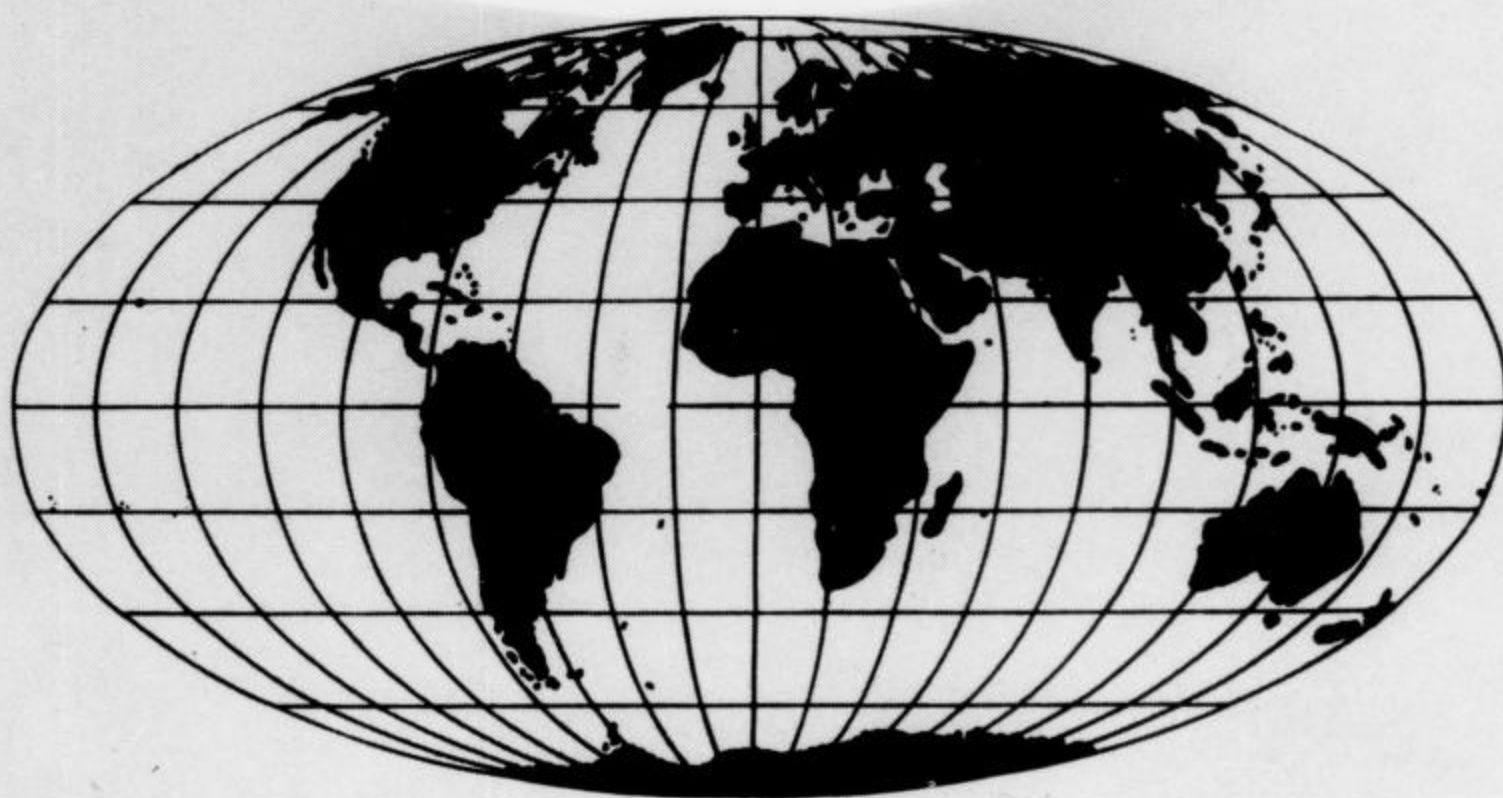


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

Growing Unity of the Labor Movement

—Louis Saillani

Communist Humanism and Revolutionary Coercion

—S. Kovalev

VOL. 7, NO. 5

May 1964

35 CENTS

Long live May Day—
the day of international solidarity
of the working people,
the day of
unity and fraternity
of the workers of all lands!



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Contents

Growing Unity of the Working Class and the Trade Union Movement	Louis Saillant	3
Mass Struggle—the Key to Victory	Jorge del Prado	11
The Alliance of the Working People and Its Role in Building Socialism	Paul Verner	19
The Supra-National Bodies of the European Common Market	Pierre Joye	27
Communist Humanism and Revolutionary Coercion	S. Kovalev	35

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

For the Unity of the International Communist Movement • From the Experience of Work of the Communist Party of Argentina: Heading the Masses—S. Perez • Communists in the Trade Unions—R. Iscaro, V. Marischi • Ideological Work and Practical Activity—A. Ferrari, F. Nadra • Women in the Forefront of the Struggle—S. Dominguez • Friends of the Party Help with Money—F. Besrodnick • Bulgaria: Progress in Party Education—M. Zaharieva	44
---	----

CENTENARY OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

Pages from the Past (Minutes of the General Council)	59
--	----

INTERVIEWS

Cypriots Can and Must Live in Peace and Amity—E. Papaioannu, A. Ziartidis • Wind of Change over Zanzibar—Said Salim Abdulla	63
---	----

ROUND TABLE TALKS

They Gave Their Lives for the Cause

The World Must Know the Truth—A. Grimau • A Communist Is He Who Brings Happiness to the People—T. Adel • “Had There Been Another Choice, But One Path Would I Have Chosen . . .” —M. Tengarrinha • A Staunch Champion of the People's Cause—K. Zevgu • He Was A Real Man—He Loved His Fellowmen—A. Rouzbeh • Generations to Come Will Remember Our Sacrifice—Z. Nedvedova-Nejedla	68
---	----

Continued on next page

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Contents

Continued from previous page

COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMENT

- The Trade Unions of Mali Defend the Interests of the Working People—*M. Dienne* • Peaceful Frontiers for Africa—*M. Ahmedi* • The Lessons of Gabon—*V. Sherman* 82

AGAINST THE PERSECUTION OF DEMOCRATS

- The Will of the Communists Will Not Be Broken—*G. Schreiner* • Baathist Crimes in Syria—*A. Chagouri* • Franco in Retreat—*B. Sanchez* • Reaction on the Offensive in Brazil—*C. Rubio* 87

REVIEWS

- Lessons of a Thousand-Year-Old History—*R. Sokolow* • Neo-Colonialism and Trade Unions—*J. Woddis* 92

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Growing Unity of the Working-Class and Trade Union Movement

Louis Saillant

THE KEYNOTE of May Day 1964 in the capitalist countries is the growing unity of action and militancy of the working class in combating the monopoly offensive.

The successes registered in the recent period by the international working-class and trade union movement are largely due to these positive factors impinging on a world political scene marked by two dominant trends. One trend is a relaxation in tensions between the countries with differing social systems and the emergence of the initial elements of organized peaceful coexistence, and the other, intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle, renewed efforts on the part of the imperialists to halt this struggle by aggression, and their forced retreat. The first trend is evident in the signing of the Moscow partial test ban treaty, the exchange of messages between the heads of the Soviet government and other governments concerning the peaceful settlement of border and territorial disputes, recognition of the Chinese People's Republic by France, and other developments. At the same time the anti-imperialist struggle is gaining momentum and the imperialists are more and more often forced to retreat, as is evident in the latest setbacks suffered by the aggressive policy of the USA towards Cuba, the struggle of the Panamanian people in defense of their independence, the steady advance of the socialist revolution in Algeria, the victory of the anti-imperialist revolution in Zanzibar, and the big gains won by the South Vietnamese partisans fighting for the independence, freedom and unification of their country.

A correct appraisal of the international situation in which the working-class and trade union movement is developing today gives us a better idea also of the perspectives of the anti-monopoly struggle and of the growth of united trade-union action on local, national and international levels.

The Monopoly Offensive and the Working People's Counter-Offensive

What are the basic features of the monopoly offensive and the struggle waged by the working people to combat it?

The continued concentration and centralization of international capital as well as technological progress and specialization of production have been accompanied by intensified exploitation of the working class by the monopolies, which are out to shift the cost of the increasingly intense competitive struggle for markets onto the shoulders of the workers. This trend is most strikingly manifest in the formation of the European Common Market. The EEC is an attempt by the finance oligarchy to find in the capitalist integration a solution to the problems engendered by their ruthless drive to recarve markets and preserve their privileges. Two direct results of this policy are already evident: an unprecedented growth of the profits of the most powerful monopolies, and a deepening of the contradictions between the monopolies nationally and especially on the international plane.

The monopoly associations are tightening their grip on the state machine, which is becoming a mere tool in their hands. Ostensibly in the national interest but actually to promote their own selfish ends, i.e., to secure maximum profit, they are using this machine as a lever for redistributing the national income in their own favor (through taxation, inflation, etc.) and seeking to extend the area of state intervention in the processes of reproduction and circulation.

As the owners of the means of production and distribution, the banks, transport facilities and information media, the monopolies increasingly control all aspects of the people's life both in the enterprises and outside them. They implant police regimes, encroach on trade union freedoms, and press for abolition or restriction of the right to strike. In particular, this is done with a view to regulating the exploitation of labor, i.e., maintaining it at the existing level of intensity or intensifying it, depending on the balance of strength, the rise or decline in the militancy of the workers.

That the exploitation is being intensified is evident from many facts. First the gap between the rising cost of living and nominal wages is widening. The purchasing power of

all who live by their own labor is being cut by the rising taxes, direct and indirect, by the inflation and soaring prices. To satisfy their needs, people are compelled more and more to buy on credit. But deferred payment buying and consumer credit generally are, under capitalism, another device employed by the monopolies to intensify exploitation.

Technological progress, mechanization and automation, which the monopolies have harnessed to their interests, tend to perpetuate unemployment and worsen working conditions. Intensive work and long hours are accompanied by a rise in industrial accidents and occupational illness, especially nervous ailments, and are the cause of premature old age.

The employers are making constant inroads on the hard-won gains of the working class. Encroachments on trade union rights are frequent. Time and again the capitalist state, obedient to the monopolies, uses armed force against working people. Police raids are made on trade union premises and active trade unionists are victimized, dismissed and subjected to repressions. Such practices are often aggravated by race discrimination, for example in the United States and in the Republic of South Africa.

In many of the newly-free countries, as a result of the economic backwardness, the hangovers of colonialism and the monopoly drive, there is chronic unemployment and a soaring cost of living. Disease, poverty and hunger are still the scourge of the people.

But the working people and their organizations are not passive. To the monopoly offensive they are replying with a *counter-offensive*. This is evident from the scope acquired in recent years by the democratic and anti-imperialist movement and strike actions, due both to the change in the world balance in favor of socialism and the national-liberation movement and to the growing awareness of the working people. Progress in this direction has been made in all the capitalist countries—in Western Europe, in America, Asia and Africa.

The major working-class actions in France, Italy, Japan, Spain, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and many other countries reveal a remarkable identity of demands, highlighting the class origins of the conflicts in the main production sectors of the capitalist economy. These actions show that a united working-class stand is the only way to frustrate the monopolists' designs; they show also that the illusions concerning class collaboration, identity of interests between labor and capital,

which some trade union leaders advocate with encouragement from the monopolies, are suffering defeat, while the idea of class struggle is gaining ground.

As regards the strike movement, economic demands continue to play the main role. As before, the basic demands are *higher wages, better conditions, shorter hours without wage cuts, better social security, longer holidays, higher pensions, defense of trade union rights and democratic freedoms*. At the same time, brief strikes *in support of peace and disarmament, against fascism and reaction, against colonialism old and new, and for genuine national independence* have been a feature of the working-class movement during the past year. Most of the strikes have been closely linked with other forms of the democratic mass movement.

An important aspect of the growing strike movement is the emergence of new forms of struggle. These new forms, born of the experience gained in mass actions, include lightning strikes lasting fifteen minutes, half an hour or an hour and repeated over and over again, sometimes scores of times, at the same enterprise in support of some particular demand. As a supplement to the bigger actions, these forms are an effective weapon in the workers' fight.

The steadfast and difficult struggles waged by the working class at the cost of heavy sacrifice have been permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It is significant indeed that everywhere the struggles have enjoyed the political, moral and material support of international solidarity movements.

Mass pressure has compelled the monopolies to yield in numerous cases. In recent times the workers have wrested some significant concessions, and this fortifies our confidence that by organized militant struggle they can win further gains, new democratic rights, including a bigger say at the point of production where the power of the monopolies is greatest.

The traditional forms of working-class struggle, then, have lost none of their validity. At the same time it is clear that with the monopolies becoming more and more international in character and combining on both a national and international scale to wage their offensive, it is essential to search for more effective ways of coordinating action to combat the monopoly associations.

New Unity Trends and the WFTU

The scale acquired by the mass movements, and especially the strike movement every-

where, and the frequency of nationwide strikes are signs of the resolve of the working class to close its ranks. United action from below, among the workers who directly experience all the consequences of monopoly policies is complemented by a growing trend towards unity between national trade unions of different orientations. This underscores the fact that *unity is built in struggle*, and that it is the *guarantee of new gains for the working class*.

The new unity trends are expressed in the frequent meetings of representatives of two or more trade unions. Last year saw a bilateral meeting of the Italian and French shipbuilders (in Genoa); a meeting of automobile workers of these countries; an international conference of trade unions functioning in the enterprises of the Solvay Trust in France, Italy, Belgium and Austria; a meeting of eleven agricultural workers' trade unions (in Accra); a conference of the trade unions of the Baltic countries (in Rostock) which, in addition to other demands, discussed the need to declare the Baltic area a nuclear-free zone; a meeting of dockers' unions of the countries of Asia and the Pacific area (in Djakarta), etc. These meetings gave a new impetus to the striving for unity and furthered mutual understanding.

Against this background the establishment, on the initiative of the WFTU of the *International Trade Union Committee for Consultation and Unity of Action Against the Monopolies* is of particularly great importance. The idea of having a body of this kind was first put forward early last year at a session of the WFTU Executive. The inaugural meeting took place in Leipzig last November, attended by delegates from trade unions of different orientations as well as autonomous unions. They agreed with the view of the WFTU that the monopoly offensive can be effectively countered only if the efforts of the working people are united on the basis of definite agreement between the differing trends in the international trade union movement on a common program of action, only if a genuine united front of the working people is built up.

For while it is true that the monopoly coalition is often torn by contradictions which are aggravated by the uneven development of capitalism, it is equally true that the monopolies readily agree among themselves when it comes to exploiting the working people. It is imperative therefore for the spokesmen of the trade unions of all countries and continents to meet from time to time to exchange views and compare experiences. This is the object of the

Committee; it is designed to facilitate the working out of timely and suitable forms of united action, to stimulate joint effort at all levels—international and national.

The Committee is a representative body open to all who wish to further the anti-monopoly struggle of the international working class. Its purpose is to cooperate with trade unions of all trends and of countries with differing economic and social systems. Participation in it of representatives of the trade unions of the socialist countries helps to cement the unity of all working people.

As its first practical step the Consultative Committee set up a *Temporary Commission* to draft the guiding rules of the Committee. The draft will be submitted to all the trade unions that took part in the Leipzig conference or which subsequently subscribed to its decisions. In the intervals between meetings of the Committee the Temporary Commission will arrange the consultation necessary for pooling efforts in organizing united action.

The establishment of the Committee raises the struggle for trade union unity to a higher level. Many national trade unions, both autonomous and those affiliated to the ICFTU, are joining with national trade union centers affiliated to the WFTU in the search for a solution to the task of organizing united action to combat the monopolies and to win the workers' demands. In this way we are gradually going over from united action nationally to *international unity of action between the trade unions belonging to the different international federations*.

In this connection I should like to say a few words about the attitude of the leadership of the ICFTU. The ICFTU leaders are clearly worried by our efforts for united action, but are obliged to adopt a defensive position in this question. This is indicative, for it shows how timely was the initiative taken by the WFTU toward developing unity in all spheres of international life. Of late some leaders of national trade union centers affiliated to the ICFTU and the IFCTU have begun to talk about the need for united action on an international scale and have expressed, both officially and unofficially, a desire to meet with representatives of the WFTU.

For example, the last Congress (September 1963) of the Australian Trade Union Council, affiliated to the ICFTU decided to send observers to WFTU conferences. Approving this position, Albert Monk, the chairman of the Australian Trade Union Council, declared at the Congress that the trade union movement has the right to shape its policy in accordance

with the changed situation. The free exchange of trade union delegations among all countries could only have positive results, he said.

Dor Smets, Chairman of the International Woodworking and Building Trades Federation, an industrial section of the ICFTU, urged the need for contact between the unions affiliated to the two international bodies, and declared that contact should be established primarily within the framework of the international industrial federations. "We must stop obstructing contact," he added.

Noteworthy, too, was the resolution adopted by the Congress of Norwegian printers who urged their Confederation of Trade Unions to use its influence in the ICFTU to induce the latter to organize a conference of representatives of the world trade union centers with a view to uniting the working class of all countries. The same resolution urged the International Graphical Federation to prepare for a conference of representatives of all printers' unions with the aim of uniting the workers in this industry into a single international organization.

And, lastly, one more example, showing the position of the Swedish trade unions. Arne Geijer, Chairman of the Central Trade Union Federation, and chairman of the ICFTU declared that the Swedish trade union movement supported the idea of peaceful coexistence and that the Federation would not discourage trade union organizations wishing to contact the trade unions of the socialist countries.

These developments give grounds for saying that the idea of well-prepared trade union gatherings could be fruitful and that the time has come to give effect to another proposal which we advanced in 1962, namely, *to organize meetings of all the trade union centers of Europe* without any discrimination and, perhaps, as a beginning, a gathering of some of the bigger and more influential organizations such as the British TUC, the West German Trade Union Federation, the General Workers' Federation of Belgium, and the Italian and French Confederations of Labor. To these could now be added the Swedish trade union center.

Such a meeting would strengthen the ties between the working class of these countries and help to coordinate their struggle. The working people would feel much stronger, and this would give added weight to their demands for higher wages, shorter hours, respect for trade union rights and democratic freedoms, defense and extension of social security, i.e., demands common to all.

Thus, the prerequisites exist for the dialogue on unity to become broader still. The new element in the situation is that the demand for greater unity is heard more and more from trade unions outside of the WFTU. Joint actions by the working people are gradually taking the form of permanent joint action by the trade unions of diverse trends. The question of unity is being discussed in trade union centers belonging to the ICFTU and the IFCTU, as well as in the autonomous trade unions. *Today the need for working class unity is emphasized not only by the WFTU.* This important step forward is, undoubtedly, closely linked with the influence exerted by the decisions of the Fifth World Trade Union Congress held in Moscow in 1961, with our persistent struggle for the implementation of the agreed general line elaborated at this Congress and set forth in the Program of Action adopted by it.

The dialogue on united action is only beginning. Its points have not yet been clearly defined. However, the different organizations of the working class have taken the first steps in this direction. The demand for an end to the split in the trade unions on an international plane is becoming more and more vocal in the ICFTU, the IFCTU, and in the autonomous trade union centers.

As for the WFTU, we, on our part, fully conscious of our responsibility for unity, are ready to take part in the dialogue. We are prepared to sit down at a round table where all the 200 million organized workers of the world would be fairly represented, bringing with us the Program of Action adopted by our Fifth World Congress. The WFTU stresses, however, that it does not regard that program as the sole basis for discussion, but as its constructive contribution to the debate.

We believe that in discussing united action no side should demand privileges for itself or seek to impose its views on others. By means of a sincere and unprejudiced exposition of views and ideas we could explore the common ground for joint action. Genuine international trade union unity cannot be achieved without abiding by the principle of mutual respect, without placing the interests of all workers above everything, irrespective of party affiliation, religious belief, race or color of skin.

Can the WFTU in this new situation play a still more positive and stimulating role in achieving genuine unity? We believe that it can, inasmuch as we have by no means exhausted all the possibilities in this sphere. We must continuously study the realities, search for such forms and methods of work as would

meet the new conditions. The contribution of the WFTU must be to multiply the initiative aimed at extending the dialogue on unity, at developing international working-class solidarity, at finding new possibilities for united action.

Consolidate the Common Front of Struggle on All Continents

Among the various measures undertaken of late by the WFTU toward organizing united action and establishing new contacts between the different trade unions, pride of place is held by efforts to end the economic blockade of Cuba by U.S. imperialism. We work to make this campaign as broad as possible and urge all workers and trade unions to take a resolute stand in favor of establishing or maintaining trade relations with Cuba, for freedom of shipping and trade. Our Consultative Committee and its Provisional Commission have already taken definite steps in this direction.

The overwhelming majority of workers in all countries have manifested solidarity with Cuba. Only a few organizations led by reactionaries support the blockade, for example, the leaders of the AFL-CIO and the seamen's and longshoremen's union on the Atlantic seaboard of the United States. It is a fact, however, that these unions have not found support even in the international federations to which they belong. The British TUC and the Scandinavian trade unions strongly disapprove of the highhanded actions of the United States government toward Cuba. Nor is the position of the AFL-CIO shared by the Canadian unions. The leadership of the ICFTU, however, has remained silent on this issue.

Thanks to the growing solidarity of the working people and trade union organizations with Cuba, the imperialist policy of blockade has had little success.

The anti-imperialist struggle waged by the peoples of Latin America, especially under the influence of the Cuban revolution—the first socialist revolution in the Western hemisphere—is gaining momentum; class consciousness is growing, and trade union unity on a national plane has been considerably strengthened. This, in turn, has brought to the fore the problem of united action on the scale of the Continent.

In January this year, after detailed preparation, the Latin American trade unions held their congress in Brasilia, capital of Brazil. This was an historic event for the working class movement on the continent. The congress was attended by delegates from national trade union centers and organizations of 18

countries, representing more than 2 million members. The Congress was an expression of the determination of the workers to strengthen solidarity and to set up a body uniting all the Latin American trade unions.

A number of important resolutions were adopted. One voiced resolute support for Cuba, another supported the struggle of the workers and people of Panama and Venezuela. By adopting resolutions in defense of world peace, general and complete disarmament, peaceful settlement of border and territorial disputes, on banning nuclear tests and closing military bases on Latin American territory, the Congress made an important contribution to the struggle of the progressive and revolutionary forces of the world against the danger of another war.

A program of joint action, expressing the political, economic and social demands of the working class, the peasantry and all toilers of Latin America was adopted unanimously. This program has become the militant platform of their common struggle. And finally, the Congress drew up an organizational plan and unanimously elected a joint permanent Council for Latin America. The work of the Council will be directed by a Secretariat, also unanimously elected at the Congress and consisting of representatives of the unions of eight countries. Temporary headquarters of the Secretariat will be in Santiago (Chile).

The Latin American trade union movement is becoming an increasingly important factor in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, for democracy and complete national independence, for social progress, peace and unity of the workers of the world.

* * *

African trade unions, too, have made considerable headway. For them a powerful mobilizing stimulus is the struggle against monopoly domination, against colonialism both old and new, and against the monstrous system of apartheid in South Africa.

Whereas most of the African countries have freedom, millions of Africans in the Republic of South Africa are denied basic rights and elementary freedoms. Last year legal proceedings were instituted against trade union and political leaders on 73 occasions; 46 were sentenced to death and 679 to terms of imprisonment totalling 4,020 years.

The WFTU took steps aimed at organizing a world wide movement against apartheid in South Africa. On its initiative an International Committee of Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa was founded in

1960. The Fifth World Congress of the WFTU proclaimed February 7 a Day of Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa. Responding to the call of the WFTU, the workers and their unions in many countries are rendering extensive and effective support to the progressive forces in South Africa.

Unity trends are becoming more pronounced throughout the African trade union movement. More and more trade unionists are coming out in favor of trade union unity on the scale of the whole continent, for a continent-wide program of joint actions. The WFTU supports these efforts wholeheartedly and is prepared to give its African brothers every help in their efforts to build their national economies, against foreign monopoly penetration, for African economic cooperation free of any imperialist interference.

In October 1963 representatives of the trade unions affiliated to the All-African Federation of Trade Unions and the African Trade Union Confederation met in Dakar and decided to convene an All-African Congress to establish a new democratic, anti-imperialist and united trade union organization independent of any international trade union center. Of course, many difficulties will have to be surmounted before this aim is reached. For example, a meeting of representatives of the two trade union federations to prepare the Congress, scheduled for February, has not yet taken place. Evidently, interference by the ICFTU has retarded the process of unity. But this cannot last long. There are good opportunities for achieving African trade-union unity.

The WFTU wholeheartedly welcomes any progress in this direction. We believe in the need for a continental African organization which will make its contribution to strengthening the world trade union movement, to cooperation of the world trade union organizations.

The WFTU and its national centers, particularly in Europe, pay close attention to the idea of an international solidarity conference of the trade unions of Europe and Africa. This conference could find new forms of cooperation in the struggle against neo-colonialism, for independent economic development and strengthening the sovereignty of the African states.

* * *

The WFTU and its member-organizations have always considered it their duty to support the peoples of Asia in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for national independence. In recent years we have

concentrated on developing a broad solidarity movement of the international working class and all progressive forces with the people of South Vietnam who are waging an armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges.

At the beginning of 1963 the Executive Committee of the WFTU set up an international Solidarity Committee with the Workers and People of South Vietnam with the aim of organizing and coordinating solidarity actions. The inaugural conference held in Hanoi in October 1963 was attended by union representatives from 31 countries, belonging to various international associations. An International Day of Solidarity with the people of South Vietnam was held on December 20, when workers in different countries of the world expressed their solidarity with the working people of South Vietnam.

This and many other facts show how close and organic are the ties which link the WFTU with the working-class and national-liberation movement in Asia. It is natural, therefore, that we received with keen interest the proposal made by the Indonesian trade unions for holding a conference of the working people of Asia and Africa to discuss the issues of struggle against imperialism and colonialism. This proposal came from the Joint Secretariat of the Indonesian Trade Union Centers (uniting representatives of six national centers, including SOBSI) which sent a corresponding letter to the trade unions of the Afro-Asian countries.

Last autumn a meeting of the preparatory committee for the Afro-Asian conference was held in Djakarta. It was attended by representatives of unions from 10 countries. Invitations were also sent to SOHYO (Japan) and the trade union organizations of India—the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Indian National Trade Union Congress—but representatives of these centers did not attend the meeting.

The general line and the principal aims of the conference formulated in the preparatory documents correspond in the main to the action program adopted by the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions. Therefore, the WFTU supports the holding of this conference. We maintain, however, that it is necessary to carry on negotiations with its sponsors concerning the status of the WFTU at the conference. Our desire is to see complete agreement on this question through contacts between the WFTU and the preparatory committee.

We feel that, from the standpoint of pro-

letarian internationalism, we shall be able to reach complete agreement in the course of a comradely discussion and that the trade union conference of the Afro-Asian countries will be a success.

* * *

It is impossible to enumerate in one article all the efforts made by the WFTU with a view to furthering international solidarity of the working people and trade union unity. I will mention just a few of them: the support we are giving to the just anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Panama, Angola, Aden, Cyprus, Zanzibar and North Kalimantan; the participation of the WFTU members of the International Trade Union Information-Research Bureau in Strasbourg which will examine how the recommendations of the post-war trade union conferences concerning the eradication of German militarism have been carried out in the two German states; the proposal for an international trade union conference on world trade and combating monopoly discrimination; the second international trade union conference on the problems of working women, to be held in May, which, we are confident, will help consolidate unity of action.

Our optimism with regard to unity does not prevent us from seeing the difficulties that have yet to be overcome. The WFTU holds that its task and its duty is firmly to

stand by its principles, creatively implement the line of its Fifth World Congress and thereby create favorable conditions for translating into life the slogan of the international working-class movement: "Workers of All Lands, Unite!"

This slogan permeates all the activity of the WFTU. The preparation for the next session of its General Council scheduled for October in Budapest is further evidence of its responsibility for international unity. The desire to consolidate the inner unity of the World Federation and simultaneously to reinforce unity of the international working class and all trade union organizations permeates the work now under way for this important international forum.

We recall that 100 years ago, on September 28, the *First International* was founded in London. This is a political, not a sentimental recollection for it takes us to the roots of our movement. Through the prism of a century of development it enables us to see the correctness of the way to unity chosen by the working people regardless of state, national, racial or religious differences.

Displaying unrelenting concern for working-class unity at all levels, the WFTU will continue to multiply its contacts, establish new links and develop solidarity with all sections of the working people fighting for their vital interests and rights.

STRIKE STATISTICS

FRANCE. In 1963, according to Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, strikes resulted in the loss of 10 million working days — the biggest figure in the past decade.

USA. According to the Department of Labor 3,400 strikes involving 1,030,000 people, took place in 1963.

GREECE The newspaper *Eleftheros Typos* reported that at least one million factory and office workers took part in strikes in 1963—a record figure for Greece.

HOLLAND. According to the Central Statistical Bureau, 37,750 work days were lost in strikes in 1963 against 9,000 in 1962.

SINGAPORE. About 400,000 work days were lost in strikes in 1963. In October alone more days were lost than during the whole of 1962.

SOUTH KOREA. In November-December 1963, some 400,000 people were on strike, in January 1964—140,000.

CHRONICLE OF THE STRIKE MOVEMENT IN 1964

ITALY. In January there were two nationwide strikes of 400,000 textile workers who demanded a new labor agreement, and a strike of 80,000 workers in iron and steel and engineering works in Milan.

In February there were strikes of 1,750,000 government employees demanding higher wages and salaries, 200,000 workers of the

chemical and pharmaceutical industries, 100,000 transport workers, junior medical personnel, radio and TV broadcasters.

In March there was a 48-hour strike of women working on contracts at home in Emilia-Romagna region.

At the beginning of April over 500,000 workers of the state railways and communi-

cations network went on strike for higher wages to meet the rise in the cost of living; 135,000 workers in the boot and shoe industry fought another general strike, demanding a new labor agreement.

FRANCE. On *January 22*, 30,000 people took part in a demonstration in Saint Nazaire for the right to work and against wholesale dismissals.

In *February* 45,000 auxiliary workers in the higher educational establishments and secondary schools held a 48-hour strike.

On *March 18* the factory and office workers in the state sector supported by the workers employed in privately-owned enterprises held a general strike for higher wages and salaries. Six million people took part.

In *April* one million building workers took part in a one-day general strike.

JAPAN. *March.* The opening of the traditional "spring offensive" was marked by a general strike to raise the minimum wage up to the level of the European countries. The strike was supported by 150 industrial trade unions with a membership of 6.5 million.

USA. In *January* 15,000 General Motors workers in Flint, Michigan, downed tools for eight days in protest against excessive labor intensification. The workers won. Strikes in *January* totalled 370, with 100,000 workers taking part.

BRITAIN. In *January-February* 2,000 dockers were on strike in Manchester, the dockers of Glasgow and about 4,000 dockers in Hull. Their demands—better conditions of work.

SPAIN. *March.* 8,000 workers in the copper mines belonging to the Rio Tinto Company stopped work to demand a new labor agreement. After a 10-day strike the miners of the Minero-Metallurgica de Panarroya Company obtained the release of two workers arrested for signing a petition for a wage increase.

BELGIUM. At the beginning of *January* 8,000 metallurgists struck work in Ghent. Their demand for wage increases was met.

Towards the end of the month 15,000 metal-workers in Flanders downed tools.

SWEDEN. At the end of *March* radio and TV personnel, who had been on strike for 111 days, won part of their demands.

ISRAEL. Fifteen thousand primary school teachers, who insisted on higher salaries, went on strike in *January*.

March. A strike of railway workers took place for higher wages and better working conditions.

PANAMA. *January.* A general strike against the shooting at a students' demonstration by the U.S. troops in the Canal Zone.

CHILE. On *February 13*, 200,000 industrial and clerical workers in the state sector went on a 24-hour general strike for higher wages.

