of them, a former airman, makes a sentimental journey to a "cemetery" of dismantled aircraft and, climbing into the cockpit of a derelict plane, he weeps over the loss of the best years of his life . . .

The Soviet film *Clear Sky* also tells of the tragedy of a man who has known the happiness of being a full-fledged member of society and has been robbed of that happiness by the cruel and stupid atmosphere of suspicion that reigned in our country during the personality cult.

The tragedy of the cult of the individual is the tragedy of the discordant relationship between the individual and the community. Together with the community, as the expression of its will and aspirations crystallized in the form of ideas, the individual acquires tremendous creative power. Divorced from the collective, aloof from it or, with the aid of force, standing above it, the individual can do incalculable harm to many people and bring misfortune upon his own head.

However, if the tragedy of what is known as "individual freedom" is a malady of capitalist society, the tragedy of the cult of the individual is but an episode in the history of our country. It is alien to socialism. Its causes should be sought not in the system itself, but in the concrete conditions. The Soviet Communists with their abiding faith in communism, dedicated heart and soul to its cause, could not but assume that the man who led them in the struggle was even more principled and dedicated than themselves. We believed that every word he uttered was the truth; we did not know then that monopoly of the truth can lead to negation of the truth.

The personality cult laid its heavy imprint on the intellectual life of our country, including the cinema. Under the influence of the dogmatic standards of that period, the Soviet cinema, the cinema of *Potemkin*, *Chapayev*, and *The Great Citizen* gradually began to deteriorate artistically, and even to some extent, ideologically.

After the Twentieth Congress of the Party a period of revival set in in the Soviet cinema. Films about ordinary people, their spiritual world and their struggle began to appear once more. Pictures like *The Fate of a Man*, *The Cranes Are Flying*, *Dizzy Heights*, *Battle Along the Road*, *Seryozha*, *The Communist*,



*Carnival Night, My Friend, Kolka, The Cradle Song, Nine Days in One Year, Ivan's Childhood*, and many others were hymns to the humanism of our society and striking testimony to its spiritual soundness.

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Drifting aimlessly in a self-created void, blinded by his egocentrism to the real values in the world about him, the individualist seeks escape in a phantom world. An example of this kind of escapism is Alain Resnais' much-discussed film *Last Summer in Marienbad*.

Why has this picture attracted so much attention?

Chiefly, I would say, because of its unusual form, its queerness and not so much by what it says as by what is left unsaid. Resnais' characters do not live a real life. Real life irks them. For them it is little more than a series of poses, accustomed gestures and ritual. The guests at the Hotel Marienbad are simply bored mannequins. They have no occupation whatever, nothing interests them, their deadly boredom is the cross they painfully bear. Their life is a complete void hidden beneath starched collars, ribbons and fashionable coiffures. But there is the dream world whither they escape from the dullness of their lives. Their dreams are blurred and incomprehensible; they are full of vague hints and suggestions of something, but what it is neither the author nor the characters explain. The spectator searches for some meaning in all this formal strangeness and incomprehensibility, and believes he finds it, but in reality there is nothing there, nothing but emptiness.

The subject matter of the film appears to be woven of pure phantasy, a tale of ideal love, a pure spiritual love, a thing of dreams and memories. Nevertheless there is a strong undercurrent of sexuality. Though carnal love does not figure as such, the whole process which passes before the spectator, the whole context of the film may be defined as a subtle and refined prelude to sensuality. Many critics have declared the film to be an entirely new departure in art, pointing with enthusiasm to the extremely effective and talented manner in which the transition from the real world to the world of dreams is presented.

Speaking of this device, which has evoked the admiration of so many critics in the West, I recall with pride and pleasure the poetic and courageous film by the young Soviet director Andrei Tarkovsky, *Ivan's Childhood*, which was awarded the Grand Prix at the last film festival in Venice.

Tarkovsky's film tells the story of a child swept into the vortex of the Second World War, a boy who was robbed of his childhood. Ivan's childhood, like that of the other children of his generation, was compounded of love, of joy and of peace, of dewdrops on the grass, of enchanted forests, of butterflies, sunshine and mother's smiles. And suddenly—an explosion, a scream, and all is swept away, and there is nothing. Nothing but the war, the shell-torn earth and a boy wading waist-deep through a swamp on a reconnaissance mission.

This film, too, is on two planes—the real world, where a bitter and valiant struggle is being fought, and the dream world, which consists of fragmentary memories, treasured memories of that happy, distant childhood now trampled in the dust. It is perhaps the psychological impact of the device itself that explains its emotional power. The characters in Tarkovsky's film are neither bored nor tortured by a sense of their own worthlessness. They have not lost the ability to think clearly and rationally. The brutality of war does not make beasts of them. On the contrary, a sense of duty to their fellowmen imparts a richness and beauty to their personality.

Amid the horror, devastation and filth of war we see normal, healthy, lovable human beings, their intrinsic human qualities unsullied by the abomination that surrounds them. Everything about these men is ineffably simple. They know the value of love and friendship. For them heroism is not a philosophical category. They do not *talk* about heroism, they simply live it.

In comparing these two films I have no desire to detract in any way from the merits of Alain Resnais as an artist or to counterpose the young Tarkovsky to him. I am well aware that artists working at different poles of art should depict life as they know it, feel it and understand it. They cannot express any experience, any outlook other than their own. Their honesty merits the greatest esteem. I merely wish to register the fact that in my own country, a country that has seen much suffering and which has experienced so many tragedies, the artists have not lost contact with the life of the people nor have they lost the richness of their personality. And that is the truth.

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Not long ago a group of Soviet artists met in Rome for a round table discussion with their Italian counterparts. In the course of the



talk, the eminent and versatile Italian artist Pasolini, who is a writer, playwright, actor and director, made some complimentary remarks about my films and Yevtushenko's poetry but at the same time voiced the opinion that our art was too naive, or, as he put it, "non-tragic."

This he held against us. I objected, pointing out that all three of my films were pure tragedies. *The Forty-First* was the tragedy of the young partisan Maryutka who falls in love with a whiteguard officer, a tragedy which ends with the fatal shot fired by Maryutka at her lover as he runs to meet his rescuers. In the *Ballad of a Soldier* I tell of the death of a simple, pure-hearted lad who might have been a good son, a loving husband, a fine citizen, who might have built houses or planted beautiful gardens, but who had only time to be a soldier. In *Clear Sky* I tell of the tragedy of a man and citizen whose honesty and integrity were unjustly questioned.

While these films are tragedies, my conception of life, my world outlook, is essentially non-tragic. This is the result of my upbringing, of my political experience, my experience of life. To Pasolini this may, and doubtless does, appear naive, inasmuch as his consciousness, his outlook is infinitely tragic.

That tragic view of life is ever-present in his sad and beautiful picture *Accattone*. In this picture Pasolini makes his debut as a director—a debut, incidentally, as brilliant as the whole career of this talented artist.

Accattone (or, ragamuffin) is the nickname of the leading character, a young man whom no one in the film calls by any other name. Indeed no one knows whether he has a name and he himself appears to have forgotten it. Accattone seems a pleasant enough lad, but only at first glance. What you take for charm is in reality all that is left of what was once a decent human being. Accattone does not work. He lives on the proceeds of prostitution. By nature he is not stupid. At times indeed he displays some faint glimmerings of a human reaction to his surroundings, to people. But his manner of living and his behavior fill the spectator with horror. All his ties with society, with his family, with his children have been destroyed. In one episode Accattone steals a medal from the neck of his own baby. Not because of hunger, though hungry he is, but merely in order to deceive a young girl he happens to meet and to make a prostitute of her. Accattone has no moral inhibitions whatever. For him such

things as honesty and self-respect do not exist. He is a "free individual" in the full sense of the term. And that is the horror, the tragedy of it.

Pasolini's picture shows the *logical consummation* of the evolution of the so-called "free individual."

Accattone. . . . Here indeed is cause for despair.

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The work of the best film directors of the West, men like Federico Fellini, Alain Resnais, Claude Chabrol, Pierre Paolo Pasolini reflect the objective process of the degradation of the individual in capitalist society. There are, however, many other pictures which are not the reflection but the product of this pathological phenomenon, or rather, products of the *degradation of the human personality*.

The authors of these films are themselves affected by this process. As individuals they are pallid and shallow, their range of interests is narrow, their reflexes are retarded, their emotions are blunted, their senses in constant need of titillation. Hence the avid interest in sex and sexual abnormalities. The modern bourgeois individualist—extraordinarily unbalanced and cynical—at times indulges in sheer obscenity.

Some time ago I saw a film of this type. It actually won an award. Its subject was sex and its high point was an episode depicting sexual intercourse. The director of this film was proud of his work and some refined "connoisseurs of art" praised it to the skies.

Audience reaction was varied. Some were puzzled, but trustingly believed that perhaps that was what the modern cinema was like. Others openly voiced their indignation. Excited youths commented loudly on what was taking place on the screen.

When I expressed my own opinion of the picture, my opponents smiled wisely.

"Of course," they said, "you with your Soviet upbringing are bound to be shocked by anything so daring."

No, the film did not shock me, it depressed me.

Anyone who has ever had occasion to observe the behavior of a hoodlum knows that he takes particular pride in what he believes to be his daring. Many of his actions are prompted by sheer bravado, by the desire to prove his "toughness" to himself and others. To me such "daring" has never been anything but revolting.



The modern bourgeois individualist who descends to the level of the hoodlum does not believe in love. For him the universe revolves around his own wretched little ego, which is incapable of understanding and, hence, believing in the existence of such natural, normal human qualities as love, heroism, honor, dignity, idealism. And so he declares them to be chimeras, and seeks to drag everything about him down to the level of his own conceptions.

Love is part of the pattern of human culture. It is man's creation. And it is the development of the best in man that has placed him above the animals in this respect too.

The finest works of artists, poets and musicians of many generations have been devoted to the cult of human love.

The genius of men like Sophocles, Du Fui, Virgil, Shakespeare, Pushkin, Firdousi, Goethe, Petoeft, have kept the sacred flame burning brightly through the ages.

Pygmies have declared love to be the naive invention of fools. Today the pygmies are destroying palaces merely to prove that they

are made of bricks. . . . How sad it is that this sort of "daring" should still evoke sympathy in some quarters.

When I think of films of this type I cannot help remembering a photograph I saw during the war. It showed a fascist marauder standing atop a heap of ruins, his legs wide apart, a satisfied smirk on his face. He was clearly exulting in his foul handiwork.

I mention fascism advisedly. For the emotional sphere of fascism has a direct bearing on the aesthetic standards of decadent art.

Let the fashionable critics proclaim decadence a "new" art. Let them declare Italian neo-realism and the progressive cinema in general to be out of date—the future nonetheless belongs to the progressive cinema. Fashions and vogues come and go, but real art, human art, great, vital and external, remains.

Modern Western film art expresses and mirrors the objective processes at work in capitalist society, processes reflecting the demoralization and degradation of the individual and therein lies its progressive value.

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# The Algerian Revolution Goes On

## *Interview with a Leader of the Algerian Communist Party*

**WHAT** in general outline is the political situation in Algeria since independence?

In the first place, it should be noted that the independence won by the people of Algeria after long years of bloodshed is still a fragile thing and, in many respects, purely formal. Foreign military bases and hundreds of thousands of French soldiers still remain on Algerian territory. The colonialists continue to control our economy, and financially the country is in a bad way. According to an official government statement, 4.6 million Algerians, i.e., nearly half the population, have no independent means of subsistence. Such are the fruits of over a century of colonial rule, the result of seven and a half years of war.

All the patriotic, democratic forces are anxious to see political independence consolidated, and the economy restored and developed. That is why the alliance of these forces is, we believe, more essential today than ever before.

The people unquestionably want unity, but as yet they do not have a clear idea of what the alliance of progressive forces should be like. The people who suffered so much from colonial oppression and lack of freedom, particularly during the war, hope that the termination of hostilities will bring them national independence, democratic rights and freedoms. At the same time, there is a strong feeling of suspicion, dislike and even hostility among them towards the bourgeoisie, inasmuch as during the war a certain section of the latter, together with the landowners, lined their pockets and supported the colonialists. Such is the sentiment of the people.

As regards the present leaders of the National Liberation Front, their reasoning is simple: during the war the unity of the people enabled us to hold our own against a powerful colonial army and to win. Today, they say, independent Algeria is faced with problems no less important and complex. These problems cannot be solved without the unity of the people which in wartime expressed its will by electing the FLN as its sole party. This was recorded on the eve of the proclamation of independence, in June 1962, in the Tripoli Program which, they maintain, envis-

aged that the FLN would be the sole party in Algeria, and that there would be no others.

*Would you say that in this respect the claims of the Political Bureau of the FLN are justified?*

During the liberation war all the patriotic forces were united. This alliance was essential to the common goal—Algerian independence. Now that independence has been won it is only natural that there should be disagreement among these forces as to which is the best way for Algerian development to take. The political crisis which all but involved the country in civil war was symptomatic of the different trends in the FLN. It showed that unity embodied in a single party is not necessarily the best form of an alliance of the national patriotic forces, that in the conditions of today it would be preferable for national unity to be consolidated not in the shape of a single party, but in the form of a united front.

*How do you visualize this united front?*

A united front could include all the democratic parties and organizations. Besides the FLN, we have in Algeria the Party of the Socialist Revolution, which is in fact a splinter group of the FLN, and several other parties. Moreover, the trade unions, youth, women's and student organizations take an active part in political life and they have no desire to lose their independence and become mere appendages to the FLN. An alliance of these forces in the form of a united national front is urgently needed. The organizational independence of each party or organization joining the front should be preserved and a common program drawn up on the basis of improving the Tripoli Program.

Were the FLN to be the sole party in the country, the large numbers who follow the Communist Party, the Party of the Socialist Revolution, the trade unions and other organizations would be virtually debarred from participating in the political life of the country. In this way irreparable damage would be done to the Algerian revolution.

In many areas the authority of the Political Bureau of the FLN is challenged by the rival groupings ousted by it. Many leaders of the revolution, members of the Provisional Government which functioned prior to the liber-



ation—Boudiaf, Belkacem Krim, Boussouf, Ben Khedda, Dahlab, Ait Ahmet—are in opposition to the Political Bureau of the FLN. They have not yet reached understanding on the question of whether to establish an opposition party now or whether to work inside the FLN with a view to replacing the present group of leaders at the forthcoming Congress. The fact that the Political Bureau wants to postpone the Congress, originally scheduled for December, is a sign of the difficulties facing the FLN.

A somewhat peculiar situation has set in. During the war the FLN existed as a movement, as a symbol of popular sentiment rather than as a party. It had no clearly-defined organizational structure. All patriots identified themselves with the FLN inasmuch as it was the movement which represented the fight for independence. Now that it is to be reorganized into a political party, its leaders are in a quandary. The fact is that to all intents and purposes the FLN does not exist as a political party. It is, in a sense, the nominal adjunct of its provisional Political Bureau.

Not long ago, during the debate in the National Assembly, Ben Bella declared that the party stands above the government, that the party elaborates the political line to be implemented by the government as the executive body. Many of the deputies challenged him on this point. "You talk about the leading role of the party," they said. "But where is the party? It has first to be organized; it is necessary to convene its congress and draw up a definite ideological platform."

The fact that the Political Bureau is identifying itself with the state is causing trouble. It is, therefore, imperative to separate the FLN as a party from the state, from the government. There must be a clear-cut division of political functions. Everyone, including the members of the government, recognizes the expediency of a strict demarcation of authority, for, without this, law and order cannot be established. Unfortunately, the National Assembly, whose task is to draft and adopt a Constitution, has not yet tackled this question. Not a single law dealing with the life of the country has been adopted. At present the law is virtually replaced by the will of individuals, and, as often as not, by downright lawlessness. A case in point is the banning of the Communist Party, an action for which there is no juridical justification whatever and which was motivated solely by allusions to the Tripoli Program.

*An official pretext for banning the Communist Party was the claim that it had not taken an active part in the national-liberation war. What can you say on this score?*

Every Algerian knows that this is utterly untrue. From the very beginning of the revolution our Party fought for independence, both directly and through active participation of its members in the FLN and in the National Liberation Army.

As far back as July 1956 the leadership of the FLN and the leadership of our Party held a conference for the purpose of uniting all the anti-colonial forces. At that time it was suggested that we dissolve the Party and that our members should join the FLN individually. We did not agree to this, inasmuch as we believed that the Party of the working class and the poor peasants cannot allow itself to be diffused in a movement led by the bourgeoisie. We said that by preserving its organizational structure our Party could play a more fruitful part in the liberation struggle. We did, however, agree that all the fighting forces should be united under a single command. Our partisan units and our action groups in the towns became part of the National Liberation Army.

To say that the Communists who fought in the ranks of the FLN were acting individually, or even against the will of the Party, is a deliberate distortion of the facts, of the history of the Algerian revolution.

The French colonial authorities were well aware of the active participation of the Algerian Communist Party in the national-liberation war and that is why they persecuted it. When they banned the Party in September 1955, they motivated this action by submitting proof of the Party's participation in the revolutionary struggle. It can be safely said that not one of our thousands of members remained outside the struggle.

Hundreds of Communists gave their lives during the liberation war. Hundreds more were arrested by the colonial authorities, and many were sentenced to death, to life imprisonment or to prison terms of up to 20 years. Four members of the Central Committee of our Party—Laid Lamrani, Bouali Taleb, Tahar Gomri and Mohammed Guerrouf—and scores of federation and trade union leaders were killed in action, fighting in the partisan units.

The people won their victory thanks to revolutionary action, including mass action. In many respects they owe this victory also to the active assistance of the fraternal Arab people and the support of the socialist coun-



tries, the world Communist movement and all other democratic forces.

We had combat groups in Algiers, Constantine, Oran and Blida. These groups took action against traitors and colonial officials, blew up bridges and attacked French patrols. One of our combat groups surrounded on one occasion the car of General Massu who escaped by the skin of his teeth.

During the war we drew the attention of patriots to the fact that some terrorist acts were harming the national-liberation struggle. We explained our viewpoint in discussions with the FLN leaders and they had to admit that our arguments were well founded.

Our criticism of some of the methods of struggle was accepted in the main by the FLN leadership, as is evident from the Tripoli Program. This is proof that our Party was correct. We always insisted on the armed struggle being backed by mass action on the part of the people generally. Such action was initiated by the demonstrations of December 1960.

Prior to this the French colonialists claimed that the war in Algeria was being waged by an insignificant minority, that the people as a whole had nothing against French rule. This argument was disproved by the powerful demonstrations of December 11, 1960.

During de Gaulle's Algerian tour early in December 1960 we distributed leaflets urging the populace to demonstrate their will to independence. The wave of popular action which swept the country compelled de Gaulle to cut his trip short and to return to Paris. Now it is generally recognized that these actions marked a turn in the national-liberation struggle, a turn to a nationwide mass offensive against colonialism.

*What do you think of Ben Bella's statement that socialism can be built in Algeria without the Communists, without class struggle, under the leadership of a single party—the FLN?*

There are forces in Algeria who want socialism but certainly not all the people are working towards that goal. The wealthy bourgeois sections are not at all interested in socialism. To build socialism it is essential to rely above all on the working class and the poor peasants, on the most revolutionary strata of the population. A party like the FLN, which aspires to unite all social forces notwithstanding their contradictions, will not be able to build socialism.

We hold that the task of the moment is not the building of socialism but the building of a national democracy. Implementation of

a common program supported by all the patriotic and democratic forces would make it possible to *begin to build socialism*. A united front based on this common program could pave the way for the establishment in the future of a truly united party.

Socialism cannot be built by going against the interests of the working class, minimizing its role in society and denying its historical mission. The FLN leaders are mistaken when they claim that since Algeria is an economically underdeveloped country the most revolutionary role is played by the peasantry and not by the ruling class. This claim is at variance with the historical truth. Moreover, in no country has socialism been built or is it being built without the Communists, still less against them.

There are general laws of building socialism which hold true for all countries, though they must of course be applied with due regard to the specific situation in the given country. The argument advanced by the Algerian leaders that since we are building socialism there can be no class struggle in our country is, to say the least, naive. Socialism cannot be built solely by decree.

Building socialism presupposes protracted struggle and, above all, struggle between classes. By denying this, the FLN leaders merely show that their doctrine is at variance with the basic theoretical premises of scientific socialism, without which no genuine socialist society can be built in Algeria.

*Would you say that the banning of the Communist Party was due to some extent to a desire on the part of the Ben Bella government to curry favor with the ruling circles of France and the USA in the hope of obtaining more economic and financial aid from them?*

No doubt these considerations played a part in the banning of the Communist Party. Imperialist circles in the USA and in France, particularly the United States press, have been conducting a smear campaign against our Party. They are now gloating over the ban which, incidentally, was timed to coincide with Foreign Minister Khemisti's visit to Paris. But the basic reasons for the ban were internal, not international. The fact is that some of the FLN leaders, faced with the rising discontent with the situation in the country, fear the Communist Party with its rapidly growing influence and prestige, seeing in it a political rival. The Political Bureau of the FLN and the government indeed have good reason to be apprehensive that if the masses



lose faith in the FLN they will follow the Communists.

The ban is a sign of the weakness of the FLN leadership. If the Party really were, as they claim, a small group without roots in the people there would be no point in banning it.

*How have the people reacted to the banning of the Communist Party?*

The people are disturbed by it, and there have been protests even from a number of deputies to the National Assembly. Seen as an anti-democratic measure, it has given rise to fears that it might lead to a dictatorship similar to that in Egypt. The people do not want a dictatorship. They are for unity, but they have no intention of sacrificing their freedom and democratic rights.

Opposition to dictatorship and to a single party system is strong especially in the trade unions, among the working class. The working people are against the trade unions being turned into appendages of the FLN. They believe that subordination of the trade unions to the single FLN party would result in the working class being subordinated to the bourgeoisie. It should be borne in mind that until the beginning of 1956 the trade union movement was headed by Communists and the work done by them has left a deep imprint.

Ben Bella cannot say that the Communist Party has been banned because it opposes or does not support the government. During the recent crisis in the country the Communists did much to normalize the situation.

From the beginning we have supported all the progressive measures and decisions of the government. In an interview Ben Bella actually urged the Communists to work in the FLN, having in mind their experience of mass work.

It is a fact that the people in Algeria are politically advanced. The last crisis showed

that they can play a tremendous role in shaping the destiny of their country. The people clearly want Algeria to take the non-capitalist path, the way of socialism. Because of this, all the difficulties notwithstanding, we believe in the future of our country.

It is a feature of the Algerian revolution that the people are politically mature enough to keep a vigilant eye on every move made by the government. The ideas of freedom and humanism have struck deep roots among the working people. The people are devoted to democratic principles.

The resistance to the moves in the direction of dictatorship is varied. People compare measures of an authoritarian nature with the actions of the colonialists and declare that they will not tolerate this new type of colonialism.

As for our Party, it cannot be banned out of existence. The Communists cannot be prevented from carrying on the struggle, from playing their part in the political life of the country, working in the mass organizations and leading them, in line with the will of the working people. As was said in the declaration issued by our Party immediately after it was banned, we believe in the political maturity of our people and especially of the working class. We are confident that the Communist Party will in one way or another regain its legal status and become stronger. The Algerian revolution is a long way from being completed.

The Communists, despite the ban, will continue to support the progressive measures of the government. Repudiating sectarianism, they will continue to fight for a genuine alliance of all the patriotic forces in order to ensure our country's advance along the path of progress, democracy and, eventually, socialism.

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## The Fight for Peace — A Great Working-Class Tradition

THE founders of scientific socialism always opposed war, stressing that peace and freedom were the ideals to which the working-class movement should aspire. In the event of war they called for independent working-class action to make use of the war situation to accelerate the progressive reconstruction of society. Lenin elaborated on these propositions and concretized them.

During the First World War the call to turn the imperialist war into a civil war was, in the circumstances, the only realistic slogan, the quickest way to peace. The Decree on Peace was the first action on the international arena undertaken by the newly-founded socialist state, and the principle of peaceful co-existence, substantiated by Lenin, became the basic principle of Soviet foreign policy.

In numerous resolutions and documents, and in its practical activities, the working-class movement from its inception up to the present day has always given priority to peace. Both in theory and in practice *the working class has demonstrated that it is capable of rallying all the peace forces*. In its struggle for peace the working class is motivated by a sense of responsibility to all mankind, to civilization.

Strangely enough, we are witnessing today attempts to invent some discrepancy between the long-standing peace traditions of the working-class movement and its present efforts for peace. It is even asserted that there is a tendency in the international Communist movement to overestimate the strength of imperialism, a striving to "appease" it, to "soothe it," and, indeed "by making unnecessary concessions, to encourage the imperialists to embark on new acts of aggression." The revolutionary working-class movement, it is claimed, used to be more realistic in appraising imperialism and its nature. Hence in its efforts for peace, it placed the accent on revolution, civil war and armed struggle against imperialism. But today, say these "critics," there is a tendency to retreat before imperialism to the point of betraying the interests of the socialist revolution. This argument has been heard repeatedly since the Caribbean crisis in the fall of 1962.

To banish war from the life of society has always been a cherished goal of the working-class movement. Big changes have taken place in the world in recent times. What has changed, however, is not the aims and ideals, but the tangible means of achieving them.

In the early years of this century, the leaders of the revolutionary working-class movement, first at Stuttgart and later in the Basle Manifesto the 50th anniversary of which we recently observed, while concentrating on mobilizing forces to combat the immediate danger of war, at the same time explained *what the workers should do in the event of war breaking out*. The Stuttgart resolution, for example, stated: "In case war should nevertheless break out, it is their (the workers') duty to intervene in favor of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule."

At present the working-class movement is able to concentrate its attention on *averting world war*, even while imperialism exists, by a persevering day-to-day struggle on an ever-growing scale, a struggle in which the efforts of the working people in the socialist camp merge with the efforts of the people in the rest of the world. It is this that makes the mobilization of the masses against the immediate danger of war so much more effective.

The dogmatists maintain that peaceful co-existence signifies a departure from revolution and revolutionary struggle against imperialism and imperialist war. To back up their contention they point to the history and traditions of the working-class movement. But the policy of peaceful coexistence has never implied repudiation of class struggle, nor signified the loss of revolutionary perspective. On the contrary, peaceful coexistence is a decisive element in the general offensive of socialism against capitalism. The policy owes its success to the changed balance of forces in favor of socialism, and on the other hand, this success provides a platform for the broadest alliance of anti-imperialist forces, a point



of departure for the further development of the working-class struggle.

Whereas formerly the working class had to fight for its freedom in conditions imposed upon it by imperialist war and counter-revolutionary intervention, today socialism is imposing its own conditions on imperialism, forcing the latter to reckon with peaceful coexistence, with the right of every nation freely to choose its own social system and not to tolerate the export of counter-revolution. This is a big step forward in the struggle of the working class for its rights and interests.

The fight for peace is not a mechanical process. Its success is not predetermined by destiny. It depends on people, on their activity, on their degree of organization, on their understanding of the conditions and objectives of the struggle. Fifty years ago the leaders of the working-class movement wrote in the Basle Manifesto: "Proclaim your will in every form and in all places; raise your protest in the parliaments with all your force; unite in mass demonstrations; use every means that the organization and strength of the proletariat place at your disposal! See to it that governments are constantly kept aware of the vigilance and passionate will for peace on the part of the proletariat!" These words have lost none of their significance today.

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The working class has always realized that its strength lies in national and international unity. The action of the Right-wing leaders in splitting the working-class movement made it easier for the imperialists to unleash the First World War.

The same Right-wing policy of disunity in the fight against fascism and aggression between the two world wars objectively facilitated the advent to power of the forces that again plunged mankind into an even more devastating war. On the very eve of the Second World War the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic International voiced their opposition to the establishment of a united anti-war front.

Today the Communist movement is the predominant force in the international working-class movement, a fact which has its effect on all sections of the working class, limiting the possibility of its being split by the Right-wing leaders. Never has the working class had such opportunities for uniting its forces in the struggle against war as it has today.

For the sake of preserving this unity, however, the revolutionary working-class movement has been forced to take a stand not only

against the splitting activities of the Right-wing leaders, but also against the revisionist trend, which regards the struggle for peace as a matter of the automatic awakening of the public consciousness. The revisionists isolate the fight for peace from its context, they gloss over or totally reject the basic contradiction of our time, namely, that between capitalism and socialism, and make no distinction whatever between the positions of the two systems on the issues of war and peace, thus virtually denying the aggressive nature of imperialism, which is the source of wars.

The Marxists have never advocated "speeding up" the revolutionary process by means of war. They have often been obliged to conduct much explanatory work among the sincere but impatient "Lefts" who complicate the development of the revolutionary struggle and hinder the efforts to cement unity and use it effectively in the interests of peace.

More than once has the working class at decisive stages in its development encountered obstacles, and indeed dangerous obstacles, in the person of dogmatists and adventurers who conceal their lack of faith in the masses and their own impotence in the face of practical political problems by indulging in bluster and "ultra-revolutionary" phraseology, descending at times to downright provocation. As a typical example drawn from the past we could cite the struggle of Trotsky and his followers against peaceful coexistence and against practical unity in combating fascism. Another example of the present day are the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor who have virtually adopted Trotskyite positions.

It is not fortuitous, then, that the small Trotskyite groupings still to be found in some countries identify their views with those of the Albanian leaders and their slanderous attacks on the Communist movement. The Albanian leaders, like the Trotskyites before them, are calling for a split on both the international and national plane.

This sectarian and dogmatic position is a godsend for the imperialists, giving them added ammunition for attacking the peace forces. The present-day sectarians and dogmatists are gravely mistaken if they think that their "firm and ultra-revolutionary" fulminations are having a restraining effect on imperialism. On the contrary, dogmatic impotence and sectarian adventurism merely encourage imperialism to embark on new ventures fraught with danger to peace and humanity.

To deal effectively with imperialism it is necessary to display firmness and flexibility. This requires a policy aimed at rallying all



the forces opposed to war, a policy which implies taking advantage of all the contradictions of imperialism, isolating the ultra-aggressive elements in the imperialist camp and preventing them from winning the waverers to their side.

Unity of the international Communist movement is crucial for the destiny of mankind. Hence it is not enough merely to proclaim one's desire for unity. There must be unity on all the basic problems of theory, strategy and tactics, as was stressed in the documents of the international Communist movement of 1957 and 1960.

In the interests of peace and the unity of the international Communist movement, the representatives of the fraternal parties, as witnessed by the recent congresses of the Communist parties in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Italy, made a frank and principled criticism of the Albanian leaders, who in effect, have repudiated these documents, and criticized those who support their divisive activity.

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Marxists always approach the question of war and peace concretely. This applies not only to the socio-political nature of war, but its material forms as well. For instance, the Second World War differed from the First both in character and form and cost mankind immeasurably more suffering and sacrifice. A third world war, which the ultra-aggressive imperialist circles would like to unleash, would be the most annihilating of all wars in human history. Hundreds of millions of people and vast material wealth would be wiped out in a matter of hours.

In the interests of the working class, of humanity, and in the true interests of progress this must not be allowed to happen. Marxists are keenly conscious of their responsibility to history. They are firmly convinced that the working-class movement, together with all the forces opposed to war, has a preponderance of strength over the aggressive imperialist circles, a strength which makes it possible to prevent the latter from hurling the world into a nuclear catastrophe.

Thus, the policy of the dogmatists essentially amounts to repudiation of the historical responsibility of the revolutionary working-class movement for the destiny of humanity, repudiation of struggle for the lofty humanist ideals of communism.

The working class has always endeavored to learn from history, not by drawing superficial parallels or by clinging to obsolete formula-

tions, but by understanding the laws of development and their concrete expression at the present time. As history shows, the declining classes and their leaders, either out of despair or prejudice, are capable of rash actions, which can bring disaster not only upon themselves but upon their people as well.

Imperialism is departing from the historical scene. The forces of socialism and peace already outweigh militarily the forces of imperialism and war. But not all the leaders of imperialism realize this fact, or wish to realize it. This is one of the main reasons for the zigzags in imperialist policy and the toying with the idea of striking the first blow, starting a "preventive" war, a temptation which has grown stronger with the advent of nuclear weapons and missiles.

Should socialism ignore the contradictions in the imperialist camp and thereby give the Ultras greater opportunities for attracting the waverers to their side? Or should the peace forces, by taking account of the sharp turns in imperialist policy and seeking to isolate the extremists in the imperialist camp, meet the more sober-minded imperialist leaders halfway, even if this involves a certain degree of compromise? Experience, the interests of the fight for peace and socialism, suggest that the latter course is the wisest one.

It is true, of course, that none of the imperialist leaders, not even the more far-sighted of them, have abandoned their class objectives. They realize, however, that they cannot expect to win a nuclear war, and for this reason they are inclined to display some common sense in their policy.

Imperialism is doing its utmost to act in a united front in defense of its common interests, but today as in the past it is torn by profound inner contradictions. It is not only a matter of taking these contradictions into account. In our time world socialism and the international revolutionary movement can to a certain extent influence the way in which these contradictions are resolved, and thus further consolidate the forces of democracy and peace.

The positions of socialism are by no means weakened by the preservation of peace. War is utterly alien to the ideals and objectives of the socialist system. It is precisely in the conditions of peaceful coexistence that the nations have been winning from imperialism one position after another. The firm and flexible policy of the Soviet Union and Cuba during the recent crisis in the Caribbean clearly demonstrated that the establishment of a united front of all forces fighting for peace and the



isolation of the ultra-aggressive imperialist circles are practical possibilities.

It is only sham devotion to principle that leads to rejection of compromises which strengthen socialism. The sensible and humane foreign policy of the socialist camp has enhanced the prestige of socialism and the Soviet Union in the remotest corners of the world and even among people far removed from socialism.

To possess a warm heart and a cool head, to fight resolutely against all phrasemongering and any sort of mystification wherever it occurs—that is what Lenin demanded of the pioneers of the revolutionary working-class

movement. "... It would be an obvious mistake," he wrote, "to give free rein to loud-mouthed phrasemongers, who allow themselves to be carried away by 'dazzling' revolutionism, but who are incapable of sustained, thoughtful and deliberate revolutionary work which takes into account the most difficult stages of transition." This Leninist precept has become part of the tradition of the revolutionary working-class movement. Today it is one of the principal conditions for accomplishing the historical task of the working class — to preserve peace.

*Kjeld OESTERLING*

## CAMILLE SYLVESTRE

**T**HE Communist Party of Martinique has suffered a heavy loss in the person of Comrade Camille Sylvestre, General Secretary of the Party, who died in Fort-de-France (Martinique) at the age of 47. Son of a metalworker, Camille Sylvestre dedicated his life to the emancipation of his people from French colonial oppression, to the cause of the working people. Camille Sylvestre, journalist by profession, passionately fought for his people, ex-

posed the colonialists, and popularized the ideas of democracy and socialism in the progressive press.

For his courageous struggle he was repeatedly persecuted by the colonial authorities.

Under his leadership the Party worked successfully in recent years to unite the progressive forces and to build an anti-colonial front aimed at achieving Martinique's liberation from colonial rule.



**In the Communist  
and Workers' Parties**

## Party Congresses

### *African Party of Independence (Senegal)*

**I**N 1962 the African Party of Independence (Senegal) held its First Congress. Although it was founded as far back as September 1957, our Party for a number of reasons was unable to hold its congress before this. However it gained a great deal of experience in the intervening years (including one year of work underground). In spite of the fact that its leaders were charged with an "anti-national conspiracy," despite the emergency law which has been operating in Senegal for more than a year and the special tribunal set up to examine "political crimes," despite this, the First Congress of the Party took place and was a success.

It was preceded by a two days' seminar which examined two questions of prime importance for our Party, the peasant question and that of establishing a United Senegal Independence Front. The economic position of the peasants, the nature of their demands, and questions of tactics with regard to all sections of the population with a view to building the Independence Front were thoroughly discussed.

The Congress was attended by delegates from all parts of Senegal. The report of the credentials commission showed that 78 per cent of the delegates were sent by organizations in Senegal proper, and 22 per cent by organizations abroad. Sixteen per cent of the delegates were between 21 and 25 years of age; 11 per cent between 26 and 30; 54 per cent between 31 and 35; 16 per cent between 36 and 40, and three per cent between 41 and 45 years of age; 43 per cent were Party functionaries, 20 per cent factory workers, three per cent peasants, 20 per cent teachers, seven per cent students, three per cent engineers and technicians, and three per cent office workers; seven per cent were illiterate, 30 per cent had an elementary schooling, 15 per cent a secondary education, and 48 per cent a higher education.

Four reports were delivered, discussed and unanimously approved: current problems, organizational questions, the results of Party work, and the draft program. Three committees drafted several resolutions which were discussed and also adopted unanimously.

The adoption of the program was an important matter. For the first time in our country a Marxist-Leninist analysis has been made of our society, an analysis tested by the experience of several years of struggle. The correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice has been confirmed, this time in the last bastion of expiring French imperialism.

The draft program was drawn up two years before the Congress in the form of theses. It was widely discussed in the Party, in the pages of our publications and among sympathizers.

This Charter of our Party consists of four chapters and 35 points. Chapter One examines the structure of Senegalese society, defines the stages in the minimum program (independence) and the maximum program (socialism), describes the character and content of the Senegal state which is to be established, examines the problem of African unity. Chapter Two deals with the social objectives of the Party of Independence, its policy with regard to the different classes and social strata in Senegal, and on questions of democracy and culture. Chapter Three speaks of the economic problems and the ways of carrying the program into effect: nationalization, socialization of the basic means of production and exchange, industrialization, cooperative farming, agricultural mechanization and, lastly, economic planning. Chapter Four deals with the political action of the Party, especially the need to form a United Independence Front, to solve the urgent problem of our revolution, the formation of a Senegalese state of national democracy.



The general resolution adopted by the Congress reads:

"The people of Senegal are growing more and more conscious of the fact that in order to defeat their enemies they must: join in a United Front of Independence and rally all their forces to build an independent state of national democracy which would abolish all the constitutional ties binding them to France in order to exercise full independence; organize the national economy in such a way as to change in its favor the international division of labor and the unequal trade imposed by French colonialism; liquidate all French military bases and annul all military pacts binding Senegal to France; promote the development of democratic freedoms and exclude such methods of government as dictatorship, violence, lawlessness, corruption and intimidation; pursue an independent foreign policy corresponding to the interests of the Senegalese people and world peace.

"In this event we shall have a democratic government of National Alliance and an Assembly of Deputies representing the workers, peasants, women, the youth and the army.

"The Congress emphasizes the urgent need to mobilize the whole Party for work among the masses, for establishing the United Independence Front . . ."

The most important decision on organizational matters was that concerning the organizational structure of the Party. For a long time the question of whether the Party was to be a federation of organizations functioning throughout the territories of the former French Black Africa or an organization limited to the territory of Senegal had been hotly debated at all levels. This will hardly surprise anyone who has followed the development of our Party. Our Party was founded during the existence of the Federation of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, and this was reflected in its organizational structure. Subsequently, after the disintegration of the Federation and the advent of more or less independent states, experience soon showed that the federal structure of the Party had outlived itself. The discussion of this question ended several months prior to the Congress,

when the vast majority supported the territorial idea. This explains why the Congress unanimously adopted the decision on the formation of a Senegalese Party.

At the Congress no one objected to the present name of the Party. Owing to the circumstance that the Party had existed only in Senegal and that a rich tradition of struggle was associated with the African Party of Independence, it was decided to preserve that name.

On the other hand, the Congress proposed that the secretariats be reorganized with a view to simplifying their structure and making them more efficient. Other decisions were also adopted—on the formation of students', youth and women's organizations affiliated to the United Independence Front, to take the place of the former mass organizations affiliated to the Party.

The Congress decided to increase the number of Party publications locally, and at the national level to start publication of a theoretical journal to be called *Defarsarev* (Senegalese Reality and Marxism).

Members and candidate members of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission were elected. The Central Committee elected the SEPO (which in our Party performs the functions of both Political Bureau and Secretariat), and appointed members responsible for the central publications of the Party (the newspaper *Lutte* and the journal (*Defarsarev*) and for the study courses under the Central Committee.

The complete unanimity displayed during the elections was proof of the ideological and organizational unity of our Party.

The Congress ended with the singing of the *Internationale* and the Party hymn *Mamsarev*. Enthusiasm ran high. Everyone was happy to be again among comrades who had been scattered far and wide by the arduous conditions of the struggle.

Each was keenly aware of the importance of this Congress, each realized that he was helping to make history, contributing his share to the cause of the emancipation of the Senegalese people.

Majhemout DIOP

### *Communist Party of Peru*

**T**HROUGHOUT the 34 years of its existence our Party has foiled all the attempts on the part of imperialists, the finance and latifundist oligarchy to destroy it. The working class of Peru has proved that it is strong

enough to create a solid Communist Party linked with the main centers of industry, with the peasants and Indian population, with the universities and other educational institutions, and with the progressive intellectuals.



The fact that more than 120 delegates from different parts of the country gathered for the Fourth Congress of the Party is evidence that the Party is doing its job and that the Communists of Peru are ready to fulfil their historical mission.

In the 14 years since the previous Congress, our Party was subjected to brutal persecution. The members of its Central Committee, leaders of department and provincial organizations were arrested time after time. After the Congress, Acosta Salas, the General Secretary of the Party, was released from the mediaeval El Fronton Fortress where he had been held for 20 months before the court finally recognized that the documents used as the pretext for his arrest and for breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba were a fabrication.

The Party was subjected to violent attacks not only from without but also from all kinds of anti-Party elements who sought to undermine it from within. This sort of activity on the part of the enemy is very dangerous, as was shown by the Party's experience during the period of the pro-imperialist and militarist dictatorship of Odria. In order to combat it, the Congress resolved to step up ideological work, and to implement the principles of democratic centralism.

The Congress noted the correctness of the decisions adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, its contribution to Marxism-Leninism, and stressed the need to strengthen the unity of the international revolutionary and democratic movement.

The members were charged with the task of turning their organization into a militant mass Party in the shortest possible time. Emphasis was laid on the need to strengthen its organizations in the enterprises, to recruit members from new sections of the working class, to organize Party schools and to publish the Party newspaper regularly.

The Congress adopted the Rules and instructed the newly elected Central Committee to draft a program declaration. It elaborated a political line which will enable our Party to give leadership to the struggle against the growing exploitation by the US imperialists and their allies, the latifundist and finance oligarchy.

Having discussed the question of the Party's attitude to the military junta which seized power on July 18, 1962, the Congress came to the conclusion that despite the demagogic promises made by the junta and the fact that it is tolerating to some extent the existing democratic freedoms won by the people, no illu-

sions should be fostered on this score. The junta has placed itself in the service of U.S. imperialism in the latter's designs against Cuba, and in its Alliance for Progress. It is continuing the pernicious policy of the preceding government and is carrying the latter's anti-Communist measures into effect.

At the same time, the Congress noted, the Communist Party and the other revolutionary forces do not deny the fact that the contradictory nature of the government's policy and the growing pressure of the masses have given rise to a situation which can be utilized to further the democratic revolutionary process. The second half of 1962 was marked by big strikes, viz., the strike of the Toquepala miners, of the railwaymen in the central and southern provinces and the bank clerks.

The masses are becoming more organized and imbued with a patriotic, anti-imperialist and revolutionary spirit. The peasants held their Second All-Peruvian Congress at which close to a million agricultural workers, co-operators and small farmers were represented. This was followed by a congress of university students attended by delegates representing 35,000 students from all over the country. At the end of September a national trade union conference representing 700,000 workers took place. The conference decided to convene the Fourth Congress of the Confederation of Working People in February 1963 and called for more united action and the establishment of a broad confederation which would reflect the demands of the working class.

The Party Congress stressed the need to strengthen the mass organizations in town and countryside, and to build the alliance of workers and peasants as the backbone of a powerful bloc of all the democratic forces in the country including students, intellectuals and the progressive sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie.

Exposing and criticizing the mistakes made recently (especially during the presidential and parliamentary elections of 1962) due to an underestimation of the importance of allies from the bourgeois camp and a subjectivist approach to the revolutionary perspectives, the Congress resolved to participate in the coming elections. It called upon the Party to launch a struggle against the draft electoral law and to work for a broad alliance with all sections of the population which have an interest in counteracting the forces of reaction and imperialism. The Congress correctly appraised the significance of the Front of National



Liberation and its growing influence and urged that everything be done to strengthen it and to draw the Left parties into it.