March. After a six-weeks' strike 3,500 workers in copper mines owned by a U.S. company won their demands.

April. Hundreds of thousands of factory and office workers in government-owned enterprises, supported by workers in the private sector, declared a three-day strike for higher wages and salaries as well as measures against growing prices.

PERU. 25,000 medical workers went on strike in *January* in protest against the refusal of the authorities to raise their salaries.

February. A state of emergency was introduced in 24 ports in view of the longshoremen's strike.

ARGENTINA. At the beginning of the year there were strikes of railwaymen, port workers and seamen and of workers in the textile, metal-working and rubber industries.

NORTHERN RHODESIA. *March.* A general strike of 4,500 African railwaymen took place against racial discrimination.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA. In *March*, 3,000 workers in the Wankie colliery declared a strike demanding that their wages be paid in cash instead of in kind.

AUSTRALIA. A one-day strike of 28,000 railwaymen was held in Victoria in *March*.

Mass Struggle — the Key to Victory

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN PERU AND THE TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Jorge del Prado

IS THERE a revolutionary situation in Peru? Why is there no guerilla movement there? What are the best ways of revolutionary development in our country and what are the immediate tasks of the revolutionary forces? These questions, frequently asked us by our friends in other countries, are the point of a sharp ideological struggle in Peru. Naturally, before answering them, we must first examine the situation in the country.

In Peru there are a number of political groups which attack the Communist Party (PCP) from a "left" standpoint. They include disruptive elements who formerly belonged to the Party, Trotskyites and other groups often composed of people who detest the regime, who are for revolution and ready to make sacrifices for it but who are dominated by subjectivism and impatience. These groups believe that a revolutionary situation has fully matured in Peru and that it is time, therefore, to put forward the slogan of armed insurrection as the only way to gain power. "Peru," we read in one of their papers, "is perhaps the country where the conditions for revolution are most ripe, so ripe that they are now beginning to decay." Proceeding from this they accuse the Party of "reformism" and "opportunism," charging that instead of "taking to arms" it supported the candidature of Belaunde Terry at the last elections.

Blanquism or Marxism-Leninism?

We think that these claims (irrespective of their motives), reveal a twofold theoretical confusion. Their authors confuse the concept *revolutionary situation* with the concept *maturity of the material pre-conditions* for revolution, maintaining at the same time that the very existence of a revolutionary situation in the country settles the question of the choice of ways—armed struggle—to *conquer power*. The "ultra-Lefts" forget that according to the scientific concept of a revolutionary situation the latter is heralded not only by an extreme sharpening of the contradictions between the productive forces and the production relations (the *material pre-conditions* for revolution) which constrict the former, but first and foremost by the fact that this basic social con-

tradition has reached the point when the "people in their mass" no longer want to live in the old way and the men at the top can no longer rule in the old way. They ignore the point made by Lenin that not every revolutionary situation leads to revolution, that what is also needed is the ability and determination of the revolutionary *class* to carry out revolutionary mass actions powerful enough to bring down the existing government. Nor, apparently, do they accept the fact that two kinds of conditions are necessary for a successful revolution—objective and subjective, that the first are created essentially by the "spontaneous" development of society, while the second, that is, the *will*, the *ability* and the *determination of the masses to win power*, are created by the revolutionary movement itself and depend to a great extent on the activity of its vanguard.

On the other hand our "Left" critics ignore the point that even given these conditions, the problem of the choice of ways—peaceful or non-peaceful—depends mainly on the reaction of the ruling classes to a revolutionary offensive of the masses. Finally, they evidently ignore, or forget, the well-known Marxist axiom formulated by Lenin in 1917: "To be successful, insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon the *rising revolutionary spirit of the people*. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon the *crucial moment* in the history of the growing revolution, when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its greatest, and when the *vacillations in the ranks of the enemies and in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution are greatest*. That is the third point. And these three conditions in the attitude to insurrection distinguish *Marxism from Blanquism*. (Lenin *Marxism and Insurrection*.)

We have never denied the existence in our country of the material prerequisites for revolution. José Carlos Mariategui, the founder of our Party spoke of them in 1929 when he drafted the Party's program. The resolution of our Fourth Congress spoke of the basic

contradictions in Peruvian society—the contradiction between the “tendency on the part of the productive forces towards independent industrial and progressive development and the resistance which this development encounters on the part of the semi-feudal production relations dependent on imperialism.” The aggravation of this contradiction, we pointed out, historically makes the reconstruction of Peruvian society imperative, beginning with the abolition of the domination of the latifundists and U.S. imperialism. The Party holds that the changed balance in the world is accelerating the intensification of this contradiction. This factor, plus the impact of the Cuban revolution throughout Latin America, with the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy struggle of the masses and the class struggle of the proletariat, is helping to bring to a head the *subjective* conditions needed for revolution.

But it is one thing to recognize that these conditions are ripening and to accelerate the process, which is what the Party is doing, and quite another thing to assert, as the “ultra-Lefts” do, that the revolutionary situation in Peru is over-ripe, that this puts armed struggle on the agenda, and that “if some of the conditions necessary for the victory of revolution are absent — well, they can be created in the course of the struggle.”

International experience, including the experience of the Cuban revolution, and also the experience of our own revolutionaries reinforces our conviction that *revolutions are made by the masses*, that there can be no revolution without the support of the masses. This applies to both the peaceful and non-peaceful ways. Although the events show that the majority of our people feel the need for radical changes, although a powerful movement is under way in this direction, still the masses have not yet come to see the need to fight for political power.

It is of course absolutely true that revolutionaries must not sit back and wait until the revolution takes place. The mass movement will not *by itself* make for revolutionary political consciousness, nor will it ensure the unity and organization of the masses essential in the fight for power. The ripening of these subjective factors depends first and foremost on the actions of the revolutionary vanguard, and it is our duty to help these factors ripen as quickly as possible. But, as Luis Corvalan has pointed out, “as regards the forms and time element, we cannot make these conditions ripen to suit our own wishes, our own will, regardless of the concrete situation. This

can be done only through persistent and patient work among the masses.”

That is why we cannot accept the thesis that all that is needed to “kindle the flame” of revolution in any place and in all circumstances is to “ignite the spark” of guerilla warfare. Considering the demands of the present stage of the revolutionary process and contrary to the adventurist policy of the “ultra-Lefts” who are causing confusion and who follow the Chinese splitters, we uphold the tactic of actively gathering strength.

The 1963 Elections and the Attitude of the Communist Party

The present government, composed of representatives of the People's Action and Christian Democratic parties, is not a democratic government upholding the national interest. In its time the Party described this government as representing essentially the middle bourgeoisie who tend to compromise with imperialism and the local oligarchy, i.e., with the latifundists and big capital. Nevertheless the Communist Party decisively contributed to the victory of this coalition in the 1963 elections. Although the corresponding decision was adopted without any previous agreement between us and Belaunde Terry, presently head of the government, members of the Communist Party, its allies and sympathizers, and those Left groups who supported the Party's political line, voted for him.

Why did the Party do this? Was it “monstrous capitulation,” was it “yet another act of opportunism,” as the Trotskyite groups and so-called “new-Left” cried with one voice? Perhaps it would have been more correct to have abstained from voting or to have voted by returning blank ballot papers as these groups demanded?

In view of the conditions obtaining in Peru, which are not the same as they are in Venezuela or as they were in Cuba at the time of Batista, we hold that our position was the only correct one. Another point that should be borne in mind was the circumstances in which the general election was held and the ability of the masses to take independent revolutionary action in those circumstances.

The decision to hold elections was taken by the military junta as a result of the pressure of the masses who saw in elections the only possibility of putting an end to the military dictatorship. However, the electoral procedure drawn up by the junta and also the brutal repressions against the Party, the National Liberation Front (which included the Communist Party) and the trade unions

deprived the democratic organizations of the possibility of putting forward their own candidate.

Belaunde Terry's candidature was the only one that did not wholly represent the interests of imperialism and the oligarchy. His People's Action Party includes, besides spokesmen of the latifundists and big bourgeoisie, many professional men, technical experts and employers who represent the national bourgeoisie. The latter predominate in the leadership. The Party's mass basis, however, derives from urban and rural small bourgeoisie, clerical workers, students and factory workers. Its election program, therefore, despite the stipulations insisted upon by the Christian Democratic Party* as their condition for joining the coalition, contained many democratic and progressive points slightly nationalist in coloring.

The second coalition, composed of Prado-Beltran, supported the candidature of Haya de la Torre, the "Peruvian Betancourt." We opposed Haya de la Torre not only because he was supported by the top men of the oligarchy, but also because of the reactionary policy pursued by him and other APRA leaders who have long since sold out to U.S. imperialism.

The third candidature was the former dictator Odria, the political twin of Batista, Perez Jimenez and other "gorillas," brought on to the scene by Washington in the first postwar decade.

In these circumstances our task was to bar the road to the direct candidates of the oligarchy and at the same time to oust the military junta. Boycotting the elections or returning blank ballots would not have helped in this.

As the previous 1962 elections showed, the three leading groups of the dominant classes were equally placed. Had the Lefts voted for Belaunde instead of for the candidate of the National Liberation Party he would have been elected. But since this was not the case none of the candidates received the required one-third of the vote stipulated by the Constitution. This in its turn cleared the way for the military coup of July 18, 1962.

The lessons of the 1962 election campaign were critically analyzed at our Fourth Congress. Since then conditions have not changed to the extent that there would be any greater success in nominating a Left candidate or to justify abstention or to return blank papers. On the contrary, the brutal repressions carried

out by the military junta and especially the police raid of January 5, 1963 interrupted the process of uniting and organizing the popular forces, caused serious losses to the trade union and peasant movement, the national leadership of our Party and to the leadership at intermediate levels.

It was necessary in these conditions to find a solution that would enable the revolutionaries to continue to advance, to carry out the policy of gathering strength.

Explaining the position of the Party, the Central Committee at a meeting held in May 1963 said: "The Communist Party, although prohibited from participating directly in the elections cannot remain aloof from political events that affect the future of democracy in the country."

Explaining that a vote for Belaunde did not mean the loss of class independence, the statement went on: "We are not tied to Belaunde by any agreements or compromise, but we call on the people to support him for we hold that his election program contains a definite minimum of democratic aims." Not a Belaunde government, we stressed, "but only a radical change in the semi-feudal and dependent economic structure can solve our more than century-old problem."

Which of the Two Ways Was Correct?

Some claim that in the interests of the revolution the Left should have acted in 1963 as they did in 1962. In the event of the junta remaining in office or of Odria or Haya de la Torre coming to power, they say, this would have accelerated the radicalization process, would have created the best conditions for armed struggle and thus shortened the road to revolution in our country. It is from these positions that the proponents of the principle "the worse, the better" accuse us of "opportunism," of "impeding" the revolution.

We think that these "tactics," if they can be called that, have, at best, more in common with an infantile Machiavellism than with Marxism-Leninism. First, because they signify, in effect, belief in the omnipotence of the objective factor and absolute disbelief in the effectiveness of the influence exerted on the masses by the movement's conscious element. Secondly, supposing that we had again even indirectly helped objectively to buttress the reactionary dictatorship, this would have alienated the masses and we would be regarded by them as accomplices of their enemies.

Furthermore, we could hardly expect to get very far by advocating non-peaceful forms of struggle instead of participating in the elec-

*A small party of landowners and rural bourgeoisie in the southern departments and part of the intelligentsia.

tions. The masses are not yet ready for armed struggle, as the failure of the recent attempt to develop it has shown. We have in mind the series of ill-starred bank raids carried out in most cases by Trotskyite groups.

Large-scale armed actions were launched in the Cuzco Department by the movement headed by the Trotskyite Hugo Blanco; attempts were made to get into the country through Puerto Maldonado. These weak, isolated actions likewise ended in failure and the loss of precious lives.

The experience of Peru confirms the truth of Comrade Khrushchov's words at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany when he said: "Solitary heroes can die beautifully but they can neither alter the social and political system nor win victory for the revolution." *"Isolated actions by small groups divorced from the working people,"* we stressed, *"are doomed to defeat and involve futile sacrifices."*

Furthermore, besides the political aspect of the problem there is the organizational aspect. The non-peaceful way also requires that the Party *make thorough preparations*, that it carry out extensive and tireless work to organize the masses.

In a country like Peru where the subjective conditions of the revolution lag far behind the objective factors of its development, we must above all work to build and consolidate a revolutionary leadership, train functionaries for the top and intermediate levels, have organizations in all parts of the country, raise the class-consciousness and political level of the people, work to form the political army of the revolution, that is, a broad united front of the masses. Naturally if we are to accomplish these tasks we must combine revolutionary theory with practice, carry out mass work, using all forms of struggle. One such form, for example, was our active and decisive participation in the 1963 election. But this does not mean that we discard the possibility of the non-peaceful path, that we are no longer preparing to use it. *On the contrary, our line of gathering strength contributes in equal measure to the success of either of the two paths.*

The Belaunde Government, Its Character and Policy

The sharpening of the basic contradiction in Peruvian society, the profound radicalization of the masses as a result of this process, the changes taking place on the international arena — all are influencing the position of the national bourgeoisie. Under pressure of

the masses some of its groups have, temporarily, taken a democratic stand in the national interest. This facilitated the introduction (in the early months of the government's activities), of some measures vital to the people and stimulated their struggle for fundamental changes.

Incidentally, Belaunde's election victory, won with some support from the Party, compelled the military junta to declare a partial political amnesty even before the power was handed over to the president. Parliament passed a law on municipal elections, thus satisfying one of the vital demands of the people. Later a series of measures were adopted and bills submitted which, if passed, would have made appreciable inroads on the economic interests of the oligarchy and foreign imperialism. The first of these measures was aimed at nationalizing the Loan and Deposit Bank and was complemented by a bill to set up a national bank which would weaken the oligarchy's control over the economy.

This was followed by an agrarian reform bill. Although it did not satisfy the basic demands of the peasants this decree caused an outcry on the part of the latifundists since the land surpluses subject to expropriation were to be paid for not in cash but in bonds over a period of 20 years. The third was a bill, which in some respects met with the demands of the masses, to annul the decision of the "arbitration board," legalizing the transfer of the country's oil deposits, usurped by the imperialists more than 40 years ago, to the International Petroleum Company (Standard Oil). According to the original bill, the imperialist enterprise was to pay the state between 60 and 70 per cent of its income, and also to pay tax arrears since 1922 (totalling \$1,000 million). Failing this, the government was to transfer the installations of the company to a state oil company; this, in a way, was equivalent to nationalization.

The demand for an agrarian reform and nationalization of the oil companies became the immediate demand for the vast majority of Peruvians. In large measure this was the result of the work of our Party and the united front organizations established on its initiative, such as the Confederation of Peasants, the Front for the Defense of Peruvian Oil and the National Liberation Front. The fact that the government supported these demands, even though with reservations, reflected besides popular pressure the significant circumstances that, with the defeat of Odria and de la Torre and the withdrawal of the military junta, the oligarchy was partially removed

from power; it had lost control over the executive power. This partial change in the social nature of government in favor of the bourgeoisie should not be underestimated: it was the result of popular pressure and bears a progressive character.

On the other hand our support for these measures did not mean that we were tailing behind events, that we were slowing down the revolution, or that we had begun to have illusions about the possibilities of the bourgeoisie. In his report to a meeting of the Central Committee the General Secretary of the Party said: "when faced with crucial problems it (the bourgeoisie), as might have been expected . . . vacillates. Its first steps encroach, up to a point, on the interests of the oligarchy, and some of them even threaten imperialism. The government, however, is not prepared to hurt these interests too deeply and, if anything, is more inclined to use its early measures to make a deal with the enemies of the people." This tendency was clearly seen in the government's resistance to finding new markets in the socialist countries, in its willingness to make concessions to the International Petroleum Co. and the latifundists, in its retreating from its initial policy of relying on the masses.

The government's "stepping backwards" is determined by political and economic factors of which U.S. imperialism and the oligarchy are making full use. The most important of these is: the control exercised in Parliament by the reactionary coalition (APRA and the Odria supporters); the virtual existence in the government itself of a military junta of three ministers of the armed forces (the army, navy, and air force), appointed directly by the high command of the respective services; the unprecedented granting of U.S. loans to the Belaunde government (about 900 million soles in half a year); maintaining, on the insistence of the former military junta, of the old machinery of repression; and the presence of direct representatives of the oligarchy in the government.

These factors have not only impeded the introduction of measures aimed at changing the socio-economic structure of the country, they have been responsible for the government's retreat in the past few months, for its tendency to capitulate to the reactionaries. The facts tell the story, such as the preservation of U.S. monopoly control of our exports, the continuation by the new government of the foreign policy imposed by the State Department, the fact that the project to set up a national bank has been shelved, that the

oil and agrarian reform bills have been streamlined to suit the interests of imperialism and the latifundists and lastly, the fact that repressions have again been started against the working-class, peasant and democratic movements. To make doubly sure that this policy would be pursued, a ministerial crisis was provoked as a result of which Languasco, a representative of the oligarchy, was appointed Minister of the Interior on the recommendation of the U.S. Embassy. Languasco at once organized, on the threadbare pretext of a "communist plot," a police action in Cuzco Department, an action unprecedented for its scale. Some 500 leaders and members of the Communist Party, of workers' and peasant organizations were arrested and thrown into a concentration camp located in the rainy forests. The young Communist and trade-union leader Vicente Medrano, beloved of the masses, lost his life there. Simultaneously a bill providing for further repressions was submitted to Parliament.

In this situation a plot is now being hatched to restore in full the political power of the oligarchy either by overthrowing Belaunde or by turning him into a figurehead as was done with Frondizi some years ago in Argentina.

The Revolutionary Enthusiasm of the Masses and the Role of the Communists

This about-turn in the policy of the Belaunde government could have been avoided. He could have followed another course; there were objective possibilities for taking the way of progress. A start could have been made by a change in foreign policy. Instead of adjusting his "development plans" to fit in with so-called U.S. aid, he could have taken the way of establishing trade relations with the socialist camp, and first of all with the Soviet Union. Instead of relying solely on the High Command of the armed forces Belaunde could have relied more on the people. But since he has failed to do this the sharpening of the basic contradiction is impelling him into the camp of the reactionary oligarchy. As a result of the joint actions between the reactionary APRA-Odria coalition in Parliament and the pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchy elements in the government, prices, taxes and rents are steadily rising. In 1962 per capita annual income was \$222; it has now dropped to \$200.

And so the question arises: were the Communists right in voting for Belaunde?

We said all along that Belaunde would change his policy only if compelled to do so by powerful mass pressure. And we were

right. Mass pressure forced him to withdraw his bill on repressions; it can force him not to capitulate on the oil issue. Apart from the fact that any one of his rivals for the presidency would have been an even worse choice, two important positive results of Belaunde's election victory should be taken into account.

The first is that the Communist Party and other Left forces have won legal possibilities. This has enabled our organizations to renew their activity, and to reinforce their cadres, to prepare for the eventuality of a new wave of repressions and for a possible change in the forms of struggle. The second is that the masses, especially the followers of Belaunde, have acquired political experience; they are beginning to realize that the reorganization of the present structure of the country and ending the poverty of our people do not depend on their leaders and on the class to which they belong. Through close contact with the masses, working for united action with them to secure fulfilment of the election promises, the Communists are infusing in them confidence in their own strength, in the strength and role of the proletariat and of our Party. The political experience acquired by the masses who still follow Belaunde will help, in particular, to avert the danger of their being taken in by the demagogy of the Social Christian trend.

All this gives us reason to consider that the revolutionary process in the country has not come to a standstill. The masses are on the move. The fight for land in which the Indian communities and the poor and middle peasants are participating, is gaining momentum. Strikes by miners, textile workers, sailors, dockers and postal workers have taken place all over the country. These actions were headed by the united trade unions in which the Communists play the leading role (many of our members were thrown into the El Sepa concentration camp because of these activities).

Who Gains from the Activity of the Splitters?

However, the further development of the revolutionary process is being impeded to a considerable extent by the actions of splitters.

As a result of the police raid of January 5, 1963, several leaders of our Party, including its general secretary, Comrade Raul Acosta, were arrested and kept behind bars for six months. During this period the factionalists intensified their activities in the Party. They joined with the exponents of dogmatism and "Left" opportunism who have the backing

of the leaders of the Communist Party of China. The disrupters aimed at seizing the leadership in order to impose their erroneous and dangerous line. They persuaded the meeting of the Central Committee to replace the members of the Political Committee then in prison; this was done on the pretext that leadership cannot be provided from prison (although it was known that the arrested comrades were due to be released). Comrade Acosta was among those "relieved of their duties." This decision was unprecedented in the history of our movement, considering that the comrades had been imprisoned for the very reason that they were recognized leaders of the Party who had taken full responsibility for its work. This action aroused such indignation among the members that the factionalists decided at the last minute "to make an exception" in the case of Comrade Acosta. But they started a smear campaign against other comrades in order to cover up their real aims.

These maneuvers call to mind that in 1948 the reactionaries who installed the dictator Odria utilized the splitting activities of the group of renegades headed by Juan P. Luna and Angel Marin and directed by Eudocio Ravines, a CIA agent. Later, Odria rewarded Luna by making him a senator, while Marin handed over to the police the archives of the Party organization in Lima. Long before, in 1941, when Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union called for solid unity of the proletariat and its parties in all countries to fight German fascism, Ravines directed the activity of the first group of splitters. There is a direct link between the splitting activities of that time and the present. The Luna group, expelled from the Party in 1948, is an offspring of the Ravines group. Between 1948 and 1959 the remnants of the Luna group formed the so-called "Reconstruction Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party," which included Soria, Ferrer, Fuentes, Carillo and Tauro—all of whom are members of the present group of splitters. In their factional fight they have adopted from Ravines' "ideological" arsenal such methods as taking advantage of police repressions to intensify the factional struggle, attacks on the Soviet Union and slander against the Party and its leaders.

The present anti-Party group is led by dogmatists, adventurists and Left opportunists inspired and supported by international disrupters. Its leaders are the advocates Jose Sotomayor Perez and Saturnino Paredes Macedo, former members of the Central Committee. Typical of both is their indiscipline,

arrogance and "canudillism." Their disagreement with the general line of the international Communist movement was first manifested at the Fourth Congress of the Party. Sotomayor and Paredes did not support the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement of the meetings of Communist and Workers' parties. Supporters of the personality cult, they rejected the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. Instead of abiding by decisions they began to intrigue, to start a whispering campaign, unscrupulously to exploit the desire of some of the youth for independence, to glorify "strong personalities," as against the policy of mass action, etc. Nationalism and the cult of the individual are the underlying ideas of their policy. They are the exponents of that specific form which dogmatism and Left opportunism assumes in semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries like Peru.

Although harmful, these deviations do not in themselves represent a great danger, for the splitters have little influence among the masses or in our Party. However, certain circumstances indicate that this group can reckon on support from another quarter.

During the raid on January 5, Jose Sotomayor, Saturnino Paredes and Wilfredo Alvarez were among those arrested; the police knew that they were members of the Party leadership. And yet the three were released months earlier than Acosta, Huamantica, Del Prado and others. Their activities subsequent to their release show that their short term of imprisonment was not due to any mistake on the part of the police. On the contrary, the latter knew of their factional activities and evidently decided to turn them to account.

The decisive show-down with the factionalists took place at the Eighteenth Plenary meeting of the Central Committee. When it was evident that they did not have a majority at the meeting, which would have enabled them to revise the decisions of the Fourth Congress and to approve an orientation contrary to the general line of the international Communist movement, the splitters tried to prevent the decisions from being endorsed and carried out, and to secure the expulsion from the Central Committee of its best members. When they failed to achieve their ends, they broke with the Party — they left the meeting and refused to recognize its resolutions. Later, at a self-styled "national conference" they tried to usurp the name of the Party, formed a so-called "leadership" and

went to the length of "expelling" the General Secretary and other comrades.

The "conference" of this anti-Party group was attended by its members and some supporters from the provinces. When they saw there was no hope of meeting with any public response the leaders of the group announced a "press conference" and used the occasion to slander the Soviet Union and the leaders of our Party. It is worth noting that throughout the history of the Peruvian Communist Party not a single representative of the reactionary press ever attended its press conferences, and only with rare exceptions did the press publish in full and without distortions statements issued by the Party's Political Committee. But in the case of the press conference given by the splitters, the newspapers of the oligarchy and the U.S. information agencies sensationalized their slanders.

In reply to the behavior of the splitters the Regional Party Organization in Lima declared that it fully supported the Eighteenth Plenary meeting decisions and the decision to expel the factionalist group. Similar decisions were adopted by most of the regional Party committees. The gamble of the splitters miscarried. They vented their fury by raiding the premises of *Unidad*, the Party paper. Here, too, they met with failure thanks to the firmness displayed by Comrade Acosta and other comrades who repelled the armed thugs. It is noteworthy that the new bill on repressions was being debated in Parliament at the time, a fact which brings to mind the raid on the Central Committee premises by the Luna-Marin-Ravines factional group on the eve of the coup d'état staged by Odria. The attack launched by the group of traitors was completed by Odria's police. . . .

* * *

These are some of the difficulties the Peruvian Communist Party has to grapple with at present. The beginning of reaction's new offensive coincides with the intensified splitting activities of the renegades. But neither the one, nor the other can halt our growing influence among the masses. The experience accumulated by the Party in its ideological battles against anti-Party groups has taught us how to wage an effective struggle against enemies inside and outside the Party. In this struggle we are paying special attention to two aspects of our activity which are indispensable if we are to win the fight and to put an end to subjectivism of any kind in our ranks— the main reason for our shortcom-

ings. These two aspects are mass work and raising the ideological level of the members.

The members now clearly understand that it is not enough to know that we are in the right; it is necessary that the masses, too, should realize this and support us in the fight against the reactionary offensive and against the adventurists in the ranks of the working-class and democratic movement. Communists and people sympathizing with the Party have seen through the dirty game of the splitters. The indignation of the Party and the people was expressed in the resolutions adopted by the regional committees and by the organizations of the Communist youth condemning the splitters. Support for

the Central Committee and the demand to take drastic measures against the splitters are unanimous. The percentage of workers and peasants in the Party is growing; the youth organization is winning more members. The Communists are more and more vigorously leading mass actions, paying more attention to Marxist-Leninist theory and its application in the conditions of Peru. Advancing along this path they are effectively preparing to master all forms of the struggle and to change, if necessary, from one form to another, depending on the situation.

All this gives us grounds for the assurance that our Party will emerge from the present temporary difficulties stronger than ever.

Alliance of the Working People and Its Role in Building Socialism

Paul Verner

AN ALLIANCE of the various sections of the working people and all the democratic forces of the nation under the leadership of the working class and its militant Marxist-Leninist Party is a basic law of the socialist revolution. Without this broad alignment of forces the victory of the revolution cannot be ensured nor can the new society be built. This is an axiom of Marxism-Leninism.

The theoretical groundwork for the revolutionary policy of alliances was laid by the classics of Marxism and above all by Lenin. "Without alliance with the non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of endeavor," he said, "the successful building of communism is out of the question." Yet to this day this basic precept is often distorted by dogmatists. One such distortion is the claim that broad alliances between the working class and other classes and sections of society are fraught with the danger of the class interests of the proletariat being consigned to oblivion, and hence border on betrayal of the revolution. Another is the argument that after the conquest of power by the working class the class struggle is bound to intensify in proportion to the progress made in building socialism. *In practice* this would seem to suggest that once it has taken power, the working class should get rid with utmost dispatch of the allies who helped it to make the revolution. As a *theoretical* postulate this is tantamount to maintaining that as the socialist revolution develops its class base shrinks and that socialism, instead of bringing freedom and happiness to all, is destined to benefit only the elect.

The experience of the German Democratic Republic and the practical implementation of the policy of the Socialist Unity Party are proof of the absurdity of these dogmatic views. This experience shows that the policy of alliance between the working people and all other democratic forces is an extremely fruitful policy, a powerful factor in building the new society.

Needless to say, the organizational links cementing the forces of the working class

and all other sections of the working people can take a variety of forms depending on the situation in each country—the socio-economic and political conditions, national features and traditions, the balance of forces on the national and international scale, etc. The choice of form is, of course, of paramount importance. Only if the right choice is made will unity adequate to the political scene and capable of giving the maximum impulse to social progress be achieved.

The Origins of the Idea of the Alliance of Patriotic Forces in the German Working-Class Movement

The idea of an alliance of all working people and other patriotic forces under the leadership of the working class and its party stems from the sum-total of the experience of the German people, and especially from the lessons they have learned since the turn of the century.

For decades German imperialism and militarism have pursued an anti-national and anti-democratic policy, a policy endangering the vital interests of the nation and even its very survival. This is a policy directed not only against the working class, but also against all other sections of the working people and even a substantial segment of the bourgeoisie. The fundamental contradiction between the interests of German imperialism and the overwhelming majority of the people provides the objective basis for a broad patriotic anti-monopoly alliance—an alliance which only the working class and its party, being consistent champions of the national interest, are able to organize.

When Hitler launched his drive for power, it was the Communist Party that consistently called for unity among all national and democratic forces against the fascist policy of aggression and terror. Advancing the slogan "Hitler Means War!" the Party urged the creation of a united front. That this was the only alternative to the fascist danger was conclusively shown in the "Program of Social and National Emancipation of the German People" issued in 1930.

Throughout the dark days of fascism, driven underground, the Communist Party waged a resolute struggle against Hitler. Drawing on the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the Brussels Conference of the Communist Party of Germany charted the way to power for the working class—through unity between the proletariat and its allies, primarily the working peasants, an alliance for the defeat of the Hitler dictatorship and the establishment of an anti-imperialist democratic system. This strategic concept was developed further at the Party's Berne Conference.

In the difficult conditions of wartime, and especially after the fascist invasion of the Soviet Union, the Party worked steadfastly to build a broad people's anti-fascist front. On the initiative of the Central Committee and in particular of Wilhelm Pieck and Walter Ulbricht, and with the support of the Soviet Government and the CPSU, the Free Germany Committee was founded in July 1943 at Krasnogorsk, near Moscow. This was a decisive step towards the formation of a German anti-Hitler coalition. The political aims of the Committee and its manifesto were an expression of the identity of the democratic and national interests of the anti-fascists, of the solidarity of the anti-Hitler forces of the nation with the policy of the Communist Party.

After the defeat of fascism the Communist Party continued to pursue the people's front policy, guided by Lenin's thesis that in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism the attitude of the working class and its party towards the other classes is a decisive factor of social progress. These other classes, Lenin said, "*cannot be driven out, or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow and cautious organizational work.*"

We also bore in mind that Germany was a highly developed industrial country with a big working class and substantial non-proletarian sections. The specific conditions and traditions were the necessary point of departure. All our people had to be convinced that the survival, prosperity and peaceful future of the country could be ensured only if the entire people rallied closely around the working class and its party—the class and party destined by history to assume the leadership of the nation.

The Two Stages of the People's Democratic Revolution in Germany and the Development of the Friendly Non-Communist Parties

Guided by Lenin's counsel and the experi-

ence of the class struggle in Germany, our Party elaborated in 1945 a strategic plan for a two-stage transition from capitalism to socialism. "It has been asked why no direct struggle for socialism is being waged as yet," Walter Ulbricht said at the time. "There are several reasons for this. Building a socialist system presupposes a high degree of class consciousness on the part of the working class. But the prime prerequisites for the transition to socialism are the unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasants, and also with broad sections of the intellectuals and the democratic middle sections. These prerequisites can be created only in the struggle for democracy."

Our Party embarked on the building of such an alliance, on the struggle for democracy, at a time when there existed several bourgeois-democratic and petty-bourgeois political parties.

Unlike the imperialist occupation powers, which in the early period prevented the formation of political parties and public organizations for fear that they might take a progressive stand, the Soviet occupation authorities in East Germany understood the aspirations of the democratic forces and supported them. Four weeks after the unconditional surrender of Hitler Germany, the Soviet Military Government issued its historical Order No. 2 which declared in part: "The establishment and functioning of anti-fascist parties which make it their aim to extirpate the survivals of fascism and to strengthen the foundations of democracy and civil liberties in Germany and seek to promote the independent initiative of the broad masses in this direction, are permitted on the territory of the Soviet occupation zone in Germany."

On this foundation, resting on international law, there were established in 1945, besides the Communist and Social Democratic parties, also the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party. Thus a multi-party system, with the working-class retaining the leading role, came into being in the Eastern part of Germany in the process of building the anti-fascist democratic system and of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. This system fully conforms to German party traditions, our class structure and the conditions of the class struggle, and also to the requirements of our peoples' democratic revolution. The prime prerequisite, however, was the political unity of the working class, and this was achieved in April 1946 when the Communist and Social Democratic parties fused in the Socialist Unity Party.

The *Liberal Democratic Party* took in primarily democratic business people, capitalists, white-collar workers and intellectuals as well as other petty-bourgeois elements among whom the traditions of parliamentary democracy were still alive. The *Christian Democratic Union* was joined by religious people—mostly private employers and professionals, but also by some peasants and workers.

As distinct from the parties in West Germany (the Christian Democratic and Christian Social Unions and the Free Democratic Party), which were the successors of the old bourgeois parties of the time of the Weimar Republic (1919-1933), the Liberal Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union in East Germany were built on a new footing. From the very beginning they differed from the parties of the Weimar Republic and from the West German parties primarily in their anti-fascist, anti-militarist and anti-imperialist orientation. They came out foursquare for essential democratic reforms and cooperation with the Party of the working class.

As distinct from Adenauer's Christian Democrats, the party of West German imperialism and militarism, who demagogically invoke Christian aspirations to further their reactionary policy, the Christian Democratic Union in the GDR pursues a policy fully in keeping with the Christian precept of love for one's neighbor, humanism and peace. The Christian Democratic Union helps those sections of the population connected with the church to understand the basic problems of the time and to realize the responsibility borne by Christians. It is to the credit of the progressives in the leadership of the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party that they have been able to combat reactionary influences, to persuade the majority of their members of the need for alliance with the working class and friendship with the Soviet Union, and are taking an active part in building our peoples' democratic system.

Needless to say, the political structure and outlook of these parties were shaped in complex and bitter intra-party struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces. At the outset both were typical bourgeois parties. The Christian Democratic Union was headed by such prominent patriots as Otto Nuschke, August Bach and Luitpold Steidle, but its executive also included Kaiser, Lemmer, and Schreiber, spokesmen of the reactionary wing of the party. The progressives in the Liberal Democratic Party included Dr. Wilhelm Kuelz, Dr. Hans Loch, Dr. Schiffer, Dr. Max Suhrbier, Schirmer-Proescher and

Dr. Johannes Dieckmann, but besides them the higher councils also included Rights.

Koch, Moog, Lemmer, Kaiser and others joined the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party with the purpose of setting them against the party of the working class and sabotaging cooperation in the democratic bloc in order to obstruct democratic reforms. Today these leaders are in West Germany writing tomes about their abortive plans to use these parties as an "opposition to communism." Their schemes were doomed by the changes in the balance of forces in Germany and the world, by the consistent policy of alliances pursued by the Socialist Unity Party, and because the progressives in the bourgeois democratic parties displayed a high sense of responsibility and devotion to the national interest and forged ahead side by side with the working class along the path of social progress.

In 1948 two petty-bourgeois democratic parties—the Democratic Peasants' Party and the National Democratic Party—were founded. The former, headed ever since its foundation by Ernst Goldenbaum, is the first truly democratic peasant party in Germany. Its membership consists mainly of smallholders and middle farmers and of some big farmers. The establishment of this party greatly helped to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the working peasants, and this accelerated the advance to socialism in agriculture. The National Democratic Party, whose chairman is Dr. Lothar Boltz, appealed chiefly to former rank-and-file members of the Nazi party and ex-servicemen with bourgeois or petty-bourgeois backgrounds. Many white collar and cultural workers also joined it.

The Democratic Peasants' and the National Democratic parties were founded at the time the *first stage* of our peoples' democratic revolution was being completed; the economic and political foundations of imperialism and militarism had been abolished, and the land, industrial and school reforms as well as denazification had been carried out. In the course of fulfilling these tasks many members of the non-proletarian sections came to see that only under the leadership of the working class was it possible to ensure social progress, peace and democracy. With the second stage of the revolution—the laying of the foundations of socialism—it was necessary to take the next step and convince these sections that building socialism fully accorded with the overall trend of development throughout the world and in Germany in particular and

opened for the non-proletarian sections, too, avenues to a happy and secure future. The petty-bourgeois democratic parties, whose leaders had no reservations about building socialism in the GDR, have played an active part in defining these avenues for the various sections of the population, and have conducted extensive explanatory work among their members and followers.

Indicative of how the political work conducted by the Christian Democratic Union has influenced the attitude of most Christians towards our state was the collection of 32,000 signatures to a letter sent by Professor Emil Fuchs to Walter Ulbricht, the Chairman of the State Council. When the letter was formally delivered on February 9, 1961, Professor Fuchs declared that more and more Christians and churchmen in the GDR were beginning to realize that it is only on the territory of the Democratic Republic that peace and genuine humanity are conceivable. The GDR, he said, was continuing all the progressive Christian traditions of the past, whereas in West Germany the Christian doctrine was identified with anti-communism and used as an ideological weapon for aims inimical to humanity.

The other democratic parties too have worked among their following to cement the moral and political unity of the people and actively helped in laying the foundations of socialism, in ensuring the prevalence of socialist production relations.

In the course of the participation of these parties in socialist upbuilding their nature and aims have also changed. Indicative in this respect is the response of their leaders to the program for the all-out building of socialism. For example, the Executive of the National Democratic Party declared: "For us National Democrats, the program put forward by the Socialist Unity Party, the leading force of our people, is both a goal and a plan of action. We all regard it as a mirror of our life, we see in it what we have achieved and built together, and we pledge ourselves to devote our spiritual and physical energies in still greater measure, in indestructible alliance with the working class, to the all-out building of socialism, to ensure the prosperity of our German Democratic Republic." All the other friendly parties have taken an equally definitive stand.

These parties no longer represent only the group interests of narrow sections of the population. They no longer confine their activities to limited, short-range objectives. Participation in the building of socialism makes it incumbent on them to work actively

and to accept responsibility for the solution of all the problems, political and economic, confronting us. All this, naturally, lays an imprint on the educational work carried out among their members. The lines followed in this work were defined thus by the 70th session of the Executive of the National Democratic Party:

"Today a member of the party is measured . . . by how he carries out his duties and makes use of his rights as a party member and how creatively and devotedly he takes part in the socialist emulation; how he works in the National Front to shape the political, economic and cultural life of the area in which he lives; how, loyal to our state and in keeping with the spirit of our party, he conducts political discussions day in and day out and seeks to improve his *political and professional qualifications*; how he discharges his duty to ensure that his branch and the entire party as a unity of will and action continue to take an active part in the grand peaceful offensive of socialism. . . ."

The parties are now striving to improve their work and to advance the mutual cooperation to a higher stage. Utilizing the specific means and methods at their disposal, they are all helping to solve the common tasks.

The Party Bloc and the National Front are Concrete Forms of the Policy of Broad Alliances in the GDR

One of the most important tasks which our Party tackled literally within weeks of the end of the war was to find the right organizational forms for the alliance of the working class and all other patriotic forces prepared to join in building a new life. In an appeal issued on June 11, 1945, the Central Committee of the Communist Party proposed the formation of a *bloc of anti-fascist democratic parties* as a realistic organizational form for such an alliance. "We believe," the appeal said, "that such a bloc could serve as a solid foundation for the fight to extirpate the survivals of the Hitler regime and to build a democratic system."

The executive of the Liberal Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union responded at once to the Communist call and agreed to join. In 1948 the newly-formed petty-bourgeois democratic parties—the Democratic Peasants' and the National Democratic parties—and later the Amalgamation of Free German Trade Unions, the Democratic Women's Union and the Free German Youth followed suit. Cooperating in a comradely spirit with the other parties of the bloc, the

Socialist Unity Party helped the natural allies of the working class to draw the correct lessons from Germany's past and to understand the social and national tasks on the order of the day.

Anti-Communists of all kinds, including Wehner and Erler and other Right-wing Social Democrat leaders, claim that we have no democratic rights and freedoms, demagogically pointing to the fact that decisions in our bloc are not taken by majority vote.

True enough, we do not go by the mechanical majority vote. We make a point of discussing all problems until agreed solutions are reached. We can afford to do so because under our socialist system there are no differences on basic issues between the working class and all other sections of the working people, which is not the case under the capitalist system rent by class antagonisms.

We do not conceal the fact that the decisive role in the bloc is played by the Socialist Unity Party, the party of the working class. But we—both the Socialist Unity Party and the parties allied with it—consider this to be natural. We believe it is the good fortune of the German people that in the GDR the division of the working class has been overcome and lasting guarantees provided against attempts by the reactionaries to set the various sections of the working people against one another.

From time to time, or when developments warrant it, the representatives of all the parties and public organizations meet at conferences of the bloc. These meetings, which are presided over by the various parties in rotation, take up urgent political, economic and cultural problems. If agreement already exists on one or another issue, the discussion centers on the part which each of the parties and organizations can play in carrying out the common task. Past experience and methods of work are reviewed and decisions taken accordingly.

Such vital measures as the expropriation of the property of the Nazis and war criminals without compensation, the establishment of democratic anti-fascist local government bodies, the democratic land and other reforms, the launching of the People's Congress movement, the founding of the People's Council and its reorganization as the Provisional People's Chamber, the establishment of the German Democratic Republic, laying the foundations of socialism, and the security measures of August 13, 1961, were all preceded by thorough discussion at conferences of the bloc.

Such a conference, with the representative of the Christian Democratic Union presiding, was held after the 1963 general election to discuss such questions as the inaugural session of the People's Chamber, the composition of the State Council and the government, and also the basic line of the government declaration, i.e., questions of prime importance for the further development of our state. The results of this conference were a bitter pill for the anti-Communists who would like to see the participants in the bloc at loggerheads. Its decisions, too, were adopted unanimously. But this does not mean that there are never any differences of opinion within the bloc.

Expropriation of the property of the war criminals and war industry magnates freed the small and medium-sized employers from the pressure of monopoly capital after 1945. The initial impulse of these people was, of course, to take advantage of the acute shortage of consumer goods in their own interests. The opportunities for capitalist development and speculation were many, and this was fraught with the danger of the rapid emergence and spread of new relations of exploitation. A similar situation arose in the countryside.

These trends found ideological and political reflection in the program of the parties of the bloc, in particular in the thesis that it was necessary to preserve private ownership of the means of production, free enterprise, an unrestricted commodity-money economy, etc. All this ran counter to the interests of socialism which made it imperative to prevent the spread of the sphere of capitalist exploitation, without, however, stifling the initiative of the private employers and small producers.

Through discussion and cooperation the small and medium-sized employers were provided acceptable avenues leading to a socialist future. These avenues consisted in uniting handicraftsmen in producers' cooperatives and establishing mixed state and private enterprises, purchasing cooperatives, shops selling goods on commission, etc.

Other controversial issues have likewise been resolved through close cooperation.

The reactionaries in the Federal Republic allege that the multi-party system in the GDR is a formality and that the parties cooperating with the Socialist Unity Party are simply satellites of the latter. The facts, however, prove the contrary. The Socialist Unity Party and the working class enlist all sections of the working people and their political parties and organizations in running the state. All the

democratic parties and organizations enjoy equal rights in the bloc and in state and public bodies. For instance, each party has 45 deputies in the present People's Chamber and 300 deputies in the area assemblies.

Professor Dieckmann, of the Liberal Democratic Party, has been the speaker of the People's Chamber ever since its inception. His deputies represent the Socialist Unity Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Democratic Peasants' Party and the National Democratic Party. Max Sefrin (Christian Democrat), Dr. Lothar Bolz (National Democrat), Dr. Max Suhrbier (Liberal Democrat) and Paul Scholz (Democratic Peasants' Party) are Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers. Dr. Bolz is at the same time Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Max Sefrin is Minister of Health. There is a Vice-Chairman of the State Council from each of the parties—Gerald Goetting (Christian Democrat), Heinrich Homann (National Democrat), Manfred Gerlach (Liberal Democrat) and Hans Rietz (Democratic Peasants' Party). Each of these parties has, in addition, another representative in the State Council.

Needless to say, our multi-party system differs fundamentally from multi-party systems in the capitalist countries. In the Federal Republic, for instance, the multi-party system is part of the machinery through which the monopoly capitalists exercise their dictatorship over the working people. Ours, on the contrary, is, from the standpoint of its social functions and its social basis, part of the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of government by the people for the people.

The existence of other parties besides the Socialist Unity Party in the GDR is an expression of the fact that we still have people of non-proletarian classes, people who formerly belonged to non-working-class parties and organizations. If the Socialist Unity Party were the only party in the country, these people would not have a spokesman to represent their specific interests. Now, however, they are in a position to voice their views and look after their interests through channels of their own, and this enables the working class to take due cognizance of the aspirations of literally the entire people in building the new society. This policy of uniting all the patriotic and democratic forces of the GDR is aptly expressed in the slogan *"Every citizen needs the republic and the republic needs every citizen."*

The comradely cooperation between the democratic anti-fascist parties is proof of the

growing unity of our people. At the same time it is an important factor making for national unity. The bloc of the Socialist Unity Party and the friendly parties is the hub of the National Front.*

The nationwide mass movement represented by the Front first started in 1947 around the bloc of parties in the form of the movement for a People's Congress for Unity and a Just Peace, the aim of which was to unite all Germans to resist the division of Germany by the Western powers. In 1949 it developed into the National Front. In the initial phase the Front pursued the same aims as the People's Congress movement, but as time passed the range of its activities expanded.

In the process of laying the foundations of socialism, building the GDR, enlisting the urban middle strata in the building of socialism and promoting the cooperative movement among the peasants, the content and nature of the National Front changed. As Ulbricht pointed out, the Front "developed from a democratic anti-fascist movement into a broad popular socialist movement, an association of all patriots and democratic-minded citizens, who, irrespective of their outlook on life and their religion, devote all their energies to strengthening the GDR and ensuring the success of socialist construction."

The National Front is of paramount importance for the building of socialism in the GDR. At the same time it is making a big contribution to national unity. It can well be likened to a powerful beacon whose light penetrates to the Federal Republic and inspires its people with hope that the national tasks, the problem of reunification of the country, will find a democratic solution. The example of the bloc of democratic parties and the National Front indicates to the Germans in the West the place awaiting them in the future united socialist Germany.

Cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party and the other parties and all patriotic forces, with the Socialist Unity Party playing the leading role, is acquiring ever broader scope within the framework of the National Front, in its area, district, neighborhood and house committees, in the National Council of the Front and in its Congress.

The Socialist Unity Party and the Prospects of the Policy of Broad Alliance

Our Party attaches the utmost importance to cooperation with the other parties in the National Front and the party bloc. Both of

*For more about the National Front see article by Erich Correns in *World Marxist Review*, No. 3, 1962.

these forms have proved highly effective as a means of enlisting the handicraftsmen, private manufacturers, merchants, and big farmers in building socialism. In the course of the activities of the Front and the bloc, people who only recently were very remote from socialism are gradually beginning to think along socialist lines. We believe that now that the GDR has entered the phase of the comprehensive building of socialism, the importance of the bloc of democratic parties and the National Front, far from diminishing, will continue to grow. *The parties of the bloc are jointly building socialism.*

It still happens in the localities that comrades here and there and sometimes even Socialist Unity Party committees do not pay enough attention to members and functionaries of other parties, are intolerant towards them, ignore their suggestions and even distrust them. This is due primarily to lack of understanding of our far-sighted and consistent policy as regards the blocs, to a superficial study of Party decisions, and to the arrogance and conceit of some of our members. Whereas the leadership of our Party stresses the need for closer cooperation with the other parties, these comrades proceed from the erroneous assumption that the friendly parties are losing their importance.

In view of this the Central Committee of our Party constantly draws the attention of the members to the urgency of closer inter-party cooperation. For instance, the November 1963 meeting of the Central Committee, which reviewed political mass work in residential neighborhoods, pointed out in its resolution: "In nearly all new residential districts Party education centers have begun to function, forming a permanent system of oral propaganda. Most of the comrades have correctly understood this assignment and have sought to cooperate with members of the other parties of the bloc as well as with non-party people. But there still are some who are not aware of their responsibility for carrying out the decision of August 6, 1963. Effective implementation of this decision calls for proper cooperation with members of other parties of the bloc and with non-party people. As it is, however, helplessness and sectarian attitudes are still very much in evidence. Some comrades apparently believe that members of the other parties and non-party people cannot work together with them in the educational system of our Party. This is a mistake."

"Any tendency towards sectarianism, concealed attitudes toward non-party people or members of other parties, refusal to cooperate

with people of good-will who are prepared to work together with us, even if they may not agree with us on all questions or do not appreciate the correctness of all our measures, is always dangerous," Ulbricht said, speaking of the connection between the leading role of the Party and its policy of alliances, in an interview with *Neues Deutschland* on the occasion of the 1962 elections of Party bodies. "It is the duty of every member of the Socialist Unity Party to safeguard and strengthen the alliance with the millions of non-party people and members of the friendly parties. . . All our Party organizations should realize that the leading role of the Party of the working class does not imply that it should do all the work itself. It is more in accord with its leading role to work together, on the basis of friendship and trust, with the parties of the bloc and other public organizations to solve all outstanding problems and to improve the functioning of the representative bodies. . . It is by no means the least of the achievements of the Socialist Unity Party that it has been able, from its very inception to unite all the democratic and anti-fascist forces for the carrying out of national and social tasks.

"This is extremely important also for the West German working people as a stimulus to their efforts to build up a broad democratic front of all the peace-loving and progressive-minded citizens of West Germany."

* * *

Whatever form the dictatorship of the proletariat takes, it always represents democracy for the absolute majority of the people. In the present conditions, when there exist the Soviet Union and the socialist camp and when the success of socialism in all spheres of social life proves its superiority over capitalism, the multi-party system in which the revolutionary working class and its party play the leading role is an instance of the creative application of the Leninist theory of transition from the democratic (anti-imperialist and anti-fascist) revolution to the socialist revolution. Such a multi-party system is a way to enlist all working people, handicraftsmen, private business people, etc., in building socialism. With its aid the working class and its Party are able to consolidate their alliance with broad sections of the people. In the GDR the multi-party system has facilitated the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

To play the leading role in the multi-party system the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class, while displaying maximum flexibility, must remain the staunch and prin-

ciplined party of the masses. A dialectical approach to the problems of socialist upbuilding and the creative implementation of Marxist-Leninist theory are its safeguards against the danger of opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism.

The National Front, based on the multi-party system and uniting all patriotic forces, is a factor helping to preserve peace and to accelerate the solution of the national question; it helps to overcome bourgeois influence among all sections of the population and to mould the moral and political unity of the people. At the same time the National Front helps to develop socialist democracy by ensuring the direct participation of ever bigger numbers in guiding economic endeavors and shaping the policies of the country.

The example of a multi-party system in the GDR is a source of inspiration to the patriotic forces in West Germany in their fight for peace, democracy and social progress. It shows the opportunities opening up for the peace-loving forces in West Germany to break out of the vicious circle of German imperialism—the war-crisis-war cycle. The Christian-Democratic Union in the GDR, for example, shows Christians in the Federal Republic how

they can help the working class build a system in keeping with the basic Christian ideals of peace and love for one's neighbor without renouncing the Church. Similarly, the other parties indicate to other sections of the West German population the way out of the impasse of Bonn policy.

The multi-party system in our socialist country is a reflection of the fact that the struggle of the working class against imperialism and for a new, socialist system is linked with the struggle to resolve the national question, to prevent the nuclear armament of West Germany and to put an end to its militarist policy. This struggle is a component of the struggle of all the peoples against imperialist war provocations, to uphold and strengthen peace.

Pursuing a creative policy, our Party is demonstrating that in the era of socialism it is fully possible to unite all genuinely sincere people and channel their efforts towards man's noblest goal—the creation of a system that knows no exploitation. It has brought about among people a concord such as Germany has never seen before, and it points the way for the entire German nation to truly lasting unity, peace, happiness and prosperity.

The Supra-National Bodies of the European Common Market

Pierre Joye

THE DECLARATION of the Brussels meeting of the Communist parties of the Common Market countries held in March 1963 pointed up the danger presented to democracy by European monopoly integration. "Dangerous steps have been made towards establishing authoritarian rule acting for the international finance oligarchy and big trusts," it stated. "National parliaments, which should be the expression of the sovereignty of the nations, are steadily being deprived of their rights . . . The supra-national bodies are in the hands of the monopolies. These centralized and bureaucratic bodies depend on the executive powers of the Six and preclude, by virtue of the present structure, any real intervention and any effective control on the part of the representative bodies of the member-countries." This conclusion follows from an analysis of the structure and functions of the directing bodies of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom).

Although the organizational forms of these communities are not identical, they are similar in many respects. Moreover, they have institutions common to all of them. Each community has its *executive* consisting, on the one hand, of "supra-national" top officials (the High Authority in the ECSC and the Commissions in the EEC and Euratom) and, on the other hand, of a Ministerial Council consisting of representatives of the governments of the Six (in the ECSC it is called the Special Council of Ministers and in the EEC and Euratom, the Council). All three communities have a common Assembly, or European Parliament, and a Court of Justice which settles disputes concerning interpretation and application of the treaties which founded the ECSC (the Paris treaty of 1951), EEC and Euratom (the Treaty of Rome, 1957). If we add to this that all these communities have been set up by the same countries it is clearly essential to examine their supreme bodies as a single entity.

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International organizations of the traditional type do not affect the sovereign rights exercised by states within their territories and in relation to their citizens. As a rule, decisions are taken in them unanimously, with each country reserving the right not to implement measures incompatible with its interests. In the case of the three above-mentioned communities, however, their executives enjoy, in conformity with the Paris and Rome treaties, rights that ordinarily are the prerogative of sovereign states, i.e., are invested with legislative, administrative and juridical powers normally within the competence of the latter. The member-states are obliged to abide by these decisions. Moreover, the decisions of the supra-national bodies need not necessarily be unanimous. Consequently, the member-countries may have to implement measures adopted against their will. This is a new development stemming from the contemporary evolution of capitalism towards greater internationalization of economic life, growing inter-locking of the monopolies and the growth of state-monopoly capitalism. This evolution created the conditions for the European economic integration and for the emergence of an international economic bloc of a new type.

Inasmuch as it meets the requirements of expanding productive forces which have outgrown national frontiers, international economic integration is not necessarily a reactionary process. But when carried out by the monopolies (as is the case in Little Europe) it mainly takes reactionary forms, an attempt to keep within the bounds of state-monopoly capitalism productive forces which not only have outgrown national boundaries but demand the transition to socialism. The aim of the monopolies is to appropriate the fruits of technological progress and of the international specialization of production.

In the EEC the competitive struggle has acquired new forms. The supra-national bodies serve the monopolies as a new instrument for carving up markets, an instrument

for imposing their will on separate enterprises and even on the governments and parliaments of the member-countries. The monopoly capitalists use these bodies to tighten their grip on economic and political life and to intensify the exploitation of the masses. Integration of this kind cannot produce a harmoniously developing economic complex. It aggravates the contradictions both between the imperialist powers and between the big international monopolies.

The motive forces of European integration are, as we know, by no means only economic. The U.S. and West European imperialists see it also as a cold war weapon, as a means of giving the Bonn politicians a free hand and of ensuring NATO an economic base in Europe. Integration favors the drift towards authoritarian regimes in the EEC countries and encroaches on their national sovereignty. Since the EEC is one of the links in preparing aggression against the socialist countries it raises new barriers to world trade and economic cooperation and engenders new contradictions. At the same time encroachment on the democratic rights and national interests of the peoples of Little Europe evokes growing resistance on the part of the latter. All this should be taken into account in order to obtain a clear picture of the structure and functioning of the supra-national bodies of the European communities, the operation and policy of which bear the stamp of these contradictions.

2.

West European integration was prompted primarily by political and military considerations. This is admitted by many observers who can hardly be suspected of being Communists. For instance, the French Professor Pinto stated in a recent book that the "European build-up" is closely linked with the cold war and is spurred on by the USA.

The campaign for a "United Europe" was initiated by men of the Right. In 1946 Churchill, speaking in Zurich, called for French-German "reconciliation" in order to lay the groundwork for a military bloc against the socialist countries. The same idea dominated General Marshall's speech at Harvard University in June 1947 when he outlined his plan for U.S. aid to strengthen the positions of monopoly capital in Europe and to ensure U.S. influence in this part of the world. Subsequent U.S. legislation on this score unequivocally stipulated that the appropriations allocated by Congress were to be used to promote political federation, military integra-

tion and the unification of Europe. At that time, however, the integration plans could not be carried out. In most countries the prospect of having to relinquish part of their sovereign rights to supra-national bodies encountered too much resistance for any project for purely political or military integration to be feasible. In August 1954 the French National Assembly rejected the European Defense Community Treaty, and the failure of this scheme brought in its train the failure of the European political community, the design for which had been adopted the year before by a special Assembly of the ECSC.

Only those attempts at integration succeeded which pursued also economic aims (ECSC, EEC and Euratom), inasmuch as the obvious advantages of a broader market outweighed the opposition. But these communities, too, encountered difficulties. It was not by chance that the ECSC came into being five and a half years before the EEC. The groundwork for it had been prepared by the high degree of centralization in the steel and coal industries, the leading West European steel mills being controlled by a handful of powerful monopolies which, as a rule, have a substantial interest in coal and ore mines both at home and in neighboring countries. These monopoly groups had already concluded cartel agreements among themselves. The interlocking of the big steel trusts of Western Europe likewise explains why the ECSC was able to forge ahead at once along "supra-national" lines. The Paris treaty broke new ground in this sphere establishing a machinery which was later reproduced by and large in the Treaty of Rome.

The supra-national bodies with their profoundly undemocratic structure provided the monopolies with an instrument for strengthening their power in Little Europe. They are subordinated to the monopolies to a still greater extent than the national governmental institutions, since the latter are subject to a measure of parliamentary control and may be indirectly influenced by mass pressure. The top office holders in the High Authority and the Commissions are appointees — a device which guarantees selection of the men wanted by the finance oligarchy.

The members of the supra-national executive bodies enjoy great freedom of action. According to the Rome Treaty, they are chosen for their competence and exercise their functions in complete independence, neither soliciting nor accepting instructions from any government or from any organiza-

tion. In practice this "independence" amounts primarily to complete freedom from democratic control; their paramount duty is to uphold the common interests of the monopolies of Little Europe even if this may involve treading on the toes of one or another monopoly group. It is only in this sense that the top men of the communities are "supra-national."

For many reasons the monopolies prefer government by experts, especially in times of difficulty. For one thing, experts are less susceptible to the considerations which compel politicians to reckon to some extent with public opinion. Supra-national executive bodies are in a sense the acme of "technocratic" rule. Their leaders exercise considerable powers over the subordinate institutions. The three communities have a staff of some 4,000 who prepare reports, opinions, recommendations and projects for final approval by the executive bodies. The supra-national official is all the more an obedient servant of the monopolies since his career depends largely on his zeal and the communities pay their personnel far higher salaries than national civil servants receive. There are also other effective ways in which the monopolies maintain a close link with the top men of the Common Market. For instance, according to the Belgian Socialist newspaper *Peuple*, there probably are in Brussels nearly 200 representatives of European industrial, agricultural and commercial groups who maintain official or semi-official contacts with the executive bodies of the EEC.

The Council of Ministers. Is the Council of Ministers, consisting of representatives of the governments of the Six, a counterbalance to the High Authority of the ECSC and the Commissions of the EEC and Euratom? True, it has quite an important role in the communities, and it exercises greater powers in the EEC and in Euratom than it does in the ECSC. According to the Paris Treaty, the High Authority is the top administrative body of the ECSC, while the Ministerial Council is primarily a "liaison" organization between it and the six governments. The Treaty of Rome, on the contrary, vests the Council of Ministers with wide-ranging powers to adopt decisions.*

The significance of these differences should not of course be overrated. In the ECSC important decisions are taken by the High

Authority with the concurrence of the Council of Ministers; in the EEC and Euratom such decisions are taken by the Council, but on recommendations from the Commissions; the Council of Ministers can alter these recommendations only by unanimous vote. Actually in the EEC and in Euratom too the Commissions have the last word. And in the final analysis the governments represented in the Council of Ministers are themselves obedient executors of the policy of the monopolies. There is, then, no great difference between the Council of Ministers and the specialized supra-national bodies: both are subordinated to the monopolies and represent their interests. As for the disagreements which sometimes arise between these bodies or within them, they above all reflect clashes of interests between different industrial and financial groups and are usually solved as the leading groups of the finance oligarchy wish. At a third stage of the EEC, i.e., beginning with 1966, the Council of Ministers will adopt the most important decisions by a qualified majority of 12 out of 17 votes. With the present distribution of votes among the countries, it suffices for three of the big countries to support a recommendation submitted by the Commission for it to become obligatory for all six.

The Council of Ministers operates largely through a "supra-national" bureaucratic machine. A secretariat, headed by a permanent secretary-general and employing a staff of more than 500, drafts the decisions of the Council and supervises their implementation helped by the 300 members of the permanent national delegations.

The European Parliament and the Consultative Committees. Theoretically speaking, the Parliament of Europe is called upon to exercise control over the other bodies of the communities. Actually, however, of all these bodies it carries the least weight. Moreover, its establishment freed the supra-national executives and the Council of Ministers from control by national parliaments, which in any case was the object of the sponsors of the integration in setting it up. Professor Pinto notes that "at present the Assembly exerts only a modest influence. It is an avenue for information and discussion and not the seat of European political power."

The Treaty of Rome calls for elaboration by the European Parliament of a unified procedure for the election of its deputies by direct universal ballot in all EEC countries. But to this day they are appointed by the national Parliaments. In this way access is

*According to the treaties, each of the three communities has a Council of Ministers representing the member-countries; actually all three councils consist of the representatives of the same countries. Hence we shall, for the sake of convenience, examine these bodies as a single entity.

barred to representatives of the Communist parties even in France and Italy, where a large part of the electorate votes Communist.

The consultative committees play an extremely modest role. The most important of these are the Consultative Committee of the ECSC consisting of 51 members ostensibly representing industrialists, workers, consumers, and trade interests, and the joint Economic and Social Committee of the EEC and Euratom with 101 members "representing various segments of economic and social life." This method of distributing seats is unquestionably favorable to the monopolies, whose placemen can sit in the committees as "producers," "consumers" and even representatives of the "common interest." The Belgian Right-wing Socialist L. Major correctly pointed out that the "employers directly or indirectly control the vast majority of the votes." The members of these committees, incidentally, are not elected but appointed by the Council of Ministers on the advice of the governments, a method which has closed the committees to the representatives of the most influential French and Italian trade union organizations — the General Confederations of Labor of these countries.

Leaving aside the composition of the committees, their powers are limited. They have neither the right of initiative nor the right to decide. True, the High Authority, the Commissions and the Council of Ministers may consult them and seek their agreement when they deem it necessary. But the administrative bodies are not bound by the opinions of the committees.

The "supra-national" top officials. When the ECSC was established the key posts were given to individuals closely linked with the business world. Jean Monnet, whose whole career had been closely associated with international high finance, became the first President of the High Authority. In 1955 his place was taken by his countryman R. Mayer, of the Rothschild group, whose interests he later represented in a number of international trusts.