The mass movement in Peru is a movement for peace and general disarmament, for defense of the principle of the self-determination of nations and non-intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign countries. The Fourth Congress of our Party appealed to the people to rise to the defense of socialist Cuba and to join in a powerful movement for peace.

The revolutionary movement of Peru has excellent prospects. We are convinced that the Party will grow stronger in working for peace, progress and well-being. The Peruvian Communists look confidently to the future. The growing might of the socialist world, the grand achievements of the USSR and the other socialist countries are an inspiration to the people in their struggle.

S. RODRIGUEZ

### *Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party*

THE Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was held in November 1962 following a countrywide discussion of the theses of the Central Committee and the draft of the new Rules of the Party which were circulated in advance.

The Congress opened on November 20, the 44th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Hungary, with a report by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee. "We have every ground for saying," he said, "that our Party, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Hungarian working class founded 44 years ago, has come to the Eighth Congress . . . strong and vigorous and enjoying the trust of the people."

Summing up the work done during the past three years, the Congress stressed that the principal result of the Party's work was that the foundations of socialist society had been laid and the country had now entered the stage of the full-scale building of socialism.

Socialist production relations predominate and the socialist sector accounts for nearly 96 per cent of the national income and 98 per cent of the industrial output. In agriculture 96 per cent of the cultivated area is tilled by producer cooperatives and state farms. Nearly 95 per cent of the labor force works in socialist enterprises and in cooperatives. There are no exploiting classes and no unemployment. Remuneration for labor is in accordance with the principle of socialist distribution.

Decisive for the future development of the country is that the all-out building of socialism will proceed in conditions approximating to a monolithic socialist society of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the intelligentsia, i.e., a society regarded as their own by all working people. The policy of socialist national unity does not, however, mean that there is no longer class struggle; it signifies that the positions of the working class have become stronger, that new tasks have

come to the fore, and that the forms of the class struggle have changed.

The people are working on their second five-year plan which provides a 36 per cent growth of the national income, industrial production is to increase 48-50 per cent, agricultural output 22-23 per cent, the consumption fund 22-23 per cent and per capita real income 16-17 per cent.

Although large investments have been made in recent years, the standard of living has risen. Compared with 1956, the average real income of wage earners has increased by 34 per cent, while consumption by the peasantry, in terms of real value, has gone up by more than 21 per cent.

The Congress noted the role of the socialist division of labor and fraternal economic cooperation among the socialist countries in facilitating the development of Hungary's economy and opening up still more promising prospects.

The three years since the Seventh Congress were marked by the further strengthening of the Party. Its membership (including probationary members) was 511,965 on September 1, 1962.

The Leninist standards of democratic centralism and collective leadership are being observed in Party life. Immediately after the reorganization of the Party an end was put to the violation of these standards which had been widespread during the personality cult. From the outset the Rakosi group had been debarred from political life. In August 1962 the Central Committee completed the investigation of the illegal trials held during the years of the cult. Restoration of justice was hailed with enthusiasm by the Party membership, by public opinion throughout the country, and by the international working-class movement.

"Our successes," Comrade Kadar said, "can be traced to the fact that the Party, waging a



struggle on two fronts, against both dogmatism and revisionism, has safeguarded the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideas."

To build socialism it is essential that Marxism should have the initiative in the ideological struggle. Victory over bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and winning the people over to the socialist way of thinking are essentials and components of the complete victory of socialism.

The delegates emphasized the loyalty of the Hungarian Communists to Marxism-Leninism and vigorously condemned revisionist trends in the international Communist and working-class movement wherever they may appear. At the same time they pointed to the danger of dogmatism and sectarianism as a trend alien to Marxism-Leninism and no less pernicious than revisionism. "We strongly condemn," Comrade Kadar said, "the renegade Enver Hoxha and his supporters, as well as all dogmatic and sectarian views expressed in other parties in the international Communist movement. We do not agree with those who, citing the joint Moscow statements, object to the necessary and justified Communist criticism of Enver Hoxha and his group and at the same time defend and support the men in Tirana who are hurling filth and slander at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee as well as at other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, including our Party . . ."

As has become customary at congresses of Communist parties, the Hungarian Congress, too, was a platform for the entire international Communist movement. It was attended by fraternal delegates from more than 60 Communist and Workers' parties. In their greetings the fraternal delegates voiced approval of the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, declared their support for it, reaffirmed the unswerving loyalty of the fraternal parties to the ideas set forth in the program documents of the Moscow meetings, once again expressed their solidarity with the historic decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU, and denounced the repudiation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by the Albanian leaders.

The representative of the Communist Party of China disagreed with the criticism of the Albanian leaders contained in the report of the Central Committee.

The Congress gave its full support to the Soviet Union's flexible and principled policy during the Caribbean crisis which foiled the imperialist provocation, safeguarded Cuba's sovereignty and saved humanity from a nuclear catastrophe. Both delegates and visitors stressed that the events in the Caribbean had confirmed the thesis that it is possible to prevent world war and again underscored the need for the people to heighten their vigilance in the struggle against the aggressive designs of imperialism.

I. KATONA

### *Italian Communist Party*

THE Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party met through December 2-8 in Rome, attended by 874 delegates elected at conferences of 113 provincial federations and more than 3,000 visitors, including the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of 33 countries.

The main report, "Unity of the Working Classes in the Struggle for Socialism in the Conditions of Democracy and Peace," delivered by Comrade Togliatti, focussed attention on offering the people, on the basis of a profound examination of the international and home situation, the sure way to progress, the way to a future of freedom and peace. The report stressed that while capitalism is continuing to develop, it no longer holds undivided dominion over the world, that socialism had won decisive victories and that "progress has proved to be stronger than conser-

vatism and reaction." In the light of this it is essential to reassess the importance of the fight for peace in present-day conditions. The appearance of nuclear weapons has imparted to war an entirely new quality, and this necessitates a deeper study and discussion with a view to elaborating further the Marxist-Leninist views on this problem. "The question stands thus: either peaceful coexistence or a nuclear holocaust which would wipe out all or a considerable part of our civilization."

Examining the problem of peaceful coexistence in the light of the Caribbean crisis, Togliatti pointed out that a deadly conflict was averted thanks to the initiative of the Soviet Union, which proposed a reasonable compromise. This confirms the possibility not only of averting war but also of elaborating a positive policy ensuring peaceful coexistence.

Togliatti refuted the arguments of those



who hold that war is inevitable inasmuch as the nature of imperialism has not changed. The crucial thing is not the nature of imperialism, he said, but the balance of forces on the international arena, the existence of the socialist states and their steady growth which has created a situation in which the imperialist rulers can no longer do as they please. The existence of a large group of peace-loving non-aligned states and the powerful movement of the peoples for peace are also factors ensuring peace.

It is also erroneous to say that imperialism is a paper tiger which can be destroyed at one blow.

Condemning the attitude of the leading group in the Albanian Party of Labor, Togliatti disagreed with the Chinese comrades, who fail to see that the actions of the Albanian leaders essentially undermine the unity of the Communist movement, and who "persist in inadmissible solidarity with them."

Speaking of the unity of the international Communist movement, Togliatti pointed to the need to settle all outstanding questions by friendly discussion on the basis of proletarian internationalism and the other principles of Marxism-Leninism. He suggested that meetings be arranged between Communist parties with a view to exchanging precise information and pooling experience.

Turning to the situation in the economically developed capitalist countries, Togliatti pointed out that the task of the working-class movement is to link the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism. A broad united movement of the people opens up the perspective of a democracy of a new type.

The report analyzed the situation in Italy, the realities of the "economic miracle" and the policy of the "Center-Left" government, examined the question of the struggle for structural reforms, for the development of Italian society along progressive lines and for a turn to the Left in the country as a whole. The tasks discussed included strengthening the unity of the working class and the other popular forces, especially in view of the negative attitude taken by the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party.

The main points in the report were discussed by the delegates.

Luigi Longo, Assistant General Secretary of the Party, stressed the revolutionary significance of structural reforms. A feature of our policy, he said, is the recognition that in the present national and international conditions, when capitalism still exists, it is possible and

necessary to curb the political and economic power of the monopolies and, eventually, to put an end to this power. This can be done by rallying the workers and all other democratic forces to fight for the basic national demands and for key positions in the life of the nation. There is the danger, however, that in the course of this effort the working-class movement might lose sight of the need for revolutionary class struggle, a danger already evident in the attitude taken by the Social Democrats and the top leaders of the "autonomist" trend in the Socialist Party. But this danger can be overcome by prosecuting the mass struggle, by awakening the people to the fact that the ultimate goal of the working-class movement is the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism as a result of the advent to power of the working class and the new bloc of socio-political forces allied with it.

G. Amendola, member of the Secretariat of the Party, dwelt on democratic programming and the policy of the "Center-Left" government. Challenging the views expressed by L. Lombardi, the representative of the Socialist Party, Amendola rejected any programming that might be utilized by the monopolies to intensify their expansion to the detriment of the working people. The problem, Amendola said, is not how to get into the "control room," as Nenni puts it, but in having, instead of one such center from which all Italy is controlled, many "control rooms," i.e., many centers where decisions are made. It is this that would enable the working people to take part in formulating decisions affecting them. Referring to the differences within the Socialist Party, Amendola said that the last thing the Communists wanted was another split, for a split would only play into the hands of the Christian Democrats. "We look ahead," he went on, "towards renewed unity with the Socialist Party and other democratic forces, secular and Catholic, with a view to achieving a broader unity."

The "Center-Left" coalition and general mass struggle, economic programming, the emancipation of women, relations between the northern and southern parts of the country, and problems of the youth were discussed by Comrades Berlinguer, Ingrao, Sereni, Spano, Iotti and others.

A lively discussion of questions relating to the international Communist movement took place especially after the speech by Comrade Chao I-min, representative of the Communist Party of China, in which he outlined his Party's views on these questions and criticized



some aspects of the policy of the Italian Party. Speaking of the crisis in the Caribbean, he made no mention of the Soviet Union's peace initiative, he complained that unilateral and unjustified attacks had been made at the Congress on the Albanian Party and the Marxist-Leninist concepts of the Communist Party of China. He also criticized the attitude of "some Italian comrades" on a number of questions, including that of structural reforms, saying that this attitude "does not accord with the spirit of the decisions of the two Moscow meetings, is not to the advantage of the international Communist movement or the struggle against imperialism and for world peace and, consequently, does not in any way accord with the basic interests of the Italian people."

Both the delegates and the representatives of fraternal parties disagreed with these arguments. G. Pajetta, member of the Secretariat of the Italian Party, said: "First of all, we resolutely reject any attempt to oppose or undermine solidarity with the stand for peace and peaceful coexistence taken by the Soviet Union during the Cuban crisis." Pajetta then went on to show that the criticism of the Chinese comrades as regards structural reforms was unfounded, and emphasized the revolutionary significance of such reforms. As regards the defense by the Chinese representative of the Albanian leaders, he said that this raised the question: why are these leaders encouraged and supported?

Pajetta refuted Chao I-min's statement to the effect that capitalism had been restored in Yugoslavia and expressed the hope that the meeting between Comrades Khrushchov and Tito would mark another step towards unity between supporters of peace and socialism. As regards the public discussion of disputed issues which the Chinese delegation objected to, Pajetta stressed that "we are prepared to discuss any question in a fraternal manner, but we are duty-bound to uphold positions we believe in." To Chao I-min's suggestion that these positions were shared only by some comrades, Comrade Pajetta replied that the "entire Congress unanimously approves the policy of the Central Committee, rejects inadmissible attacks and censures your positions,

which we consider incorrect." "We," he added, "are a Leninist Party which has no factions."

An enthusiastic reception was accorded Dolores Ibarruri, who spoke of the fight carried on by the Spanish Communists for their country's freedom. She joined in the debate with the Chinese comrades and stressed the wisdom of the Soviet stand on the Cuban question. Dolores Ibarruri urged the Communist Party of China to condemn the attitude of the Albanian leaders, for only such condemnation can cement the unity of the international Communist movement. Applause greeted Blas Roca, the Cuban representative, who said: "We are grateful for the aid which the USSR has rendered and is continuing to render us. We have faith in the Soviet Union, its Party, its government, and its leader Comrade Khrushchov."

In his closing speech Comrade Togliatti said he was confident that the Tenth Congress would play a big role in the history of the Party. The political line unanimously approved by the Congress and calling for an organic link between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism fully accorded with the decisions of the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties and the vital interests of the working-class movement. It might be useful, he said, if the Communist Party of China were to send a delegation to Italy to obtain a better idea of the conditions in which the Italian Communists are working and to exchange views on the basis of a study of the real state of affairs.

Addressing the Socialists, Comrade Togliatti pointed out that they were faced with the choice of either moving ahead in united struggle for the regeneration of Italian society or cancelling out the achievements of the working class in a futile attempt to isolate the Communists. Clearly, only united struggle corresponded to the real interests of the working people, could enable them to play a decisive part in governing the country.

The tasks facing the Italian Communists make it imperative to strengthen the Party organizationally, to increase its membership and enhance its militancy.

M. MAZI

### *Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*

**N**EARLY 1,700 delegates gathered for the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia over December 4-8. Sixty-eight delegations from fraternal parties were also present.

The Congress discussed the report of the Central Committee, delivered by Comrade Antonin Novotny, on the work of the Party and the main trends of the future development of socialist society in Czechoslovakia.



The basic tasks of building socialism set by the Eleventh Congress in 1958 were carried out. Industrial production had risen by 44 per cent, including a 50 per cent growth in the output of the means of production and 34 per cent in consumer goods. The national income went up roughly by one-quarter as compared with 1958. A solid foundation had been laid for large-scale socialist agriculture with the transition of the bulk of the peasantry to joint farming.

The period between the Eleventh and Twelfth congresses, Novotny said, was one of considerable achievement for the people and the Party. The socialist system triumphed in the republic, opening the way to the full-scale development in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism of all aspects of socialist life.

This development was accompanied by the further strengthening of Czechoslovakia's international position. Our Party and people worked consistently, side by side with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, to cement the unity of the socialist countries and the international working-class movement, for general and complete disarmament, lasting peace, and freedom for all peoples.

The tasks to be carried out in the new phase in Czechoslovakia's history are set forth in a unanimously adopted resolution outlining the main perspectives of our socialist society. The present level of production, science and technology provides a firm basis for further economic advance. The tasks in this sphere will be to overcome the disproportion between the productive forces in industry and agriculture, establish a correct balance between production and consumption, and raise the standard of living in keeping with the economic growth, while consistently applying the socialist principle of material incentives.

Industrial growth remains the lever for advancing the economy as a whole, and in industry the key role will continue to be played by machine-building.

A basic task is that of promoting agricultural production for without substantial progress in this sphere neither the smooth and proportional development of the economy nor a higher standard of living can be ensured. The Congress posed the task of raising the level of agriculture to that of industry by 1970 as a precondition for the creation of the material and technical basis for transition to communist society. Targets were also set for industry and measures outlined for fuller utilization of science and technology as the

decisive factor for the growth of the productive forces and for cultural progress. Measures were outlined for improving economic management and stimulating the work of the public control commissions at all levels. To pave the way for the transition to communism it is essential to strengthen also the political and ideological unity of the people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, to consolidate the alliance of the working class and the cooperative farmers, and to cement the unity of the peoples of our country. The delegates stressed the importance of all-round educational work, especially the need to inculcate a communist attitude to labor.

The Congress unanimously adopted the new Rules of the Party. The new Central Committee was instructed to complete the examination of political trials during the period of the personality cult and to make the final decisions on these within four months.

Messages of greetings to the Congress, the Party and the people were delivered by the spokesmen of the delegations from the fraternal parties. They pointed to the growth and consolidation of the Communist movement, the great unity of the parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and consistent implementation of the principles set forth in the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The delegates and the representatives of the fraternal parties noted that the struggle against revisionism waged by the parties in recent years had defeated and isolated the Right-wing opportunists and had strengthened the unity of the Communist movement on both the national and international planes. At the same time they stressed the need to intensify the fight against dogmatism and sectarianism, which, unless consistently and resolutely combated, could become the main danger in the activity of one or another Party. This, the speakers pointed out, is the lesson to be drawn from the repudiation of Marxism-Leninism by the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor who, wallowing in dogmatism, sectarianism and bourgeois nationalism, are engaged in splitting activities which place them beyond the pale of the international Communist movement.

When the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all peace-loving people sought to stay the hand of the American aggressors, to frustrate their designs against Cuba and to prevent a world war, the Albanian leaders tried to provoke a global nuclear catastrophe.



Comrade Novotny in his closing remarks said: "We must once again emphasize that the stand taken by the Soviet Union during the Caribbean crisis was correct, and that no other course was possible in the situation with which the world was confronted. What did the U.S. imperialist circles want? They wanted to destroy Cuba's revolutionary gains and to restore capitalism in that country. They had prepared for this for years. But revolutionary Cuba is free today. The Americans had to retreat, and the Cuban people will continue to build their life in accordance with their own desires."

Comrade Novotny was greeted with applause when he declared: "We stand firmly by the people of Cuba, whom we hold in high esteem and whom we shall help to the best of our ability in building the new, socialist life."

A fitting answer to the ranting of the Albanian leaders was given by the representative of the Paraguayan Party who said: "We do not want the first socialist state in the Americas to perish in the flames of nuclear war. We want it to shine like a beacon."

The fraternal delegates condemned the Albanian leaders for their attacks against the fraternal parties and against the unity of the international Communist movement.

The head of the delegation of the Communist Party of China, deploring the criticism to which the Albanian leaders had been subjected, expressed the view that such criticism signified interfering in the internal affairs of the Albanian Party of Labor. Subsequently speakers, both delegates and representatives

of fraternal parties, spoke strongly against the Chinese view.

The Hoxha-Shehu group, said Vladimir Koucky, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, has engaged for more than two years in outrageous slander of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties, openly challenging nearly all the principles contained in the joint documents of the Communist parties. "This is how things really stand," he said. "And what is really deplorable," he went on, "is that the delegation of the Communist Party of China did not deem it necessary to utter a single word of criticism against the splitting activities of the Albanian leaders and the insults they are hurling at the Marxist-Leninist parties."

Comrade Novotny declared that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia would continue to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the principles set forth in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties. For the sake of strengthening the socialist camp, for the sake of peace and the unity of all forces fighting against imperialism, the Party, he said, will do everything in its power to cement the unity of the international Communist movement.

The Congress adopted a clear-cut program of action the fulfilment of which calls for persistent effort. But the firm unity of the Party so impressively demonstrated by the Congress and the creative labor of the people are the guarantee that the tasks will be accomplished.

F. HAVLICEK



# Meetings of Central Committees

## THE ECONOMY IS THE PARTY'S MAIN CONCERN

**F**ROM the very first days of Soviet power Lenin repeatedly stressed that after the socialist revolution all the forces of the Party should be directed towards building the national economy, that "economics is the politics in which we are most interested." This principle underlies the decisions of the meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU held on November 19-23, 1962, which discussed a report delivered by N. S. Khrushchov on economic development and Party leadership in this sphere.

The Soviet people are engaged in a task without precedent in history, the grand task of building the material and technical base of communism. To forge steadily ahead the reserves inherent in the economic system of socialism must be fully revealed, the creative initiative of the people furthered and more rational forms of Party and state guidance of the economy worked out. These were the main questions at the plenary meeting, which, in conformity with the democratic spirit pervading all the activities of the CPSU, was attended, besides Central Committee members, by Party and administrative functionaries, organizers of production, the best workers, scientists and other specialists.

The meeting decided to reorganize all Party bodies according to the *production principle*. In most of the present territorial and regional subdivisions two separate organizations of the Party will be set up, one comprising the Communists working in industry, building, transport and in the educational research and other establishments serving these branches, and the other embracing all Party members working on collective and state farms and in offices and organizations connected with farm production. Each will have its own territorial or regional committee. In the Central Committees of the CPSU and the Communist parties of the Union Republics bureaus are to be established to take charge of industry and agriculture. To coordinate the activities of the two bureaus and to give overall leadership, presidiums will be established in the Central Committees of the republican Communist parties.

The growth of industry and agriculture has greatly increased the volume of work and has made greater demands on economic management. The old territorial structure of Party

bodies which compelled them to divide their attention between the two basic branches of production no longer measured up to requirements. The reorganization will make Party guidance more concrete, businesslike and effective. The new structure of the Party bodies as well as the local authorities will help to concentrate efforts on promoting production and raising the standard of living.

Outlining the reasons for the reorganization, Khrushchov stressed that the most perfect administrative structure would not produce the desired results unless talented organizers, experts in their fields, people capable of embarking on bold quests and prepared to work for communism with true revolutionary zeal were placed in charge of production.

The meeting also adopted an important decision to organize comprehensive *popular control*, verification of the fulfilment of Party and government directives.

Control by the public is essential for improving the guidance given by the Party and governmental bodies, strengthening the Party's links with the masses and enlisting the public in administering the affairs of society. The principles of this control were elaborated by Lenin, and in the early years of the Soviet government a system of Party and state control bodies was built which relied in all its activity on the voluntary help of broad sections of the working people.

In subsequent years, however, the Leninist system of control by the people was for all practical purposes abolished inasmuch as it was incompatible with the mode of thinking and practices associated with the personality cult.

Consistently eradicating the effects of the Stalin cult, the CPSU is restoring the Leninist standards in all aspects of the life of the Party and the state. Party and state control bodies functioning with the participation of the public at all levels are being set up. Operating independently of the local authorities, they constitute an integrated system headed by the Committee of Party and State Control of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers. Moreover, the task of these control bodies is not merely to register mal-practices and failures, but to disclose and correct shortcomings in good time and to help the Party and state bodies to improve the methods of leadership.



Besides providing for public control, the decisions of the Central Committee envisage the more extensive application of democratic principles in managing the enterprises.