To make the omnipotence of the monopolies in the ECSC less obvious, some trade union leaders whose "reliability" was beyond question were included in the High Authority, among them the Belgian Finet, former Chairman of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Reynaud, a Frenchman and former member of the bureau of the Christian Workers' Confederation, and the German Potthoff, ex-chairman of the

Federal German metalworkers' union. Other leading posts were given either to high-ranking civil servants or to politicians looking forward to a respectable pension. Later when the leading posts in the EEC and Euratom were being allocated, the criteria changed somewhat. The finance oligarchy found it possible to do without the trade union leaders, and preference was given to technocrats whose connections with industrial and finance circles were not too well known.

Chairmanship of the Commission of the EEC went to the German Hallstein, a former university professor who served the U.S. occupation authorities as top-ranking Bonn administrator after the war. Marjolin, French, became Vice-President. Marjolin who had had a hand in working out the Monnet plan held the post of secretary-general of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation for seven years. Another high civil servant who became a member of the Commission was H. Von der Groeben. The first President of Euratom, L. Armand, was a typical technocrat who began his career as a mining engineer and then headed the French National Railways and the Organizing Bureau of the Ensembles Industriels Africains. Upon retiring from Euratom, Armand became president of the Lorraine coal basin.

The allocation of the supra-national commanding posts was an instance of dexterous political maneuvering, although on the face of it the leaders of the EEC and Euratom had no apparent connections with the political parties and many not even with the capitalist groups of their countries.

Hallstein belongs to the Christian Democratic Union, while Marjolin is a member of the Socialist Party (SFIO). Mansholt, another Vice-President of the EEC Commission, is a Dutch Social Democrat who had been Minister of Agriculture for many years. The Italian Caron, a third Vice-President, managed chemical plants for 20 years and was a Christian Democrat Senator and Minister. His countryman Professor Medi, Vice-President of Euratom, was a Christian Democrat member of Parliament. The Belgian J. Rey, a member of the EEC Commission, was a Liberal Minister of Economy. Another Belgian member of the Commission of Euratom, P. De Groote, a Socialist, had been Minister of National Reconstruction and later a member of the board of the Solvay chemical concern and the Belgian subsidiary of Esso-Standard as well as other big companies.

These men and others like them did not cut off their old political contacts upon tak-

ing up leading posts in the supra-national bodies. For instance, in November 1962 Marjolin contested (true, unsuccessfully) the French general election on the SFIO ticket; Caron was re-elected to the Italian Senate in April 1963. The German F. Etzel, who had been a member of the High Authority from 1952 to 1957, subsequently became Minister of Finance in the Bonn government.

3.

The establishment of supra-national bodies vested with considerable powers became possible because the interests of the principal monopoly groups of the Six coincided to a certain extent. But this does not mean that the interests of those groups do not clash in many important areas. The supra-national bodies merely introduced a new element into the struggle not only between the monopolies and the people but between the different monopoly groups.

These bodies are used by the trusts of the Six to achieve their common aims both within and without the Common Market. At the same time they are themselves arenas of inter-monopoly struggle. The functions of the supra-national bodies and their decisions often bear the stamp of both the forces which seek to consolidate the EEC and those that are out to break it up, to question the very principle of "supra-nationality." Wherever the interests of the leading groups of finance capitalists of the Six coincide in the main, these institutions do not encounter any obstacles to speak of; this applies, for instance, to integrating the Six national industrial goods markets. Here reduction of internal tariffs is proceeding ahead of the schedule stipulated in the Rome Treaty inasmuch as the leading industrial monopolies have a stake in expanding the market. The lowering of traffic barriers in turn stimulated trade within the EEC, facilitated the construction of bigger factories, agreements between the monopolies of the various countries, etc.

In regard to third countries the interests of the EEC finance oligarchy also coincided in a number of areas, and this enabled it to use the supra-national bodies to achieve its common aims, in particular as an instrument of the neo-colonialist policy of African "association" with the EEC.

The EEC agencies have worked out a common position in regard to the U.S. proposals for tariff reductions between the USA and the Common Market. The monopolies of the Six are apprehensive of these proposals since their implementation would question one of

the basic principles of the EEC — redivision of the capitalist world market. The continental industrial groups fear they are not strong enough as yet to face the giant U.S. monopolies within the framework of an Atlantic trade community. "Association with a country as highly developed as the USA," De Staercke, President of the Federation of Belgian Industries, said, "must be avoided if the Common Market is to remain unchanged. Europe obviously cannot stand up to such a partner." And the EEC Industrial Union, which unites employers in all the Six countries, believes that it is too early to accept the U.S. proposals "inasmuch as European integration has not yet had its full effect on the economic development of the EEC or on the size of enterprises." But while the monopolies of Little Europe have been able to build a united front against the U.S. monopolies, an internal clash of interests caused a veritable crisis in the EEC when de Gaulle vetoed Britain's entry into the Common Market.

The French veto reflected to a certain extent the differences which exist on questions of strategy between the advocates of cold-war policies and those who take a more realistic attitude towards the problem of peace. But it also reflected differences of an economic order. The French finance oligarchy believes that the EEC should remain, at least for the time being, an economic and political bloc of the Six and the associated African countries over which the French and the Federal German monopolies are seeking to establish their ascendancy. "The French companies," the employers' journal *Entreprise* wrote, "are smaller than the American and even the British. In any sphere the biggest French firm is no more than one-tenth the size of its U.S. counterpart and one-third (rarely half) of its British equivalent. This problem has of course already arisen in connection with Germany, but it would be further aggravated by Britain's entry." The Federal German monopolies, on the contrary, are powerful enough not to fear rapprochement with Britain. The industrialists of the Benelux countries, anxious to expand their markets, want Britain in the EEC. "Belgium, like Holland and Luxembourg, favors Britain's entry into the Common Market," de Staercke said. "Despite the reduction of internal tariffs, our industry is in a worse position than the industry of bigger countries like France and Germany. If Britain were to join we could expand production which is what the Belgian industrialists want."

Experience has shown that the "supra-na-

tionalism" of the European communities is far from insensitive to clashes between monopoly interests. Serious differences between the EEC countries have invariably been reflected in the stand taken by the members of the executive bodies. When Britain's application for admission into the EEC was turned down, Mansholt criticized the Gaullist veto in no less uncertain terms than the Dutch Foreign Minister Luns. "Since the EEC is politically divided," he said, "no progress can be made until the rift is repaired." Hallstein, on the other hand, was as cautious as Bonn. "The question remains on the order of the day," he said, "and the Community must carry on." Marjolin refrained from comment.

Settlement of disputes in the EEC rests with the Court of Justice. Actually, however, only minor disagreements are put before it. All conflicts of basic interests are discussed at the top level—in the executive bodies—and often merely lead to a stalemate.

Serious disagreements have cropped up each time the executive bodies have tried to work out a common *policy in agriculture*, an area in which the interests of the various member-countries conflict sharply. Despite the compromise arrived at towards the end of last year, the problem as a whole remains unsolved. The EEC countries have similarly proved incapable of working out a common *fuel and power policy* (coal, oil, natural gas, nuclear energy, etc.). Here the clash of interests is visible. Federal Germany is a big coal producer and also a major importer of oil. France has coal, natural gas and Sahara oil. Italy, basically an importer of fuel and power, seeks to obtain these on the most favorable terms and hence imports U.S. coal and Soviet oil. All the supra-national proposals for coordinating fuel and power policy have failed one after another.

The creation of the supra-national bodies has not done away with any of the basic contradictions of capitalism. The huge "technocratic" machine built up around them is in no way capable of really coordinating economic effort. The constant vacillation of the executive bodies when faced with complex and delicate problems has caused a good deal of dissatisfaction within the communities. Some groups are pressing for reorganization of the existing institutions, advocating, in particular, the fusion of the executives of all three communities. But the advocates of a single powerful executive body are opposed by those who would vest all authority in the Council of Ministers.

There are also sharp differences as to how

a common economic policy for the EEC should be elaborated. Even in the commissions there is a struggle underway between the supporters and opponents of centralized inter-governmental "planning"; this controversy reflects the differences between the basic monopoly groups. The French monopolies want to extend "planning" to the whole of the EEC, counting on capitalizing on their own experience in economic regulation at home. The monopolies of Federal Germany, on the contrary, believe they are strong enough to achieve their ends by practising their credo of "economic liberalism" and reject off-hand any regulation of their activities. Because of this the memorandum which the EEC Commission submitted to the governments of the Six in October 1962 with a view to elaborating the first European economic program had to be couched in the most indefinite terms.

In one respect the supra-national bodies have been consistent — they have never encroached on the privileges of the monopolies. The anti-cartel measures provided for by the Paris and Rome treaties remain a dead letter.

Ever since its establishment the High Authority of the ECSC has displayed the utmost tolerance in this respect. It allowed the steel producers to conclude the "Brussels convention" to coordinate their activity. It is reconciled to the existence of two monopoly associations in the Ruhr which sell half of the coal marketed by the community. It has never prevented concentration. The rules drawn up by the EEC Commission to ban practices which might obstruct, restrict or prevent free competition within the Common Market (Article 85 of the Rome Treaty) deter the monopolies just as little as the anti-trust laws do in the USA. Agreements between trusts within the EEC have proliferated—joint participation, agreements on production, specialization, marketing, etc.

At the same time the supra-national executive bodies go into a dither whenever the slightest threat appears to monopoly privilege. This was particularly apparent during the conflict between the High Authority and the Belgian government on the matter of the Coal Directorate. The establishment of this semi-governmental institution in 1961 was a concession which the Lefèvre-Spaak government was forced to make to the working-class movement, which demanded nationalization of the coal mines. Private property remained inviolate but the directorate was given certain powers, in particular to fix production quotas for the collieries and also to fix prices.

The Belgian reactionaries violently opposed this move, regarding it as a dangerous precedent and a step towards nationalization. The leaders of the ECSC followed in their footsteps. The High Authority pointed out to the government that inasmuch as the Directorate had the right to intervene in the operation of the mines it was incompatible with the Paris Treaty. The government gave in to the pressure and stripped the Directorate of most of its powers, regardless of the fact that these had been granted by act of Parliament.

4.

The supra-national organizations are being increasingly criticized even by the supporters of the EEC. For instance, Van Acker, the Socialist speaker in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, complained that the decisions taken in the European communities were not subject to control by national parliaments. The *Peuple* reported in 1963 that the Executive Committee of the European regional organization of the ICFTU "insists on the European trade union movement being given an opportunity to state its views both during preparations for negotiations and during the negotiations themselves . . . Refusal to grant on the European plane that which has already become common on a national scale cannot be tolerated. . . ."

The German Socialist Arendt told the European Parliament in June 1963 that the High Authority lent an ear to the employers more readily than it did to the trade unions and allowed social policy to be trampled underfoot.

Public opinion is increasingly demanding more democracy in the EEC institutions and greater powers for the European Parliament. At its May 1963 session the Economic and Social Committee of the EEC, for instance, unanimously declared that "it is imperative to make the Community more democratic. At the present level of development it is impermissible that important decisions in the sphere of economic policy which hitherto were within the competence of the national Parliaments should be decided at community level without democratic control," i.e., without the participation of a duly authorized European Parliament. The members of the European Parliament themselves have repeatedly demanded that it be elected by direct universal ballot and that it should enjoy the prerogative of passing final judgment on the decisions of the executive bodies and controlling their implementation.

The authors of these proposals are prompt-

ed above all by a desire to strengthen the European communities and to dispel the growing public distrust of the supra-national institutions. It would be a mistake to assume that these institutions would become democratic if the Parliament of Europe were given greater powers, as the Socialist leaders, for instance, claim. Those who think so close their eyes to the actual power wielded by the supra-national executive bodies and by the vast "technocratic" machine serving the interests of the monopolies. For the fact is that the EEC was set up to strengthen monopoly rule in the Six and that the structure of its institutions is designed to achieve this end.

In a number of countries the working class has won the right to be represented in parliaments and municipalities. The trade unions participate in the work of diverse economic and social bodies—economic councils, parity commissions in industry, and the factory councils. Moreover, the working people want more powers for these institutions, want more initiative for them. There is no reason why the same should not be done in the case of the Parliament of Europe, the consultative committees and other institutions of the economic communities. By taking more vigorous action against the monopolies at home, the working people can also combat their grip on the supra-national bodies of the Common Market.

It is imperative to fight for general elections to the Parliament of Europe. The national parliaments should have the right to exercise control over the European institutions and all discriminatory restrictions on parliamentary and trade union representation in these institutions should be abolished. The French and Italian Communist parties have demanded the seats in the Parliament of Europe to which they are entitled by virtue of their parliamentary weight at home, while the Italian and French General Confederations of Labor have on their part laid claim to representation in the consultative bodies on a par with other trade unions.

The stand taken by many Socialists and trade union leaders shows that it is possible to achieve unity of action. There is no doubt, of course, that many of these leaders still harbor illusions as regards the EEC and the supra-national institutions. Although the integration benefits the monopolies, the idea of "European association" is unquestionably welcomed by considerable sections of the public in the six countries. Many Socialists and other democrats believe, mistakenly in our view, that it offers an avenue for bringing the peoples closer, for breaking down the

barriers separating the nations. Nevertheless they are increasingly awakening to the need to fight within the framework of the "integrated" Europe against the stranglehold of the monopolies and for social progress. This is evident from their advocacy of a broad alliance of democratic trends.

The facts have brought it home to the working people that in all circumstances the EEC in itself can hardly improve their conditions. Only by carrying on the fight relying on their own strength can they win improvements. The struggle can be waged even around some of the points of the Rome Treaty. For example, in demanding equal pay Belgian women workers cite Article 119 of this treaty which promises equal wages.

As a result of the EEC the struggle waged by the working people of Western Europe is becoming more and more international in character. Hence there is an urgent need for closer contact between the leading trade union organizations.

Many Socialists are becoming conscious of this. For example, during the crisis caused by the rejection of Britain's application to join the EEC, the Belgian Socialist newspaper *Gauche* strongly supported the establishment of a "cartel of European trade union forces" which would "bring together in fraternal alliance" Socialists in the various trade union bodies in the Six. "So long as the European trade union leaders cannot get together and

reach agreement on a European plane and without discrimination against any confederation or political trend," the paper said, "the Europe of the trusts will continue to work against the interests of the working people. . ." Symptomatic too is a statement made by J. Yerna of the Belgian Federation of Labor. "United trade union action," he said, "should facilitate the regrouping of all the forces of labor in the Common Market area in order to create a counterweight to the employers and prevent the economic advantages of integration from accruing mainly to the big capitalists. Will the opponents of united action with the French and Italian General Confederations of Labor venture to claim that their trade union machine is strong enough without these two organizations when not a single strike is possible in France or Italy without their participation? Would not the first victorious European strike (for a 40-hour week, free medical care or some other important demand) make Europe's workers truly class conscious? And for such a strike united action with the Italian and French Confederations of Labor is imperative."

Today new possibilities are opening up with the growth of united trade union action, especially in France and Italy. Every effort should be exerted to bring the unions closer, not only on the national but also at the international level, in order to ensure joint action by the workers and other democratic forces of Western Europe.

Communist Humanism and Revolutionary Coercion

S. Kovalev

OF all the stock-in-trade of anti-communism, perhaps the most common argument is that even if some elements of humanism may be detected in the aims of the Communists, the means used to achieve these aims, and in particular the Communist advocacy of violence, are anti-humanitarian and totally unacceptable. Unless this preconceived notion is overcome neither the democratic nor the socialist tasks confronting the peoples can be successfully accomplished.

At the same time Left sectarian elements in the Communist movement hold that humanism is a "bourgeois" doctrine and hence basically incompatible with communism. For instance, a leading article in the September 6, 1963, issue of *Jenminjihpao* assails the Program of the CPSU, claiming that "this program substitutes humanism for the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of class struggle, substitutes for the ideals of communism the bourgeois slogans of 'freedom', 'equality' and 'fraternity'."

All the more timely, then, is it to examine the problem posed in the title of the present article.

1. Humanism of the Communist Aims and the Means of Achieving Them

One of Marx's earliest definitions of communism describes it as "genuine humanism." Later he elaborated the idea of the unity of communism and humanism in greater detail. In the Communist society, he wrote, "begins that development of human energy which is an end in itself."* "Providing for the individual the conditions needed for his all-round development," he stressed, "may be regarded as the production of *fixed capital*, this fixed capital being man himself."

The significance of the Program of the CPSU is that, by formulating the truly humanist aim of communism in the words "everything in the name of man, for the benefit of man," it has enriched the concept "humanism." The Program proclaims as the ideals of communism Peace, Labor, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all. Con-

trary to the opportunist interpretation of these concepts the Marxist understands freedom as freedom from exploitation, from social oppression; equality as the abolition of classes; fraternity as socialist collectivism and proletarian internationalism as opposed to bourgeois egoism and misanthropy, and happiness as the sum-total of opportunities for man fully and freely to satisfy his material and spiritual requirements and to give full scope to his initiative. "True freedom and equality," Lenin wrote, "will find realization in the system which the Communists are building and in which no one can enrich himself at the expense of others."*

In content and in origin humanitarian slogans are not "bourgeois" but democratic slogans. The masses have always advanced them in their struggle for emancipation, while the bourgeoisie, though it used them against feudalism, has, in effect, rejected these watchwords. Socialism and communism alone are destined ultimately to embody these popular aspirations in flesh-and-blood reality. Communist humanism, while proceeding from the class interests of the proletariat, is an expression of the aspirations of all humanity, aspirations which will find complete realization in communism. To deny the humanist essence of communism is to repudiate the very substance of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that in emancipating itself the working class also emancipates all other classes, all men from every form of oppression.

For the Communists it is a self-evident truth—indeed, recognition of this axiom is what distinguishes them from the opportunists—that the humanitarian aims of communism cannot be achieved without such means as the class struggle of the working people and the dictatorship of the proletariat; this is emphasized in all the basic documents of Marxism-Leninism, including the Program of the CPSU. The Chinese leaders who allege that the Program substitutes humanism for class struggle confuse the end and the means, counterpose one to the other and obscure

*Karl Marx. *Capital*, Vol. III, Chapter XLVIII.

*V. I. Lenin, *Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, First Congress of the Communist International.

the issue; they repudiate both the humanity of the aims of communism and the need to employ the most humane means to achieve these aims.

But if the humanist ideals of communism are rejected, what is offered instead? As a rule, either the preservation of exploitation, social oppression and poverty of the working people (the aim of the supporters of capitalism), or the "kingdom of the poor but equal" (the aim of petty-bourgeois equalitarian communism). The motive force of the latter, as Marx said, is the envy with which the bourgeois regards the more wealthy. "Crude communism is only the consummation of this envy and of this levelling down proceeding from the preconceived minimum," he said.*

The sectarian elements in the Communist movement who reject the consistently humanitarian aims of communism formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, replace them in effect with the idea of a "kingdom of the poor but equal." Communism devoid of humanism is regimentation, which Marxism-Leninism, as the scientific expression of the interests of the working class, categorically repudiates.

The humanity of the communist aims presupposes working towards their realization in the most humane way possible in the given historical situation. The end and the means cannot be divorced. On the narrower plane the means can be the aim and, on a broader view, a particular aim may be the means for achieving a higher aim. All social aims are achieved through a succession of social actions, i.e., means to the end. But the result cannot be divorced from the process of achieving it. As Hegel put it: "The result is not a true entity, it is a complete whole only in conjunction with the process that produced it." Clearly a positive overall result is the product of the sum of objectively positive actions, not of negative actions.

Correct principles may turn into their opposites when upheld by inadmissible methods; falsehood cannot be a means of bringing the truth to the people; humanist principles cannot be implanted in society by brutality; it is absurd to assume that happiness can be brought about by involving masses of people in misfortune.

The Communists have always combated the view that the end justifies the means. "... An end which requires unjust means is not a just end," Marx said.**

Jesuitical means of struggle, however effective they may seem, cannot facilitate achieve-

ment of the aims of the Communists. What is more, they distort the aim itself. The strength of communism derives from the movement of the masses whom the Communists provide with a program and organize for struggle. As for such methods as "rationalized" falsehood, demagoguery, slander, conspiracy, use of force against the masses, and the like, these are the devices of those who have lost faith in the people. Such methods can but demoralize and repel the masses, discredit the revolutionaries and provide their enemies with a pretext for hounding the champions of the people.

The working class and its Communist Party, unlike the exploiting classes, are waging a struggle not merely to exchange one form of oppression for another but to abolish all oppression, i.e., for the most just of all aims; hence they have nothing to conceal from the people, and their policy can and must be truthful to the end. "... The proletariat needs the truth," Lenin said, "for nothing is more harmful for its cause than the specious, respectable philistine lie."*

The Communists employ means of struggle which, instead of repelling the supporters of communism, steadily increase their numbers and help to extend the mass base of the democratic and socialist movement. And this is the criterion of how well the means of struggle accord with its aims.

2. The Necessity of Revolutionary Coercion and Its Boundaries

The foregoing does not mean that the Communists absolutely rule out coercion. Only idle dreamers can assume that it is possible to break with capitalist society, which is based on violence, without some measure of social compulsion. "Even if you wanted to deny the concept of class struggle, it is forced on you by the ruling class," Romain Rolland correctly said. It is not the Marxists who invented the use of force, just as it was not they who discovered the class struggle. Both the one and the other are the objective result of the division of society into antagonistic classes.

It is sheer hypocrisy for the exploiting classes and their ideologists to condemn the use of force by the working people against their oppressors when they themselves resort to the crudest forms of violence against the masses day in and day out. What the exploiters object to is revolutionary compulsion; violence used on their behalf has their full approval.

Inasmuch as the exploiting classes will not voluntarily give up either their power or their

*Karl Marx. *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844.*

**Karl Marx. *Debate on the Freedom of the Press.*

*V. I. Lenin, *The Task of the Third International.*

property and are determined to perpetuate their class privileges, the people have no way of winning freedom other than through revolutionary coercion. Class struggle and the socialist revolution are an expression of the genuine freedom of the working people, for it is their lawful right to take over the fruits of their labors which a handful of exploiters has appropriated and continues to appropriate. In the capitalist countries where the basic means of production and distribution are in the hands of the monopolies, the socialist revolution will involve the direct expropriation of, say, a few hundred or at most a few thousand families. But by doing so it will free the people from the grip of oligarchic rule. The socialist revolution is, therefore, a genuinely humane act.

In his time Holbach wrote that "freedom ceases to be one of the rights of the citizen if he abuses it to the detriment of his fellow citizens." The watchword of the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the 18th century, "No freedom for the enemies of freedom!" holds good for all revolutions.

The socialist revolution cannot be reduced merely to the use of force inasmuch as its main task is to emancipate the masses from all forms of oppression and to build a society without classes and without war. But regardless of whether it is carried out by peaceful or non-peaceful means, it necessarily implies the use of social compulsion against the exploiting minority who have usurped power over the people.

Recognition of this cardinal principle as the guide to action marks the dividing line between true, i.e., Communist, humanism and the pseudo-humanism of those who use fine slogans yet condemn the working people whenever they rise to fight for the realization of these slogans. *He who is opposed to revolutionary coercion as an objectively inevitable and necessary means of struggle for communism, is in effect also opposed to communism as such.*

This is elementary Marxism-Leninism, and the Communist who departs from this basic principle ceases to be one and takes the way of revisionism and reformism. The absurd charge made by the sectarians and dogmatists that the Communist parties are renouncing effective struggle against capitalism is designed to obscure the issue, for no Communist Party will ever give up the revolutionary struggle for working-class power. The issue at stake is not the need for the class struggle and revolutionary coercion—for they are inevitable—but what methods should be used

in this struggle and what forms of coercion employed in concrete situations.

Unlike the anarchists and sectarians, the Marxists-Leninists hold that revolutionary coercion should be exercised not through conspiracies but through popular mass actions. The Communist aim—the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Communist society—cannot be achieved by the efforts of individuals or even of a minority of society; it can be achieved only by the overwhelming majority of people of the given country. The Communists' main strategic precept therefore is not to call for the radical reconstruction of the social order before their own experience has awakened the masses to the necessity of revolution.

The dogmatists in the Communist movement see only one form of coercion—force of arms—applicable in all cases. Yet *revolutionary coercion takes a multitude of forms*. Even a strike, or the threat of strike action, contains an element of coercion in relation to the employer who ignores the workers' demands, and often enough even the existing bourgeois legislation.

The form of revolutionary coercion will depend on the actual situation, and above all on the relative strength of the contending forces. "The form of coercion," Lenin said, "is determined by the level of development of the given revolutionary class, and also by such specific considerations as, for instance, the aftermath of a long drawn out unjust war, as well as the forms of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois resistance."* Consequently, the boundaries of revolutionary coercion are, historically speaking, relative and fluid. They are determined not arbitrarily, but from the standpoint of revolutionary necessity and expediency.

Marxists have always stressed their desire to see the revolution triumph by peaceful means, since armed struggle and civil war spell sacrifice and suffering primarily for the masses and reduce the productive forces to a state of ruin. Formerly, however, only in rare cases was it possible to envisage situations in which the principal tasks of the socialist revolution—abolition of the political rule of the bourgeoisie, capture of power by the working class, and the replacement of capitalist private property by socialist public property—could be accomplished without recourse to arms. But in our time, when the reactionary classes, the principal proponents of violence, are, by and large, weaker than they used to be, while the progressive forces have

*The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power.

gained strength and are increasingly able to dictate the forms of struggle to the adversary, more and more opportunities are opening up for the peaceful development of the revolution, as the program-documents of the Communist parties show. But this does not rule out the non-peaceful forms, i.e., coercion by force of arms, in the event of reactionaries offering armed resistance to the will of the revolutionary people to overthrow the exploiters and to establish a workers' government. In this event the revolutionary party, which should always bear in mind the need to master all forms of struggle and be prepared to go over from one form to another at any moment, should organize the armed action and give it proper guidance, remembering that insurrection is an art. Failure to do so, as Lenin stressed, "is a betrayal of Marxism and a betrayal of the revolution."*

The armed forms of struggle are still the most likely forms in some countries. But everywhere the working people and their Communist vanguard are exerting every effort to prevent their enemies from using armed force against the people, to compel them to yield to the workers' organized strength and militancy, and thereby ensure the least painful, peaceful transfer of power into the hands of the working class.

The Communists not only do not prefer force to all other forms of struggle, but they consider it their historical mission to put an end for all time to the use of force by some social groups against others. Lenin pointed out that "the overall trend of development is towards the abolition of the domination by force of one part of society by another" and that "our ideal rules out the use of force against people."**

3. Socialism Is Humanism in Action

It is often alleged that even granting the humanism of Marxist theory, the same cannot be said of Marxist practice, that Communist theory and practice are two different things. Let us examine this allegation.

First, as has been shown, there is no contradiction between the humanist theory of communism and the class struggle waged by the working people against exploitation. Where excesses are committed in the course of this struggle, they are purely fortuitous.

Second, although there have been cases when Communist theory and practice have diverged—as, for instance, during the Stalin cult when coercion was often employed also

against the working people—this happens only because the principles of communism were violated, because the unity of theory and practice, the supreme principle governing the activities of the Communist parties, was not observed. No one is more consistently opposed to any divergence of theory and practice than the Communists.

The history of the revolutionary movement shows conclusively that the most extreme forms of struggle can be traced to the reactionaries, who stop at nothing in order to remain in the saddle.

The Communists, however, though often compelled to take rigorous action against the oppressors of the people, are opposed to unwarranted extremes. In mid-November 1917 Lenin said: "We are accused of resorting to terror, yet we have never used terror, and I hope we never shall, as the French revolutionaries used it when they guillotined defenceless people."* It is indicative that until the end of June 1918 the revolutionary courts did not hand down a single death sentence. In the early days even rabid counter-revolutionaries arrested by the revolutionary authorities were released on their word that they would not fight against the Soviet power. In the second half of 1918 the Soviet government proclaimed the red terror solely as a means of self-defense against the counter-revolutionaries, who were organizing conspiracies throughout the country. But even in these extreme circumstances Lenin, that most resolute of revolutionaries, was the most determined opponent of excesses that might have caused unjustified suffering. "The charge of terrorism," Lenin said, "can be levelled with justification not against us, but against the bourgeoisie. It is they who forced terror on us. And we shall be the first to limit it to the absolute minimum as soon as we have stamped out the basic source of terrorism..."**

Lenin quoted the U.S. journal *The New Republic* which exposed the slander then levelled at the Soviet Communists by pointing out that during the White terror in Finland, whose population was three million at the time, 16,700 people were killed in a few days and 70,000 thrown into concentration camps, whereas in Russia, with its population of 150 million, 3,800 people, many of them Soviet officials guilty of corruption which the revolutionary government was determined to root out, were executed during the first year of the revolution (up to November 1, 1918). The

*V. I. Lenin. *Speech at the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies*, November 4 (17), 1917.

**V. I. Lenin. *Political Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth All-Russian Conference of the RCP(B)*.

*V. I. Lenin. *Marxism and Insurrection*.

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

Finnish government, the journal declared, was infinitely more terroristic than the Russian.*

The capitalist ideologists criticize the Communists for not extending, once they have taken over power, to their opponents (i.e., the bourgeoisie) at least the same rights which the latter grant them within the framework of bourgeois democracy. True enough, the Communists in power do not allow the functioning of parties which turn to counter-revolution. But is it because of humane considerations that the bourgeoisie tolerates certain freedoms? The fact is that these freedoms have been won and are being upheld by the working people in unflagging struggle; the bourgeoisie cannot do without the working class, and hence it has no choice but to tolerate, at least to a point, the existence of working-class parties and the propagation of working-class ideology. But let a real threat to capitalist rule arise in any capitalist country and the bourgeoisie will try to abolish these freedoms and ruthlessly to suppress the progressive organizations of the working people. The victorious working class too has been compelled to take strict measures to put down the resistance of counter-revolutionaries, for as yet no socialist revolution has ever taken place without the newly-established working people's government being threatened by a bourgeois counter-revolution, i.e., by those who refuse to submit to the will of the people and seek to reverse things by force of arms. Where no such danger exists, the working class, as Lenin pointed out on more than one occasion, need not restrict democratic rights—free speech and freedom of the press, assembly and organization. The crux of the matter is that if the bourgeoisie, which consists of an insignificant minority of the population, has recourse to force against the working people, who make up the overwhelming majority, the latter are bound to use coercive measures against the exploiting minority in the name of the freedom and well-being of the people. Coercion of this kind can hardly be called a violation of humanism.

While curbing counter-revolutionary activities by the exploiters, the socialist state at the same time affords them every opportunity to apply their knowledge and abilities to the building of the new society. "... We shall not 'strip' you," Lenin replied in 1917 to the frantic outcries of members of the propertied class, "but shall ensure you good clothes and good food on the condition that you apply yourselves to work for which you are fitted

and which you are accustomed to doing!"* In other words, the social death of the bourgeoisie as an exploiting class in no way signifies the physical extermination of its members.

As regards the use of force against the working masses, the Communists rule this out completely. As the saying goes, you cannot force people to go to Paradise with a bludgeon. "Force," Lenin said, "has its place as a device against those who would restore their rule. But this exhausts its significance; beyond this, influence and example come into play. The meaning of communism should be made clear through practice, through the medium of example."** This applies not only to home policy but to foreign policy as well. Precisely because of this the Communists rule out the "export of revolution," the forcing of blessings of any kind on the peoples.

Exposure of the abuses committed during the Stalin cult caused many people in the West to question the humanitarian essence of socialism. But the essence of socialism cannot be judged by its distortions. Before the Stalin cult there were no distortions. Even during the grim years of the civil war the Communist Party consistently observed and upheld revolutionary law and order. Through the difficult years of economic reconstruction, when the country, still weak, was under constant pressure from the imperialists, it worked to deepen Soviet democracy and to strengthen socialist legality. The period of the cult of course abounded in gross violations of both democracy and legality, but since 1953 the CPSU has worked resolutely to uproot these alien practices, to deepen and broaden democracy and to consolidate the genuinely humanist principles of socialism.

Surely the fact that the CPSU was the first to expose the evils of the cult and to declare uncompromising war on it is incontrovertible proof that socialism and the personality cult are antipodes? And is not the struggle against the theory and practices of the cult which has been waged with particular vigor since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU—a struggle accompanied by a steady deepening of political democracy and the growing activity and civic consciousness of the masses—is this not the best guarantee against the revival of the negative aspects of the past, the best guarantee of the realization of the humanist ideals of scientific communism?

*V. I. Lenin. *A Present for the "New-Born" . . . Government.*

**V. I. Lenin. *Speech at a Meeting of Activists of the Moscow Organization of the RCP(B), December 6, 1920.*

*See V. I. Lenin. *How the Bourgeoisie Uses Renegades.*

Bourgeois ideologists ascribe to socialism as such the excesses and the distortions of the cult, while dismissing the violence, terror, racial discrimination and wars of capitalism as mere "deviations" from the norm. Actually, however, these abuses and crimes stem from the anti-humanist nature of capitalism as a system of exploitation, they constitute its essence, whereas the excesses of the personality cult were in crying contradiction to the humanist nature of socialism.

Socialism should be judged primarily by what it has done for the people. Who can deny that it has freed man from exploitation, crises, unemployment and fear of the morrow; that it has given every man an opportunity to work and to satisfy—perhaps not always fully as yet—his material and spiritual needs through labor? The USSR has not had unemployment for 35 years now, nor are there any jobless in the other socialist countries; full employment is ensured here despite the rapid progress of mechanization and automation.

Can it be denied that socialism has made once backward Russia one of the most advanced countries in the world where the material and cultural needs of the people are being satisfied more and more fully?

No capitalist country can boast of such a truly humane system of social security as that which exists in the socialist countries.

Even enemies of socialism admit that public education in the socialist countries is the most enlightened and progressive in the world. Here education, all the way to university, is free of charge and accessible to all citizens, irrespective of property status, color of skin, or sex. A UNESCO report shows that the USSR publishes more textbooks than all the other countries taken together. In Czechoslovakia there are 1,000 libraries per million of population, as against 636 in Great Britain, 278 in Austria and 140 in Federal Germany. And who is not impressed by the revolutionary way in which illiteracy has been abolished in the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and in Cuba?

The genuine humanism of socialism is strikingly manifested in the matter of the national minorities. The Soviet Union is inhabited by more than 100 nations and ethnic groups, and all are equal in every sphere of life. This explains why Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and the other Soviet republics, where the population was almost wholly illiterate before the revolution, now have proportionately far more students than many developed capitalist coun-

tries, or why, for example, Soviet Armenia, with a population of only two million, has an Academy of Sciences with 33 research institutes.

Socialism has solved the women's question by granting women equal rights with men in all areas of life. In the Soviet Union women account for half of the college enrollment, as against less than a quarter in most capitalist countries. In the Soviet Union 75 per cent of the doctors are women; in the USA, for comparison, the figure is seven per cent.

For rate and scale of housing construction the USSR now occupies first place in the world. In the last ten years 108 million people—half of the population—have moved into new homes or have improved their housing conditions. The West German journal *Stern*, commenting on the housing shortage in the Federal Republic, complained that the ratio of West German progress in this sphere to the Russian was that of the speed of a train to the speed of a sputnik.

Socialism not only ensures the political rights of the working people. Its economic foundation being public ownership of the means of production, it enlists the masses in active participation in guiding economic and cultural endeavors. The unfolding of science and art in the socialist countries is common knowledge; in recent years Soviet artists, for example, have demonstrated their accomplishments in many countries.

Whereas all systems based on exploitation become more and more anti-humanist as time goes on and their contradictions deepen, socialism on the contrary *employs coercion less and less and reveals its humanitarian essence more and more as it advances towards communism*. In the USSR the growth of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of all the people is an expression of the fact that there no longer exist any social groups that need to be suppressed. Measures of constraint are necessary solely to curb anti-social elements and to uphold the humane foundations of the socialist system and safeguard the rights of the individual. It is symptomatic that the personnel of the militia in the USSR has been reduced by 40 per cent in recent times, many prisons have been closed, strict measures have been taken against all manifestations of lawlessness, and public opinion is playing a growing role in keeping anti-social individuals in check. Democracy in Party and state life, public control over the functioning of the state and economic apparatus, and promotion of diverse forms of public self-administration all show that

the socialist society is evolving new forms of activity and shaping new relations between people conforming more fully to its humane nature, show that *without democracy there can be no socialism and that without socialism there can be no true democracy.*

Clearly, then, in theory and in practice, as regards the aims pursued and the means of their achievement, communism and consistent humanism are indivisible.

4. Against Distortion of the Humanist Principles of Communism

That true Communists are consistent champions of humanist principles whose actions do not diverge from their words is evident from their uncompromising censure of any opposition to these principles, however revolutionary the phraseology in which this opposition is couched. A case in point is the struggle waged by the Marxists-Leninists against the petty-bourgeois concept of "equalitarian communism." The unnatural and anti-humanist aims of the ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie who propound the idea of the "kingdom of the poor but equal" have always found supporters of anti-humanist means to this end. Whereas true Communists are guided by the laws of historical development, the so-called equalitarian communism flouts objective laws, substituting for them a voluntarist approach. Marxists have always combated the moribund which has outlived its time, using coercion to accelerate the disappearance of classes doomed by history; the equalitarian Communists as a rule pit themselves against the laws of history and often against the vital, progressive forces in the historical arena. But struggle lacking objective grounds tends to degenerate, on the one hand into phrasemongering and demagoguery and, on the other, into violence against the masses.

Throughout the late 19th century numerous anarchist groups in Europe sought to implant in the working-class movement the individualistic bourgeois principle that the end justifies the means and to apply this principle both to enemies and the revolutionaries themselves. During the sixties and early seventies in Russia and Western Europe the notorious Nechayev, an anarchistic adventurer, propounded the view that the revolutionary should spurn decency and accepted ethical standards and dedicate himself wholly to the art of destruction. According to Nechayev, all means, no matter how foul, from lies to assassination of one's opponents, were fair.

Marx and Engels maintained that this concept amounted to implanting bourgeois ethics

in the working-class movement, to carrying "bourgeois amorality" to extremes. Lenin carried on this tradition of combating amorality and petty-bourgeois adventurism. The Bolshevik Party was born and built up in struggle not only against Right-wing opportunism, which reflects bourgeois influences in the working-class movement, but also against all manifestations of petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionism—against the Narodniks, Socialist Revolutionaries and Trotskyites who at different times advocated adventurist methods and the use of force against the people.

In point of fact some of the trends which gained currency during the Stalin cult had much in common with petty-bourgeois amorality and lack of principle.

By rejecting the methods of the personality cult, the Communist movement cleansed its banner of the stain that had besmirched it and gained new strength and prestige. All the more astounding is it, then, that there still should be people who criticize the Communist parties for taking steps to uproot the consequences of the cult. These people consider the denunciation of the crimes of the cult to be a greater evil than the crimes.

To this day they extol the practices of the cult. Take, for instance, the un-Marxist assertion contained in an article headed "Ideological Education Should be Conducted in Keeping with the Ideas of Mao Tse-tung" in the Peking journal *Hungchi*: "The slightest departure from the ideas of Mao Tse-tung," we read, "i.e., the subjective striving to do things in one's own way, can lead to setbacks and failure." This is a precept which can only kill creative thought and initiative, and turn people into unthinking automations blindly carrying out the will of the man at the "top."

The class struggle is counterposed to genuine humanism for the purpose of justifying political methods alien to Marxism-Leninism, of perpetuating and intensifying coercion contrary to the general humanist trend of socialism. "Spit in their faces, punch them on the nose and, if need be, plant a bullet between their eyes" such was the policy proclaimed by one of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor at its Fourth Congress for those who refuse to conform.

It will be recalled that Stalin tried to justify his cruelty towards those whom he considered enemies of the people by the brutality of the fascists towards revolutionaries. Stalin's actions had nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist principles of class struggle, not to speak of the fact that he used harsh measures not only against the enemies of

socialism, but also against sincere Communists, against working men. Resorting to such methods means descending to the level of the ultra-reactionaries, carrying into the working-class movement the principles—or, to be more exact, the utter lack of principles—of reactionary politicians.

The Communists unequivocally reject the maxim “when trees are felled chips are bound to fly” as justification for unwarranted repression. Human beings are not “chips” and the Marxist aim of ensuring the human personality every opportunity for development is applicable not only to the distant future; Communists are guided by this principle always and everywhere. For them the well-being of the working man is the supreme goal.

5. Peaceful Coexistence Is the Most Humane and Revolutionary Policy

The consistently humanist and at the same time genuinely revolutionary nature of Communist policy is most manifest in the approach to the issue of war and peace. All down the centuries the people dreamed of a social system that would rule out war. That socialism is this system is shown both by Communist theory and by the practical policy of the socialist states.

During the First World War, it was the Bolsheviks, the first socialist state in the world that proclaimed the motto: peace among the nations. It was the Soviet Union that exerted every effort to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War and, later when Hitler unleashed the war, played the decisive role in defeating the fascist aggressors. And time and again in the past two decades the decisive role in preventing the outbreak of another world conflict was played by the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union. Suffice it to recall the Caribbean crisis of 1962. To the socialist countries belongs the credit of advancing the policy of peaceful coexistence as the only rational policy in our time. There can hardly be more convincing proof that socialism and peace are indivisible.

What, if not genuine humanism, is the unflagging support given by the socialist countries to the national-liberation movement and their disinterested economic aid to the countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke?

The same can be said of the determination with which the world Communist movement upholds the humanist policy of peaceful coexistence and combats the Left sectarian elements who would jettison this policy.

History has witnessed many criminal acts,

but the worst of these would pale before the unleashing of nuclear war. No claim that the sacrifices “would not be in vain” since “a thousand times higher civilization” would be built on the ruins of imperialism can conceal the inhumanity of an adventurist policy capable of leading to such a disaster. The fact that there are people who take this approach to the problem of war and peace once again highlights the danger of unjust means (nuclear war) distorting and perhaps even negating the end (communism). Since the result of nuclear war would be not the victory of communism but wholesale annihilation of nations, it is clearly impermissible to divorce the result from the means by which it is to be achieved.

Capitalist society, which some people propose to destroy by means of nuclear war, consists not only of capitalism; it consists also and mainly of the masses of people and of the values created by their labor which are destined to become the material foundation of socialism.

The Chinese leaders visualize the fate of the smaller countries in the event of nuclear war as follows: “. . . The small countries in the socialist camp will have to subordinate their interests to the common interests of the camp as a whole.” That these countries might be completely destroyed is not their concern: “Other people will remain and imperialism will be wiped out . . .” The Chinese leaders would thus turn the people of whole countries, especially the smaller countries, into pawns in their reckless gamble with war and revolution, deliberately dooming them to destruction. Genuine Marxists, on the contrary, hold that communism must triumph as the common cause of all the people and that all nations should share in the fruits of victory. The socialist revolution does not need the H-bomb to succeed, and the people want to win freedom in life, not in death.

Anarchists and all kinds of Left sectarians hail the mystique of sacrifice as the supreme virtue, and brand those who refuse to accept their anti-humanist concepts as “cowards” afraid to die a “glorious death.” Yet the protagonists of sacrifice have not consulted the people whether they wish to die, “gloriously” or otherwise. Were they to do so, they would soon discover that the people of all countries want a good life, not a “heroic” and “beautiful” death.

Communists are categorically against senseless, unjustified sacrifice. Suffering and martyrdom, asceticism and self-denial have never

been their aim. For them humanism means both love of one's fellowmen and love of life. Communists are prepared to fight to the last breath, and often give their lives, not because they exalt death but because they want to win a better and happier life for all; they accept death only if there is no other way to victory. "For happiness I lived and for happiness I shall die," said Julius Fucik.

Communists draw a distinction between situations when sacrifice on behalf of the people is necessary, and situations when the survival of entire nations, and perhaps of humanity, is in the balance. Only the lunatic fringe can speak of entire nations perishing in a nuclear war so that capitalism might be destroyed. Utilizing the objective possibilities, the Communists seek victory over capitalism with the least possible losses.

Needless to say, should the imperialists dare to encroach upon the vital interests of the socialist countries and unleash war against them, the peoples will give the aggressors the most resolute rebuff. Far be it from the Communists to accept the "peace at any price" theory of capitulation. But since a nuclear war would take an incalculable toll

of lives, the Communists and the masses everywhere are exerting every effort to curb imperialism and prevent it from sparking off a thermonuclear holocaust.

The policy of peaceful coexistence combines humanism and revolution. It can be implemented not by appeasing the imperialists but only through the resolute struggle waged by the socialist countries, by the peoples who have overthrown the colonial yoke and by the masses in the capitalist countries against the imperialist warmongers. Curbing the aggressive forces of imperialism and forcing them to accept peace is the content of the policy of peaceful coexistence. And none but the aggressors and their accomplices can object to such compulsion.

Peaceful coexistence is a specific form of class struggle which will enable communism to win the historical battle with capitalism without war, a form which creates the most favorable international climate for the growth and triumph of the emancipation struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. That is why the policy of peaceful coexistence in our time is essentially revolutionary and essentially humanist.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

For the Unity of the International Communist Movement

(Documents of the Marxist-Leninist Parties)

IN VIEW of the fact that the leaders of the Communist Party of China are stepping up their disruptive activity, which threatens to split the world Communist movement, the Marxist-Leninist parties are raising their voices in defense of the unity of the Communist ranks.

Some years ago the leaders of the Chinese Party launched an attack against the basic theoretical and political principles jointly drawn up by the Marxist-Leninist parties at their meetings in 1957 and 1960. Departing on all the basic issues of strategy and tactics from the Leninist line of the international Communist movement, they are trying to impose on the fraternal parties their special line which runs counter to the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings.

The Chinese leaders have fiercely attacked the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties and have extended the ideological differences to interstate relations between the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries; they are now waging an open political struggle against the fraternal parties, aimed at dividing the commonwealth of socialist countries and the unity of the world Communist movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Marxist-Leninist parties tried hard to prevent the aggravation of the differences and to avert the dangerous course of events. They patiently explained to the Chinese leaders the erroneousness of their positions, urged them to discontinue the open polemic, to refrain from their attacks on the fraternal parties and to examine the differences in the generally accepted way between the Marxist-Leninist parties. Moreover, the CPSU and other parties unilaterally ceased the open polemic.

It appears, however, that the Chinese leaders interpreted as weakness the readiness of the fraternal parties to help to overcome the differences and reinforce the unity of the Communist movement and, refusing to listen to the

voice of reason, have intensified their campaign against the CPSU and USSR and against all the other parties which have rejected their "special line." In articles in *Jenminjihpao* and *Hungchi* of February 4 and March 31, they, unscrupulously abusing the CPSU and other parties, openly revised the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism and are trying to justify the inevitability of a split. The Chinese leaders do not hesitate to use elements expelled from the Communist parties as well as Trotskyites and all kinds of adventurers.

In these conditions the parties consider it necessary to wage a resolute struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in defense of the jointly elaborated general line of the international Communist movement, for its unity and solidarity.

Bearing in mind the vital interests of the socialist world system and of the international Communist and working class movement, the *Central Committee of the CPSU* decided to publish the documents of its February meeting, which discussed the report made on the subject of unity by M. A. Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

"If we analyze the evolution of the views and actions of the CPC leadership, beginning with the 1960 Moscow Meeting," Comrade Suslov said, "we shall see that during all these years, instead of trying to eliminate the differences, the Chinese leaders have been making them more acute. Starting out with a revision of certain tactical propositions of the world Communist movement, they have, step by step, widened their rift with the CPSU and other fraternal parties on cardinal problems of modern times and, in the end, have opposed to the general policy of the world Communist movement their own special line, in which the fundamental theses of the Declaration and Statement are revised from the standpoint of great-power chauvinism and petty-bourgeois adventurism . . .

"Having to all intents and purposes rejected

the Declaration and Statement collectively drawn up by the Communist and Workers' parties, the CPC leaders offer the fraternal parties their own '25-point program', which, essentially, boils down to denying the ever-growing influence of the socialist system on the course of world development; a disparaging attitude to the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries; opposing the national-liberation movement to the world system of socialism and the international working-class movement; adventurism in foreign policy and the preservation of the state of cold war; sectarianism and putschism in questions of revolution; adhering to the methods and practices of the personality cult condemned by the Communist movement, and justifying the factional struggle in the Communist movement.

"The Chinese leaders have thus brought their disagreements with the Communist movement to the point where they have virtually developed into differences on all basic questions."

The general trend of Chinese propaganda and the brazenness of its attacks against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties are, increasingly, bringing it into line with the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist organs of the reactionary imperialist circles, the speaker stressed.

The Chinese leaders no longer confine themselves to action in the sphere of ideology. The ideological differences have been carried over to inter-state relations, to the sphere of the policy of the socialist countries and the Communist parties. Seeking to weaken the unity and solidarity of the socialist commonwealth, the Chinese leaders resort to all sorts of maneuvers in their efforts to undermine the economic and political relations between the socialist countries and to disorganize their actions in the international arena. There is now no longer any doubt that Peking is steering a course towards splitting the Communist parties, towards setting up factions and groups hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese leaders, the speaker went on, talk about their desire to "strengthen" the international Communist movement, to "purge" it of "modern revisionism" and unite it on a "new foundation." But their real aim is to split the united Communist front, to confront the Communist movement with a bloc of pro-Chinese factions and groups and subordinate the parties to their influence.

The Chinese leaders have apparently decided to carry through to the end their subversive activity against the Leninist unity of the world

Communist movement. They now say that a split is "inevitable" thus disclosing their real aims with regard to the world Communist movement.

Their concepts, Suslov said, remind us of many of the ideas of the petty-bourgeois trends that were defeated by communism long ago. The entire range of their theoretical and political views is in many ways a rehash of Trotskyism, discarded long ago by the international revolutionary movement.

The CPC leaders evidently lack sufficient Marxist-Leninist grounding to stand firm against the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements and uphold the line of proletarian socialism.

The urgent task is to protect Marxism-Leninism from the distortions to which it is being subjected by the Chinese leaders, the speaker pointed out.

Our Party, he concluded, favors convening another Meeting of the fraternal parties to discuss the basic problems of our time and to hold the broadest possible exchange of opinions in the interest of overcoming the difficulties caused by the CPC leadership's differences with the world Communist movement. The joint efforts of all the fraternal parties are therefore perfectly justified in order to determine what must be done to preserve and strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist ranks. This, in the view of the CPSU, should be the purpose of the meeting.

The resolution adopted on Suslov's report reads in part: "The plenary meeting of the C.C., CPSU, holds that the vital interests of the socialist world system, of the Communist movement and the defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism call for ideological exposure of the anti-Leninist position of the CPC leadership and for a resolute rebuff to their splitting activities.

"Fully and unanimously approving the political and practical activities of the Presidium of the C.C., CPSU, and of Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the C.C., CPSU, aimed at building Communist society in the USSR, ensuring the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, and strengthening the solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the plenary meeting of the C.C., CPSU, instructs the Presidium to continue firmly to uphold the general line of the world Communist movement, to work to strengthen the unity of all revolutionary forces of today."

The meeting of the Central Committee, French Communist Party, held at the end of

March, heard a report by Raymond Guyot, member of the Political Bureau, on the situation in the international Communist movement. Denouncing the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist attitude of the Chinese leaders on the vital problems of the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement, Guyot said:

"The situation in the international Communist movement confirms the soundness of the attitude taken by our Party in relation to a whole range of problems. One cannot be 'neutral' in the struggle which is of exceptional significance for the unity of the Communist movement. For it is not a matter of differences between the CPSU and the CPC, but of differences between the latter and the vast majority of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world. Not to qualify and denounce the policy and the disruptive activity of the Chinese leaders, as is sometimes done, would signify refusal to ensure the future of our struggle for socialism and communism.

"The Central Committee," Guyot concluded, "maintains that the line elaborated by the Chinese leaders in opposition to the general line of the international Communist movement, their disruptive activity in different countries, their material and moral support to the splinter groups in some parties, their slander of the leaders of the fraternal parties, cause grave injury to the movement as a whole, to the cause of peace and socialism. The C.C. holds that reconciliation with the Leftist and nationalist line of the Chinese leaders and their splitting activity would spell danger for the international movement, for the Chinese people themselves, for our Party and its policy of broad unity in the struggle against one-man rule.

"The Central Committee would welcome the earliest convocation of a meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties which would reaffirm, in the light of the changes that have occurred, the general line of the international Communist movement and adopt all the decisions necessary to safeguard its unity. Our earnest desire is to see the differences which oppose the CPC to the other Communist parties overcome, to see the Communist Party of China again making its contribution to the unity of the international Communist movement, to our common struggle for peace and national independence, for democracy and socialism."

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, at an enlarged meeting held on February 20-22, adopted a resolution defining the attitude of the Party to the latest steps made by the leaders of the Com-

munist Party of China to divide the international Communist movement. The resolution said:

"As we know, the parties which uphold the purity of the Marxist-Leninist principles, including our Party, patiently discussed with the Chinese leaders their incorrect views. In this discussion the parties, adhering to a joint line, did not adopt the virulent tone of Chinese propaganda, its methods of abuse, but pointed to the incorrect views and their harmful political consequences, rejecting fabrications.

"After the overwhelming majority of fraternal parties had opposed their wrong views, the Chinese leaders took the way of disruption. They have organized factional groups consisting of Trotskyites and renegades, and they have the effrontery to call some of these groups Communist parties."

In the autumn of 1963, the resolution reads further, our Central Committee, supporting the initiative of the fraternal parties, including the CPSU, unilaterally ceased to publish materials concerning the differences. The purpose of this step was to create favorable conditions for a new international meeting of the fraternal parties to discuss the differences. The Chinese leaders, however, replied by continuing their open attacks, by becoming even more abusive, absolutely ignoring the position taken by the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties which insisted on ending the polemic.

It is characteristic of the Chinese leaders that instead of engaging in a theoretical discussion of the basic ideological issues they are waging a political struggle against the CPSU and other fraternal parties.

The Central Committee has resolved: "... If the Chinese leaders do not stop their open attacks and splitting activities, they will have to be answered in public. We are not deceived by their tactics in accordance with which they attack first one and then another fraternal party and its leaders. We shall oppose all attacks, and uphold the common cause and the policy of our Party."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany issued a statement in which it denounced the splitting, anti-Marxist attitude of the Chinese leaders and voiced complete support for, and approval of, the Leninist policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The statement points out that on February 17 the C.C. addressed a letter to the C.C. of the Communist Party of China, in which it set forth the attitude of the Communist Party of Germany with regard to the differences be-

tween the Marxist-Leninist parties and the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The letter suggested that the CPC leaders should cease the polemic and their splitting activities. However, this letter, which was prompted by a high sense of responsibility for the unity of the world Communist movement, by the spirit of loyalty to jointly elaborated decisions, was left unanswered. To the accompaniment of applause from the West German ultra-reactionaries, the CPC leaders continued the polemic and developed it into a campaign of slander against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and Comrade Khrushchov, and against the leaders of other Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' parties.

Approving the publication of Comrade Suslov's report and the decision of the CPSU Central Committee of February 15, 1964, the Communist Party of Germany stresses that the indissoluble ties of all Communist and Workers' parties with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and fidelity to the decisions elaborated jointly in 1957 and 1960, to the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU, are the guarantee of victory in the struggle for peace, peaceful co-existence and socialism throughout the world.

A meeting of the *Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party*, held on March 21, discussed the report made by M. Grigorov, member of the Political Bureau, on the international Communist movement. In its resolution the meeting declared that the Chinese leaders, taking advantage of the cessation of the open polemic by the CPSU and other fraternal parties, have intensified their deviation from Marxism-Leninism and their disruptive activity.

"In their divisive activities," the resolution points out, "the Chinese leaders are concentrating their fire on the Soviet Union, on the Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by N. S. Khrushchov. And this is not fortuitous. Seeking to discredit the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the Chinese leaders hope to behead and disorganize the entire international Communist movement and impose upon it their dangerous and harmful general line. In their struggle against the Soviet Union and the CPSU, in their anti-Soviet activity, they are acting in the same way as did the worst enemies of the Soviet state. Slander, insinuation and fabrication—these are their weapon..."

"The Bulgarian Communists consider it their sacred internationalist duty to reject categorically the monstrous slanders against the Soviet Union and the CPSU, and they re-

affirm that any one who tries to discredit and smear the great Party of Lenin will be branded with shame as an apostate, as a traitor to proletarian internationalism."

The meeting warmly approved and supported the proposal of the CPSU to convene an international meeting of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties.

The Eighteenth National Convention of the Communist Party of Canada, held on March 27-30, adopted a resolution entitled "For the Unity of the International Communist Movement."

"The leadership of the Communist Party of China," the resolution states, "is openly justifying and encouraging splits, thereby disuniting the world Communist movement and in effect working for the establishment of an international centre under its leadership directed to pursuing an entirely different strategical and tactical line to that agreed to unanimously at the Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960 as embodied in the documents adopted by these Conferences."

"Such a course, if persisted in, would have disastrous consequences. It would shift the balance of forces on a world scale in favor of imperialism by splitting the countries of the world socialist system and so weakening the world front of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism."

"History," the resolution concludes, "will never forgive the leaders of the Chinese Party if they continue to pursue policies deliberately calculated to undermine and destroy the unity of the world Communist movement."

The Convention endorsed the action of the National Committee in urging the convening of a World Conference of Communist and Workers' parties as soon as possible, in order to restore the unity of the world Communist movement.

Paul de Groot, Chairman of the *Communist Party of the Netherlands*, said in his opening speech at the Twenty-First Congress of the Party that the vital issue facing the Congress was the debate and the controversy between Communist parties. In this discussion, he declared, our Party rejected the general line of the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

At its final session the Congress unanimously endorsed a resolution calling for an international conference of the Communist parties. "The Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Netherlands," the resolution states, "having heard the report of the special commission, maintains that an international

conference of all the Communist parties should be held in the not-too-distant future."

The Congress expressed the conviction that a conference would result in strengthening the international Communist movement, in ensuring further success in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

Neues Deutschland, central organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, published an article signed by the Central Committee. The article states that the Central Committee plenary meeting held at the beginning of February, condemned the activity of the leadership of the Communist Party of China directed against the unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement. "The policy of the CPC leaders," the article says, "boils down to an unprincipled, petty-bourgeois and nationalistic departure from Marxism-Leninism, a departure which is Trotskyite in content and in methods of struggle. This, it went on, is Trotskyism in the new conditions, Trotskyism which, applied by the leaders of the CPC as the ruling party, finds expression in great-power chauvinism, racialism, Leftist adventurism, an anti-Soviet attitude, and factional activity . . .

"The publication of the materials of the February meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU will help reinforce the unity of the world Communist movement in the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, and expose the anti-Leninist platform and divisive activity of the Chinese leaders. The article expressed full agreement with, and full support of, the measures of the CPSU.

Trybuna Ludu, organ of the Polish United Workers' Party, and several other Polish newspapers published an article entitled "For the Unity of the Communist Movement and the Socialist Camp."

"The Chinese leaders have attacked the basic ideas of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, which proclaimed the possibility of averting a military cataclysm in our time, and which formed the basis for restoring Leninist principles in the relations between the Communist parties and the socialist states . . .

"Our Party has, on repeated occasions, expressed its critical attitude to the line of the Chinese Party, and its complete solidarity with the ideological stand taken by the CPSU and with the foreign policy of the USSR. With particular force our Party expresses this solidarity today, at this crucial moment."

Commenting that only imperialism can benefit by any weakening and division in the world Communist movement and the socialist camp, the article stresses that it is the duty and

obligation of all the Communist parties and revolutionary forces to oppose this danger and do everything possible to unite the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"The fact that it has a common historical mission to perform," the article goes on, "is the firm foundation of the unity of the working-class movement. What is needed is jointly to elaborate, through mutual consultation, principles of conduct that will guarantee unity of action and solidarity on issues which are decisive for our whole movement, as well as the complete equality and sovereignty of the individual parties and socialist countries . . .

"Our Party together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal Communist and Workers' parties will fight unrelentingly and to the end for the solidarity of the international Communist movement and the unity of the socialist commonwealth of nations."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia published a statement in which it completely approves the actions and steps taken by the Central Committee of the CPSU, and the latter's proposal for a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia declares that the ideological platform of the Chinese leaders boils down to a revision of the policy of the international Communist movement elaborated in the documents of the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties.

"Our Party," says the statement, "highly appreciates the position of the CPSU and its numerous constructive steps aimed at averting the dangerous course of events and cementing the unity of the international Communist movement. The Central Committee of the CPSU, supported by the other fraternal parties, has displayed the maximum patience, good will and calm in the effort to overcome the differences and to explain to the leadership of the Communist Party of China the danger of its actions . . .

"In agreement with many other fraternal parties, we have arrived at the conclusion that, as a result of the disruptive activity of the Communist Party of China which so far has rejected all the proposals for ending the public polemic, a situation has set in where resolute, open action in defense of the unity of the international Communist movement and its Leninist general line is the direct internationalist duty of the Communist and Workers' parties."

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Finland, after discussing the situation created by the refusal of the leaders of the Communist Party of China to accept the proposal of the fraternal parties to end the public debate and restore unity, decided to publish the resolution adopted at the Central Committee meeting on February 22-23.

The Political Bureau of the CPF, the resolution points out, maintained already in November last year that sooner or later an international conference of the Communist parties would become inevitable, although it did not regard it as a matter of urgency. At that time the Central Committee of the CPSU proposed to the Central Committee of the CPC that the polemic and the mutual charges be discontin-

ued and that these questions be resolved in the course of comradely negotiations.

The Chinese leaders, however, turned a deaf ear to this proposal and renewed their attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties.

"In view of this," the resolution concludes, "the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland maintains that it is no longer possible to be silent about the disruptive policy pursued by the Chinese leaders in the international Communist movement. Today it is necessary to concentrate on repelling the threat of a split in the Communist movement, on resolute defense of the Marxist-Leninist principles. In this sense the holding of an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties has become urgent."

FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF WORK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA:

HEADING THE MASSES

DESPITE the obstacles placed in its way by the reactionaries, the Communist Party of Argentina has never ceased its work among the masses or slackened its contact with them.

The conditions of illegality, persecution, torture and even murder have not deterred the Communists. They are carrying on their activities in factories and mills, in the countryside, on housing estates, in schools and universities, in the trade unions and in all the mass organizations of the working people.

The work of popularizing Marxism-Leninism and carrying out the line of the Party, painstaking efforts to unite Communists, Peronists, members of other parties and non-party working people in the committees of struggle—all this paved the way to the turn to the Left which was analyzed by Victorio Codovilla at a meeting of the Party's Central Committee in July 1962.

In the attempts to sidetrack the masses, to keep them under the influence of capitalist ideology, the Right-wing leaders of the Peronist and other bourgeois parties are intensifying the anti-communist campaign. Ultra-reactionaries entrenched in the machinery of state, the police and the armed forces are exerting pressure on the Illia government trying to get it to renounce its democratic promises, particularly in regard to the repeal of the reactionary legislation and the prohibition of Communist activity. This is evident from the impunity with which fascist gangs commit their terrorist acts. The so-called State Information Service confiscates Left books and other publications.

Even medical books by Soviet authors, including books on painless child-birth, are confiscated.

The new "Statute of the Political Parties," drafted by the Ministry of the Interior, retains all the reactionary decrees and encourages persecution for political beliefs.

The Communists hold that it is possible to halt the reactionary offensive and to create conditions for implementing the program adopted at the Twelfth Congress of the Party—the program of democratic agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution—but this can be done only by organizing and rallying the masses with a view to building an anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist national democratic front.