Efficient production is impossible unless the manager bears full responsibility. There still are executives, however, who cling to the old view current in the years of the Stalin cult that managerial responsibility implies automatic disregard for the opinions of the workers. Such views have nothing in common with the Leninist principles of socialist management which call for an organic combination of one-man responsibility with the active participation of the workers and specialists in deciding matters pertaining to production. By encouraging initiative on the part of the workers and imbuing them with a feeling of responsibility for the performance of their enterprise, the Party is setting in motion a powerful factor for increasing output and raising the productivity of labor.

In recent years diverse forms of direct worker participation in management have been used in Soviet enterprises. The Central Committee now recommends the introduction, first experimentally and later all over the country, of a new form of democracy in production, production committees. These committees, elected at general meetings of the workers, will discuss the plans of their respective enterprises, check up on their fulfilment, and have a say in fixing rates and allocating personnel. These advisory bodies, voicing the opinion of the collective, will strongly influence the functioning of the enterprises, both helping the managers and exercising control over them.

The new forms of public control and worker participation in management signify a deepening of socialist democracy. These forms will not only broaden the democratic rights of the individual and provide added guarantees of socialist legality, but will serve as a powerful stimulus to the solution of vital economic

problems. The extension of democratic practices in all spheres of life is an objective need without which accelerated economic progress is impossible, for success in economic activity under socialism is directly proportional to the initiative of the masses, to the degree in which the democratic institutions facilitate the truly free development of the creative initiative of the people. These Leninist precepts pervade the decisions of the November meeting of the Central Committee.

An important place was occupied by economic problems connected with the material and technical base of communism. The Central Committee made a thorough analysis of the state of affairs in industry and agriculture, revealed grave shortcomings in planning and scientific research, and decided on measures to eliminate these shortcomings and to improve the overall structure of economic management.

The basic shortcoming of the planning bodies, it was pointed out at the meeting, was that they often lost touch with the real requirements, failed to visualize the production trends of the future connected with the achievements of science and technology at home and abroad, and proceeded mainly from quantitative indices in setting future tasks and appraising past performance.

The advantages of a planned economy are not yet fully utilized. It is essential to search for those economic forms which will rule out mismanagement and squandering of the public funds and make for increased production, higher labor productivity and better quality.

In this connection the meeting noted the fruitfulness of the discussion on a wide range of economic problems (methods of planning, criteria of the performance of enterprises, material incentives, etc.), which has been going on in the Soviet press and which reflects the search for better forms of management that is characteristic of Soviet life today.

G. NAZAROV

## ECUADOR: THE PARTY STRENGTHENS LINK WITH THE MASSES

**A** MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador, held in October 1962, reviewed the political situation in the country and the tasks of the Party.

Ecuador, in the throes of an economic and political crisis, is falling into greater dependence on imperialism. With the republic being rapidly colonized the gains won by the people

are reduced to nought and it is losing its independence.

The ruling circles, dependent on imperialism, are powerless to solve the country's problems. President Arosemena has surrendered to U.S. imperialism which he had challenged before coming to power and in the first months of his rule. He has rejoined the most power-



ful section of the oligarchy, the Guayaquil group whose interests are represented by the Liberal Party. Because the government's prestige is dwindling, the oligarchy and imperialism see the way out in installing a naked dictatorship.

The mass struggle is rising, heralding far-reaching changes in the country's social system.

The Seventh Congress of the Party (March 1962) pointed out that Ecuador was confronted with the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and democratic revolution. The Congress endorsed a program of immediate demands for which the masses are fighting today.

In order to win these demands large-scale actions must be developed, in which an important part will be played by the people's committees. As stressed at the meeting, the Party branches have not yet realized the full significance of these committees which come into existence during election campaigns and afterwards discontinue their work. The committees, it was pointed out, should work not only to achieve immediate economic demands but should be transformed into permanent bodies for political action by the people.

The meeting stressed the importance of rallying the revolutionary and democratic forces in a united front. It was pointed out that no consistent efforts were being made to establish closer relations with the Revolutionary Socialist Party, that at times the Communist Party publications and statements made by individual members hindered mutual understanding with the members of the Socialist Party. The same takes place with regard to other political forces, for example, the democratic and revolutionary intellectuals. The sectarian attitude is also injuring relations with the rank and file of the Union of People's Forces. Some Communists still subscribe to the erroneous view that the unity of democratic forces should be achieved only at the top, that is, by agreement between the party leaderships. In reality, whenever the masses themselves fight for unity the results are excellent (as was the case during the lorry-drivers' strike). The meeting issued a call to root out sectarianism, which separates the Party from the masses, and to put an end to the high-handed attitude to, and underestimation of, other political and public forces.

The Party pays close attention to organizing the youth. A vigorous fight is being conducted against the reactionaries in the University Students' Federation. The students have formed another militant organization known as the Revolutionary University Movement.

The Revolutionary Youth Union is experiencing grave internal difficulties caused by the anti-communism of some of its leaders, an attitude which saps the unity of the revolutionary forces and is at variance with the sentiment of most members of this organization. Inside the union there are dangerous deviations of a revisionist nature, the essence of which is to deny the leading role of the working class in the revolution and to assert that the revolution can be carried through by adventurist means. Of late, however, the situation in the union has improved as a result of the explanatory work carried out by young Communists and the general disillusionment with such gambles as the abortive armed uprising in Santo Domingo de los Colorados. There is growing support for the idea that the union should not be an organization standing above the revolutionary parties, which, if adhered to, would injure not only the union itself but the entire revolutionary movement in Ecuador, but rather that it should be a united front organization of the youth.

The meeting called on the Communists to translate into life the thesis of the Seventh Congress about utilizing all forms of the struggle, and be prepared rapidly to substitute one form for another. It criticized the weaknesses in the ideological and propaganda work of the Party and outlined measures to improve this work.

Since the Seventh Congress the Party has grown numerically and its social composition has improved (there are new branches in the enterprises, and more workers are joining the Party). Having overcome the dissolution tendencies, the Communist Youth League has extended its ranks. Party influence in the trade union movement (especially in Manta and the Guayas province) and in the countryside is growing. More and more it is becoming the leading force of the revolutionary movement.

C.C.



## INDONESIA: BATTLE ON THE CULTURAL FRONT

THE struggle to build a united national front in the realm of culture is a basic task of the Communist Party of Indonesia. This struggle is all the more important in view of the fact that the imperialists, who have been politically defeated and discredited in Indonesia, have of late launched a frenzied ideological offensive, making wide use of reading matter, films, music and other forms of art with a view to popularizing the "American way of life" in an attempt to bring under their sway the backward sections of the population, and particularly the youth. In the countryside they are doing everything to hinder education which for millions of peasants signifies emancipation from mediaeval ignorance. Actively supported by the feudal landlords, the imperialists are spreading the ideology of mysticism, superstition and blind submission to fate.

The government has in many ways curbed the activity of the imperialists on the cultural front. It has abolished the Dutch Sticusa (Institute for Cultural Cooperation), the American Asia Foundation and the so-called Moral Rearmament in Djakarta. But, understandably, the imperialists have not surrendered their positions completely. They have succeeded in penetrating into the universities and turning some faculties into branches of American universities. The U.S. rulers are pinning their hopes on the activities in Indonesia of the Peace Corps which, as everyone knows, is a widely branched out organization for ideological subversion and espionage.

The Communist Party is working to foil the criminal schemes of the enemies of the people in the cultural field. "The task of the Party in the field of culture for this period of the national democratic revolution," declared Comrade Aidit, "is to mobilize all cultural forces and to transform them into a weapon in the hands of the people for the defeat of their enemies, namely, imperialism and feudalism." The Party stresses that the Manipol (the Political Manifesto serving as the basic policy of the Indonesian Republic) can be a platform for rallying all the progressive forces of the country, including forward-looking intellectuals.

In close cooperation with other democratic and patriotic intellectuals, the Party has built a united national front of cultural forces imbued with the spirit of serving the people.

The principal organization of this front is the LEKRA (League of People's Culture) es-

tablished in 1950 on the initiative of Communists and other patriots. Initially embracing only some artists in a particular area, it has developed rapidly and is now a mass organization, including some of the finest minds in Indonesia. The League establishes contacts and strengthens exchanges with cultural workers and organizations in many countries. It took an active part in the international conferences of cultural workers held in Tashkent, Tokyo and Cairo, thus making a positive contribution to rallying art workers on a world scale in the fight for progress.

The LEKRA adheres to the principle that revolutionary culture must be an inseparable part of the general revolutionary mass movement. To the reactionary nonsense of "art for art's sake" it has counterposed the slogan "art for the people."

Despite difficulties and reactionary slanders and attacks, the LEKRA has grown into a powerful force for culture. Creative talents in its ranks, including Communists, depict in their works the life and struggle of the people, their sorrows and suffering, and expose imperialism and feudalism, the enemies of the people and of their national democratic revolution. Their works have won wide recognition among the public.

The imperialists have spread all kinds of anti-scientific psychological concepts among art workers. One of these was the so-called theory of "universal humanism" which identified revolutionaries with reactionaries on the ground that both resort to violence. The LEKRA has helped many cultural workers to get rid of this and similar concepts and to become real revolutionaries in their work.

The outstanding writer Pramudya Ananta Tur is typical in this respect. Whereas in the first years of the revolution notes of pessimism caused by the "universal humanism" theory appeared in his books, in his latest works *People from Banten*, etc., he adopts a clearly optimistic attitude, sharply exposes the diehard reactionaries, and portrays the noble characters of people's heroes.

A work which is being widely staged, also in the framework of contests organized in many parts of the country, is that of the noted playwright Bachtiar Siagian. *A Red Stone in the Merapi Valley*. The play shows how a man imbued with lofty Communist morality at the risk of his life saves the lives of others in a POW camp on the island of Sumatra during the counter-revolutionary uprising in 1958.



The play shows the inevitable defeat of the reactionary rebellion.

As regards poetry, it is flowering as never before. Its central theme is the revolution. For example, Bandaharo Harahap's *No One Shall Return* sings in a vivid style the march of the people on the "road leading to the dawn." The poet voices determination that "no one shall return, though death awaits ahead." Another very popular poem is Agam Wispi's *Democracy* which portrays anti-democratic generals in the dock. There is practically no gathering of progressive people's organizations at which this poem is not recited. Even though it happens to be prohibited by local authorities in several parts of the country, it continues to resound at mass meetings and rallies.

There has been a big upswing also in other branches of art under the impact of revolutionary ideas.

New dances have been created such as "The Weavers' Dance" by Wajan Likes, "The Dance of the Workers" by Sunardi, "The Peasant Dance," "The Dance of Unity" and many others. These dances tell about the labor, suffering and struggle of the working people, and creatively combine traditional form and revolutionary content.

This line of creation is also manifested in composing new songs. These songs, based on local traditional musical tones, are related to the peasants' fight for land, to the workers' demands for a better life. Songs which satirically expose the reactionaries and rally the people to vote for the CPI and other democratic parties, play an important part in election campaigns. These songs are sung by peasants in their cottages or in the field during harvest time, and by the workers in factories, on plantations and at social gatherings.

Music is closely linked by patriotic composers with the interests of the people and the revolution. For instance, the song "Nasakom, Unite," written recently by the young composer Subronto K. Atmodjo, is a call for unity to defeat reaction. After being performed by a big choir of young people at the closing rally of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party in Djakarta, it became very popular.

Fine arts are also developing, not only artistically but ideologically as well. Paintings, sculptures, cartoons and woodcuts, reflecting the life and struggle of the working people, have been created by nationally-known artists such as Henk Ngantung, Suromo, Sibarani, Basuki Resobowo, Hendra Gunawan, Trubus and many others.

Exhibitions of their works attract audiences from all walks of life. At the beginning of 1962 many of their works were exhibited abroad, in Moscow, Peking, Pyongyang, Berlin, Prague and Budapest. It should also be mentioned that the best political posters are practically always the work of these artists.

Progress is also being made in the cinema, but its development is hampered by difficulties in finance, material, equipment, etc. Nevertheless, it can be said that today more and more film workers are joining the ranks of those who place their art in the service of the people and the revolution.

The film *Turang*, for instance, by Bachtia Siagian, which tells about the patriotic exploit of the peasants in resisting the foreign invader, is distinguished not only for its high artistic expression but also for its progressive ideological content. It won first prize at the National Film Festival.

Another of Bachtia Siagian's films, *Piso Surit*, was appreciated among other things for the creative implementation of the Eisenstein-Pudovkin style of montage, used for the first time in Indonesia. The film shows how a village boy is spiritually superior compared with the "gentlemen" with cynical and decadent moral qualities.

An award of the Moscow International Film Festival of 1961 went to the Indonesian actor Bambang Hermanto (who later played the leading role in the Indonesian-Czechoslovak joint production *Operation Kalimantan*) for his acting in the film *The Fighter*, directed by Usmar Ismail.

The development of the arts in recent years reaffirms that the concept of "art for the people" has triumphed not only as a principle but also as regards its practical implementation, in the daily creative activity of our art workers.

The Communist Party pays close attention to work with the intelligentsia. It helps the forward-looking intellectuals outside the Party to weld science with the practice of the revolution. At the same time the Party is raising the general knowledge and the professional skill of its own cadres and of the revolutionary movement in general while deepening their understanding of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

Today growing numbers of Indonesian intellectuals appreciate that they do not constitute a special elite but are an inseparable part of the people and must, therefore, work on behalf of the people and the revolution, and that in their work they must proceed from the principle "science for the people."



Another success is that thanks to the sweeping advance of the ideas of socialism throughout the world and the correct policy of the Party, many faculties of the universities study the works of the great teachers of socialism, and several universities even use the *Communist Manifesto*, *The State and Revolution* and *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* as obligatory subjects. It should be noted that bookshops in Indonesia which only a few years ago locked their doors tightly against Marxist-Leninist writings, today, in view of the public demand, readily stock these books.

During the two and a half years since the end of 1959 and the beginning of 1962, Party publications have amounted to 135 titles with a total circulation of 1.5 million. These include the fundamental works of Marxism-Leninism, important documents of the Party and of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, as well as Marxist works on art and literature.

Work among the peasants is one of the decisive aspects of the activity of the Communist Party. Sixty per cent of our members are peasants. At present the revolutionary peasant movement in Indonesia pivots around what is known as the "Movement of the Six Good's," a program drawn up by the Communist Party, one of which is education for the peasants. The Party organizations are working painstakingly to eliminate illiteracy in the countryside and to promote activities by the people's art organizations. The Communists help the peasants to get rid of the ignorance and darkness

in which they have been kept so long by feudalism. More and more peasants are beginning to see that their destiny lies not in any supernatural force but in their own hands. These peasants are united in an organization known as Barisan Tani Indonesia (the Indonesian Peasants' Union). Step by step they are gaining a sense of dignity, belief in their own strength, and are rushing forward to storm the strongholds of feudalism.

The revolution has accelerated development of the arts and sciences. Good results have been registered in these spheres. But the enemies of the people are still threatening the revolution on the cultural front. "Therefore," said Comrade Aidit at the Seventh Congress of the Party, "the struggle for the defeat of the 'art for art's sake' slogan will continue as long as imperialist cultural aggression headed by the United States, and the survivals of colonialism and feudalism have not been totally eliminated by the Indonesian Revolution."

The struggle is a complicated and protracted one. But holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism as applied to the specific conditions of Indonesia, the Party will surely succeed in rallying the cultural forces to march forward with the other forces and bring imperialism and feudalism to their downfall on all fronts, thus making their revolutionary contribution to the cause of peace and building that better world of which the best poets have dreamed and sung down the ages.

H. YUNUS

## GROWING MILITANCY OF THE YOUTH OF GUADELOUPE

THE conditions of the young generation in Guadeloupe are extremely difficult. Exploitation, colonial oppression, unemployment and the low standard of living act as barriers to the normal development of the youth. According to official figures, the mortality rate for newly-born infants is as high as 51 per cent, and the child mortality rate is 56 per cent.

Most children of working people have no access to education. School premises are scarce, for people with low incomes the education of 3-4 children is a problem. Particularly hard is the position of children in the countryside who often have to travel as much as 20 km a day to go to school and back. In several communes there are no canteens in the schools, and the children have to make do with a piece of bread and fish. Tired after

the long journey and exhausted by chronic malnutrition, they are susceptible to all kinds of diseases and, as a rule, show poor results in their studies.

Some teachers display admirable readiness to sacrifice part of their wages to improve somewhat the diet of children. But this, of course, is not the way out of the situation.

The youth of Guadeloupe have on various occasions protested against the reactionary policy of the authorities. In October 1957, for example, the pupils of the boys' communal school in Pointe à Pitre joined the strike declared by the pupils of the boys' lycee who demanded that a similar institution be opened for girls. The strikers formed picket lines and walked the streets in poster parades. The strike, distinguished for its high level of organization, had its effect. The colonial au-



thorities set about building the school.

In October 1960 there was another walkout of school pupils in Pointe à Pitre to protest against Debré's law against secular education. The strike was a success. Demonstrations were held which brought the town transport to a standstill, and a meeting held in the townhall unanimously adopted a resolution denouncing the law. Alarmed by this action, the authorities launched a campaign to discredit the pupils and students and resorted to direct threats. The demonstration of students who went to the municipal council to present the resolution was dispersed by the police.

The National Conference of the Youth of Guadeloupe held in August 1960 was an outstanding event for the youth movement. It defined the tasks of the forthcoming struggle. The conference had been preceded by thorough preparatory work when teams of youths went all over the country to study the situation in the countryside and the conditions of the people generally. This valuable initiative supported by the various sections of the population, had its impact on the entire political life of the country.

A few months later the youth demonstrated their political maturity by taking an active part in the municipal elections in the course of which they presented their own demands, voted for the candidates who supported these demands and campaigned against the enemies of emancipation.

The students are finding organizational forms of work which ensure a more solid basis for their actions. The Fourth National Congress of

Students, held in December 1961, showed that real progress could be achieved only through agrarian reform, industrialization, a rational policy of vocational training and training of skilled workers, reorganization of the education system in accord with the country's needs, and by involving the population in an extensive network of regular education, cultural and sports activities. It is obvious that the tasks confronting our youth cannot be solved under the colonial regime which throttles any attempt to go forward.

Conscious of this, the youth are working to build a firm anti-colonialist alliance. This would put an end to disunity and would unite the large numbers of small youth organizations whose activity is either futile or ineffective.

The militancy of our youth is growing. Seeking to neutralize this force, the French government has vested its prefects with special powers: the ordinance of October 15, 1960, entitled them to exile (without giving any reason) any functionary whose behavior they regard as a "breach of public order," military service has been introduced and conscripts will be sent to France and Guiana, while our country is filled with French troops.

However, these and similar measures will not halt the democratic movement of the youth who insist on building a prosperous economy, on constitutional rights, and who want far-reaching reforms on behalf of the masses.

S. PIERRE-JUSTIN



**Exchange of Views****W.M.R. ROUND TABLE TALKS**

# Building a United Anti-Imperialist Front

*It is to the advantage of the working class and its Communist Party that as many allies as possible, even though temporary and unstable, should take part in the struggle against imperialism. This trend can be seen in the formation of a united national-democratic front of all the progressive forces in a particular country. The problems that arise in building this front are of keen interest to Marxist researchers. A number of Communist and Workers' parties have accumulated useful experience of cooperation with other parties and groups, of carrying out the policy of broad alliances. With a view to exchanging this experience and further elaborating the problems associated with building a united anti-imperialist front of the Left forces, the editors of WORLD MARXIST REVIEW held a round table conference last summer which was attended by Marxists from a number of Latin American countries. Below we print an abridged transcript of the talks. Later we shall publish the materials in full in book form.*

**A. M. RUMYANTSEV (World Marxist Review):** The subject of our discussion has a direct bearing on the struggle of the working class and the practical activity of the Communists. The statement of the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties emphasized that consolidation of national independence, carrying out far-reaching democratic reforms, the fight against imperialism and for ending the survivals of feudalism, for social progress and raising living standards cannot be accomplished unless all the progressive forces of the nation are united. The initiative in uniting these forces into a broad national front belongs to the working class and the Communists.

It goes without saying that our discussion will not be able to take in all the problems associated with building this front. I would single out these points: *the concept of the united front in the specific conditions of one or another country; its political and social composition; the fight for working-class unity, without which a really effective united front is unthinkable; the experience of the cooperation between the Communists and the other parties; a firm worker-peasant alliance as the basis for a broad national front; and the role and place of the Communist Party in this front.* I think that, by elucidating these matters, our discussion will make a useful contribution to the theory and practice of the international Communist and working-class movement.

**O. GHIOLI (Argentina):** At present united action by the Communists, Peronists and other democratic and anti-imperialist forces is making headway in Argentina. This development comes against difficulties which are still to be overcome. You will appreciate, of course, the significance of this unity for the development of the revolutionary movement in our country. This explains why the State Department in Washington, unable to conceal its anxiety, is bringing undisguised and cynical pressure to bear on some of the Peronist leaders to persuade them to renounce united action with Communists.

It has always been the aim of our Party to *build a national democratic front against imperialism and the oligarchy and for peace*, a front which could be the support of a government of a new type—a government of a broad democratic and anti-imperialist coalition.

In our opinion, this front should include workers, office and government employees, peasants, artisans, students, professional people, the progressive sections of the bourgeoisie (who comprise the national bourgeoisie as such) not associated with the land-holding oligarchy, big comprador capital and foreign monopolies.

Politically, this front could consist of Communists, Peronists, Socialists and of the existing (and, possibly, future) political groupings formed as a result of a split in the traditional



democratic parties of the bourgeoisie and small bourgeoisie.

Organizationally, the front must include democratic and anti-imperialist political parties, trade unions, the peasant movement, social and cultural organizations, thousands of committees of action for the demands of the working class and the people, committees which, combining economic and political demands, will ascend to the level at which they will be able to fight large-scale battles for the national and social emancipation of the people as a whole.

In defining the main lines of the struggle for an anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist national democratic front, our Party is guided by the rich experience of the world Communist movement and in particular by the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which, as we have always said, is Marxism-Leninism in action. This experience is also to be found in those epoch-making documents — the statement of the meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties and the Program of the CPSU, the Communist Manifesto of our time.