In working for this the Communist Party is forming thousands of action committees to fight for the immediate demands of the workers and other groups of the working population; this policy of unity among the masses should also help to achieve unity among the leaders.

The steady growth of the mass non-party organizations, in which the Communists play an important role, is decisive for unity. Among these organizations are the Peace Movement, the Women's Union, the Movement for Trade Union Unity and Coordination (MUCS), the Movement of Solidarity with Cuba, the Argentine League for Human Rights, the youth organizations, neighborhood associations and cultural societies.

The Party devotes special attention to work in the countryside, directing its efforts to strengthening agricultural laborers' unions and the various peasant associations. At the same

time the Party is waging a struggle for democracy in these organizations and for the eradication in them of the influence of the agents of the big landowners and ranchers who are retarding the struggle. Although the leaders of these organizations are victimizing Communists and expelling them, our comrades are active in the leading bodies of over 100 departments of the Agrarian Federation and the cooperatives. There are Communists in the leading bodies of some 250 rural trade unions out of a total of 1,200; they are also in the leadership of several provincial and regional trade union federations. In various parts of the country the agricultural laborers have elected a large number of Communists to the mixed committees which play an important role.

The movement for an agrarian reform is forging ahead with the support of the Party, embracing representatives of the working class, the peasants and intellectuals as well as the political, commercial and industrial interests united by the common desire to alter the agrarian structure, based on latifundism, which is retarding the economic and social advance of the country.

Our Party maintains that the sure way to solve its tasks is to win more and more members. Only by doing so will we be able to strike deep roots in the enterprises, in the countryside, in residential areas, in schools and in the women's and youth organizations.

In 1957 the Party had 49,900 members; in the next five years 60,000 new members joined the Party. For a number of reasons, in particular as a result of organizational weaknesses,

due largely to the lack of legal status and to repressions, certain fluctuation of membership took place. The fact that we had 100,000 members did not correctly reflect the correlation between the prestige and influence of the Party and its numerical strength. In view of this the Twelfth Congress stressed the need for more efforts to recruit new members, pointing out that this work should be done in close connection with the tasks for which the Party is fighting jointly with the masses. Implementation of these recommendations resulted in 1963 in the gain of 18,000 new members for the Party and 6,000 members for the Communist youth organizations.

The meeting of the Central Committee held last November decided to hold a recruiting campaign between January and May this year. This campaign will benefit from an analysis of last year's experience, which will make it possible to utilize more effectively the actual possibilities on each sector.

The guide in this work is afforded by the words uttered by Victorio Codovilla: "To be a member of the Communist Party and to help consolidate this Party means laying that solid foundation on which a great, prosperous and happy Argentina, linked by bonds of fraternity with all the nations advancing along the road to socialism and communism, must be built.

"Today it is particularly necessary, guided by this idea, to go among the masses, to recruit and again recruit, educate and again educate new members of the Party on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism."

Silvia PEREZ

COMMUNISTS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

In March the working class of Argentina began to carry out the plan drawn up by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) for mass actions, such as seizing enterprises with a view to winning the minimum program of demands of the working people.

In recent years the socio-economic conditions of the working-people have further deteriorated. The succession of military and civil governments, usually headed by the Army command, pursued a policy of kow-towing to the local oligarchy and foreign imperialism. This resulted in wiping out many of the social gains of the working people, in abolishing democratic rights, in transferring the national wealth to the monopolies, in bringing the unemployed figure up to 700,000 people (10 per cent of the labor force), in a sharp rise in the cost of living and in a worsening of conditions generally.

To this state of affairs the workers in a number of industries reacted by strikes for higher wages and against the closure of enterprises; in many cases they occupied the textile mills, metal-working factories and meat-packing plants. The features of these actions were the determination displayed by the workers and their high level of consciousness.

However, two lines can be discerned in the working-class movement. One, the line pursued by the Right-wing Peronists heading the unions belonging to the Association of the 62, and by the reformist leaders of the so-called "independent" unions, is the line of capitulation and class collaboration, the line of agreements reached behind the backs of the working people and against their will. The other line, the line of the Communists, the Movement for Trade Union Unity and Coordination and other forces

standing for unity, is founded on defense of class principles, on consistent struggle for the independence of the unions from both the employers and the government. The representatives of this second line always rely on the workers and organize the struggle for their demands under the banner of unity.

Owing to the fact that the militants, especially the Communists, have been expelled by the Right-wing from the General Confederation of Labor, this organization has not played the role assigned to it. It took the way of conciliation with those governments which betrayed the national interests, and kept the working people in a state of passivity.

However, the indignation of the workers and the systematic explanatory work of the Communist Party and the MUCS, forced CGT leaders to agree to conduct in 1963 large-scale joint actions such as the week of protest (in May) which culminated in a 24-hour general strike, and later the mammoth demonstration of the working people in front of the National Congress on December 6. But since these actions alternated with periods of passivity on the part of the CGT leaders, they did not yield the desired results.

The presidential election held last year was a resounding defeat for the more reactionary circles of the oligarchy and imperialism. The people rejected the policy of poverty, repression and betrayal pursued by the Guido government on orders from the International Monetary Fund. Dr. Illia, the nominee of the People's Civic Radical Union, who during the election campaign expressed support for democratic measures, was elected President.

In view of the new situation which arose after the election the Communists—trade unionists, supporters of unity organized in the Trade Union Unity Movement—defined their position as follows: not passivity and not permanent opposition to the Government, but a plan of action aimed at supporting and furthering any positive steps taken by the government, at compelling it to honor its election pledges of an anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist nature, at ending the pressure of the Right and, for this purpose, to unite the working class and all other sections of the people in a broad national democratic front.

This position was opposed by the majority of the CGT leaders belonging to the Right Peronist wing. Adopting a sectarian attitude, they called for permanent opposition to the Government. At a meeting of the Executive of the General Confederation of Labor in January delegates agreed with the plan of action outlined above. The Peronist leaders, however,

persisted in their line of harassing the Government with a view to bringing it down. Thus their position on this question coincided with that of the "gorillas" — the reactionary militarists.

Despite their opposition, the plan of action was adopted and includes the following demands: a monthly minimum wage of 13,500 pesos; measures to combat rising prices; no closure of enterprises, and measures to end unemployment; repeal of political proscriptions and all reactionary legislation; an end to the kidnapping and torture practised by the police; protection of the national resources against imperialist plunder; better conditions for pensioners, etc.

Ways and means of implementing the action plan were defined as follows: January 15 to February 28—preparation, organization and agitation; March 1-31—direct action: demonstrations, strikes and the seizing of enterprises. Throughout this whole period the CGT declares a state of mobilization and establishes contact with the mass organizations with a view to developing and leading the actions.

The first contact of this kind was established on February 4, when representatives of the political parties met the representatives of the CGT. The meeting was attended by delegations from the Peronist, Communist, Socialist, Radical, Christian Democratic, Conservative and other parties, which unanimously decided to support the plan of action. The identity of views on this question, while only verbal showed nevertheless that the CGT actions were supported by these political circles.

A different attitude was taken by employers' associations—Union of Manufacturers, Chamber of Commerce, the Agricultural Society, the unions of industrialists, and the so-called "anti-communist federation." They opposed the CGT plan on the grounds that it was "subversive" and directed against private enterprise. They requested the legal authorities to institute proceedings against the CGT leadership.

The Trade Union Unity Movement formulated its attitude in a statement issued on February 17, which was printed in newspapers as a paid announcement and widely distributed in pamphlet form. In this statement the Movement supported the CGT plan of action and called on the working people to ensure its realization. At the same time the Movement warned about the attempts being made by some trade union leaders to channel the action along lines that would play into the hands of the reactionaries who were plotting a coup d'état.

The Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity Movement stressed the need to support

the efforts of the more democratic members of the government aimed at implementing the law on normalizing supplies, nationalizing oil extraction, repealing the political proscriptions and all the reactionary legislation.

This clearcut stand enraged the Rights in the union leadership associated with reactionaries since it exposed their plans. They reacted by campaigning against the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity Movement, setting Peronists and Communists against each other and hoping to benefit from the split.

The first step in this direction was a provocation in Rosario on February 25, when a meeting of the CGT regional committee was held there. The idea of united action was making headway in the regional trade union organization whose leaders included Peronists, Communists and representatives of other trends. When the union meeting was on the point of declaring its support for united action, members of the fascist-like Tacuara terrorist organization broke into the hall and started shooting; in the fracas three men were killed and nine wounded. Since the dead were members of the gang, the terrorists decided to wreak vengeance on Communists and leaders of the MUCS. Unable to find the men chosen as victims, the bandits severely wounded two well known Communist lawyers, Drs. Guillermo Kehoe and Adolfo Trumper, and murdered Raul Alterman, leader of the Solidarity with Cuba Committee.

These crimes, perpetrated in cold blood, evoked the indignation of the nation. The aims of the terrorists were obvious: divide the workers by setting Peronists against Communists; whip up an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria by blaming the Communists for the bloodshed; supply the reactionaries with "sound" arguments for not repealing the proscriptions and the anti-democratic legislation, and prevent the return of its legal status to the Communist Party.

In the charged atmosphere which accompanied these events, the Executive of the CGT at a meeting on February 28, had before it a motion advanced by the representatives of the unions belonging to MUCS; the motion called for realization of the plan of action. It suggested holding meetings in all trade unions, at all factories and offices, setting up a representative Central Coordinating Committee, and similar local committees in the towns and villages of the country.

The resolution also called for militant actions under the leadership of these committees, such as occupying enterprises, strikes, demonstrations and public meetings.

Right-wing Peronists tried hard to prevent discussion of the resolution. And though they succeeded in doing so at the meeting, they were unable to prevent the position of MUCS from becoming widely known and appreciated by the working class.

In the meantime the MUCS proposal for constructive talks between the CGT and the Illia Government was put into effect. A series of meetings took place between the CGT leaders and the members of the government, the results of which were summarized in joint communiques. The Government undertook to re-examine in the National Congress the question of a sliding wage scale and a guaranteed minimum wage; to repeal the decree banning the activity of the Peronists and Communists; to suggest to the Congress that the minimum pension be raised; to implement the law on supplies and to include CGT representatives on the committees charged with the realization of this law; it also undertook to take steps to invigorate industry and to inaugurate a comprehensive scheme for public works in order to end the unemployment, to find jobs as quickly as possible for those who had been fired or who lost their jobs as a result of victimization.

These agreements—the outcome of the struggle—make it possible to win satisfaction of the demands of the working class in a brief space of time. Communist trade unionists are counselling the workers that if this aim is to be reached they must preserve their unity and militancy, use the new forms of struggle and organization and carry on mass actions.

The experience of this struggle has shown that, if the MUCS delegates are still in the minority in the working-class center, this is explained by the persecution, repressions and machinations resorted to by the administration, the police and the union bosses. But this state of affairs is not a true reflection of the real balance of forces, of the organizational strength and influence of the MUCS among the working people of town and country, inasmuch as its program and ideals express the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the working population. We are working to change the present correlation of forces in the working-class center and in the leadership of many unions, to ensure that the continuity and consistency of the actions become the invariable principle of the struggle for the realization of the CGT program.

The workers are beginning to realize that if the mass actions have not brought the desired results *this is due mainly to the lack of a united leadership, a consequence of the absence*

of a national-democratic front and of the fact that Communists have been expelled from the leadership of the CGT while the latter has not appeared with a plan which would determine the actions all the way to attainment of the aims.

The Twelfth Congress of our Party stressed that "the growth of militancy and class consciousness of the working people is largely due to the work done by the MUCS and the members of our Party."

The work carried out by the Communists over the years in the factories, in the fields and in offices to explain the issues of the day and unite the working class is beginning to yield fruit. This can be seen in the progress made and in the successes we have won in trade union elections in the enterprises and in the leading committees of the biggest trade unions such as the Locomotive Drivers' and Firemen's Union, agricultural trade unions, etc. This is also true for the regional organizations of the CGT. Representatives of the MUCS and Communist trade unionists have been elected to their leading bodies because the workers wanted this. It is worth noting that this process is taking place at lower levels, and in

most cases against the will of the men at the top who are trying hard to stall it.

Needless to say, in order to cope with the tasks we must strengthen the Party in the factories and on building sites. A strong factory branch is the force which enhances the consciousness and cements the organization of the working people in their struggle, that is, it helps to strengthen the factors which are decisive if the present state of affairs is to be overcome and the balance of forces in the trade union movement changed.

On the factory branches depends the work of organizing in factory and office the thousands of unity committees which will lay the foundation for building a broad national democratic front and a unified leadership of the working class. Coupled with militant actions this will make it possible to implement the positive program of the present government and pave the way to forming a government of a broad and genuinely democratic coalition which will secure freedom, jobs, progress, independence and peace for the people of Argentina.

Rubens ISCARO

Vicente MARISCHI

IDEOLOGICAL WORK AND PRACTICAL ACTIVITY

To fully appreciate the ideological work carried out by our Party it is necessary to take cognizance of at least two features of its history: from 1930 until the present day, with the exception of brief periods of relative democracy, our Party has had to function underground; since the early forties bourgeois ideology has been penetrating into the working class not so much in the shape of the revisionism of the old Social Democratic parties, which have now openly sided with the bourgeoisie, but mainly in the shape of Peronist bourgeois nationalism which, in addition to calling for class collaboration and a fascist-type of corporate state, advocates for propaganda purposes a "third way" in foreign policy, "social justice," "political sovereignty," "economic independence," etc.

Hence in ideological work we are concentrating our fire on bourgeois nationalism which has enmeshed a considerable part of the working class and the people generally. Our aim in so doing is to draw the masses closer to the Party.

We have worked for this aim by resolutely supporting the immediate demands of the masses, by consistent efforts aimed at united action in the day-to-day struggle, by painstaking educational work which, while directed

against bourgeois nationalism, teaches the masses to hate imperialism and the oligarchy, to strive for national independence and sovereignty and for social justice, and enables them to understand the ideas of socialism and communism.

Our Party is proud that no measure of repression has been able to isolate it from the masses. Even at the time when the repressions were at peak, when people were victimized in the factories and expelled from trade unions and imprisoned for merely belonging to our Party, nothing could prevent the growth of the mass movements (for democracy and trade union independence, for the demands of the peasants, women and youth, etc.) in which the Communists took an active part, bringing their ideology to the masses.

We have always focussed attention on the ideological training of our functionaries and of Party membership as a whole. We have worked for regular and effective political activity by all Party organizations, from top to bottom. Of course, when the Party is illegal, this can be achieved only in part. But, without glossing over the shortcomings, it can be said that the Party has always been able to find the appropriate forms of satisfactory discussion and solution of outstanding issues. For

example, in the period before the Twelfth Congress we organized a discussion of the theses and draft program of the Party. At that time the main task of the province, city and area committees was to acquaint as many members as possible with these documents and to discuss them at branch meetings.

No great difficulties were experienced in our Party during the discussion on the Stalin personality cult, at the time of the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary nor during the slander campaigns against the socialist countries. The reason is that the discussion, frank and open, was conducted in a true party spirit, which made it possible to supply the members with full knowledge of the situation.

In the course of this work the Leninist organizational standards and the principles of democratic centralism were observed, and demarcation established between the Party spirit and things alien to the Party. In this way we were able to educate the members and at the same time to bar the way to alien ideas and disruptive tendencies. The report made by Comrade Codovilla at a meeting of the Central Committee, which stated the viewpoint of our Party concerning the dogmatic deviation of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor and the Communist Party of China, was discussed at numerous Party meetings, after which it was printed in pamphlet form in an edition of 65,000 copies.

This explains why the lavish propaganda literature sent to our country from China and obligingly distributed with the connivance of the postal authorities and some disrupters had little effect in our Party or among the workers and the people generally. This is indicative because it shows the influence wielded by our Party among the public.

For the day-to-day guidance of ideological work the Central Committee has set up a number of committees.

A useful part in ideological work is played by the Party's educational committee. We have schools for the activists (including full-time schools); classes for special subjects, seminars and classes for tutors in which the comrades conducting the Party education work broaden their knowledge. In all, between six and seven thousand activists study in the Party's education network each year.

The cultural committee concerns itself mainly with the problems of Party intellectuals, artists and writers. The committee guides their work in all spheres of science, art and literature. Of late more intellectuals have joined the Party.

The committee handling economic research has prepared many useful works.

It should be borne in mind that both before and after the general election of July 1963, we have waged a ceaseless struggle for the legal status of our Party. Working underground, our Party is deprived of the opportunity to hold big public meetings. We do, however, hold brief meetings, lectures and talks, distribute our literature and visit the homes of workers and neighbors.

Mention should also be made of our publishing work. Our newspaper *Nuestra Palabra*, under different names and in different format, has appeared regularly throughout the whole period of illegality and regardless of the repressions. Its present circulation is in the neighborhood of 60,000 copies. *Nueva Era*, the theoretical organ of the Central Committee, appears monthly in an edition of 15,000 copies. *Cuadernos de Cultura*, has a circulation of 6,000-7,000 copies, and *Revista Economica*, 4,000. We also reprint the Spanish edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* in an edition of 10,000 copies.

The monthly *Juventud*, put out by the Communist Youth Federation, has a circulation of 15,000. Party members in the University publish a student newspaper *Linea* which circulates in 5,000-7,000 copies. There is also a special magazine for women, and other publications.

Central Committee documents are usually published in large editions. For example, Comrade Codovilla's report on the significance of the Peronist turn to the Left was issued in an edition of over 300,000 copies, and total circulation of the proceedings of the Twelfth Congress exceeded 500,000 copies.

The Marxist classics and documents of the international Communist movement are regularly published and reprinted. Thirty-seven volumes of Lenin's *Collected Works* have been published, and sold an average of 7,000 copies each. We are now preparing for the press fundamental works such as *Capital* and *Theories of Surplus Value* by Marx, selected works and letters of Marx and Engels, manuals on political economy and philosophy compiled by the USSR Academy of Sciences, etc. The *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism* edited by Kuusinen was published in an edition of 10,000 copies, the documents of the Soviet government in connection with the Caribbean crisis, 100,000 copies, etc. The illegal publishing house "Anteo" issues booklets under the general title *Problemas* and a series of pamphlets entitled *Library of a Marxist-Leninist*. To these should be added the various research works, novels and books on problems of culture.

For Buenos Aires province we print the newspaper *Frente Unido* with a circulation of 5,000 copies. The regional, district and local organizations produce their own leaflets and pamphlets; our organizations in the enterprises put out factory bulletins. In the capital alone up to 50 of these bulletins appear more or less regularly. The total edition of all our publications in 1962—from leaflets to books—exceeded 10 million copies.

Members not only circulate our literature, they arrange classes and meetings at which it is read and explained; when Marxist textbooks appear we hold classes in which they are studied by members and non-members. Non-members, chiefly workers and rank-and-file Peronists, are also drawn into the work of circulating our literature.

The aim of the Party is to ensure that its members become acquainted with the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, that they thoroughly understand the policy and tactics of the Party, and that they always march in step with the working class and the people as a whole.

We have a national school for tutors and propagandists and similar schools in some of the provinces. A new publication *Problems of Party Propaganda*, consisting of three chapters: "Agitation and Propaganda," "Ideology and Forms of Work" and "Propaganda and Organization," is designed both for these schools and for individual study.

The training and development of members are influenced also by their direct participation in the day-to-day work of the Party organizations.

The Party wants its members to realize that propaganda is not an end in itself, that we engage in it not only with a view to disseminating our ideas, but in order to help the masses to organize themselves for the struggle for their demands.

We explain that urgent economic demands should be linked with political demands (for a government of a new type, for democracy, peace, national independence), and that the gains of the masses can be preserved and developed only by advancing towards socialism.

Our propaganda is designed to equip the masses with a profound understanding of the problem of the hegemony of the proletariat and the leading role of the Communist Party, with the understanding that *only a strong Communist Party deeply rooted among the working class and the people generally can guarantee the final victory of the working people and that this necessitates strengthening the Party in every way*. That is why we pay so much attention to recruiting and educating new members.

We naturally never forget about educating the Party cadres in the spirit of strict observance of the standards and methods of underground work.

In sum, we can say that our ideological work is developing in close contact with the militant actions of the working class and the people of Argentina and is aimed at the realization of the slogan advanced by our Twelfth Congress—"Mass Action to Win Power."

Alberto FERRARI,
Fernando NADRA

WOMEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE STRUGGLE

Women play an active part in the work of our Party, in the working-class and democratic actions in the country and women are joining the Party in growing numbers.

Women account for 29 per cent of the membership of the Party organization in Buenos Aires. In the Chacarita district of the capital, for example, of the 350 new members 153 were women. In the Flores district where a recruiting campaign was conducted at the factory gates, 100 new members joined, among them 45 women.

In Mataderos district the women members of two Party branches together with the mothers of the pupils in one of the schools started a movement for more teachers (there is only one teacher for every 100 pupils). This movement, which spread to other parts, also gave an impetus to the drive for new members. An

example was set by a recent recruit, formerly a follower of Peron, who recruited 20 new members, mostly women.

In connection with the rising cost of living, housewives headed by women Communists are campaigning to get the government to take measures to curb profiteers.

Notable in this respect was the big demonstration of housewives held in the capital last December. Responding to the call of the Housewives' Committee hundreds of women from all over the city came by bus, truck and other means of transport to the main square where they formed a large column which headed for the municipality and the government palace, where a deputation submitted their demands to the authorities.

Women Communists address meetings in the market places and on the streets at which they

explain the reasons for the high prices, call upon the women to form committees or housewives and to join the struggle. After the meeting held at the central market place in Once District 100 women gave their addresses, saying that they wanted to be members of housewives' committees. In Mataderos district 40 women workers after hearing a woman speaker at a factory gate meeting decided to form a committee. In Barracas district, essentially a working-class district, four such committees have been formed.

In the Saavedra district where thugs hired by profiteers set fire to a municipal store selling goods at reduced prices, the women appointed a deputation of 16 to hand in a petition to the municipality requesting that the shop be rebuilt and the culprits punished.

The women are also active in the fight against malnutrition. In La Boca district they opened a dining-room for the unemployed with funds

collected by a mothers' committee which enjoys the support of the entire population of the district. When schoolteachers in the Barracas district reported that because of undernourishment the children were making poor progress, a special dining-room was opened with the help of the mothers' committee.

Extensive explanatory and organizational work among the capital's housewives is carried out by the Women's Union which has branches in practically all districts of the capital.

As noted earlier, more and more women are uniting around the Communist Party. Last year close to 2,000 women joined the Party in the capital. This means that new functionaries have to be trained for the new branches, more effective leadership given to the women's committees which are invaluable in helping the district committee of the Party in guiding the day-to-day struggle of the women.

Susana DOMINGUEZ

FRIENDS OF THE PARTY HELP WITH MONEY

Despite the difficulties caused by the repression our Party is able, thanks to the efforts of its members and sympathizers, to finance its activities. Even our enemies who always talk about "Moscow gold," are obliged to admit that we are making good headway. In this connection, an FBI agent briefing his subordinates in Buenos Aires, said: "The talk about Moscow gold is okay as a propaganda line, but what really worries us is the amount of money subscribed to Communist Party funds here at home."

Exactly! Thousands of activists and non-members donate money to the Party thus giving the lie to the slanders of our enemies.

Our income derives from membership dues and the monthly contributions donated by sympathizers. Then there are the annual drives for funds — one of the forms in which the people support our Party. This support is steadily growing as the following figures show. During the first drive for funds in 1947 we collected 708,840 pesos; during the tenth one (1956)—12,921,333 pesos and during the seventeenth one in 1963—more than one hundred million pesos. Even considering the devaluation of the peso the results are most heartening.

An important stage in the preparations for the annual fund raising campaign is the discussion held at all Party levels, when we assess the political situation in which the campaign will be conducted, the difficulties likely to be encountered and decide on the target figure. Final arrangements are made in the branches and in the collecting committees where each decides on his individual plan of action. During the

actual campaign we make whatever changes are necessary to ensure success.

Last year some 40,000 activists took part in the fund drive; financial support came from more than 350,000 people. This fact is significant considering the unfavorable conditions in which the campaign was held — the economic crisis, widespread unemployment (700,000), closure of factories, the fact that the salaries of civil servants had not been paid and, last but not least, the fact that the anti-communist hysteria whipped up by the Pentagon was at its height and our members were being thrown into prison.

Yet, the drive was a success. The explanation is that funds were collected not only by members and sympathizers but also by organizations. The railwaymen's union, for example, received contributions from more than 15,000 people (two million pesos). In Rosario, Santa Fe province, railwaymen collected 238,000 pesos.

In the federal capital the campaign extended to more than 600 enterprises and offices: metal-working plants, power services, printing works, building sites, banks, restaurants and cafe workers, the trading network, etc. More than 90,000 workers in the Buenos Aires industrial belt made donations.

Contributions came from electrical workers, community clubs, cultural societies and co-operatives. In the federal capital alone 150 organizations helped in the campaign.

Noteworthy was the activity of women members who in many places were the heart and soul of the drive. Active among housewives, neighbors and their friends, they carried out

exemplary work, organizing bazaars, picnics, etc.

During the 1963 campaign in the countryside, nearly everywhere the sum collected was double the amount collected in the previous year. In the agricultural areas of the Buenos Aires province 10,000 people made donations. Many peasants unable to pay in cash made their contribution in the form of products which as a rule were sold by the finance committee of the respective zone.

Good results were achieved among the youth. During the campaign all kinds of cultural, sports and other measures were carried out in which tens of thousands of young people participated. Over a million pesos were collected among students. A total of 577,476 pesos was

collected among secondary school pupils. This is a sizeable sum when it is remembered that most of the pupils come from families of modest means.

Mention should also be made of the activities of the fund collecting committees which is fast becoming a mass movement in support of the Party. More than 350 such committees are functioning at present and to date have received contributions from over 50,000 people.

Each of the fund campaigns strengthens the Party, brings it fresh contacts, more readers for our press and new members. These campaigns add to the experience of our Party functionaries and inspire them with renewed confidence in the fight for the ideals of the Party.

Felipe BESRODNIK

Bulgaria: Progress in Party Education

LAST year the Sofia organization of the Party in its educational work studied the decisions of our Eighth Congress which adopted the program for completing the building of socialism and gradually going over to building communism. Our aim was to help all our members and the non-Party people to gain a deeper understanding of what we have done so far and to stimulate a closer examination of the work of every factory and office, big and small.

The work done previously in the Party education system, which specialized in training both leading functionaries and the rank and file in economics, had to a considerable extent equipped our members for concrete analysis of current problems in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory. The experience gained in organizing the study of the political economy of socialism and the concrete economics of particular enterprises, cooperative farms, trading establishments, building organizations and transport services stood us in good stead.

At many enterprises where Party education work was well organized, participants in study groups, schools and seminars studying problems connected with the material and technological base of socialism, international socialist division of labor, etc., not only discussed general issues but analyzed the functioning of their own enterprises, suggesting ways and means of improving production organization, accelerating technological progress, improving quality and reducing cost of production.

In the schools and seminars functioning in educational establishments there were lively discussions on the shaping of a scientific outlook, the role of the school, family and society in moulding the rising generation, combating egoism and individualism, etc.

In many branches the economic policy of the Party, basic questions of Marxist-Leninist theory, problems of the international Communist movement and other subjects were discussed at membership meetings open to the general public and also elucidated through lectures and other forms of propaganda.

This year, besides subjects included in the basic syllabuses for the various types of study groups, we are studying the current problems of the international working-class movement, which have evoked keen interest among members and non-members alike. About half of the total time is allotted to these problems.

Our experience is that the best form of theoretical and methodological aid to tutors is the permanent seminar. Besides the seminars already functioning at the district Party education centers, 250 new ones were organized at branch level in factories and offices. Teachers from the Higher Party School and other colleges as well as leading functionaries from the enterprises were invited to lead the seminars. The district propaganda departments and political education centers pay particular attention to ensuring that classes are conducted at a high theoretical level and the tutors given proper assistance.

Practical necessity, especially during the last two or three years, has impelled us to enlist more spare-time workers in Party education. Although formerly too Party members led study groups and seminars, delivered lectures, etc., in their spare time, it was believed that the education workers at city and district level should be full-time functionaries. As it was, however, the steady expansion of Party education turned them into mere registrars of information on attendance, progress of studies, etc.,

with little time left over to devote to selecting qualified tutors.

The Party committees and education workers made a careful study, especially after our Eighth Congress, of the experience of the CPSU in replacing full-time functionaries with volunteer workers, assessed their needs and possibilities, and set to work to enlist activists to help the Propaganda Departments and education centers.

This was done in Sofia as well. The growing enrollment and the emergence of new forms of Party education in recent years have made it necessary for the city and district committees to render more qualified aid to tutors' seminars, and especially to the leaders of these seminars. To meet this need, methodological committees were established to render such aid.

The city Party education center has eight of these committees: two on economics, three on history, and three on philosophy. More than 100 researchers and other specialists take part in their work. These committees enable the City Committee of the Party and its Propaganda Department to pay more attention to the elaboration of theoretical problems, methods of instruction, and the theoretical level in general of Party education work in the city. As a result, the City Committee is in a better position to spot shortcomings in time, to correct mistakes and generally speaking to render assistance to the study groups, schools, etc.

The methodological committees prepare source material for the tutors, arrange consultations for them on various problems, study and generalize the best experience, and help the branches organize their educational work. For instance, last year the committee on the economics of industry, transport and construction prepared materials to be used in studying the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress, viz., outlines on the basic problems of industrial development in 1960-80, transport and telecommunications in the same period, the main tasks in capital construction, etc. These materials were a big help to the Party education centers in the districts, factories and offices, as well as to the tutors themselves.

Sofia now has 64 political education centers with a volunteer staff of about 450. The example of the center at the Low Tension Electric Equipment Factory affords a general idea of the organization and methods of work of these centers.

The center is directed by a board consisting of the chairman and six members. It has sections dealing with Party education, propaganda, and organization of lectures, the press and radio, literature and art, and dissemination

of technical knowledge. The nearly 70 activists working in it have a good Marxist-Leninist and professional grounding, and are all experienced organizers. Three permanent seminars have been set up for the 150 tutors conducting classes at the factory. Besides, the center arranges group and individual consultations, and prepares annotations on books, visual study aids, etc. There is also a lecturers' group, whose members deliver lectures at meetings and conduct discussions in the shops. The press and radio section attends to the factory bulletin and the wall newspapers, visual propaganda, and broadcasts over the factory radio center. The technical education section has organized a lecture bureau which propagates the latest technological achievements in Bulgaria, the USSR and other socialist countries, and popularizes the experience of the best workers. This section helps the factory trade union committee and the local Scientific and Technological Society organize vocational training for workers and advanced courses for both workers and technicians.

The political education centers in other enterprises work roughly along the same lines.

Substantial and multiform aid is rendered the tutors and lecturers by the political education center attached to the City Committee of the Party. It issues a bulletin on international problems and another carrying answers to questions sent in by tutors and lecturers.

All the district propaganda departments have groups of spare-time instructors who supervise ideological work in the branches, participate in check-ups organized by the district committees and help to prepare materials for these committees and their bureaus. For example, more than 200 Party members working in their spare time for the Dimitrov District Committee did much of the preparatory work for a meeting held by the committee to discuss ideological work. They assisted in making a detailed study of the work done in this sphere in the district and drafted the resolution of the meeting. Afterwards they helped the branches carry out this resolution.

Needless to say we still have difficulties in the sphere of Party education. The city and district committees are not yet making proper use of the cadres at their disposal, and leading functionaries often leave work with tutors to others instead of attending to it themselves.

We are striving to overcome these shortcomings and to raise our Party education work to a higher ideological and theoretical level.

*Maria ZAHARIEVA,
Secretary, Sofia City Committee
of the Party*

CENTENARY OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

Pages from the Past

*(Minutes of the General Council of the First International)**

ON September 28, 1964 progressives throughout the world will celebrate the centenary of the founding of the First International—the International Working Men's Association, the first revolutionary mass organization of the world proletariat, which laid the foundation of the international working-class and Communist movement of today.

The five Minute Books of the General Council, covering the period from October 1864 to August 1872 when the General Council was transferred to New York, give a picture of the day-by-day work of the Council and of the Association's various sections. (The Russian edition of the Minutes is being prepared for the press by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow and in the original, by the "Progress" Publishing House.) It would be difficult to overestimate the value of this edition. The Minutes are the only document in the world which most fully reflects the scope of the work done by the General Council. They tell us of the working-class struggle in different countries and continents, bring to us the letters of strikers, the reports sent in by the corresponding secretaries of the General Council about the affiliation of workers' organizations to the International and the establishment of new sections of the Association not only in the industrially developed countries of Europe and America, but also in the most outlying parts of the globe. The Minutes show us the range of questions discussed by the General Council—from publication of the weekly reports of the Council meetings to complex problems of theory and the tactics of the proletarian movement.

From the very first day of the Association Marx's primary concern was to safeguard its proletarian character and especially that of its

leading body—the General Council—against the attempts of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois republicans to use the newly-formed international organization for their own ends. Marx ensured the predominance of the revolutionary proletarian core in the General Council through a series of organizational measures: preliminary discussion of the nomination of new members, abolition of honorary memberships, expulsion of members who were not active. As a result the Council became a highly efficient leading body of the International. Busy though he was, and in spite of poor health, Marx regularly attended the Council meetings and took an active part in resolving the many problems discussed, big and small. Thanks to Marx the General Council took a correct stand on all the main questions of the theory and tactics of the international working-class movement and proved equal to the demands made upon it as the leading body of the International.

The idea of struggle for the unity of the international proletariat runs through all the Minute Books. "Past experience has shown," Marx wrote in the "Inaugural Address," one of the first program-documents of the International, "how disregard of the bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts." The first program-documents of the International, written by Marx, paved the way to united working-class action. The Minutes show how the General Council secured this united action, how by publicizing the daily struggle of the workers it brought home to them the common aims of the class struggle of all working people.

Marx and the proletarian core of the General Council attached particular importance to the strike struggle of the working people. Although always hard pressed financially and frequently unable to pay the rent for the premises where it regularly met on Tuesdays, the General Council, whenever it received news of a strike, immediately organized the collection of funds among workers of the allied trades in other countries, published appeals warning against strike-breakers recruited abroad, carried on ex-

*The General Council of the First International 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes. Moscow 1961 and 1962. (Russian and English edition). The General Council of the First International 1866-1868. Minutes. (The 1963 Russian and the 1964 English edition.) The volume The General Council of the First International 1868-1870. Minutes, is presently with the printers, and the 4th and 5th Minute Books covering the period 10. VIII, 1870-16. IX. 1871 and 26. IX. 1871-30, VIII, 1872 respectively are being prepared for the press. In addition to the Minutes of the General Council the Edition includes the main documents of this leading body of the International, most of which were written by Marx and Engels. Each volume contains a preface devoted to varying aspects of the General Council's activities for the period under review. The edition is furnished with explanatory notes and indexes.—Ed.

planatory work among the workers brought from other countries by employers to replace strikers, exposed the brutality of the government troops in crushing the strikes, etc.

Every successful strike, every instance of material support given by the General Council to the strikers won it more supporters in the different countries, multiplied the number of working-class organizations and individual members that joined the International. So great was their fear of the Association that employers often dismissed workers for belonging to it. It was the opinion of the capitalist press that all the strikes on the continent were engineered by London. One of the French papers wrote in 1870 that the International was the most powerful of all hitherto existing societies, that it started and ended strikes at will (General Council Meeting of May 17, 1870).

Combating the deeply erroneous views current among the workers regarding the strike struggle, the need to organize trade unions, etc. (the Proudhonists, Lassalleans, and others), and the purely economic concept regarding the tasks of the trade unions (British trade unionism), the General Council, basing itself on the experience of the strike struggle in those years, got the Geneva Congress to include in the program of the International the Marxist concept of the tasks of the economic struggle of the proletariat. Lenin attached the utmost importance to this decision of the Geneva Congress. In his work *Protest by Russian Social Democrats*, he wrote in 1899: "... the general question, or the question in principle, today remains at it was presented by Marxism. The conviction that the class struggle must necessarily combine the political and economic struggle into one integral whole has entered into the flesh and blood of international Social-Democracy."

As a result of their participation in the class struggle the workers began to realize that it was not at all a matter of indifference to them under what form of government they lived, that they wanted the fullest democratic freedoms—freedom of speech, assembly, the press, etc. It was the task of the General Council to help the working-class movement correctly to combine the economic and the political struggle, to overcome the influence of anarchist and reformist ideas on the attitude to the State. At the Council meeting of May 3, 1870, Marx said that it was the aim of the Association to support all political movements that contributed to the economic emancipation of the working class. The General Council followed this line throughout the existence of the International. The Council held that workers' participation in all democratic movements was

essential since they helped to weaken the foundations of the existing order and to unite the broadest sections of the people around the working class. These traditions of the First International, further developed and multiplied by the subsequent course of the Communist movement, are the historical basis of the united front tactics of our day.

The General Council rallied the working class to participate in the electoral reform movement in England in 1865-67, supported the struggle of the American people against the slave-owning South, launched a big campaign in 1870-71 for the recognition of the French Republic by Britain, etc. Participation in these campaigns with temporary allies, with petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers did not signify renunciation of the Association's basic principles of the ideological and organizational independence of the working-class movement. This stand enhanced the prestige of the working class and objectively helped it to win the hegemony in the democratic movement.

During the years of the First International the working class for the first time in history began actively to intervene in foreign policy issues; for the first time it declared that it no longer chose to be cannon fodder in the bloody gambles of crowned or uncrowned rulers. In the address to the National Labor Union of the United States, read at the General Council Meeting of May 11, 1869, Marx wrote that the working classes are "bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war."

Marx and Engels held that wars could be ended for all time only after the capitalist system was abolished. They realized that the working class was not in a position in those years to prevent war. But they did not propose that the workers should resign themselves to the idea that war was inevitable. On the contrary, they urged them to wage an active struggle against the danger of war, stressing that war could retard the growing working-class movement indefinitely, that it was of advantage only to the exploiters who want to turn "our fast-growing international cooperation into an internecine war." In connection with the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, the threat of war between Britain and the United States in 1869 and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 the question of the attitude of the proletariat to war, of the need to abolish standing armies was discussed time and again by the General Council and congresses of the International. The resolution of the Brussels Congress stressed that "the people even now can diminish the number of

wars by opposing those who declare and make war."

When the Franco-Prussian war broke out the General Council concentrated on explaining to the workers the real aims of the war, to prevent them from being engulfed by chauvinism. The General Council endorsed two appeals written by Marx, outlining the tactics of the working class at various stages of the war; these documents, published in many thousand copies, found their way to the proletariat of the belligerent and neutral countries of Europe. In the fight against war, the International did not confine itself to narrow sectarianism, it supported all anti-war actions, even those sponsored by non-working-class organizations, without, of course, yielding on issues of principle.

Today, as in the lifetime of the First International, the working class continues to be the most consistent opponent of war and the main force in the fight against it. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties it is fighting to banish war from society in our time, even before the capitalist system has been completely abolished on a world scale. Now that the working class which heads the powerful front of all peace-loving forces, the countries of the socialist camp and the progressive forces of the world, is in a position to curb the warmongers, we can say with justified pride: yes, the workers have always fought against war even when they were not sufficiently strong and united to prevent its outbreak.

The destinies of the oppressed peoples always held the attention of the General Council. It is noteworthy that the idea to found the International Working Men's Association was engendered by the joint action of English and French workers in defense of the national-liberation movement of the Polish people. The General Council which fostered the spirit of proletarian internationalism, consistently exposed the colonial nature of British rule in Ireland. On the example of the attitude of the English working class to the Irish national-liberation movement Marx taught the proletariat to see in the oppressed peoples their ally in the fight against the common foe. "As long as the split between the English and Irish working people lasted," Marx declared at the General Council meeting on March 14, 1871, "the ruling classes would have the power to keep down both." The idea that the proletariat of the oppressor nation must, in the interests of its own freedom, wage a struggle against the policy of national oppression was regarded by Lenin as a basic principle of internationalism and socialism.

And although the national-liberation move-

ment of the colonial peoples was still in embryo in those years, the General Council established contact with those countries and sought to found its sections there, especially where an industrial proletariat was taking shape. In a letter to Calcutta, dated August 15, 1871, the Council stressed "the necessity of enrolling natives in the Association." The International had its sections in Algeria, Argentina, Australia and New Zealand.

The General Council popularized the idea that the ultimate goal of the working-class movement was the socialist reconstruction of society. The resolutions of the Brussels (1868) and Basel (1869) congresses of the International on the abolition of private property and the introduction of socialist ownership of the land, mines, etc., marked a victory for the ideas of scientific communism over the concepts of petty-bourgeois socialism. The adoption of these resolutions was to have tremendous theoretical and political importance for the entire subsequent activity of the International. Their adoption had been made possible by the entire preceding activity of the General Council which in preparation for the congresses had held several very important theoretical discussions which gave Marx the opportunity to popularize the basic ideas of his economic theory. (Marx's report "Wages, Price and Profit" read by him at the Council meetings of June 20 and 27, 1865, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The different questions" written by him in 1866, his contributions to the discussions in July and August 1869 on the right of inheritance, etc.). Since then these socialist demands have become the program-demands of the working-class movement.

When the world's first proletarian revolution started in Paris and the Paris Commune was proclaimed, the General Council at its meeting on March 21, 1871 heard a detailed report by Engels on the events in Paris. Throughout April and May 1871 the General Council closely followed the valiant struggle of the Commune. Marx and Engels explained its significance to the international proletariat. "The principles of the Commune," Marx said at the General Council meeting of May 23, 1871, "were eternal and could not be crushed, they would assert themselves again and again until the working classes were emancipated." Regarding support for the world's first proletarian government a supreme manifestation of proletarian internationalism, and defense of its own cause, the General Council organized aid to the Communards and ultimately when the Commune was drowned in blood the General Council considered it its prime duty to uphold its cause against the slanderous attacks of the bourgeois

press and all temporary fellow-travellers. It sought to educate the workers on the lessons of the Commune and initiated, beginning with the meeting of March 18, 1872, the annual commemoration of the Paris Commune by the international proletariat.

After the Paris Commune the International entered upon a new phase. The lessons of the Commune had made it clear to the workers that without an independent party having a clear understanding of the aims and tasks of the working-class movement and closely connected with it, the victory of the proletariat was impossible. The Commune as the first experiment in proletarian dictatorship accelerated the process of demarcation in the working-class movement between the genuinely proletarian following on the one hand and the reformist and Left sectarians on the other. The demarcation was seen in the attitude to the document of the General Council *The Civil War in France* written by Marx in which, basing himself on the experience of the Commune, he developed the doctrine about revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The opportunist leaders of the English trade unions hastened to dissociate themselves from this document and from the International generally. At the meeting of June 20, 1871, Odger and Lucraft, both members of the General Council, withdrew their signatures to the document and resigned from the General Council. The General Council was attacked by the anarchist supporters of Bakunin who, under the flag of opposition to political activity that did not pursue the direct and immediate object of achieving the triumph of the workers' cause over capital, rallied all the anti-Marxists in the International.

With reaction in the saddle in most of the countries of Europe, and affiliation to the International regarded as treason, Bakuninist propaganda impelled the workers to ill-prepared actions which could not but miscarry. The Bakuninites, who regarded the General Council as the principal obstacle in the way to spreading their dogmas in the working-class movement, concentrated their attacks on this body—the brain and organizational center of the International, demanding that its functions be restricted and the rights of the local sections and federations extended. They concealed their nationalist tendencies by indulging in demagoguery about the alleged "dictatorship" of the General Council.

The theoretical groundlessness and harmfulness of their Left sectarianism were sharply exposed in a number of documents written by

Marx and Engels on behalf of the General Council both before and after the Paris Commune. Particularly noteworthy was the circular of the General Council headed "The Imaginary Splits in the International" and adopted at its meeting on March 5, 1872. Marx and Engels showed that this sectarianism had its roots in theoretical backwardness and isolation from the revolutionary mass movement, in dogmatism and pseudo-revolutionary adventurism; they exposed the anarchist dogma about the working class "abstaining" from political activity, the negative attitude to general democratic movements and the arguments against "authoritarianism," which concealed the desire to undermine the unity of the international working-class movement, to deprive it of tried and tested leaders. The anarchists outside the General Council formed a bloc with the reformists on the Council. This was particularly apparent at the General Council meeting of August 6, 1872 when Hales and other reformists blocked the adoption of the appeal to the members of the International exposing the intrigues of the Bakuninites in its Spanish sections.

In the last two years of its activity in London the General Council continued to elaborate the theoretical and organizational principles of the proletarian party. In October 1871 the General Council set up a special committee to edit the text of the London conference resolutions. This final text of the resolution on the political activities of the working class adopted by the General Council at its meeting on October 16, 1871 was included in the General Rules of the International and published by the General Council at the end of 1871. In preparation for the Hague Congress in the summer of 1872 the General Council drafted the organizational principles of the proletarian party. During the discussion on the draft Marx and Engels warned against giving the leading body of the organization unlimited powers, for this might end in its losing contact with the workers and becoming a tool in the hands of the unprincipled and the ambitious (General Council, July 2, 1872).

The publication of the Minutes of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association is a milestone in the onward march of the international working-class movement; it will give the Communist and Workers' parties a powerful weapon in the fight against all kinds of reformist and "Left" sectarian trends, will help to educate the working people in the spirit of unity, proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of the traditions bequeathed to us by the First International.

WMR INTERVIEWS**Cypriots Can and Must Live in Peace and Amity**

The following is a transcript of an interview given to our journal by E. Papiaoannu General Secretary of the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) and A. Ziaridis, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of that organization, on the situation in Cyprus.

Question: What can you say of the situation on Cyprus? What in your opinion should be done to ensure the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus and peaceful cooperation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots?

Answer: The fact that a small country like Cyprus, with its population of about 580,000 approximately one-fifth of whom are Turks, for four months now has successfully upheld its independence and sovereignty despite the pressure, threats and armed force of NATO and especially the Anglo-American imperialists, is confirmation of the point made in the 1960 Statement to the effect that things have changed, and we are living at a time when imperialism is no longer able to impose its will on the peoples.

The success of the Cyprus people's resistance is due to two factors, one internal, the unity of the people, and the other external—the firm support of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp as a whole and all other peace-loving peoples of the world. It is a generally recognized fact that never in their long years of struggle have our people achieved such a high degree of unity as today. United action in organizing resistance to imperialism, in defense of independence, territorial integrity and national honor is the rule both among the people and at the highest levels. Party differences and fanaticism have been laid aside. The people in the towns and villages, irrespective of status, political views and party affiliation, are working together in the militia, in the auxiliary services, collecting funds for mutual aid, removing possible causes of friction and preventing conflicts. Our Party gives its full and unconditional support to the government in the struggle to consolidate the country's independence, and to repel encroachments from without. AKEL has placed all its forces at the disposal of the government for this purpose.

But unity in itself would not be enough to foil the aggressive designs harbored by the enemies of Cyprus were it not for another important factor, namely, the solidarity and

support of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the solidarity and support accorded by all freedom-loving peoples. There is scarcely a Cypriot who will not tell you that Cyprus owes its rescue from the clutches of the NATO imperialists primarily to the support of the Soviet Union. We Cypriots are grateful to all the freedom-loving peoples, and especially to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, for this support.

This solidarity and support on the part of the USSR and the entire socialist camp is a crushing reply to those slanderers who allege that the Soviet Union has left the national-liberation movement in the lurch. Cyprus is the best example of the real and effective international aid which the Soviet Union and the other socialist camp countries render nations fighting for national independence. And it is this effective help that the peoples need and not empty, ineffectual slogans.

Our struggle is not between Greeks and Turks, as it may appear at first glance or as the imperialists would have the world believe. It is the struggle of the Cypriot people against NATO, specifically against Anglo-American imperialism which wants to keep Cyprus as its strategic base in the Near and Middle East and as a threat to the liberation movement of the Arab and other peoples in this area.

In order to preserve the sovereignty of Cyprus and ensure peace between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the Zurich and London agreements must be abrogated, the military bases dismantled and the island demilitarized. The Cyprus problem can be solved only by observing the principle of self-determination. We are convinced that the moment the threat of imperialist intervention is removed, the chief cause of the tension will disappear. Cypriots, both Greek and Turkish, will be able as before to resolve their own educational, cultural, religious and related problems without outside interference. But Cyprus must be governed in a democratic way, in keeping with the will of the majority of the people. As in any democra-

tic country, the minority has its rights, and the Greek Cypriots have repeatedly displayed their willingness fully to guarantee the rights of the Turkish minority.

Our position is quite clear: AKEL is the party of the working people of Cyprus, i.e., the party uniting both Greeks and Turks, as well as people of other nationality on the island.

In the past the ranks of AKEL included a good number of Turks. Over 3,000 Turkish workers were members of the All-Cyprus Federation of Labor (PEO), considerably more than belonged to the Turkish trade unions. After 1958 when clashes between the two communities began, Turkish terrorists killed several Turkish members of AKEL, and by means of threats forced the Turkish workers to leave the PEO and join the Turkish unions. The number of Turkish members of AKEL also dropped as a result of the terror. This, however, does not mean that AKEL has lost contact with the Turkish workers. Even in the present tense situation, AKEL's ranks include Turks who are represented on its Central Committee.

AKEL, as its program states, recognizes the equality of the Turkish minority and is ready, in common with President Makarios and the people of Cyprus, to provide due guarantees of their rights.

Question: The bourgeois press contains reports about alleged persecution of Turkish refugees by Greek Cypriots. What can you say about this?

Answer: We do have a problem of Turkish refugees. But who created the problem, who is to blame for it?

To say that the Turkish refugee problem arose as a result of the "persecution" by the Greeks is a downright lie. No such persecution has occurred on Cyprus. What happened is that the chauvinistic leaders of the Turkish community and the terrorist organization of Turkish extremists have, with the help of British troops, repeatedly engineered the transfer to other districts (to the Turkish sector of Nicosia, for example) of Turks who both before and after the December events lived in peace with the local Greek population. The purpose of this resettlement was to have districts with a dense Turkish population in order to back up the subsequent demand for the partition of the island or, in the extreme case, to establish a cantonal or federal system.

This "resettlement" is effected by various means. For a start rumors are spread that the Greeks are planning a wholesale massacre of Turks, and the more gullible Turks allow themselves to be persuaded to move to "safety."

In most cases, however, this ruse does not work, since the Turkish villagers see no great threat to themselves from their Greek neighbors. When the rumor does not succeed, terror is then brought into play. Turks who refuse to move have been brutally beaten up.

That is how the Turkish refugee "problem" was manufactured. It is true that the Turkish refugees live in appalling conditions. They have spent a harsh winter in tents, in schools and other buildings ill-suited for the purpose. The government of the republic has repeatedly expressed its sympathy and its readiness to alleviate the sufferings of the Turkish Cypriots whom the imperialists are exploiting for their own ends. Our Party is doing everything to help the Turkish refugees to return to their homes and live in peace with their Greek compatriots.

Question: The imperialist press is saying that Greek and Turkish Cypriots will never be able to live together in peace. What is your view?

Answer: Latest reports from Cyprus indicate that the more sober-minded of the Turkish minority there are now calling for a cessation of hostilities. Noteworthy was the telegram sent to Prime Minister Inonu by the Turkish scientist Dr. Ihsan Ali from Paphos. Dr. Ihsan Ali urged the Turkish Prime Minister not to heed the chauvinistic leadership of the Turkish Cypriots and to assist in normalizing the situation on the island. Similar manifestations of good-will have occurred in other parts of Cyprus where the local representatives of the Turkish population are likewise urging co-operation and friendship. It should be said that in most towns with Greek and Turkish residents there have been no clashes; in many of these places committees consisting of Greeks and Turks are keeping the peace, safeguarding the property of both communities and averting incidents. These committees are functioning normally.

We have no doubt whatever that cooperation and amity between Greeks and Turks is possible. This is borne out by the experience of decades when Greek and Turk farm laborers worked together on big farms regardless of who owned the land. In the mines, factories, on building sites, in the ports and indeed in all branches of production Greeks and Turks work side by side. In the class struggle too Greek and Turkish workers act together. There has not been a single strike in the history of the Cyprus labor movement in which Greeks and Turks have not participated jointly.

Question: The British imperialists are lauding the peace-keeping role of their troops in Cyprus, whereas the Cyprus government and

AKEL maintain that it is the presence of British troops that is the cause of the trouble. What is your opinion?

Answer: Had the British troops on Cyprus taken a different attitude than they have done so far, or better still, had they not been on the island at all, there is no doubt that the government security forces could have restored order and tranquility long ago.

The British troops intervened in Cyprus during the Christmas holidays ostensibly to help end the bloodshed. In reality they gave every support to the Turkish extremists. The operations of the British armed forces were aimed at rigging up some sort of Turkish state in order later to have grounds for partitioning the island. Far from helping the Cyprus government to normalize the situation and restore order, they have been preventing the police and armed forces from carrying out their duties.

The cease-fire agreement reached in Nicosia after the Christmas events made provision for the Greek and Turkish units on the island to return to barracks. But whereas the Greek troops complied with this order the day after the agreement was reached, the Turkish units continue to operate in the north of Nicosia, and the British General in command of the Greek and Turkish forces has not yet given any explanation of this violation of the truce.

The "green line," as the British call the demarcation line drawn between the Greek and Turkish sections of Nicosia, is in reality being used to give protection to the extremists and to cover up their crimes.

Question: What is your opinion with regard to the role of the United Nations forces on Cyprus?

Answer: Cyprus did not ask for an international force to be sent and does not need such a force to safeguard its internal security. The threat to Cyprus comes not from within but from without. However, since the question of sending a United Nations force to the island came up and inasmuch as the Turkish minority on Cyprus believed that the presence of this force was essential to their safety, the people of Cyprus, wishing to show their good will toward the Turkish Cypriots, agreed to the proposal. The actions of the United Nations force, however, must be limited to helping the Cyprus government restore order and peace on the island. The main responsibility rests with the Cyprus government, as is stressed in the resolutions of the Security Council. The role of the United Nations force is thus purely auxiliary, and any action it might take in violation of the sovereign rights of Cyprus and the functions of the Cyprus government will meet with determined resistance on the part of the Cyprus people.

Wind of Change over Zanzibar

At the beginning of the year the People's Republic of Zanzibar and Pemba joined the ranks of the newly independent states of Africa. In an interview with Mr. Said Salim Abdulla, editor of the Zanzibar news service Zanews, our correspondent asked him about the political situation in Zanzibar and the prospects for further development.

The January revolution in Zanzibar, which overthrew the Sultanate and the former government, upset the camp of the imperialists. Forced to relinquish their former possessions, the colonialists are seeking to preserve their domination by leaving behind in the new countries puppets who would obediently carry out their will. This was the method the British neo-colonialists used in Zanzibar.

The granting of independence to the island on December 10, 1963 did not give Zanzibar genuine independence. And although the British flag was lowered in the capital, the feudal socio-economic structure and the bureaucratic machine—an instrument for protecting the political and economic interests of imperialism—remained intact.

But the people did not want to reconcile themselves to this situation once formal independence had been achieved. Their organized action ended in the victorious uprising of January 12, 1964, which took the form of a real people's revolution.

The Zanzibar revolution is of great significance for the entire African continent, and especially for the countries of East Africa. It signifies the failure of attempts by the neo-colonialists to restrict the independence of the young states to the framework of formal sovereignty. The victory won by our people showed that regimes controlled by imperialist placemen are powerless in the face of the revolutionary pressure of the masses. Its significance from the standpoint of the struggle for genuine

independence and social progress in Africa lies in its far-reaching implications and the radical social reforms it envisages.

The revolutionary government proclaimed Zanzibar to be a People's Republic and announced that its basic policy would be the abolition of feudalism and capitalist exploitation and the creation of a socialist state. Giving expression to the will of the people the government is elaborating a program for the fundamental reconstruction of the life of the country.

One of the first measures taken by the government was nationalization of the land which becomes the property of the state. This is to be followed by the nationalization of the export and import trade and the foreign monopolies. The program set forth in the "Zanzibar Declaration" calls for the abolition of unemployment. The government has promised to provide everyone with jobs by June 1, to provide for the aged and to solve the housing problem within the next two years.

The decisions to confiscate the land belonging to the feudal lords and to organize co-operatives, to nationalize large-scale enterprise, to end unemployment and to implement fundamental social changes have been welcomed by the people.

The new government's foreign policy too has popular support. The people of Zanzibar want to be friends with all countries irrespective of their political systems and ideology. The government is ready to establish diplomatic relations with all countries whatever their social system. The main thing is that the principles of equality be observed, that diplomatic relations should not be bound up with any shackling conditions. For instance, the German Democratic Republic was one of the first states to recognize the new government of Zanzibar, which in its turn responded at once to this friendly act. The Bonn government, on the other hand, made its offer to establish diplomatic relations with our young Republic conditional on our breaking off relations with the GDR. This insolent demand was rejected—an example which some of the bigger and stronger African states that gave way to the pressure of the Bonn neo-colonialists might well emulate.

The revolutionary government will adhere to the policy of non-alignment. By this policy, however, we mean the struggle against imperialism headed by the USA. We want friendship with all countries, but, having declared our firm resolve to build socialism, we naturally feel ourselves closer to the socialist and not the capitalist countries.

The socialist countries gave our people in-

valuable moral support in their struggle for freedom and independence. We are well aware that had the prestige and armed might of the socialist camp not been on our side, the British and U.S. imperialists would have taken immediate steps to drown our revolution in blood. We are depending on further aid from the socialist countries in building our new life.

As regards "aid" from the imperialist powers, and particularly from Britain, we had our fill of it during the long years of colonial slavery and cannot therefore believe in its sincerity. We shall accept it only if there are no strings attached to it.

A backward economy, poverty and malnutrition were the legacy which the British colonialists left our new republic. And one of our immediate tasks is to develop our agriculture and to put an end to its monoculture character, and to build up a national industry. Besides our chief wealth—cloves and cocoa-beans—we intend to raise corn, rice and other crops on the lands formerly belonging to the feudal lords.

Overcoming the national strife and racism implanted by the British colonialists is another important matter for our country. True to their notorious divide-and-rule policy, the British imperialists fanned racist sentiment and national strife in order to blind the people to their main enemy—imperialism.

Hence one of the first steps taken by the revolutionary government was to do away with the racist clubs on the island, the British included. This measure will help to cement the unity of our people. But it is not enough. An important role will be played by educational work to enlighten our people politically. The radio and press are already doing good work in this sphere. It should be borne in mind, however, that now that the people's government is implementing a program according with the vital interests of the people generally, the very roots of racism and national strife are being destroyed.

The feature of Zanzibar today is the unity of the people under the leadership of the Afro-Shirazi and Umma parties, the only party on the island; it expresses the interests of the majority of the population and it is rallying the people for the accomplishment of the national tasks.

The trade unions, which play an important role in the life of the new Zanzibar (e.g., six of the 31 members of the Revolutionary Council are trade union leaders) have also united. The two trade union centers—the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions and the Federation

of Labor of Zanzibar and Pemba — now form a single Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions. This is evidence that our working class has realized the importance of unity for consolidating the gains of the revolution.

Similarly, the unity of the African states is an earnest of the success of the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for genuine freedom, economic independence and far-reaching social changes.

ROUND TABLE TALKS

They Gave Their Lives for the Cause

In March this year on the occasion of International Women's Day, Problems of Peace and Socialism arranged an informal gathering of a number of widows of leading Communists who gave their lives for the sake of a better future for mankind.

*Present were Angela Grimau, widow of Julian Grimau, member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party who was executed by Franco in April 1963; Tamina Adel, widow of Salaam Adel, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, murdered by reactionaries on March 7, 1963; Margarida Tengarrinha, widow of the Portuguese Communist José Dias Coelho; Coelho, sculptor by profession and author of the book *Resistance in Portugal*, was assassinated by Salazar's secret police in December 1961; Afak Rouzbeh, widow of Khosrov Rouzbeh, member of the Central Committee of the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran, executed in May 1958; Katy Zegvu, widow of Jannis Zevgos, member of the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party, murdered by agents of imperialist reaction in Salonika in 1947; and Zdena Nedvedova-Nejedla, widow of the Czechoslovak Communist Milos Nedved, who died in the Oswiecim (Auschwitz) death camp in 1943.*

In this issue we are publishing in abridged form the moving stories told by these women about the life and struggle of their husbands, and of how they themselves are carrying on the cause for which their husbands died. These statements will be published in full in book form.

Angela Grimau:

THE WORLD MUST KNOW THE TRUTH

I WISH to thank the editors of the journal for giving us this opportunity to tell you about our sorrow and our struggle. This is a story that must be told, because the destiny of our people and the struggle they are waging has much in common with the destiny and the struggle of peoples in other countries who are fighting against dictatorial pro-imperialist governments.

I should like to speak of what might seem to be commonplace things, but which are nevertheless very much part of the lives of fighters and revolutionaries. I want everyone to know that we Communists live an intensive, a profoundly human life.

The Julian I Knew

In 1939, when I was nine years old, my family emigrated to France where we lived in an internment camp. I grew up in France. At the age of 18 I joined the Communist Party and became an active member.

I met Julian in 1948. By the time we were married I knew him well as a Communist. It

is difficult to talk about one's own husband. And I have no desire whatever to make him appear as some kind of a superman. No, Julian was not that. He was simply a dedicated Communist, "one of many," as he himself used to say.

What I admired and appreciated most in Julian was his devotion to his Party work, and above all his modesty. He was a hard worker; sometimes he drove himself too hard, it seemed to me. He was demanding of his comrades and, above all, of himself.

He used to say that each member's contribution to Party work was in proportion to his political consciousness, and if things went well that meant everyone had done his bit. If at times we did not understand the situation, or the urgency of certain tasks, he would patiently explain to us why prompt action was essential. But he never lost his temper, he was never brusque. In this, as in many other things, he showed his understanding of people.

Julian had a warm affection for his comrades, indeed for all people. But he was not demonstrative. On the other hand, if he was

worried or upset one could tell at once. In the long years of underground work, in time of trouble when comrades were arrested and imprisoned, his feelings were always reflected in his face. But he tried hard to hide his emotions so as not to upset the other comrades.

He was well read, and not only in Marxism. He was fond of literature, especially the Spanish classics. But he never paraded his learning. And he could not abide flattery. In all the years I knew him I never heard him flatter anyone. He believed that everyone gives his best to the cause; that that is why he joins the Party.

A Life of Struggle Is a Happy Life

We were married in 1951. We knew in advance that our life together would be conditioned by the hardships of the underground struggle, that we could not dream of having a permanent home for ourselves. But what other prospect could we have than to continue doing our duty as Communists in order to bring nearer the day of our return to Spain? For this is the cherished dream of all Spanish exiles, of all our people. We live for the day when we will be able to return home to a free, democratic Spain.

Our marriage was a happy one in the full sense of the word. To some people this might seem incredible, for how could a young married couple be happy without a home and often forced to live apart? Yet we were happy. And we were happier still when our children came along.

Julian doted on his daughters. When at home and not too busy, he would play with them. Those were unforgettable moments. When away from home he would write them long letters, and when they complained of his absence, he would reply: "Never mind, my dears. Things will be all right. You'll see. And we won't be separated again for such a long time. Believe me, I feel the separation more than you do; after all I am alone—you have mother." Only two days before his arrest he wrote: "I am well. Things are easier now—although there is still plenty to be done—and so if nothing interferes I may be able to spend a few days at home. So let us hope that circumstances will permit my 'visit' to take place this time."