\* \* \*

**J. GORENDER (Brazil):** Viewing the question of the united front from the social and political standpoints, we hold that this front can and should include primarily the working class, the most consistent revolutionary force and best able to provide revolutionary leadership; the peasants who form the bulk of the population (60 per cent of our population lives in the countryside); and the various sections of the small bourgeoisie. These are the most revolutionary forces. This bloc, naturally, also includes the national bourgeoisie. We maintain that, possibly not all of this bourgeoisie will take part in the united front, but some of its sections are our allies and can march together with us up to a certain point, depending on the circumstances.

Nor do we close our eyes to the possibility of an alliance with other non-revolutionary forces—temporary allies, or allies of the moment. They can include even the comprador bourgeoisie and the latifundists. Some of the latter can be our allies on such issues as, for example, the struggle for stable prices.

In the recent past we made grave mistakes with regard to the united front. *First*, we adhered to the view that the main blow should be against the reformist national bourgeoisie.

*Second*, inability to comprehend the need for intermediate stages in the process of building the united front and in the struggle for power, and that it is impossible to win revolutionary

power without first waging a struggle for structural reforms.

And *finally*, the view that the united front right from its inception must be under the leadership of the proletariat, that securing the hegemony of the proletariat is not a steady process but something determined and decided from the very outset, a kind of resolution adopted at a Party meeting.

These mistakes were rectified at the Fifth Congress of our Party. Today we maintain that the main blow must be delivered at U.S. imperialism and its agents inside the country.

Our view is that the united front in Brazil should be *nationalist and democratic*. Nationalist as we understand it in Brazil and not as it is understood in Argentina where the word nationalist is often synonymous with fascist. In Brazil, a nationalist is regarded as a patriot and anti-imperialist.

We hold that the formula a *united front of the Left* as the main slogan is not suited to our country. Were we to put forward this slogan today—and I cannot speak about tomorrow—we would narrow the possibilities of the united front. In our conditions we say that the correct way is to build a *nationalist and democratic united front* since this permits the inclusion in it of those sections of the bourgeoisie and small bourgeoisie which today do not belong to the Left.

This does not mean, however, that the problem of the united front of the Left is ruled out in Brazil. It exists as part of the problem of the nationalist and democratic united front, and its importance for us is all the greater because the Left is growing and becoming more and more active in Brazil.

Fifteen years ago the Left consisted of the Communists and their supporters and part of the Socialists. Today it is much wider. I shall mention only some of these forces, e.g., the followers of the peasant leader Francisco Juliao, and the Lefts among the Catholics.

There is a group of deputies from the Trabalhista (Labor) Party some of whom are Left. There are in addition, people who do not belong to any party—among them writers, trade union officials, etc. — and who cannot be identified with certainty with one or another group but who adhere to a Left standpoint. All these people must be united.

These developments have given rise to various tendencies in our Party as, for example, a sectarian tendency which sees in the existence of the Left groups a negative phenomenon, an obstacle in the way of building a mass Party.



There are also "Left-wing" sectarians who maintain that instead of wasting time building a nationalist and democratic united front, we should concentrate instead on building up a Left front.

The correct thing in my view is to work with all Left trends, to unite them for the purpose of building that nationalist and democratic united front.

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**H. ACEVEDO (Ecuador):** The draft Program of the Communist Party of Ecuador says: "Unity is needed to enable the people to reach their objectives. But to secure unity it is necessary to create an effective instrument—the national liberation front."

"In order to establish a state of national democracy and to support the revolutionary government of this state in its efforts to carry out the program of the revolution, we must unite all the progressive forces (the working classes, the democratic parties, trade unions and other organizations) in a national-liberation front."

This presupposes a broad alignment of all the forces which have a stake in carrying through progressive reforms, in developing the national economy, improving the well-being of the population, winning genuine national independence, ensuring a democratic political life and an independent foreign policy of peace.

The national-liberation front should include the working class whose mission it is to play the leading role, the peasantry which is the principal ally of the latter, the urban small bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie with all its limitations.

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**A. ABARCA (Peru):** The National-Liberation Front in our country was created in November 1961, with the Communist Party as its backbone, and with the active participation of trade union officials, peasant, student and other organizations. It also includes united front organizations which existed in several departments.

In organizing the front, we took into account the impact of the Cuban revolution, the national liberation struggle, the growing crisis in the country and the existence in it of a revolutionary situation; we took cognizance of the fact that there are no democratic traditions in Peru, and from this drew the conclusion that the non-peaceful way is likely to be the way of the Peruvian revolution.

The National-Liberation Front was formed with a view to helping the ripening of subjective conditions for the revolution. At the time

of building the front our Party established contact with the Socialist Party, the Progressive Social Movement and APRA Rebelde. This was done for the purpose of creating a *united front of the Left* as a basis on which to form a broader front, especially in view of the fact that the majority of the working people and the people generally do not belong to the above-mentioned political parties.

We failed, however, to get these parties—the Socialist, the Progressive Social Movement and APRA Rebelde—to join the front. They feared that if they did the anti-communist laws would apply to them. Moreover, they feared that they would be "absorbed" by the Communist Party and the front.

In the recent elections a fairly large number of front candidates were elected to Parliament. On the other hand, the Socialist Party, which refused to join the National-Liberation Front, lost the two seats it had previously. The Progressive Social Movement lost all its four seats and the APRA Rebelde lost its only seat. In other words, our Party had demonstrated that it is the strongest and most influential force among the Left and, as a result, is in a position to carry out a policy of alliances with the other Left parties.

Moreover, after the elections and after the bitter experience gained by these parties as a result of their refusal to join the National-Liberation Front, they have again come closer to the front and resumed negotiations with it, so that today the conditions are better for drawing them into the work of the united front.

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**J. MASSERA (Uruguay):** I think that in discussing such a subject as that of the united front, it is essential briefly to outline our basic theoretical concept on the matter. We hold that the basic contradiction in our country is that between imperialism, latifundism and the big bourgeoisie associated with them, on the one hand, and, on the other, the great mass of the people—working-class, peasantry, the urban middle sections and the national bourgeoisie.

With regard to the bourgeoisie we make certain distinctions. We see it as consisting of two main groupings. On the one hand, there is the big bourgeoisie with certain monopoly features—concentration of production in big enterprises and interweaving of industrial and agrarian capital. Then there is the middle bourgeoisie which consists mainly of owners of medium-sized enterprises. The big bourgeoisie can be further subdivided into two group-



ings, one of which is closely associated with imperialism and latifundism. In different conditions—in Asian countries, for example—this grouping would be described as the comprador bourgeoisie; but since this term has a specific meaning for colonial countries, we prefer to describe this grouping as big bourgeoisie, a grouping which, acting as direct agents of imperialism, betrays the interests of the country. The other grouping is linked primarily with industry and, to a lesser extent, with banking capital; and while it, too, is associated with imperialism it has considerable interests of its own which in certain circumstances could clash with the interests of imperialism. We regard this grouping as the big conciliatory bourgeoisie.

These subdivisions, based mainly on economic considerations, have their counterparts, although not absolutely identical, in the political sphere in which we distinguish between the national and the anti-national bourgeoisie. This presupposes that, generally speaking, the national bourgeoisie is the same as the middle bourgeoisie, while the anti-national bourgeoisie, also in general terms, is the same as the big bourgeoisie which, as stated above, betrays the interests of the nation.

Given this basic contradiction, we consider that the revolutionary force destined to reconstruct our society is an alliance of all sections of the people, or in other words, the *democratic front of national liberation*. We visualize this alliance not merely as a more or less amorphous amalgamation of forces but as a union with a definite internal structure, a union in which the various sections play their definite part and whose main force—the working class—is destined to play the leading role. This role is facilitated by the fact that in our country the working class is fairly influential, both numerically and from the socio-political standpoint.

In its turn, the working class jointly with the peasantry forms the worker-peasant alliance—the core of the movement as a whole and around which the urban middle sections unite. This alliance will be the backbone of the popular forces, but as the struggle develops, and by virtue of the breadth of the front and its mass influence, by virtue of its democratic and anti-imperialist aims, it will draw to itself some sections of the national bourgeoisie.

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**M. CANTERO (Chile):** Our Party has a rich experience of working with other political forces in its efforts to build an anti-imperialist united front. Although in the past persecution

caused much damage to our Party, we always maintained our links with the working class and were never isolated politically. The Party has always had allies in the other political groups; it was always able to enter into political combinations — through unity movements such as the movement for public liberties, through mass struggle and united action for anti-imperialist demands, as for example, in the struggle against the 1952 military pact and for repeal of the repressive laws. In 1952 our Party jointly with the Socialist Party and other forces established a united front, which has now developed into the powerful Popular Action Front.

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**O. CREYDT (Paraguay):** The draft Program of our Party which has been submitted for public discussion characterizes the Paraguayan revolution as a "*democratic revolution of national liberation*" to be carried out by a "*democratic national-liberation front*" which should unite all the people—from the working class all the way to the national bourgeoisie. This is our strategic line.

At the moment we are working with even broader forces which in their totality form the *anti-dictator national front*. This, a tactical concept, presupposes, in order to overthrow the Stroessner dictatorship, joint action not only by the progressive classes and groups but also by some of the opposition among the ruling classes. We hold the objective situation is such that in certain circumstances it may well be that the Liberal Party, the opposition in the Colorado Party, some estate owners and high army officers will join in the struggle to oust the Stroessner gang.

With a view to winning over broad forces and exploding the Communist bogey myth in government propaganda, our Party has stated that in our economically backward country the changes effected by the revolution will probably be more modest than those carried out in Cuba.

The Party has also stated that it will not insist on participation in the future provisional government, that it will rally the people behind the provisional government and ensure that it comes out with a moderate program of democratic reforms.

Repeated efforts on our part to reach agreement on joint action with the Liberal Party, the Febrerist (February) Party and the Colorado Popular Movement (the opposition wing of the Colorado Party) have so far not yielded fruits. The leaders of these parties in words favor unity but in practice act against it.



Our Party is working for an anti-dictator national front along the following lines:

1. It is organizing, at lower levels, joint action for economic and democratic demands.

2. We have begun developing, also at lower levels, in cooperation with the militants among the radical petty bourgeoisie, an organized movement for national liberation. We are trying to build a broader united movement to include the various sections of the radical small bourgeoisie and other revolutionary groups.

3. We are exposing the capitulatory, anti-communist and anti-unity policy of the leaders of the opposition parties, but we are doing this in a way that will not repel the masses.

4. The Party is striving to unite both those who see things from the standpoint of armed struggle and those who favor the non-violent way. With this aim in view it prepares the masses for all possible forms of struggle—guerrilla, semi-legal and legal actions inside the workers', peasants' and students' organizations.

5. Basing itself on united action from below, our Party is taking an active part in all the struggles and in all the political actions jointly with the forces belonging to the opposition parties of the latifundists and the bourgeoisie. But in so doing it is orienting the masses towards revolutionary forms of struggle.

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**H. HURTADO (Colombia):** A political alliance of the Left forces, which in our country are the radical and class-conscious people among the working-class, the peasantry, the small bourgeoisie and some sections of the national bourgeoisie, should not be seen as an aim in itself but only as a step, an intermediate link on the road to a broader and genuinely *national* united front.

In recent years our Party has been working for a Left front in Colombia. The beginnings of this front were marked by joint action by the Communist Party and the Left wing of the traditional Liberal Party which is known in our country as the Liberal Revolutionary Movement. The two parties fought jointly in the various campaigns and popular movements. With the growth of the movement the contradictions sharpened between the Right wing, the Center and the radical Left wing. The Communists maintain close contact with the Left wing. We are for mutual understanding with the Center and we are working to expose and isolate the Right who are against any alliance with the Communist Party and who are for

cooperation with the big bourgeoisie in the government.

In the front of the Left forces and the broader united front it is necessary for the Communists to exercise their right to wage an ideological struggle against the vacillating and inconsistent positions of their allies.

The Left front is a political necessity dictated by the actual state of affairs. But we see it as something transient on the way to a broader front. Our Party has to establish contact with the people still under the ideological sway of the big bourgeoisie and the liberals, particularly with the peasants who are influenced by the Catholic Church and the conservative groups. We maintain that this will be the road of class struggle against the rule of the big bourgeoisie and the latifundists.

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**O. GHIOLDI (Argentina):** *Our struggle for an anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist national democratic front has always been based on action for trade union unity, for a General Confederation of Labor independent of the employers and the government. This has been and continues to be the factor which can ensure the worker-peasant alliance and the leading role of the working class in the future national democratic front.*

Since Peron's downfall in September 1955 when the military began to interfere in trade union matters, the Communists have been in the forefront of the struggle to stop this interference and to establish a united GCL. Already in 1956 our activists took the initiative in forming first a coordinating trade union center and then an association of 62 trade unions. It was the Communists and other pro-unity forces who sponsored the Movement for Trade Union Unity and Coordination (MTUUC—not in order to aggravate the split in the working-class movement but to explain its problems and fight for its unity. In some instances agreements for joint action on specific issues were reached between the 62 unions, which were under Peronist leadership, and the MTUUC. Big strikes were fought by these union associations in 1959, 1960 and 1961. It will not be out of place to recall that the two associations represent the bulk of the organized working class in Argentina.

In order to help get a clear picture of the trade union movement in our country, which at first glance yields a confused picture, we should say that the present leadership of the GCL has not been elected by representatives of the unions. In a futile attempt to halt the



advance of the working-class movement, the Frondizi government before it was overthrown handed over the administration of the GCL to a commission of 20 — 10 Peronists and 10 representatives of the "independent unions." The unions belonging to the MTUUC were not represented on the commission.

The council thus foisted on the GCL does nothing despite the considerable mass activity. Only under strong rank-and-file pressure was this leadership compelled to head some of the actions. This state of affairs cannot last long. Communist unionists are fighting for an effective and democratically elected leadership of the GCL which would represent all trends of the working-class movement without discrimination.

Communist trade union work is not confined to MTUUC and to the united front between the latter and the 62 unions, but is carried out in all the unions. By this persistent struggle for unity, and by the courage and militancy of their activists in the unions, the Communists are gaining the confidence of more and more workers. Moreover, the prestige of the MTUUC has grown as a result of its correct attitude and its clear-cut program of action.

The principal thing in working for trade union unity has always been the day-to-day struggle for economic demands and for the success of the joint lists in electing delegates in the enterprises. Without going into detail, I must say that in the elections of various committees at the factories held during the past two years victory was gained by the combined lists which included Communists, Peronists—supporters of unity—and workers belonging to other trends.

Despite the adverse conditions, our working-class and democratic movement have won the right to legal forms of struggle. And in no small measure it owes this to the Communists.

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**O. CREYDT (Paraguay):** In Paraguay we have a trade union center, the Confederation of Working People, which unites some 60 trade unions, mostly under the leadership of the Colorado Party. Many of the leaders are reformists who, lacking a firm attitude and fearing reprisals, often hold back from fighting. Still, we consider it necessary to work with them. One aspect of this work is the nomination of combined lists of candidates in trade union elections.

The Catholics and the ORIT followers (ORIT—the Inter-American Regional Organization of Working People) have done their best to split

the Confederation and to establish a new center. Exposing these intrigues, we have worked to unite the unions on a number of common issues (e.g., no more dismissals, higher wages, guaranteed trade union rights, lifting the state of emergency, etc.). The setting up of an independent working-class center is an aim that must be achieved in order to overthrow the dictatorship; and this aim can be realized by uniting the unions at the rank-and-file level despite the resistance of the police-imposed leadership of the Confederation and the wishy-washy policy of some of the union leaders. The history of our working-class movement knows examples of united action by the workers in the struggle for their demands.

Our task is to extend these united actions, to have more of them, to see that they are kept up, to combine the various partial actions, develop them into political actions and raise them to the level of the general class struggle for democracy.

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**H. HURTADO (Colombia):** In our view *working-class unity is the main thing in building a united front*. We Colombian Communists regard this as the central problem because U.S. imperialism, the big bourgeoisie, the Catholic hierarchy and particularly the Ministry of Labor have for many years been trying hard to perpetuate division in the ranks of the working class.

It is clear that given a united working class many of the obstacles standing in the way of an anti-imperialist united front can be overcome. To do this it is essential not only to defeat the splitters in the service of the Colombian capitalists and imperialism and lay bare the reactionary nature of their anti-communism, but also to explain the historic mission of the working class in leading the democratic front of national liberation.

The working class will become the leading force in this anti-imperialist united front *in the measure that it achieves trade union unity* and moulds a genuine class consciousness which will enable it to fight for the immediate demands and take an active stand against U.S. imperialism and the oligarchy.

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**M. MONJE (Bolivia):** We believe that the main thing is to strengthen the unity of the working class and further the struggle of the workers in order to compel our government to adopt a more straightforward and democratic attitude.



To appreciate the situation in our country, one should bear in mind that the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (NRM), a party of the national and small bourgeoisie which came to power as a result of the uprising of April 9, 1952, still enjoys prestige among the workers and peasants; the peasants believe that the NRM gave them the land (a land reform providing for the abolition of the latifundia has been adopted in Bolivia).

The Communists in Bolivia consider it necessary to deepen the revolutionary process which began in 1952. Hence the main thing for us is to work with the masses and with the NRM in all spheres.

In our country there is a trade union center known as the Workers' Center, the leadership of which is in the hands of men from the NRM, who carry out a policy of holding back working-class action so as not to create problems for the so-called "government of national revolution."

We are working to defeat the reformist and opportunist positions of these leaders. And with each turn this struggle is growing in scale and intensity.

Miners are the strongest force in our country, the largest section of the working class, who have produced the best leaders of the trade union and workers' movement. Many of them, turning away from the NRM, lean towards the Communists.

In the Workers' Center we are waging a struggle against the top NRM officials with a view to activating the working-class movement. This fight came into the open at a recent congress of the Center.

It should be said that on some of the main issues our views coincide with those of the NRM. For example, the issue of expressing solidarity with the Cuban revolution was unanimously approved. No one spoke against it. Delegates unanimously insisted on establishing trade relations with the Soviet Union. However we disagreed with the NRM on such questions as the struggle for higher wages. They believe that this issue should be postponed, whereas we insist that the time is ripe to pose it. Ultimately it was unanimously agreed that this question should be posed by each side in its own way.

Thus, the process of cementing working-class unity, of developing the struggle of the working class is gaining momentum, and this will, in view of the situation, accord very great support to the revolutionary process in the country.

**M. CANTERO (Chile):** Communist-Socialist cooperation has facilitated the struggle for working-class unity in our country. It will be recalled that in the past there was no unity between our two parties, and the fact that they followed two different roads adversely affected the popular movement. The unity that exists today between our parties has resulted from action at lower levels, from the struggle against imperialism and against the reactionary policy of the recent governments.

But although there is a united action agreement between Communists and Socialists, some differences cannot be avoided. Quite recently, for example, we engaged in a debate with the Socialist Party on a number of matters pertaining to the international Communist movement, the role of the Soviet Union and the nature of the socialist camp, the struggle for peace and disarmament and the ways and means of achieving these aims. In speaking about the Cuban revolution, the Socialists put it on a par with the Bolivian revolution.

One subject of the debate was the foreign policy of the future government. The following points were discussed: should we establish relations with the socialist countries and, what is more, should we cooperate with them? How to develop the revolution and consolidate the people's government? Should we fight consistently for peace and support disarmament?

Another question on which clarity had also to be achieved was this: Should the future people's government be guided by the unanimity principle, or should it carry out the policy of the Socialist Party of which Allende, the likely presidential candidate from the Popular Front, is a member?

This polemic could have had a negative effect on the popular movement and on the future anti-imperialist government in which all the Front parties, including the Communist and the Socialist parties, will be represented. We had, therefore, to summon a meeting of the Political Committees of the two parties. The letters exchanged by the Executive Committees of the parties were published in our press and circulated in the branches of both parties. The meeting ended in a memorandum being signed which laid down the basic conditions of the cooperation between the Communist and Socialist parties both in the Popular Action front and in the future government.

In other words, we succeeded in turning an inter-party polemic which the reactionaries had begun to hail, seeing in it a sign of a split, into a positive factor which has strengthened the Communist-Socialist alliance and helped to



explain a number of problems of vital importance to this unity.

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**J. MASSERA (Uruguay):** For us the question of Communist-Socialist unity is vital. The Socialist Party, predominantly a party of small bourgeoisie, has in its ranks also a large number of office workers, intellectuals, and students, although it should be said that at one time this party also wielded influence among the workers. On the other hand, the Socialist Party has reformist origins, since it emerged as a result of a break with revolutionary Marxist ideology. On the practical plane, the Socialist Party is anti-communist and anti-Soviet. At the height of the cold war it adopted an openly anti-communist and anti-Soviet stand.

The Socialist Party ideology ("revolutionary nationalism") has been based on the idea that the main contradiction of our time is that between imperialism and the colonial and dependent countries.

But in the past few years a positive evolution, and not only political but, to a certain extent, ideological, has taken place in this party. Formally, it has renounced reformism and accepted the revolutionary concept. I stress the word *formally*, because there are still obstacles between the revolutionary concept and the way it is understood by the Socialists. The Socialist Party has proclaimed itself a Marxist party, its members and leaders read Lenin; in a word, we are witnessing a process which has positive features.

The Cuban revolution has deepened this process and its positive features. Of late, however, nationalism and to a certain extent anti-communism have been renewed in the Socialist Party, finding expression in a desire to expel the Communist Party from the united front or to build the front without the Communists.

The search for unity with the Socialist Party was a long and complex process. The Communist Party worked hard and painstakingly but failed to achieve any appreciable results. However, joint action, the line of "combined blows," has been practised in the mass movement, in Parliament, and in the Cuba Solidarity Movement. As a result the relations between our parties have become warmer, and there is more understanding than was the case a few years ago.

At the same time Left groups have been breaking away from the big bourgeois parties. This development enabled our Party in 1960 to advance the idea of broad unity not only with the Socialists (until then we had envis-

aged only Communist-Socialist unity) but also with the groups that had broken with the other parties or were about to break with them. Advancing this idea, we stressed that *Communist-Socialist unity would be the core of the broader unity*.

This idea soon won recognition, although it received a set-back when the Socialists renounced unity with the Communists and any cooperation with the Left groups in the bourgeois parties. At present, however, as it was stated at our Eighteenth Congress, the time is ripe for unity between the Communist Party and other groups in the political sphere during elections. This is a new development the importance of which cannot be underestimated in view of the difficulties of which I have spoken before. We believe that this process will continue, its general line being that of all-round development of the mass united front, growing unity of the working-class movement, and better understanding between the various units making up the front of the people's struggle. In particular, we envisage considerable progress in the matter of drawing the rural population into the general movement. We hold that in these conditions political unity, the unity of the parties and Left groups breaking away from the traditional parties, will lead ultimately to the emergence of a new independent political force which will abolish the old political structure in the country.

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**J. GORENDER (Brazil):** The key issue for Brazil is not that of alliance with the Socialists as is the case in Chile, for example. In our country the Socialist Party has no great following and, in any case, it is already our ally. There are, of course, differences between ourselves and the Socialists on specific issues, and in this case we follow different roads. Nevertheless, most Socialists are our friends.

Our main political ally is the Trabalhista Party. But we do not limit our alliances to the Socialist or Trabalhista parties; we see farther than that, and we are entering into alliance with people in the conservative parties. In the latter there always are groups which in one way or another adopt a national, anti-imperialist and democratic attitude and join forces with us in the anti-imperialist and election campaigns.

We consider the Trabalhista Party to be our main ally, but in a number of States it is not this party but groups from other parties, even conservative ones, who ally themselves with us.



This imparts to the development of the united front in Brazil a somewhat uneven character. Politically speaking, the united front, in the context of Brazilian life, should be very flexible, should not be cluttered up with cut-and-dried formulas, because the fluid political situation gives rise to new problems. The main weakness in the matter of building a national and democratic united front has been and still is its poor organization. Much remains to be done in this respect.

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**O. GHIOLDI (Argentina):** In our country too, relations with the Peronists do not exhaust the entire problem of united action. Of great significance for this unity are the relations with the Left Socialists and other anti-imperialist movements—branches of the old democratic parties of the bourgeoisie and small bourgeoisie. In large measure on these relations depends the extent to which the middle sections and the progressive national bourgeoisie are drawn into the united liberation front. The same applies to neutralizing those who tend to surrender to the landholding oligarchy, big capital and imperialism.

In our view the Communists, Peronists and Left Vanguard Socialists should be the core of the united action in Argentina.

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**M. CANTERO (Chile):** The Popular Action Front in Chile includes the National Democratic Party, a non-Marxist party, which has a following among the small and middle bourgeoisie. Among its members there are also some Catholics—bourgeois nationalists—who fully support the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy aspects of the Front. I mention this in order to stress that the Front is not merely an alliance of Communists and Socialists, although, in fact, this alliance is the backbone of the Front.

Our Party is working to strengthen the unity of the parties belonging to the Front which is now a big political force in Chile. The member-parties of the Front are strongly represented in Parliament. In the last elections, for example, 16 Communists were elected to the Chamber of Deputies and four to the Senate. The Socialist Party, too, has reinforced its positions, a fact which has dispelled the fears of those who had thought that the Communist Party would "swallow" the Socialists. The National Democratic Party, too, is making headway. Communist-Socialist unity has largely contributed to the strengthening of the United Trade Union Center and has made it possible to form a National Federation of Peasants and Indian

Population (a united peasant center which heads the struggle in the countryside).

Our Party is working also among other sections. The last meeting of our Central Committee, for example, addressed a call to the Christian Democrats and to the branches of the Radical Party urging them to act in unison with us.

It should be said that we are cooperating with the Christian Democrats in the trade unions and there have been instances of joint action in Parliament.

Hence, conditions make it possible to draw a group of Christian Democrats into the Popular Action Front, and also those in the governing Radical Party who are dissatisfied with the policy of the government. In other words, we consider that the Front can be extended by enlisting in it the other anti-imperialist forces.

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**O. CREYDT (Paraguay):** Our line is to advance separately but to fight together. The Liberal and Febrerist parties and the opposition in the Colorado Party rely on the students and on the popular actions to ensure support for their own demands. But our participation in these actions impels the masses onto the path of revolutionary struggle against the dictatorship.

During the general strike of 1958, which paralyzed the country, we worked together with the opposition in the Colorado Party and with the ORIT agents. But when these groups sought to prevent the strike from spreading and even tried to break it, the people ignored them and went their own way.

During the street action in May 1959 we fought alongside an even broader sector of the Colorado Party as a result of which Stroessner had to announce the dissolution of the hand-picked Parliament and a split took place in the ruling party. Members of the Liberal and Febrerist parties and Catholics also took part in these actions.

During the guerrilla fighting of 1960-1961 we engaged in parallel action and also acted jointly with the May 14 Movement while directly coordinating our actions with the peasant groups from the Colorado, Liberal and Febrerist parties.

During the student actions last May we joined forces with the Liberals, the Colorado, Febrerists and Catholics.

These facts show that no matter how hard the leaders of the latifundist and bourgeois parties may try to exclude the Communists.



the anti-dictator national front is manifest in the people's actions, in the street demonstrations and in the clashes with the dictatorship. In these circumstances this front becomes *unavoidable*, and given joint action the dictatorship will be overthrown.

But this anti-dictator national front, which exists *in fact*, can acquire viability and strength only in the measure that united action is reinforced from below, and only through the growth of the united front of the working class, the revolutionary small bourgeoisie and the peasantry.

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**H. ACEVEDO (Ecuador):** In the national-liberation front our task is to establish correct relations with the various social groups comprising this front. For it happens at times that in entering into alliance with the non-working class sections of the population we tend to forget the main alliance, that with the working masses and, above all, with the peasantry. At times we tend, when entering into blocs during election campaigns, to forget that these should not injure in any way our alliance with the working masses.

Nor should we fall into the sectarian mistake of stipulating an alliance only with the working people and of ignoring the other sections of the population opposed to feudalism and imperialism. An alliance with the bourgeoisie which has not sold itself to imperialism is also needed in the struggle for the aims of the national-liberation revolution.

This means that, apart from a closely-knit alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the national-liberation front should include also other sections of the population.

In Ecuador we cannot afford to ignore the large numbers of *urban small bourgeoisie*, artisans, small shopkeepers, clerical workers, professionals, students—all who make up the vast reserve of the people's forces.

One of our mistakes is that so far we have not made a detailed analysis of the various sections comprising the national bourgeoisie.

In order to determine as precisely as possible the role which the bourgeoisie will play in the revolution, it is necessary to study the sum total of the contradictions between this bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and feudalism and imperialism, on the other. Contradictions of this kind are not identical in all countries. In some countries they are sharper than in others. Hence the participation of the bourgeoisie in the national-liberation revolution will depend on how sharp these contradictions are.

The interests of the big bourgeoisie in Ecuador, mainly importers, do not clash with those of imperialism. It buys from the imperialists and is closely linked with them. This section of the bourgeoisie is characterized by a well-nigh complete lack of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal sentiment. We can act jointly with them only on specific issues as was the case during the struggle against high taxes and devaluation.

The middle bourgeoisie is being squeezed out by the big importers and the banking oligarchy. Hence it may adopt a more militant attitude, and we should keep this in mind.

The trading bourgeoisie—exporters—has some differences with imperialism and clashes with it over export prices. These are chiefly exporters of cocoa and coffee who favor trade relations with the socialist countries, the establishment of which would be a blow to imperialism. It should be said, however, that the contradictions between this part of the trading bourgeoisie and imperialism are not of an acute nature—they can parry the blows of imperialism by charging the peasants higher prices and thus compensating for the lower prices paid them by the imperialists.

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**H. HURTADO (Colombia):** An analysis of the concept of the anti-imperialist united front always poses the question of the role of the national bourgeoisie, a question which was thoroughly discussed at a previous exchange of views sponsored by *World Marxist Review*.

In our country there are a number of small Left-wing groups which tend to deny that the national bourgeoisie can play any progressive role and even go so far as to deny its existence. For these groups the bourgeoisie is an utterly anti-national class which, in their view, has sold itself body and soul to U.S. imperialism.

It is true that deep changes have taken place among the Colombian bourgeoisie. Our old-time bourgeois allies in the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle are today the most zealous agents of U.S. imperialism.

As Comrade Gilberto Vieira pointed out in the political report to the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party, "it is a fact that in recent years there has appeared on the political arena and in the social life of the country a real *oligarchy of the big bourgeoisie* which has turned the so-called 'national front' into a party of the bourgeoisie and which does all in its power to maintain its scandalous privileges. . . . This oligarchy of big capitalists, bankers and landlords, linked closely to U.S.



imperialism, is becoming more and more reactionary. It subjects the working class, and indirectly the people as a whole, to exploitation and super-exploitation through the mechanism of monopoly prices. It oppresses not only the working people but also the middle sections *including the national bourgeoisie* the bulk of which is a middle bourgeoisie subjected to discrimination in the matter of obtaining licenses for importing machines and raw materials and also in the sphere of credits."

The national bourgeoisie, unstable by nature, tends to retreat before the economic and political aggression of imperialism and at times sides with the enemy. But its objective contradictions with the imperialist oppressor never disappear and, at the opportune moment, these contradictions come into the open or manifest themselves in a concealed form.

In its policy statement our Party declared that those sections of the bourgeoisie which today pin their hopes on imperialism will be forced to change their line and defend themselves against the U.S. monopolies. The dogmatists denied this perspective but it found further confirmation in the program adopted by the CPSU at its Twenty-Second Congress: "The proletariat advances a program for combating the power of the monopolies with due regard to the present as well as the future interests of its allies."

Patriotic tendencies can be found in embryonic form among army officers and in Catholic circles, which should not be regarded as a homogeneous reactionary group.

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**J. GORENDER (Brazil):** The question of the bourgeoisie is, naturally, a controversial question. In Brazil we should bear in mind that the bourgeoisie is not faced with the question of winning power, it actually holds power jointly with the latifundists. Among the bourgeoisie we single out a section which has taken the path of betraying the nation but which we do not call "comprador" for the same reason as advanced by Comrade Massera. This term cannot be used in our country since the bourgeoisie that betrays the interests of the nation includes, in addition to intermediate elements, the industrial bourgeoisie associated with imperialism but interested in developing the automobile, pharmaceutical, engineering and other branches of industry.

Along with the bourgeoisie that betrays the interests of the nation is another section which can definitely be called the "conciliatory" bourgeoisie. This is mainly the industrial bourgeois-

sie, but it also includes bankers, traders, etc. I would go so far as to say that President Joao Goulart is a spokesman of this bourgeoisie.

We have, too, a section of the bourgeoisie which could be defined as national bourgeoisie although it also displays conciliatory tendencies. Depending on the circumstances, the tendency to conciliation can prevail among this section. And yet one cannot say it has fully exhausted its revolutionary potential.

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**O. CREYDT (Paraguay):** Stroessner's anti-national economic and financial policy is ruining the country and injuring the people as a whole, *including the national bourgeoisie*. And yet, despite their discontent and general opposition, the national bourgeoisie shuns active, revolutionary struggle against the dictatorship. This is explained by the fact that economically this bourgeoisie is weak. It fears that democracy would open the way to a wave of strikes.

Besides, the national bourgeoisie lacks firm support in the countryside, where there is but a small segment of wealthy farmers. The national bourgeoisie has no faith in being able to head the democratic revolution. Instead, it harbors illusions with regard to foreign capital and the Alliance for Progress.

This bourgeoisie has neither an economic body to defend its economic interests nor a political party to represent it as a class. The Liberal Party is a party of liberal landowners and the big bourgeoisie—importers. The Febrerist Party is supported only by part of the national bourgeoisie. This bourgeoisie, in the main, follows the Liberals and the Colorado Party. As a result of its economic and political weakness, *the national bourgeoisie is more afraid of the people's revolution than it is of the Stroessner dictatorship.*

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**BLAS ROCA (Cuba):** In my view, we somewhat mechanically copy the concept of the national bourgeoisie as applied to Afro-Asian conditions. The national bourgeoisie in Asia and Africa is one thing, but in Latin America it is different. In the colonial countries the role of this bourgeoisie differs from that in formally independent countries like our Latin American countries which acquired formal political independence long ago. This role cannot be the same here and there.

The national bourgeoisie in Latin America has demonstrated its inability to head the anti-imperialist struggle. Either holding power or being in opposition, its political spokesmen tend to appease imperialism or surrender to it.



We maintain that some sections of the bourgeoisie can be allies of the proletariat at definite moments of the struggle but they cannot be the leaders of this struggle. In 1933 the Cuban revolution was defeated because it was led by the bourgeoisie which ended with conciliation. And this, I think, is the road of the bourgeoisie.

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**O. GHIOLDI (Argentina):** Whether or not the national bourgeoisie should take part in the united front for national and social emancipation is not the main problem. The main thing is to *ensure for the proletariat a leading role* in this front. To win the hegemony for the proletariat is not an easy matter. It is won in the struggle, not established by decree, and depending on the level of unity of the working class, the degree of its militancy and political consciousness, its confidence in its Communist Party, the degree of maturity and unity of the worker-peasant alliance—the backbone of the anti-imperialist and democratic united front.

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**H. HURTADO (Colombia):** In the Latin American countries the peasantry and the middle sections play a big part in the anti-imperialist united front. The peasants are the main force in the united front and in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in our country. The struggle waged by our Party and the working class to draw broad sections of the peasantry into the revolutionary movement is of vital importance for establishing a united front and for the revolutionary process as a whole, inasmuch as the peasantry is one of the largest contingents of the working people in Colombia. It is estimated that there are about seven million peasants in our country, which is nearly half the population.

In order to establish a firm alliance with the peasantry, the working class must raise the banner of struggle for the land. Hence one of the main tasks of our Party in its work in the trade unions and among the peasantry is to explain the aims of the democratic agrarian reform which the democratic front of national liberation should carry out.

The peasantry plays a particularly important part in the armed guerrilla struggle and in self-defense actions against the terror of the ruling classes and their state. In actions of this kind and during periods of non-peaceful development of the revolution the role played by the peasantry in countries like Colombia is of primary significance.

At times the students, too, are a major factor in democratic and anti-imperialist activities in some Latin American countries. This applies to Venezuela, and to Colombia as well. But student activity (in Colombia at any rate) is of a sporadic nature.

It may be said that the peasantry and the middle sections of the population are major forces of the united front, which, in the conditions prevailing in our country, cannot be understood as a front of a purely working class character.

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**O. GHIOLDI (Argentina):** In order to accelerate the alliance of the workers and peasants, our Party has waged a struggle in two directions: on the one hand, to win the support of the organized working class for the peasants' struggle, urging the trade unions to add agrarian reform to their own demands, and, on the other hand, to help the peasants to shake off the leadership of the wealthy farmers who are trying to isolate them from the other sections of the working population.

Here I should say that the increase in Party membership is due also to the influx of people from the countryside. We have been particularly successful with the agricultural workers. But though we have made headway in the rural localities, the possibilities there have by no means been exhausted and we feel that work among the peasantry is still our Achilles heel.

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**J. MASSERA (Uruguay):** This is still the weakest link in our work too, although we have made some progress. I refer to the big strikes of agricultural workers in which several thousand people took part, and the struggle waged by the members of cooperatives, growers of potatoes, ground-nuts, grapes, etc. — peasants who are threatened with eviction. This is connected with the growth of the Party, which now for the first time has several hundred members in the villages and has formed a number of branches there.

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**BLAS ROCA (Cuba):** We attach importance to the alliance of the workers and the peasants, inasmuch as the peasantry will be the ally of the proletariat in the struggle for socialism for a long time. At the same time we give much attention in our propaganda to the national bourgeoisie. It seems to me however, that our experience, all that we have gone through, points to the need to pay more attention to the small bourgeoisie in the towns,



to the middle sections, students and members of the free professions. These sections are politically very active, and it is upon them that the bourgeoisie chiefly relies in its efforts to resist the proletariat.

It is necessary to influence these sections, to win them over, to draw closer to them and wean them away from the big bourgeoisie.

Our experience shows that there are two main obstacles to united action and the establishment of a united front. *The first is anti-communism*, the splitting activities of North American imperialism, the campaign of lies and slander it is conducting against the revolutionary movement. Anti-communism exerts a certain influence, for example, on those political leaders who fear a clash with imperialism, who are inclined to compromise with imperialism, who want to carry on the struggle but are anxious to avoid any conflict with imperialism. They are, naturally, reluctant to join forces with the Communists inasmuch as imperialism claims that it is opposed only to the Communists and not to the revolution or to radical reforms. In these circumstances, it is necessary continuously to expose anti-communism, to expose the slander and falsehood spread by the imperialists and their agents. This struggle should be waged in all directions, but chiefly among the working people and among the middle sections in order that they might understand the true purpose of the anti-communist campaign.

*The second obstacle to the creation of a united front* lies in ourselves, in the evils of sectarianism, in sectarian ideas and concepts which are so deeply rooted at times and which create considerable difficulties in working with potential and much-needed allies.

Sectarianism must be combated. We have been fighting it for nearly 35 years now. That struggle is reflected in all our resolutions, all our statements, all our documents. We stress the need to eradicate sectarianism on every possible occasion. In many instances, however, that is as far as it goes, in other words, we confine ourselves to declarations. In other instances, the fight against sectarianism takes the form of deleting some points from our program so as not to "frighten" one or another leading group. But in reality this does not contribute in any way to the struggle against sectarianism, to the establishment of a united front and the achievement of unity of the revolutionary forces. The crux of the matter lies not in changing the program to make it acceptable to one or another section of the population, or in deleting some vital

and cardinal revolutionary demands from it for the same purpose.

For the more we withdrew or modify demands which are vital to the people, the more difficult it becomes to achieve unity, inasmuch as the surest way to achieve unity is to rally the people, and it is sometimes easier to achieve unity by advancing radical, revolutionary demands than by advancing such demands gradually and partially or by toning them down.

The problem of the struggle for a united front, to my mind, consists primarily in popularizing a radical program, one which corresponds to the given situation, without making any concessions to the elements opposed to the establishment of the united front. But in popularizing our program among the masses, we must never entertain the suggestion that by restricting it in some measure we can build the united front more quickly. No, the more influence we can exert through our program and propaganda on the rank and file of other parties, the more we shall be able to strengthen the united front and the easier it will be to discuss concessions on these questions later on.

One thing to be borne in mind is that we should not attack our strategic allies on tactical questions. We can argue about their tactics, we can disagree with those tactics, but we should not attack these people, or accuse them of playing into the hands of the enemy, when in reality they are waging a struggle against our common enemy. Even when there are differences on tactical questions we can push on with the fulfilment of common tasks, and at a certain stage find a common tactical line and achieve the basic objective by different means.

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**O. GHIOLDI (Argentina):** In order to hasten the establishment of a united front our Party focuses attention on combating anti-communism, revealing its reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-national essence. Our consistent ideological struggle against anti-communism in any shape or form has foiled the repeated attempts of the oligarchy and the imperialist reactionaries to scare the people away from our Party by diverse provocations. Today the vast majority of the people understand what is hidden behind the smokescreen of anti-communism.

*Our Party has constantly waged a struggle against the false idea about the possibility of creating a united front without the Commu-*



nists for so-called "tactical reasons." Those who do not accept the idea of establishing a united front without any discrimination, no matter what pretext they resort to, are doing a disservice to the nation and the people. Whatever their original motives may have been, such people end up by compromising with and capitulating to the enemy. The parties and organizations seeking to form a united front movement without the Communists succeed only in isolating themselves from the masses and are doomed to failure unless they recognize their mistake and rectify it before it is too late.

Our Party believes that the measure of the democracy of a party and its leaders is their concrete activity with regard to a united front without discrimination of any kind.

It is interesting to observe the process of differentiation now taking place in the nationalist movement in the Argentine. Its soundest section is rejecting anti-communism — in some instances, publicly — and is gradually coming to see the need for joint action with the Communists in the struggle against the oligarchy and the imperialists, for radical changes along democratic lines. This process of differentiation in the nationalist movement is widely reflected among the nationalists in the armed forces, and will make itself felt more strongly as time goes on.

It is clear that these results have been achieved not by making ideological or political concessions, but through the ideological struggle which our Party is conducting, guided by the rule: *argue for the sake of unity, not for disunity*. Our Party vigorously combats bourgeois nationalism; it has also been necessary to eradicate the shoots of bourgeois nationalism which appeared within the Party in 1953.

The struggle for a united national and democratic front necessitates strengthening our Party organizationally and ideologically. We have always stressed the need to extend the ranks of the Party, to recruit new members, to give special attention to political training in the branches, to acquaint members with the political and tactical line of the Party, so that they maintain close contact with the masses and transmit the Party policy to them, to ensure that the functionaries are deeply conscious of the importance of this task and dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to its accomplishment.

The struggle for a united front of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces presupposes an ideological struggle not only against

trends outside the Party and the working class, but also against opportunist and sectarian tendencies in the Party itself. We have been obliged to wage a struggle against sectarian ideas, which on the grounds of "preserving ideological purity," lead to weakening our contact with the masses; we have likewise combated the opportunist tendencies which undermine the idea of the independent role of the Party.

**H. HURTADO (Colombia):** Any attempts inside the united front to steer it towards excluding the Communist Party, whatever ideological or "tactical" considerations are advanced to justify this line, can only restrict and weaken the united front.

There can be no real anti-imperialist united front without the participation of the party of the working class, the party whose presence is the guarantee that the front will be consolidated and will be loyal to the cause of the country and the people.

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**A. M. RUMYANTSEV (World Marxist Review):** Since the list of speakers is exhausted, I will say a few words in conclusion. This is not a concluding speech in the usual sense, for I do not propose to draw any final conclusions, to dot any "i's" or cross any "t's". I merely wish briefly to review some of the ideas advanced in the course of the discussion. This is in the tradition of our journal.

All the speakers have stressed that the matter of creating a broad front of the democratic forces is an urgent one for the Communist parties of Latin America, as it is for the international Communist movement as a whole. This is an undeniable fact. At the present time the contradictions between monopoly capital and all sections of the population have sharpened to the extreme. The conditions have ripened for forming a united front of all progressive and patriotic people, all who are interested in combating imperialism and reaction. Monopoly capitalism is enemy No. 1 not only of the working class and the peasantry, but also of the artisans, small proprietors, intellectuals, the small and even part of the middle bourgeoisie. As emphasized in the Program of the CPSU "all the main strata of the nation are vitally interested in curbing the power of the monopolies."

Here I should like to recall what Lenin said on this score: The Communists, he said, should conduct work among all social strata, work with all who protest in any way against



the existing economic and social conditions. These words of Lenin contain the idea of the policy of broad alliances of the working class and its Communist Party based on common interests in the revolutionary struggle.

In Latin America, as the comrades here have said, the contingents participating in this struggle can be very numerous; the working class, peasantry, students, professional people, the small bourgeoisie in the towns and the national bourgeoisie — these are the potential source for forming and replenishing these contingents.

U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the peoples of Latin America, the chief cause of the economic oppression and political reaction still to be found in nearly all Latin American countries. It has allies in the landlord and finance oligarchy and the reactionary militarists associated with these. Hence it is against U.S. imperialism and its reactionary accomplices that the working class and its allies in the struggle are directing their main blow. The unification of the national and democratic forces in the Latin American countries can take diverse forms: an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy front in Argentina, a democratic front of national emancipation in Uruguay, a nationalist and democratic front in Brazil, etc. However there is no doubt that real united action can be achieved only in struggle against imperialism. It need not necessarily be called an anti-imperialist struggle. It may take the form of struggle against a dictatorial regime, against tyranny, against the oligarchy, but essentially it bears an anti-imperialist character, and its success will undermine the positions of imperialism, knock the ground from under its feet.

This is the objective criterion for defining the term "Left forces" as applied to the united front. Of course, the true Left forces are the Communists, the vanguard of the working class. The Left character of the other forces is determined by the specific conditions obtaining in each country. It seems to me that those who are against imperialism, against monopoly domination can be regarded as having Left tendencies in one way or another, although they themselves might deny this.

I will dwell briefly on the role of the national bourgeoisie and its place in the broad national democratic front. The national bourgeoisie can include all sections of the bourgeoisie, industrial and commercial. What counts is its attitude toward imperialism. I believe that if a section of the bourgeoisie has an interest in exploiting the home mar-

ket, in abolishing the imperialist monopoly of that market, we can qualify this section as *national*.

How far it is likely to go in its struggle against imperialism, what limits it will set itself in the struggle and at what point its revolutionary potential will end it is hard to say. To answer these questions requires a profound and thorough mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, political farsightedness and boldness.

The comrades who have spoken here have cited examples showing the potentialities of the national bourgeoisie in one or another country, the extent of its contradictions with imperialism. It is clear that the position with regard to the national bourgeoisie is not the same in Cuba as, let us say, in Colombia. The revolutionary movement in Latin America, as in all other continents, develops unevenly, and as the revolutionary process deepens, the national bourgeoisie displays an increasing tendency to come to terms with domestic reaction and with imperialism. Such is its class nature, and we, Communists, cherish no illusions on this score.

The relations with the national bourgeoisie are further complicated by the fact that the imperialists do not regard it as a direct adversary. They seek to win it over to their side by appealing to its class interests. An instance of this is the U.S. Alliance for Progress. The attitude of imperialism and its agencies with regard to the national bourgeoisie, and to any other potential ally of the working class in the united front cannot be lightly dismissed. It goes without saying that the small bourgeoisie in the towns, for example, has great revolutionary possibilities and alliance with it is bound to be more solid and enduring than alliance with other sections of the bourgeoisie.

The most reliable ally of the working class in its struggle against imperialism, for achieving socialist and democratic objectives is, of course, the peasantry. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the backbone of the united anti-imperialist, anti-feudal front. The extent to which the national bourgeoisie will participate in the anti-imperialist liberation struggle depends on the strength of this alliance.

The importance for Latin America of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry cannot be overestimated. In many of these countries the peasantry comprises the bulk of the population. In the conditions of monstrous injustice in land distribution and the cruel ex-



exploitation of the peasantry, the latter can be a powerful explosive force. If these explosions are aimed in the right direction, they could play, and indeed they are playing a major role in the revolutionary process.

On the basis of our discussion we can conclude that the roads leading to a united front are many, and that no one road can be offered for all countries. However, and let me stress this again, the essence of such a front is, above all, the anti-imperialist struggle, concrete, well-organized action, taking into account not only the ultimate objective but also the immediate tasks at each given stage.

Who is to determine the main direction of these actions? The working class, of course, led by its Marxist-Leninist Party. The fact that all the comrades who spoke here stressed that the unity of the working class is a guarantee of the effective operation of the united front is understandable. United, the working class can assume the leading role in the united front. It is clear that the working class cannot surrender that leading role to any other class, but merely to understand this truth is not enough, inasmuch as the leading position must be won in the course of the struggle, with the stronger side taking the upper hand. The hegemony of the working class is based on its prestige. This prestige is won in hard fought struggle, and it must be recognized by the peasantry, the small bourgeoisie and the intellectuals.

The conclusion drawn by some of the comrades here that a militant united front is created *in the course of the struggle of the broad masses* for definite political, economic and social demands, in the course of united mass action from *below* strikes me as extremely important. An alliance of this kind, forged in struggle, is undoubtedly far more viable and enduring than one based merely on formal agreements between political parties and groups. We see, for example, how the inexorable logic of history is leading the Peronists in Argentina to an awareness of the need to fight alongside the Communists against the common enemy. The Peronist leaders would hardly have taken this attitude unless impelled to do so by the masses. The Communists are acting as the initiators of the united front, as the Party most closely linked with the masses and reflecting their aspirations.

I should like to mention two mistakes which are sometimes made in working for a united front and which we sometimes overlook. The first consists in forgetting the fundamental interests of the working class, its ultimate objective, in departing from principled Marxist-Leninist positions and, in effect, relinquishing the leading role. This is often done presumably out of tactical considerations. But it should be borne in mind that a tactical "success" of this kind is liable to turn into a strategic defeat. In other words, in the dissolution of the forces of the working class and the Communist Party.

The second mistake is to isolate oneself from the other social and political forces, in other words, sectarianism and dogmatism, for this can lead to drifting away from the working masses.

Of course these mistakes are not manifested in the crude way I have just described. They appear in a variety of guises, which makes them all the more dangerous. In order to avoid such mistakes it is necessary to be principled and at the same time flexible and, what is most important, to have a good grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory and continually to study it. Both the tactics and the strategy of the Communists are founded on Marxist-Leninist theory without which the correct policy of the Communist Party on one or another question would be impossible.

Lenin always emphasized the importance of revolutionary theory. He used to say that we need theory in order to chart the right path. Without theory we can only grope in the dark. No theoretical conclusion, however, can be reached without a thorough analysis of the facts, the concrete situation, local and international conditions. Hence our exchange of views, being directly connected with practical, day-to-day struggle of the working masses, with the experience of the organizational and tactical activities of the Communist Party, at the same time is a useful basis for theoretical conclusions and generalizations as well.

The editors of the journal wish to thank all the comrades who have taken part in the discussion. The contributions have been interesting and instructive. I trust that the debate will stimulate further exchanges on the problems associated with building a broad anti-imperialist front.



## Manolis Glezos Free

ON December 15, as a result of the long struggle waged by the people of Greece and by progressives all over the world, Manolis Glezos, national hero of Greece, was set free after four years in prison. The black forces of fascism and reaction tried hard to break this gallant patriot. Five times they threw him into prison: thrice during the Nazi occupation and twice since the war. All in all he has spent 12 years in jail.

Hailing the release of Glezos as a victory for the forces of democracy and peace, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece is mindful of the 1,200 other resistance fighters, leaders of the national-liberation and democratic movement, invalids, women and aged people who have been held in jail for

18 years. Their sole crime is that, loving their country, they fought for its freedom and independence.

Addressing the political parties and other organizations, Greek patriots and progressives all over the world, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece calls on them "to raise their voices in protest, to demand the release of the imprisoned fighters and a general amnesty."

Sharing the joy and satisfaction of the Greek people in connection with the release of Glezos, democrats all over the world will continue actively to support the people of Greece in their just fight.

D.L.

### Reviews

## Generalizing the Experience of the Great Struggle

*Second Edition of  
"Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism"\**

FUNDAMENTALS of Marxism-Leninism is one of the works published after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, which created an atmosphere conducive to the development of theoretical thought. Its purpose was to present in popular form the principles of Marxism-Leninism as an integrated science, concentrating chiefly on those aspects of Marxism-Leninism that are especially topical today.

The first edition of the book evoked a response from Marxists all over the world. It was translated into many languages, including English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Chinese and Japanese, and was widely reviewed in Communist journals. Particular interest was evoked by the chapter devoted to problems of the international Communist and democratic movement. It was welcomed as the first attempt to subject to theoretical examination the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary parties of the working class at the present stage.

Writing in *Political Affairs* on the occasion of the publication of the English edition in July 1960, Gus Hall, a leader of the Communist Party of the United States, said: "The authors have drawn from the experience of struggle all that is sound, all that is true and have formulated these into theoretical generalizations that are applicable as guides to our present-day world . . . The theories are not only sound, with depth and breadth—but the authors have succeeded in the very rare feat of accomplishing this while retaining the freshness, the simplicity, the directness of the life experience. This theory is drawn from the experience of our lifetime." Even a brief examination of some of the chapters, he adds, suggests that "this is a brilliant, a live, a fresh—yes, an exciting book".

\*Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, Manual, Second Edition, Moscow, Gospolitizdat 1962. Compiled by O. V. Kuusinen, Y. A. Arbatov, A. C. Belyakov, S. L. Vygodsky, A. G. Mileikovsky and L. M. Sheidin.



*Marxism Today*, published by the British Communist Party, also commented on the timeliness and usefulness of the book. "For the first time," stated the journal in a review of the English edition, "we now have available in English, within the scope of a single book, large though it is, a comprehensive study of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism . . ." The book "leads up to a full understanding of the decisions taken at the historic meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties at Moscow in November 1960".

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The second edition of *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism* preserves the structure and basic content of the first edition. At the same time the authors have done much to enrich the book with new ideas gleaned from the new Program of the CPSU and from the other documents of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party. Many of the points made in reviews of the first edition and in letters from readers were taken into account in preparing the second edition. The chapter headed "The Period of Transition from Socialism to Communism" has been rewritten in the light of the new Program of the CPSU and the materials of the Twenty-Second Congress, and cuts have been made to keep the book to its original length.

As in the first edition, the authors enter the lists against the erroneous views and formulas which were current during the period of the Stalin cult. The section of the philosophical chapter on the personality cult has been substantially augmented. The incompatibility of the ideology and practice of the cult with the revolutionary outlook of the working class receives more profound treatment and more space is devoted to criticism of Stalin's mistakes and abuses. The ideology of the personality cult, the book shows, has nothing in common with socialism; it has its roots in the world outlook of feudalism with its theories of absolute power, and in bourgeois individualism with its counterposing of "hero" and "mob". Stalin's violation of democracy in the Party, and in the country as a whole, was not engendered by the laws of socialist society; on the contrary, it was diametrically opposed to those laws. Nor can the personality cult be regarded as an inevitable concomitant of the dictatorship of the proletariat at any stage, however brief, in its history. Hence, the book stresses, the struggle waged by the CPSU against the ideology and practices of the personality cult, the measures taken by the Party to prevent any possibility of its revival, fully accord with the

spirit and traditions of the revolutionary movement, with the teaching of Marx and Lenin.

In the new edition the authors continue their theoretical investigation of the new developments both in the international arena and in the working-class, democratic and national-liberation movements. Chapter Ten on "Present-Day Imperialism", which gives a broad picture of the development of state-monopoly capitalism, is supplemented by an analysis of the latest trends and contradictions in this phenomenon. The introduction to this chapter singles out the characteristic features of the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, as set forth in the statement of the 81 parties and in the Program of the CPSU.

The book also gives an appraisal of the process of capitalist "integration" now observed in the West, which is described as the most striking expression of state-monopoly capitalism on the international plane, and the likely consequences of this "integration" for the working class and peasantry in the capitalist countries and for the newly emerging countries, particularly in Africa. The attitude of the Communist parties with regard to the Common Market is set forth in Chapter Seventeen. "The Communists continue to be consistent supporters of economic and political co-operation and the fullest rapprochement between the European and other nations," the book states. "But they are vehemently opposed to the 'integration' which the capitalist monopolies are carrying out in their selfish interests . . . In opposing such 'European unity', the Communists are not opposing the idea of nations coming closer together; they are against the Common Market being used to deepen the division of Europe, to create exclusive economic blocs and turn them into a base for aggression."

Another aspect of imperialism examined is the aggravation of its social contradictions, and primarily the growing antagonism between the monopolies and all the main sections of the population.

Already in the first edition of the *Fundamentals* the approach to the question of strategy and tactics differed radically from the postulates laid down by Stalin. Sharply criticizing any predilection for military analogies, the authors emphasized that political strategy and military strategy are two different things, that it would be wrong, for example, to regard the allies of the working class as some sort of "reserve force" to be "utilized" by the Party at its discretion, or "manoeuvred" with freely as an army commander manoeuvres with reserves on the battlefield. The treatment of the question where to strike the main blow and of the



attitude to the middle strata is also different from Stalin's position. The blow, it pointed out, must always be directed at the main class enemy, and not at the intermediate, wavering strata and forces.

These ideas, the return to the Leninist approach to questions of political strategy and tactics, are further elaborated in the new edition. It contains a more profound criticism of Stalin's erroneous postulates. "In 1928 Stalin went so far as to declare the *Left Social-Democrats* 'the most dangerous exponents of bourgeois policy in the working class' and he introduced a corresponding amendment to the theses of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the Tenth Plenary Session of its Executive Committee, thereby impelling the Communist parties of the capitalist countries onto the path of barren sectarianism."

All the issues of Communist policy today — whether it be the attitude to the peasantry, to the middle urban sections, to the nationalism of oppressed peoples, to Social Democracy and the various trends in the latter — are examined through the prism of Lenin's strategic principles.

Of considerable interest is the chapter on the conditions for establishing the democratic unity of the people. The authors point, for example, to the importance of choosing the right platform for co-operation, one which without losing sight of the specific interests of the working class would embrace demands acceptable to all possible allies. "*The ability to compromise and to make concessions where necessary,*" the authors write, "is an important condition for any working class party that wishes to organize heterogeneous class forces." This ability presupposes firm adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles, on the one hand, and flexibility, an appreciation of the legitimate demands of the forces joining the bloc, on the other.

A detailed study is made also of the problem of the unity of the working-class movement itself, and of the relations with the Social Democrats, which, in addition to a principled stand on all ideological questions, call for a strictly differentiated attitude to the various sections of its adherents and patient work among the mass following the Social Democratic parties.

Chapter Sixteen — "The People's National-Liberation Movement against Colonialism" — has been substantially revised. The accent now is on elaborating such questions as the attitude to the national bourgeoisie and to nationalism, the immediate prospects in the newly-liberated countries, and the danger and diverse forms of

neo-colonialism. The book shows the crystallization of alignments in the newly-liberated countries after independence has been won. On the one side, we have the broad sections of the working people as well as a good part of the national bourgeoisie, those who wish to tackle the tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, to consolidate independence and introduce democratic reforms. On the other side are arrayed those who seek to halt the advance of national independence and democracy. The latter are anxious to come to an understanding with imperialism outside the country and feudalism within it, and resort to dictatorial methods.

Hence the immediate prospects in the new states depend on which of these forces will be able to exert the strongest influence on social progress. On this in the final analysis also depends the cardinal question of which path these countries will take, the capitalist or the socialist. Wide co-operation of all the national and democratic forces in the young Asian and African states, it is pointed out, under favorable conditions may have far-reaching results, including participation of the workers in government and the establishment of a state of national democracy.

A prominent place is occupied by an analysis of the urgent problem confronting the Communist movement at the present time, namely, the rallying of all peace forces to combat the danger of a new world war. Examined in detail are the possibilities of averting war in our time, the thesis on peaceful coexistence, the principles governing the peace policy of the socialist states, and the ways and forms of the struggle against the war danger. The authors touch also upon such questions as the influence exerted on politics by modern means and methods of warfare (in particular on the crystallization of alignments in the capitalist camp), and also the Marxist position with regard to disarmament.

The twentieth and final chapter of the part dealing with the theory and tactics of the Communist movement is a synthesis, as it were, of the basic ideas and concepts elaborated in the preceding chapters. A new section ("The Main Enemy and the Principal Aim of the Democratic Struggle in the Countries of Monopoly Capitalism") has been added, in which the question of the possibility of the contemporary democratic movements developing into revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of monopoly domination, into a struggle for socialism is thoroughly examined.



The revolutionary overthrow of the dictatorship of the monopolies necessitates the democratic phase of the revolution in the highly developed capitalist countries as well. At the same time the book emphasizes that in our time there has been a further approximation of the tasks of the democratic revolution to those of the socialist revolution, a fact which imparts new features to the revolutionary process.

The book, however, warns against any attempts to devise any set patterns obligatory for all countries and peoples. Revolutionary theory does not tolerate such patterns. The democratic, anti-monopoly revolution is a possible but not an inevitable phase of the struggle for socialism in the developed capitalist countries. The socialist revolution may take place at once, bypassing the general-democratic phase. "Each Communist Party, bearing in mind the specific conditions in its own country and also taking cognizance of historical experience and the general laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism, determines on what course of the revolutionary process the working class should orientate itself."

The idea of waging a determined struggle against revisionism and against dogmatic and sectarian distortions of Marxism which runs through the book is further elaborated in the new edition. The authors emphasize that opportunism, whatever its form, has always striven—either openly or in a disguised way—to make peace between the working class and capitalism, to adapt the working-class movement to the interest of the ruling classes.

The pernicious effect of dogmatist and sectarian-doctrinaire views is likewise shown. In essence, sectarianism signifies losing touch with the masses, failing to utilize the possibilities for revolutionary activity, seeking to evade the issues of the day. Lack of faith in the working masses, which is characteristic of the sectarians, finds its expression in a tendency to curtail Party democracy and collective forms of leadership, to centralize everything, to turn conscious Party discipline into mechanical discipline based on intimidation and repressions,

to substitute coercion for conviction. It is not fortuitous that dogmatism and sectarianism are part and parcel of the personality cult which is utterly alien to Marxism-Leninism.

As in the first edition, the final part of the book, "Socialism and Communism," demonstrates the historical necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the meaning of proletarian democracy, enumerates the main economic tasks of the transition from capitalism to socialism, and sets forth the basic features of the socialist mode of production, social relationships and culture under socialism. Factual evidence is adduced showing the rise of the world socialist system, the laws governing it and the new relationships between the countries belonging to it, the strengthening and consolidation of the unity of the socialist community. These questions are now dealt with in the light of the Program of the CPSU and the documents of the international Communist movement. Special attention is devoted to the new theoretical and political problems posed by the Program, and primarily to the ending of the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. and its development into a socialist state of the whole people.

The final part deals with the transition from socialism to communism. In treating of the Program of the CPSU, this blueprint for building the Communist society, the authors bring out all that is universal and permanent in it, all that enriches the theory of Marxism-Leninism and is, therefore, of inestimable value for the working people of other countries, for the world emancipation movement.

The last chapter is devoted to communism. Here the authors show the historical reality, the tangible proximity of the new society, which will be the just society on earth, and the way to which is being paved by the entire course of social development, by the economic and cultural achievements of the Soviet people, and by all the victories won by the world emancipation movement of the working people and by the latest accomplishments in science, technology and industry.

*Alex WHITE*



## The Fascist Menace in the USA

**M**R. Fred J. Cook has performed a valuable service by weaving into one special issue\* the spider-like web of the Ultra-Right which has penetrated almost every crevice of U.S. political life.

Mr. Cook deals with the two faces of the Right—the radical and the respectable. On most of the essential elements of creed the two are inseparable and indistinguishable. Both are at war with their century. Every piece of social legislation, unemployment and health insurance, federal aid to education, etc., is equated as communist. Both are against high Federal Budgets (except for military expenditure); People's China does not exist and must not be recognized; and the USA must get out of the UN and get the UN out of the USA.

This is the concept of the 20th century of both the Radical Right and the Respectable Right. They may not always hold to the same tenets, but they both have one desire — to turn back the clock of history. The Respectable are sometimes embarrassed because the Radical Right label Eisenhower, Rusk, Stevenson as "dedicated Communists." The Respectable differ from the Radical in that they stop short of the "idiotic."

California is the number one state in the nation in the manufacture of all the weapons of nuclear annihilation. For this very noble and creative endeavor it receives munition contracts of about \$5,000 million every year from the federal government. It is therefore no accident that in this state of the Golden West, one finds the most organized and frenzied ultra-Right movement.

Dependence on munition contracts has given California a vested interest in the "communist menace." To keep these billions coming the cold war must be kept boiling. With their tunes of hate and prejudice, the state is speckled with anti-communist institutions. They have anti-communist schools and seminars. Admirals and generals (retired) take to the platform to call for "pre-emptive war" against Russia. Hollywood stars lend the glamor of their names. Big business provides the money and sponsors anti-communist TV and radio programs, at the same time selling their particular merchandise. Anti-communism, big and good business, is profitable.

Dr. Fred C. Schwartz, the master of what he himself calls The Christian Anti-Communist

Crusade, arrived in the USA from Australia in 1953 with \$10 in his pocket. Now he has built his anti-communist crusade into a million dollar a year business. Not bad at all! According to Madison Avenue, home of the slick pressure advertising, "anti-communism is the hottest commodity on the mass-media market."

Texas oil has greased the wheels of the Ultras. McCarthy was the darling of the oil oligarchy. Now it's Dr. Fred Schwartz and Robert Welch, the head of the John Birch Society. The oil men have been joined by other representatives of big business—General Motors, General Electric, Boeing, Lockheed, U.S. Steel, just to mention a few of the giants—in backing the ultras. Without their money and backing the Welch and the Schwartz crowd would be nothing. They would be a "lunatic fringe," but because of the role of big business in the various Ultra movements, they are a serious menace.

The outside world and perhaps many people in the USA are not aware of all the various idea factories in operation. The best known is the John Birch Society. There are others of which the Christian American Association is one. The main role of this association is directed against the trade union movement. They issued the slogan "the God-given right to work" and have pushed through "right to work" legislation in many states. The Association directs its efforts against unionization drives and against the right to strike. Scabbing is a God-given right. Union organizers are called "foreign agitators," "Communist agents." Anti-Negro and anti-Jewish themes are also used. This outfit has the full backing of the monopolies which still hope to bring back the "good" old days of the early thirties when they used their private police forces to smash the workers into submission.

Then there is the high-sounding name of the American Security Council. The ASC was organized in 1955 by a group of former FBI men. It was to be a private loyalty review board. They were not satisfied with what the various Congressional Committees did to investigate almost every citizen.

Beginning as a private super-spy outfit, capable of ruining the career of any individual by the judgment it passed, it has now branched out into the field of foreign affairs. It is supported by 3,200 companies and the elite of the military. It set itself the objective of getting

\*Fred J. Cook. *The Ultras. Aims, Affiliations and Finances of the Radical Right*, The Nation, June 30, 1962 (special issue).



the affiliation of 10,000 companies. Its program is "total victory and the pre-emptive strike."

The ASC labelled such presidential advisors as Walt Rostow and George Kennan as "defeatist about communism." It pointed a finger at Chester Bowles, Adlai E. Stevenson and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. for suggesting that the USA should acknowledge the fact that China exists. Anyone that does that "plays the communist game," in their opinion.

Mr. Cook expresses the view that the face of America as it emerges from the examination of the Ultras is not the face of fascism as it appeared in Europe. But, he believes that it bears all the marks and symptoms that could develop into fascism.

The term fascism and all it stands for is hated by most Americans. The Ultras are aware of this and therefore avoid this term. They use instead "patriotism", "freedom", "Americanism". They wrap themselves in the folds of the American flag but, behind it, they are driving the United States towards an American brand of fascism. The basic ingredients of fascism are there. It is an "against everything movement." It uses the smokescreen of anti-communism as a cover for all sins. It is anti-integrationist, anti-mental health, even anti-fluoridation of water, anti-income tax, anti-UN, anti-disarmament, anti-negotiation with the Soviet Union. The only thing it is for is "total victory and preventative war." Chauvinism is a central theme of its propaganda.

Truth has no place in the propaganda of the Ultras. The big lie, slander, threats and intimidation—these are their tools, just as with Hitler. They have not as yet started bookburning, but they have gone a long way in bookbanning and book censorship of such authors as Jack London, Sinclair Lewis, Carl Sandburg, Theodore Dreiser and others.

The organization known as Texans for America, supported by the Daughters of the American Revolution, carried through a campaign in 1961 to eliminate from school textbooks all favorable references to income tax, social security, subsidies to farmers and schools, UN, UNESCO, disarmament, racial integration, Gen. George C. Marshall, the Supreme Court, democracy, New Deal or New Frontier.

The most important aspect of the Ultras however is the marriage of big business with the military. It is this that constitutes its strength and power and transforms it from a

"lunatic fringe" into a serious menacing force. In this respect it is largely of the same pattern as the fascist movement in Europe before the Second World War.

In the final section Mr. Cook takes to task the liberals who are mainly concerned with "self-defense" and are not fighting back. He believes that unless the Ultras are fought and checked "what happened in Europe could well happen in the United States."

While we partly agree with his criticism of the liberals, it is our view that he fails to see the broad fight now developing in the USA for peace, for civil rights, for the rights of the Negro people. Nor does he see the courageous fight being waged by the Communists. The Communists in the USA, in fighting for their rights, are at the same time fighting for the rights of every American. They are fighting for what is decent and noble and healthy in America. This Mr. Cook does not see. His thesis is that "anti-communism is a false issue, because there are so few Communists in the USA."

In the same vein his report suffers from the defect in that he completely fails to deal with the Kennedy administration, with its cold-war policies, and anti-communist policy or with the Smith and McCarran acts.

It would have been well for Mr. Cook to have dealt with the climate created by the cold-war policies pursued by the government which provides the nourishment feeding the Ultra-Right. An end to the cold war would create highly favorable conditions for the defeat of the Ultras.

The program of the Ultra-Right was put to the test during the November 6 election. The three John Birch Society members running for Congress in California (two seeking re-election) were defeated. Richard Nixon, who sought election as Governor of California, supported by the Right, was also defeated. The Ultra-Right suffered defeat but they are by no means out. They will continue to exert a strong influence on the Kennedy administration. In particular, they are urging it to invade Cuba. The administration is subject to pressure from the Right and from the liberals and the Left. To the extent that the people through their mass actions press the Kennedy administration they are able to check the policies of the extreme Right and impose on the government a sane course of action at home and abroad.

*Norman FREED*



# Against the Persecution of Democrats

## COMMUNISTS ON TRIAL IN SPAIN

**L**AST spring Spain saw one of the biggest strike movements in the history of the working class of our country. The strikes, in which about half a million workers took part, embraced some 26 provinces and were most widespread in the Asturias and Biscay. Although at first a struggle for wage demands, the political character of the strikes soon became apparent.

In the conditions of the Franco dictatorship the scale of the movement testified to the political maturity of the Spanish workers; it showed that the policy of national reconciliation has struck deep roots. This is mainly due to the persevering work conducted by the Communist Party.

The working class, which has resolutely entered the lists for its demands, has brought into action all the national forces anxious to see a change in the political set up in the country. This development has infuriated the fascists. Today, they are no longer able to resort so freely to reprisals with which they used to make short shrift of their opponents without offering any explanation. True, they are still persecuting the strikers, especially Communists. The government closed the mines and factories in which the workers downed tools. Large numbers have been arrested, and many sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Among the cases tried by a military tribunal one was noteworthy for the firmness displayed by the accused. This was the case against Ramon Ormazabal, leader of the Basque workers and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and a group of Basque workers and intellectuals. The trial was a display of the political maturity, strength and fighting spirit of the workers and their vanguard—the Communists.

### Arrests and Torture

Ramon Ormazabal was arrested on June 14 in Biscay together with Gregorio Rodriguez, Augustin Ibarrola and several more Communists and anti-fascists. During their 24 days detention in the secret police headquarters they were subjected to physical and mental torture. One of them, Jose Villate, unable to withstand the torture, attempted suicide.

Ormazabal displayed courage and staunchness. He never yielded under torture, and re-

fused to say anything when interrogated. He submitted the following statement to the police:

"Detained in the police prefecture of Bilbao on the third day of my arrest I, Ramon Ormazabal Tito, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, hereby declare that I took part in working out a policy designed to facilitate reconciliation between Spaniards and to establish a regime of civic coexistence which would enable the people to express their will, would respect and ensure universal respect of all interests worthy of being respected.

"I tried to carry out measures that would lead to realization of these aims, namely:

"a) extension of the strike movement and peaceful mass activity by the working class for a living wage, the right to strike, the freedom of the unions and other democratic liberties;

"b) reaching mutual understanding and joint action with all political and social groups of the opposition with a view to preparing a nationwide strike which, without involving new and grave upheavals, without violence, would ensure switching over from the present political set-up to a new political situation.

"My attention and activities were devoted mainly to the Basque country, and in this connection the struggle for the above-mentioned democratic liberties largely signifies a desire to open up a new, free path for the development of the national culture and life of Euzkadi—my native country.

"I declare that the Communist Party assumes the responsibility for the recent big strikes in Euzkadi (the Basque country — *Ed.*) and throughout Spain. I take upon myself full responsibility for the actions of the Communists of Euzkadi aimed at attaining the above-mentioned objectives."

By his courageous behavior Ormazabal has inscribed a glorious page in his record as a revolutionary, leader of the Communist Party of Euzkadi and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, the party which he had joined in his early youth. Ormazabal has demonstrated once again how a revolutionary should act in court, how to stand up to reprisals; he showed how the accused Communist should himself become the accuser and utilize the dock for the revolutionary education of the masses.



### Worldwide Solidarity

The torture to which Ormazabal and the other men were subjected was continued after their transfer to the Carabanchel prison in Madrid. They were placed in dungeons, completely cut off from the world. But news of their maltreatment became known to people in Spain and abroad. An international campaign was launched for the release of Ormazabal and all who had been arrested in connection with the strikes.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, the women's, youth, students' and other international and national organizations, the North American movement for amnesty for political prisoners in Spain and Portugal, the General Confederation of Labor in France, the chairmen and secretaries of 51 trade unions in Brazil, the Belgian movement in support of democratic Spain, miners' and smelters' unions in Yugoslavia, the Soviet iron and steel workers' trade union, and many other organizations in different countries protested against the torture and insisted on the release of Ormazabal and his comrades. In France men like Picasso, Jean Cassou, Maurice Nadeau and Louis Aragon, spoke in their defense.

A public meeting in Montevideo was addressed by the rector of the University, members of Parliament and spokesmen of various organizations. Similar mass meetings were held in Rio de Janeiro, in Belgium, Italy, Chile and other countries. Thousands of resolutions, letters, telegrams demanding the release of Ormazabal and his fellow prisoners were sent to Franco embassies in many capitals of the world.

### The Accused Become the Accusers

Ormazabal and the other comrades appeared before the military tribunal on September 21; the session which lasted five hours was merely a farce since the verdict had been decided in advance. During the trial, however, the accused became the accusers. They upheld the demands of the people and explained the policy of the Communist Party.

The court room swarmed with police. Relatives of the accused and foreign observers sat in the few seats left unoccupied by the police.

The keynote of the prosecutor's speech was expressed in the words: "Gentlemen, let us not forget that the men accused here are members of the Communist Party . . ." The speech showed that the trial was an arbitrary act against those who dared to oppose the Franco dictatorship by organizing strikes and upholding their Communist ideals. At first, the Prosecutor

said, he had intended asking for a 12 years' sentence for Ormazabal, but "in view of the pride" with which the accused had upheld the Communist Party, and the way in which he had displayed his Communist convictions, he had changed his mind and would insist on 20 years.

The accused were denied the opportunity to explain the substance of their defense. All they could do was to answer "yes" or "no." And yet, despite interruptions and calls to order, Ramon Ormazabal, Gregorio Rodriguez and the others succeeded in putting their case and in exposing the monstrosity of the trial.

It will not be amiss to cite some of the questions and answers.

*Prosecutor:* Did you attend the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party?

*Ormazabal:* Yes, I did!

*Prosecutor:* It was at that Congress you were elected a member of the Central Committee?

*Ormazabal:* Yes!

*Prosecutor:* In the light of this what instructions did you receive from the Party?

*Ormazabal:* The Party did not give me any instructions. At the Congress we jointly elaborated a program of national accord. We Communists are convinced that for the restoration of civil liberties it is essential that true Spaniards should forego their old antagonisms. We know that the civil war can really be considered to have ended only when all Spaniards, irrespective of whether they are Communists or not, reach agreement and bury their hostility. For us the task of tasks is to gain civil liberties for the people . . .

*Prosecutor:* Silence! Stop this propaganda! Answer only "yes" or "no" . . .

*Ormazabal:* Senor, it is impossible to express the truth merely by answering "yes" or "no." As Communists our desire is that at long last peace should set in for all Spaniards, and that it should be a peace not for the victors alone.

*Prosecutor:* Silence! We know your programs. No more speeches.

*Ormazabal:* With or without speeches, we Spaniards have no freedom, and it is precisely now . . .

. . . At this point Ormazabal was cut short and ordered to sit down.

No one could remain unmoved by the words of Gregorio Rodriguez who had sought refuge in France after the civil war.

*Prosecutor:* Are you a member of the Communist Party?

*Rodriguez:* Yes, I joined the Party's youth organization at the age of 12.



*Counsel for the defense:* When did you first return to Spain after the civil war?

*Rodriguez:* Last year. I decided to spend my holidays at home and to use the occasion to find a job so that I could again live in my own country.

*Counsel for the defense:* What impelled you to return? Were you not well off in France?

*Rodriguez:* Yes, Senor. In France I had all that a man who lives by his own labor can have. Moreover, after my 25 years residence in that country I could have settled down there and become a citizen of France; I was treated not at all badly in that country. But somehow I always felt myself a Spaniard. My mother had instilled in me a feeling of pride for my country and my people. The Communist Party, too, had taught me always to love my country and to be loyal to it . . . Although my children were born in France, I want them to be Spaniards, and this is the main reason why I returned to Spain.

Tragic indeed was the interrogation of Augustin Ibarrola, a young artist. The Prosecutor asked him how he had made the acquaintance of Ramon Ormazabal.

*Ibarrola:* First of all, I must say that all the statements I made to the police were extracted from me by torture. I am not responsible for what I said. I was tortured. . . .

*Prosecutor:* Silence. Answer the question!

*Ibarrola:* I cannot answer any question without first saying that I was subjected to brutal tortures for 24 days.

*Prosecutor:* Silence! Answer "yes" or "no."

*Ibarrola:* (raising his hand and exclaiming): I was tortured most cynically. I was driven crazy by the torture!

At this stage the Prosecutor ordered Ibarrola to be removed from the court.

The culminating point in the trial was reached when one of the accused, Antonio Jimenez Pericas, a lawyer and journalist who writes for *Hierro*, organ of the Falange in Biscay, charged with having reported the miners' strike in the spring of 1962, was asked if he had anything further to say. Pericas replied: "I am a free man and until now I have not belonged to any political party. But after listening to the vindictive speech of the Prosecutor I, exercising my right as a free man, although not now at freedom, officially request the representative of the Communist Party, present here, to enrol me as a member of that Party."

#### **Till the Last Minute . . .**

That was how Ormazabal and his comrades were tried by Franco's military tribunal. Or-

mazabal was given a 20-year sentence, Gregorio Rodriguez 12 years, Antonio Jimenez Pericas and Gonzalo Jose Villate 10 years each, Augustin Ibarrola nine years, and the others, terms ranging from four to six years.

But that was not the end. On the same day, September 21, Ormazabal placed in the letter-box in the Carabanchel prison a letter containing a summary of the speech which he had not been allowed to make in the tribunal.

The letter, addressed to the judge, in addition to its denunciation of the Franco regime, exposed the authorities who sought to distort the aims and policy of the Communist Party. In this document Ormazabal stressed the responsibility resting with the army which is used by the regime as an instrument of savage reprisals "the sole aim of which is to facilitate the plunder and exploitation of the population by a handful of bankers and moneybags."

The document ended with the words:

"To the sentence which will be passed on us here I want to say in advance, and with full responsibility, that I fully share the firm belief of the Communist Party that the national reconciliation of the Spaniards and mutual understanding and joint action by all the opposition without exception will soon be a reality, that soon there will be established a regime of civic coexistence which alone can pave the way to democracy, progress and peace in our country. And this will not be the peace we know today under which it is impossible even to breathe freely. This will be genuine peace founded on the freedom of the citizens and the people of Spain."

The justice of these words of Ormazabal and of the Communist Party on whose behalf he addressed the fascist enemy is confirmed, increasingly, by the events taking place in our country.

The military courts will still deliver their sentences, the police will still torture as they tortured Julian Grimau, member of the Central Committee of our Party, but every time they do their evil deeds they will do so with growing insecurity and fear. And both inside and outside the military tribunals the voices of those who resist the torturers and the judges who partake in their crimes will resound ever louder.

The strikes which took place last April and May and the steps taken to reach understanding between the opposition forces have opened the way to mass actions which will put an end to the Franco dictatorship.

The staunchness displayed by Ormazabal and his comrades before the tribunal reflected the militancy of the Spanish people in their fight



against the dictatorship which is no longer able to silence the protest, no longer able to arrest the advance of the struggle. Moreover, the prisoners in the dock made a new contribution to the policy of national reconciliation, helped to prepare a general political strike, a nation-

wide peaceful strike which will pave the way to a democratic future and well-being for our country.

*Sebastian SAPIRAIN  
Member of the Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Spain.*

## ARREST OF COMMUNISTS IN INDIA

### *And Who Stands to Gain?*

**B**EGINNING with November 21 the police in India conducted wholesale arrests of Communists in a number of states under the so-called Defense of India Ordinance and the Preventive Detention Act. Several hundred members of the Communist Party were arrested, among them E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the Party, Jyoti Basu, opposition leader in the West Bengal State Legislature, P. Sundaryya and T. Nagi Reddi, leader and deputy leader of the Opposition in the Andhra State Legislature respectively, M. Kalyanasundaram, member of the Madras State Legislature, K. T. K. Thangamani, ex-Member of Parliament, and Harnam Singh Chamak, leader of the Communist group in the Punjab State Legislature. Some 30 members of state legislatures and legislative councils and five former ministers of the Kerala State government are among those detained. In Madras alone about 100 Communists were seized, and many more in West Bengal, Gujrat, Kerala, Punjab, Andhra, Maharashtra and other states.

The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party has expressed grave anxiety over the arrests of Communists and trade unionists, and the unjustified attack on the Communist Party; it has called for their immediate release. A deputation from the Party called on Prime Minister Nehru and made a representation against the arrests.

The repressive measures against the Communist Party have shocked the progressive forces who are demanding that the government release them without delay. Non-Communist political leaders are likewise insisting on their release. The point is made that the Communists have been most consistent in working for the unity of the people, for a policy of non-alliance and national development. In this struggle the Communists rely on the people and enjoy their support; this was seen in the election

results of February 1962 when the Party polled more than 11 million votes.

Democrats and progressives all over the world have likewise protested against the repressions carried out to please the reactionaries and the troubadours of anti-communism. The anti-Communist action cannot but weaken the unity of the people and retard the country's development along progressive lines as advocated by the Communist Party. The arrests will hamper the further growth of contacts between the democratic forces in India and the international forces of democracy and progress.

The question arises: who stands to gain from the reprisals against the Communists?

Plainly the anti-Communist repressions play into the hands of the reactionaries in India, into the hands of those seizing on the atmosphere of chauvinism, aim at smashing not only the Communist Party but all the other progressive forces in the country, at diverting the country from its neutrality and entangling it in the aggressive imperialist blocs.

The home reactionaries and all kinds of adventurist groups have taken advantage of the anti-communist reprisals to renew their activities. In a number of states they have assaulted Communists and raided and looted Party premises. As was to be expected, the reprisals have gladdened the reactionary press in the service of the imperialists.

Anti-communist repressions—no matter the laws invoked as a pretext for them—bring grist to the mills of the internal and external reactionaries.

Thanks to public pressure some of the Communists, including Comrade Namboodiripad, have been released. But the fact of their arrest could not but arouse the anxiety of all to whom the destiny of India is dear, the destiny of a country which has taken the road of independent development and an independent policy.

I. SUMAR



## THE PEOPLE WILL GIVE THEIR VERDICT

(Letter from Cameroun)

IN 1960 progressive people in Africa mourned Felix Moumie, the national hero of the people of Cameroun, who died at the hands of the same bloodstained French imperialism which, two years earlier, had killed Ruben Um-Nyobe, General Secretary of the Union of the Peoples of Cameroun.

What is taking place in Cameroun for whose freedom Moumie and Um-Nyobe gave their lives?

On January 1, 1960, colonialism, in an official ceremony, changed its garb to don the traditional African booboo: the French imperialists placed in power their puppet government headed by Ahmadou Ahidjo. Ever since, the puppets, loyally serving their master, have ruthlessly crushed the democratic forces in the country.

*The indictment against the Ahidjo regime runs to hundreds of crimes. Here are but a few of them.*

On February 1, 1962, twenty-six patriots were slaughtered in a gas van.

On orders from the government, Yopa Louis, an active trade unionist, member of the General Confederation of Labor, was tortured to death in the hard labor camp in Yoko.

Thousands of freedom fighters have died in prisons in Douala, Yaoundé and Nkongsamba and in the hard labor camps in Yoko and Manoka.

On January 18, 1962, the Bamileke-region—where the organized patriot forces are most active—was declared a "restricted area." French mercenaries set fire to one of the villages there, with the result that half the residents died in the flames.

The people of Bamileke and the other "restricted areas" are being herded into D.P. camps in Batouni, Badoumka, Baloum, Bansoa and Nkong-kwala.

Dreading the growth of the liberation and guerrilla movement under the leadership of the Union of the Peoples of Cameroun and its Vice-President Ernest Ouandie, the government is intensifying the terror. Fearing the wrath of the people it has even declared the public square in Yaoundé, capital of the country, a "restricted area." On February 20, 1962, Belibi Laurent, a Cameroun citizen, was shot on this square only because he crossed the boundary of the "restricted area."

"Never before has the life of every Camerounian been in such danger," says the statement

issued by the bureau of the leading committee of the Peoples' Union. "The utter disintegration of the corrupt regime of the lackeys of neo-colonialism in Cameroun finds confirmation every day. Rejected by the people, the fascist regime has chosen the reactionary dictatorship as the only means of clinging to power . . ."

Ahidjo has made up his mind to become the sole dictator and to disband all political parties, with the exception of the ruling Cameroun Union. Not long ago four deputies who disagreed with this policy were arrested, among them André-Marie Mbida, ex-Premier and chairman of the opposition Democratic Bloc. Anxious to justify the persecution of progressives, Ahidjo has produced something not unlike Hitler's *Mein Kampf* with the title *Primary Education of Responsible Members of the Cameroun Union between August 1-6 in Yaoundé*.

Page 107 of this voluminous "work" contains a passage which urges "loyalty to the teaching and basic principles of the Party, which are the following:

"never admit a mistake;

"organize a militia from among the youth of both sexes;

"never hesitate to use fascist methods: sections, platoons, companies, battalions, regiments and divisions."

In this situation the leadership of the Peoples' Union has called upon the populace to reply to the dictatorship with their united will and solidarity. The People's Union is carrying on the fight jointly with the United Cameroun Party, the General Confederation of Labor, the National Students' Union and all the patriot forces.

"The Union of the Peoples of Cameroun," the statement declares, "extending a fraternal hand to Catholics, Protestants, Moslems, non-believers, workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, officials, stevedores, fishermen, unemployed and all men and women in Cameroun, urges them to realize the gravity of the situation . . . Women and men, rally around the powerful national united front! Only this front can repulse the offensive of the neo-colonialists and forever deliver our people from misery and our country from the reactionary fascist dictatorship of one party. So let us unite. The resistance forces of our people will win!"

Mayi OTA







# *HAPPY NEW YEAR!*

A Happy New Year to our readers everywhere!

The past year was a heartening year — a year marked by fresh advances for the international Communist movement, in the noble effort for peace. And the New Year promises to add to these successes. May it be a good year for all the peoples of the world!

We wish all our friends happiness and success in their efforts for peace, for the realization of man's cherished ideals.

Editorial Board.



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