You will appreciate that the lot of the wife of an underground revolutionary is not an easy one. Yet I cannot say that I ever felt downcast. I was always confident that it could not go on forever and, being a Communist, accepted it as my duty.

Julian's letters were always optimistic. He was mostly concerned about us, and he wrote whenever he could so that I should not worry. Among other things, he tried to keep me in-

formed of the situation in Spain. On that memorable occasion, Republic Day, April 14, 1961, he wrote to me about the Soviet space triumph. "My dears," he wrote, "I am writing to you on this day when people everywhere are rejoicing, and with good reason. The success of the Soviet Union and of Gagarin, the interplanetary Columbus, has delighted all of us in Madrid. The conquest of space by the first socialist country in the world is seen here as a tremendous thing.

"Every evening thousands of families are listening to Moscow, reading the papers and eagerly following the details of the flight which opens the way to the conquest of space and to world peace. The two problems are closely related, because this is a triumph for the country which is the bulwark of world peace."

At the time of the counter-revolutionary invasion of Playa Giron he wrote to me: "People here are deeply disturbed by what is happening in Cuba. Blood is again being shed in that country for which our people cherish such deep sympathies. Our hope is that the fascist invaders and the American mercenaries will be smashed and destroyed. Let us trust that this will be the case and that this heroic nation will not be robbed of the happiness it has won in battle against the Batista tyranny."

When I say that I did not regard the long periods of separation as a sacrifice on my part, this does not mean that I considered it normal; after all, we are but human. But we Communists accept such things because of our devotion to our Party and our people.

Of course, our lives are anything but calm and tranquil. The wife of the underground revolutionary is a prey to constant anxiety. Whenever one of our comrades leaves for Spain we know that we must be prepared for the worst. But the women consciously accept this risk. It never entered my head that my husband would be executed. The situation in the country, the changes that have taken place seemed to exclude the possibility of such a terrible eventuality. Julian's work could not have provided the slightest excuse for such a monstrous crime. He had never killed anyone in his life, he fought for the freedom and well-being of his people and for national reconciliation. And yet the worst happened.

Not Men, But Beasts . . .

When he fell into the hands of the secret police I feared most of all that he might not have the strength to withstand the torture. And the torture began the moment he was arrested and taken to the Central Security Department. They took him to a basement

without ventilation, gave him a sheet of paper and ordered him to write a statement. Julian wrote: "I hereby declare that I am a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, and am in Madrid in pursuance of my duties as a Communist."

"Is that all?" they asked. "Yes," he replied. They grilled him for two hours, working on him in relays, and threatening to shoot him on the spot. After a while he was handcuffed and taken to a dimly-lit cell. Here three policemen fell upon him and proceeded to beat him unmercifully, mainly on the head and face, but also in the abdomen. After this he was thrown onto the floor and beaten with rubber truncheons, again mainly on the head. One of the thugs who claimed to be a doctor, said to Julian: "Would you rather I beat you as a policeman or as a doctor? I assure you that if I do it medically you'll be much worse off." That was the last thing Julian remembered. When he regained consciousness he found himself in the prison hospital where he had undergone an operation.

Julian's account of his torture proves that the version spread by the Franco authorities alleging that he tried to commit suicide was invented in order to shield his executioners. How could he have thrown himself out of the window when the cell in which he was tortured had no window?

It never occurred to any of us that he would be executed. It is torture for me to recall this. I would prefer not to speak about it, to forget it. But I know that thousands of women everywhere have suffered as I am suffering now and, as one of them, I know I must tell the world what Franco and his regime, and those like him in other countries, are capable of.

It Must Not Happen Again

How does one find the strength to bear up under such a blow? I believe that every woman in similar circumstances faces the ordeal in her own way. As for myself, the thought of Julian helped me. If he had been able to

endure the torture how could I allow myself to succumb to despair? And I must say this: not for a moment have I been left to suffer alone.

I thought much also about my mother whose husband, my father, was shot by the fascists during the Civil War. I thought of the many women who had gone through what I was going through and who did not have the support that I had, the constant support of my Party, of all my comrades and of public opinion in my own and other countries. How could I fail to find the strength to expose the crime that had been committed, particularly since I am a Communist. I feel that it is my duty to do this.

I would have been ashamed of myself had I not done everything I could in this respect at the time of my husband's arrest and after they had killed him. I had to do it, if only out of respect for my husband himself.

I must tell you that international solidarity and the solidarity of the Spanish people have been a source of strength to me in my sorrow. The mountains of letters I received from all corners of the globe, and especially those from the thousands of Spanish workers and peasants, the sympathy expressed by millions of people in all countries for the sacrifice made by the Spanish people for so many years—all this makes one's grief easier to bear.

There is no doubt that this solidarity is an inspiration to all those fighting for freedom and democracy in Spain.

The list of fallen heroes is already far too long. Our Party, the other democratic forces and the entire people have produced a host of heroes. An end must be put to the Franco dictatorship which has brought so much suffering to our people. We must fight to end it in a united struggle of all Spaniards. For us women whose husbands have given their lives for our cause, the best way to honor their memory is to carry on their struggle and do everything in our power to realize the goals for which they fought and died.

Tamina Adel:

A COMMUNIST IS HE WHO BRINGS HAPPINESS TO THE PEOPLE

I am proud to be a member of the Communist Party. For it is a party which is fighting for the future, for the happiness of the people. I have suffered a heavy loss. Salaam was my whole life. But I know now—indeed, I always knew—that communism is worth dying for,

as my Salaam died, worth all the tears that I and my children have shed. And if I had to live these 16 years over again I would choose the same road. Only this time I would try to make Salaam happier. For now I have come to see more clearly than ever before what it

means to be a Communist. A Communist is a tower of strength, a man who brings happiness to the people, who does not grudge his own life for his people. I am proud to know that my love, my heart, gave Salaam a little happiness.

I shall try to tell you about our ordeal, about the sorrow, the bereavement we have suffered—the loss of our near ones who fell in the struggle. And I shall tell you how this ordeal and suffering have not broken the spirit of the Communists. It is an honor for me that my story will be read by the readers of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* all over the world.

Communism Cannot Disappear

"Communism is stronger than death and beyond the reach of the gallows!" These words were uttered by Comrade Fahad, the leader of our Party, as he stood on the gallows when the terror engulfed us, destroying the backbone of our Party and carrying off hundreds of revolutionaries to prison. The police raided and wrecked our printing plants and offices in Bagdad and elsewhere, and the malevolent voice of Nuri Said thundered over the land: "Communism in Iraq has been wiped out once and for all."

But the banner of Communism was kept aloft, picked up by the young hands of new fighters. And each time one hand was lost, the banner was grasped by another and carried further.

Hardly a year has passed and on the soil watered by blood and tears, our Party stood again like a sturdy tree that had weathered the storm. Communism cannot disappear, for it lives in the minds of millions and cannot be destroyed either by gallows or by bullets, nor can it be hidden away in dungeons.

The circulation of Party literature continued even after the enemy had smashed our printing plants in 1949. This was the work of a strong and reliable group of members. The word of truth must be brought to the people, and so dozens of hands copy out the word and pass it on to comrades and friends, and they in turn do likewise. Another problem was that of funds. Food, clothing and shelter had to be provided for the underground comrades working for the revolution. Those were hard times, most of these comrades could afford only the bare necessities. But the people did not forget their sons; they denied themselves and their children in order to give to the Party. . .

Women and children too shared the rigors of the underground with us. But of course not all women realized the importance of the strug-

gle and the need for sacrifice. Some mothers and wives reproached the Party for exposing their sons and husbands to persecution and imprisonment.

That is what happened in the town of An Najaf where one of our women comrades had been sent by the Party to meet the families of arrested comrades. The women there heaped reproaches on her, and she came back greatly upset. The comrades consoled her; they explained that we must work patiently to help these women to understand that their near ones were fighting for a just cause and that they should be proud of them.

Or take another case. One day the wife of one of our members, a woman of education, came to us in tears. "How long must I suffer?" she complained. "My husband has been victimized, and I live in terror lest he be sent to jail like the others and I shall be left with two small children . . ." Zakiya Shakir, one of our leading members, happened to be present and she said to this woman: "If everyone thought as you do there would be no struggle, no hope of ever getting rid of the imperialists and tyrants who are robbing the people of their last crust of bread and dooming them to poverty and ignorance."

"Do you think that those who took part in the October Revolution or in the 1920 Revolution and in other revolutions, had no children, no wives or dear ones? They, too, had children whom they loved, wives who were dear to them. And yet they joined the struggle so that their children, their wives and all the sons and daughters of their country might live in happiness. Communists do not idealize hardship and privation, but they are revolutionaries, and they want to deliver people from poverty and misery, to shoulder the burden themselves so that millions of men and women might live in freedom and peace."

But the tyrants are doomed to disappointment: they will never succeed in destroying communism. As one of them rightly remarked: "Communism is like grass, the more you cut it the thicker and faster it grows." In 1952 our Party became the strongest political force in the country. Since 1953 it has been the organizer and inspirer of the working people in their demonstrations and class battles. In 1956-57 it headed the mass actions in solidarity with Egypt, against imperialist aggression and against the Bagdad Pact and for the overthrow of the Nuri Said regime. In 1958 the work done by the Party to unite the patriotic forces in a National Front bore fruit. Under the leadership of the National Front these forces overthrew

the reactionary monarchy which was in the service of imperialism.

Lofty Human Ideal

The life of a revolutionary is hard indeed. But it is not an empty, drab life. I know this from my own experience; ours is an absorbing life, compounded of joy and sorrow, hope and courage. It is a life in which real love blossoms, and marriage and family relationships are founded on that love and understanding that make for true happiness.

The ten years of my life with Salaam Adel taught me the grandeur and heroism of working under illegal conditions. Despite the burden of work time passed swiftly and happily. How well I remember the joy of returning home after an exhausting day's work to find him there waiting for me. It was as if a great load dropped from my shoulders. My heart would sing with joy, and laughter would fill the house as I would hurry off to prepare our evening meal.

I remember how he used to call me away from the kitchen to tell me some important piece of political news or to show me an interesting article in the latest issue of our newspaper. We would launch into a discussion oblivious of everything else until the smell of burning from the kitchen would bring us back to earth. Laughingly, we would partake of the charred remains of our supper and put the blame on politics.

Married life proved to be quite different from what I had imagined when I was still remote from the political struggle. Such things as a comfortable home, flowers and other good things of life were not for us. Our first home was a room in an abandoned house, without a window, and only a mattress on the floor. At night we were loath to turn off the light for fear of the scorpions with which the place was infested. Yet we were happy. . .

But pain, as well as joy, always walked beside me. We married in 1953, when the terror was at its height. How many of our comrades left home never to return! The prison swallowed them like the grave. And how many sleepless nights did we spend during strikes, weighed down by anxiety and concern.

When Kassem switched over to a dictatorial policy in home affairs and began his drive against the revolutionaries, I would wait each day in an agony of apprehension for Salaam to

return from work. As the time drew near for him to arrive I would imagine I heard the muffled sound of a shot being fired. My mouth would go dry, my heart would pound and I would wait with bated breath, straining my ears for the slightest sound. At last I would hear his step and he would enter the room, safe and sound. He would laugh me out of my fears and I would join him to hide my pain. I never tried to divert him from his chosen path. On the contrary, my love for him and the children made me understand the significance of the struggle we were waging and the suffering brought upon our people by imperialism. I hate imperialism with a passionate hatred, and I shall fight it until my last breath. I want everyone to fight for the end of that monster which battens on the tears and suffering of the millions. . .

My hair turned grey and grief settled for ever in my heart when I learned of the torture and the tragic death of the man I loved, the man for whom I would have willingly died, for whom I would stay awake so that he could sleep, go hungry so that he might eat, suffer pain so that he might be well.

In those terrible moments I was conscious of a strange and unexpected emotion. Mingling with the agony that was rending my heart was a new feeling of pride. Yes, Salaam had sacrificed his life, my happiness and the happiness of my children for the people. But he had preserved our dignity, the honor of our Party and our people. He was with us, with his friends, his people; he had kept his word and had given his life for the freedom and happiness of his country.

I have lost the companion of my life, and the pain of the loss will never leave me. But with all my heart I rejoice in the knowledge that the man I loved was a real man. To the last, his faith in his cause never faltered. And for me the steadily rising struggle, each new victory won by our people, each new reinforcement in the army of communism will be a solace to my grief.

Glory to those men and women who have perished in a noble cause, whose courage and staunchness have demonstrated the grandeur of their principles, whose struggle and sacrifice have stripped the mask from the face of imperialism and its base servitors and lighted the way to the victorious future!

Margarida Tengarrinha:

**"HAD THERE BEEN ANOTHER CHOICE,
BUT ONE PATH WOULD I HAVE CHOSEN..."**

Let me begin by saying that I am one of the many Portuguese women who have dedicated themselves to the fight for freedom, who have lost their dear ones in the fight. In our country many women have been thrown into prison for participating in the fight for peace and national emancipation. They have been kept in jail for years. Some of them were imprisoned together with their children. These women are the wives of Communists. They, too, could be with me at this gathering, telling of the courageous fight they are waging side by side with their husbands. Some of our women have even borne their children in jail. This speaks volumes for the courage and fortitude of the wives of Communists, of women Communists in general. I should be very happy if what I have to say will help your women readers to appreciate this to the full.

**To Be a Communist Is the Supreme
Expression of Patriotism**

Ten years have passed since that day when my husband and I were asked by one of the leaders of our Party whether we were prepared to undertake illegal work for the Party. My husband had already answered that question by his years of work for the Party. As for myself, I can say that this was the most important day of my life.

I am certain that had he known that eight years later he would be assassinated on a Lisbon street not far from where that memorable interview took place, even if he could have foreseen what awaited him, my husband would have given his answer just as unhesitatingly as he did that day. That is why I say that he did not fear death. He was ready for it, and I am confident that his last words (if the two bullets fired point-blank at him had given him time to say them) would have been the words from Aragon's poem which he loved so well "And had there been another choice, but one path would I have chosen. . ."

In his book *Resistance in Portugal* (written while underground), my husband, addressing those who are carrying on the struggle in illegal conditions, wrote that one of the worst aspects of clandestine activity is the forced separation from one's family. He had the greatest affection for his parents, and he was tormented by the thought that he might never see them again, for they were advanced in years when he left

home. He dreaded opening the newspapers for fear of finding the announcement of their death. And he never did see them again; nor did he see again our eldest daughter Theresa; the illegal conditions in which we worked forced us to part with her in 1959 when she was six.

My husband had to give up his art too after 1954. For him this was a heavy sacrifice, yet I never heard him put it in those words. Whenever the opportunity offered (and how seldom that was!) he would pick up his brush and paint my portrait and the portraits of our daughters, street scenes and landscapes, or sculpture small figures. His drawings and etchings, illustrating many aspects of our people's struggle, were published in our illegal press. I have one of his etchings with me. It was done just a month before he was murdered. At the time the people all over the country were rising in protest against the election farce. More than 20,000 people took part in a demonstration in Almada under the slogans of "Liberty!" "Bring our Soldiers Back from the War in Angola!", "Down with Salazar!". The police opened fire on the marchers, killing one young worker and wounding many others. The engraving shows the young worker, lying on the ground, a stone clutched in his lifeless hand.

I remember how much thought we gave to the text of the caption for this picture. At last my husband chose these words: "The richest wheatfields will spring up from seeds planted in soil watered by the blood of martyrs."

To be a Communist is the supreme expression of patriotism, and one cannot be a patriot and a Communist without cherishing a profound love for comrades who have fallen in battle. This love gives one the strength to believe that every life cut down by the oppressors causes the flame of the struggle to burn more fiercely. Writing about the sufferings of his comrades and friends in "Resistance in Portugal," my husband describes this sentiment.

Today that book could tell the story of the additional crimes committed by the Salazar regime, it could cite the names of many more heroes who have fallen in the struggle, his own among them. The recent battles fought by our people have kindled hope in the breasts of Portuguese. But in the meantime Salazar fascism signifies greater misfortune, and more bereaved families. The grapes of the wrath of

the people are ripening on the soil of Portugal. I know now that until we rid our land of fascism, no newspaper article, no public speech, and no book will be big enough to encompass all the crimes perpetrated by the regime. The mere listing of the facts cannot convey the anguish and the hatred that fills my soul when my young daughter says: "Mama, where is my father?"

But They Cannot Kill the Party

The danger stalking my husband each time he left home mounted from day to day. Who can describe the feelings of the wife of an underground Party worker when she takes leave of her husband on the threshold, not knowing whether hours or years will pass before he returns, or whether she will ever see him again?

Articles published in recent issues of your journal give readers an idea of the machinery of repression set in motion by the Salazar regime. But even with this monstrous machine at its disposal, the dictatorship cannot destroy the democratic organizations and the Communist Party. But what pain and anguish the regime has caused the wives of the Communists! It is only their realization of the need for struggle and their faith in ultimate victory that gives them the courage and the strength to endure it.

My husband's murder coincided with the arrest of some of the members of the Central Committee of our Party and other comrades. He was shot to death on December 19, but it was not until December 26, the day he was buried, that I learned of his death from a Central Committee comrade whom I met briefly on the street. I had to return home alone, for the comrade had no right to risk arrest by accompanying me. At home I did not even dare to weep for fear the neighbors might hear. I buried my face in the pillow to muffle the sound of my sobbing. That night I packed all the Party documents we had at home in a suitcase, picked up my two-year-old daughter and left the house.

The Party office where I worked was now left with three of its former five workers. There was much to be done, all of it urgent, and a party which functions illegally cannot find replacements easily. The urgency and redoubled responsibility of the work was the best thing the Party could have done for me at that juncture. The needs of the Party and the

friendship of my comrades were a powerful support. In those days I felt more than ever that no police violence, no crimes, no repression could destroy a party so deeply rooted among the people as ours.

From day to day the number of people rising against violence and lawlessness, against the injustice and oppression increases, we see them becoming daily more keenly aware of the need for unity, a most powerful force in the struggle to rid the country of the Salazar regime.

In retaliation for the protests against the "election" farce and against the war in Angola, for the liberation of the people of Goa, Daman and Diu, and the refusal of the Portuguese soldiers in India to fight, the fascist judges handed down harsh sentences. Taking advantage of the monstrous "security" law, they sent dozens of patriots to prison for life. On the slightest provocation the police attacked the workers and the defenseless population with murderous frenzy. They were given orders to shoot and kill at the slightest sign of disturbance on the street. They could commit any crime with impunity.

Not long ago I read in the newspapers that bonuses had been introduced for the most zealous members of the secret police. Bonuses for murderers! Every line, every word of the announcement of the Captain Catela Award, as it is called, is an incitement to crime. It gives the green light to the sort of criminals who murdered my husband. For now his assassins would be entitled to the award!

The Successes of Socialism Fortify Our Faith in Victory

The prisons of Portugal are filled with Communists and anti-fascists. All of them are in perpetual danger of being murdered by their jailers. Day by day their health and strength are ebbing. But neither torture, nor the threat of death, nor the dreadful prospect of long years of imprisonment can compel these patriots to forsake their ideals. Their courage derives from their profound faith in the inevitable triumph of their Communist ideals. Every new achievement of the socialist countries and especially the progress of communist construction in the Soviet Union are a source of hope to these men and women languishing in prison, to all of us who are fighting under adverse conditions in a country which has been ruled for more than 37 years by a fascist dictatorship. These achievements strengthen our faith in the ultimate victory of communism.

Kety Zevgu:

A STAUNCH CHAMPION OF THE PEOPLE'S CAUSE

It is difficult to do justice in a few words to the personality of Zevgos, the revolutionary and the man. And so I shall speak only of those traits in his character which I believe will best give an idea of the kind of man he was and what his loss meant to me.

We first met in the autumn of 1926. I was already doing work for the Party at the time, but I hesitated to join because I considered this too serious a step to be taken lightly. It was Jannis who helped me to overcome my hesitation. He often told me about the hard life he had led as the son of a peasant; he explained to me the causes of the poverty of the peasants, and opened my eyes to the inevitability of social change. He told me about the heroism displayed by the Bulgarian women during the Tsankov dictatorship, many of them young schoolteachers like myself. And gradually I began to realize the need to join the Party which was fighting for something that transcended the bounds of everyday needs and cares.

In the spring of 1927 Jannis recommended me for membership in the Party. The Party group in the school where I taught accepted me unanimously. For me that was a momentous occasion. Jannis' first present to me was a volume of Lenin's selected works, a possession which I treasure to this day.

In those years the Party was combating the liquidationist deviation represented by petty-bourgeois elements in the leadership who were appalled by the difficulties and by the blows inflicted on the Party and the Left movement by the Pangalos dictatorship. From the discussion of these matters and from my talks with Jannis I came to know and appreciate him better as a revolutionary fighting under adverse conditions.

From the very beginning of my work in the Party I had the good fortune to have before me Jannis' example of how to combine consideration for my comrades with strict adherence to principle and an uncompromising attitude toward any attempt to undermine the unity of the Party or failure to fulfil its decisions.

In 1929 we were married. The following year our daughter was born. Now I came to know Jannis as a loving father, a true comrade in joy and adversity. Later, during the difficult years of underground activity, he would recall every step taken by our little girl in that all too brief period when we lived together

(she was only two and a half when we were forced to part with her).

We lived together for 18 years, although the word "together" is misleading, for in all that time we had no more than 6-7 years under one roof. Yet the more I knew him as a man, a husband and a revolutionary, the more I admired and esteemed him.

Jannis was a thinker. Although loaded down with Party work, he always found time to study. A student of Marxism from his youth, he was particularly interested in national problems, and especially in the history of our country. In 1932 he began to write a history of the national-liberation revolution of 1821. He rewrote it three times before it was finally published in 1943, for each time the manuscript was lost. The manuscript of his *The National Question in Greece*, completed shortly before his death, was also lost.

He wrote under extremely difficult conditions. We denied ourselves everything, at times even the price of a meal, in order to obtain the books he needed. And how many times were we fated to lose all we had acquired at such sacrifice! When we were arrested in 1938 under the Metaxas dictatorship and the police tore up page by page all the books we had accumulated at the cost of such effort it was as if we had lost someone we loved. In 1944 when Jannis became a member of the government the only "luxury" he permitted himself was a library. How he delighted in this possession! Alas, we were not destined to have it for very long. In 1946, when the terror started, we buried the books, and when I came out of prison in 1963 and dug up our treasure I found to my horror that all that remained was a formless heap of paper!

But lack of material was not the only difficulty; the clandestine and semi-clandestine conditions in which the Communist Party functioned were hardly conducive to creative work. In our unheated apartment Jannis would sit huddled on a couch, reading or writing, with a coat thrown over his shoulders and a drawing-board on his knees. He was always working. His articles and other writings in the Left and Party press were read with the greatest interest even by people of Right-wing views.

In 1933 the Party sent us to work in Patrai, where as usual Jannis organized a group of Party workers to study local problems. I helped him on an article for our national paper.

It was Jannis' idea that we use the pen-name "Zevgos," since for obvious reasons we could not sign it with our own names. "The comrades will guess who wrote it," he said (the word "zevgos" means a pair, a couple). After that Jannis took to signing all of his writings with that name and that is the name he is still known by.

In 1936 the Metaxas dictatorship was installed in Greece. Many of our leading comrades were arrested. Jannis and I were forced to separate for a time. I found him a room in a working-class district, and mother and I found lodgings nearby. Zevgos was a member of the Political Bureau and editor of *Komunistiki Epitheorisi*, theoretical organ of the Party at the time; I was secretary of the district committee of the Party. Every night, under cover of darkness, I would take him food, newspapers and whatever books I could find. But as time went on it became more and more risky for me to be seen on the street too often. Towards the end of 1937 a new wave of arrests began. The ring around us tightened. It became dangerous for Zevgos to remain any longer in the neighborhood, so we decided to find lodgings together again. In the spring of 1938 we were arrested together with my aged mother in whose presence we were both tortured by the secret police. Jannis was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and one-year exile; I, to two years and one year respectively. His parting words still ring in my ear: "Kety, these moments may mean eternity for us, and so I want to say this to you: I am glad that I chose this path and that I linked my life with yours." In 1941 I escaped from exile. And in 1943, at a time when Greece was subjected to a dual occupation, I as member of the Central Committee, acting on behalf of the Party, organized Jannis' escape as well.

Throughout the occupation and later when liberation came, Zevgos took an active part in all the work of the Party. He was a member of the Secretariat and of the Political Bureau. In the government of national unity established after liberation he became Minister of Agriculture. But he remained the simple unassuming comrade he had always been.

The writer Elli Alexiou, when gathering material for a book, once asked me to tell her about the persecution we had suffered. Among other things, I told her about the attempt that had been made on Jannis' life in Corinth in 1946. "Why did they hate him so?" she asked. And, answering her own question, she said: "He was such a kind man, so gentle and human; even his political opponents suc-

cumbed to the charm of his personality. He was a real Communist, and perhaps that is why he was held to be so dangerous for the enemies of the Left movement."

January 1947 found him in Salonika as representative of the EAM (National-Liberation Front) on a United Nations fact-finding commission. On March 20 he was murdered on almost the same spot where 16 years later Grigorios Lambrakis, champion of peace and democracy, was killed. Zevgos' assassin had been sent by the military police and, as in Lambrakis' case, he was detained not by the police but by passersby.

I was in Athens at the time. With our daughter I left at once for Salonika. Dazed with grief, I ran from the Public Prosecutor to the Chief of Police and from him to the nomarch (prefect) for permission to bury Zevgos in Athens. But in vain. Permission was refused. On the day of the funeral the cemetery in Salonika was surrounded by tanks and the place was honey-combed with plainclothes police. Even dead, Zevgos struck fear into their hearts. My daughter and I were practically alone at the funeral. At the graveside I spoke a few farewell words: "You will be an example to us all our lives; we shall dedicate ourselves wholly to the cause for which you gave your life."

And we have kept our word. We devoted ourselves wholly to the struggle. We were both arrested in 1949 and tried by a military tribunal. The secret police resorted to jesuitic stratagems to induce me to fall in with their designs. One day, for instance, I was visited in my cell by an American. Although I knew the Americans were running things in Greece, this visit came as a surprise. The Americans, my visitor told me, would not object to a Communist Party in Greece provided it would be "independent of the Russians." If I would consent to help in setting up this "independent" party, he hinted, my daughter and I would be released immediately. My daughter was indeed released in the end, for one thing because she was a minor and also because there was not a shred of evidence against her. As for myself, I was sentenced to death four times for my activities during the Hitler occupation and in the subsequent civil war.

If, like many other Greek men and women patriots, I was not executed, I owe it to the action of our people, to the solidarity of people all over the world, to the fact that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries placed the question of the executions in Greece on the agenda of the United Nations. And it is to the struggle of our people and

to the support of the world Communist movement that I, like thousands of other political prisoners, owe my release from jail after 17 years.

Zevgos was murdered because he was a dangerous opponent of the reactionaries. But his murder, like that of Lambrakis 16 years later, turned against his murderers. It turned all our people, irrespective of political opinions, against the policy of the ultra-reaction-

aries, against their terror and violence. Thousands of new fighters everywhere are joining the struggle for democracy and peace as they have been doing in Greece since the murder of Lambrakis. In the towns and in the villages young people are joining the youth organization named after Lambrakis to fight for the ideals for which he was killed. And, as Lambrakis often said, the future belongs to those who have the youth on their side.

Afak Rouzbeh:

HE WAS A REAL MAN—HE LOVED HIS FELLOWMEN

Khosrov Rouzbeh was born in 1915 in Melayer. He came from an impoverished middle-class family, and when he finished elementary school in Melayer and went to Hamadan to attend secondary school he lived on the verge of starvation. He was a good scholar, with a flair for mathematics which amazed his teachers. But like millions of young Iranians, he could not afford a higher education and so he joined the army.

He graduated from an officers' school with honors, and was commissioned to an anti-aircraft regiment. At this time he wrote a book on optical instruments. In all, he wrote some 35 books, dealing with a wide range of subjects — military, political, literary and even one on chess. But the atmosphere of corruption and injustice in the army was revolting to a young man of Rouzbeh's integrity. He felt compelled to fight it, though he soon saw that it was useless to try to fight it alone.

At that time the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran, the party of the working class, was waging an active political struggle. Khosrov Rouzbeh joined its ranks and remained a member all his life. He went to his death with the words: "Long live the People's Party of Iran!"

We first met in the summer of 1945 when I was on a visit to my sister. I was at once attracted by this handsome young man with warm, friendly eyes. One year later I read in newspaper that Khosrov Rouzbeh had escaped from prison.

In 1945 Rouzbeh, forced to go into hiding for ten months, had written a book entitled *Blind Subordination*, in which he exposed the depravity and injustice in the army and showed that the Shah's regime was responsible for this state of affairs. The book had been secretly circulated among the armed forces.

All the efforts of the police to capture Rouz-

beh having proved fruitless, the authorities resorted to craftier measures. The chief of the General Staff announced that army officers then in hiding were free to return to their posts without fear of punishment. Rouzbeh fell into this trap. Sixteen days after he reported for duty at the officers' school where he taught he was arrested. On learning that within a month he was to be court-martialled and in all probability shot, he escaped from prison and took refuge in my sister's house.

In the summer of 1946 I visited my sister again. As soon as I entered the room I noticed a sturdily-built man who looked vaguely familiar to me despite his moustache, untrimmed hair and badly fitting suit. He was introduced to me as Manoutchehr Djafari, a contractor.

"Haven't we met before somewhere?" I asked him as we shook hands. "Possibly," he replied. "Have you been to Mazenderan?" he asked me, and when I replied that I had, he said that I might have seen him there at the hotel where he frequently stayed while on business.

My questions evidently disturbed him, and he quickly switched the conversation to business matters.

This bored me and, unable to hide my feelings, I got up and said: "I daresay you're right. After all you are one of those who defend the moneybags." With that I left the room, much to Rouzbeh's relief, as he confided to me later, since it showed that I had not identified him with the Rouzbeh of whom I had heard a great deal.

The Courage of Soldiers

I left the place with the impression that this man was a reactionary. Then one day while I was in a village not far from Teheran, my sister arrived in the company of her guest, "Mr. Djafari." When a few days later I learned

who he really was I felt much abashed for having been so rude to him on the previous occasion. I felt a deep respect and responsibility for the safety of this man who had dedicated his life to the people.

There in the village Rouzbeh told me something about himself. "In the political battle we are fighting we must act like soldiers," he said. "Our weapon is Marxism-Leninism. Our goal is to liberate our people from colonial slavery and to build socialism and communism . . . Our watchword then must be — with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, forward to victory!"

Khosrov Rouzbeh was my teacher. He taught me mathematics and social science. He will always remain my teacher. In 1948, a year before the Tudeh Party was outlawed, Rouzbeh suggested that I join the Party.

My respect and admiration for Rouzbeh, for his courage, resolution, his humanism and internationalism grew from day to day. I found myself becoming more and more attached to him, and although I felt my feelings were reciprocated, the conditions in which we both worked were such that he would not allow himself to succumb to his emotions.

While the secret police were hunting high and low for him, Rouzbeh went calmly about his work. But the ring tightened and at last they caught him.

His arrest was deliberately surrounded by a conspiracy of silence. The authorities planned to try him secretly and to execute him. But the patriotic and anti-imperialist forces compelled the authorities to give him an open trial. His courageous defense at the trial and the support of the people saved him from certain death. Despite orders from the Shah, the court reduced his sentence to 15 years' imprisonment. (The judge later paid for this leniency with exile on the Shah's orders.)

About a month after the trial Rouzbeh wrote to my father. "I want to live my life with Afak . . . But 15 of the best years of my life will be spent in prison. Remember too that in two months, or perhaps a year or more Afak may be left without a husband." My father replied: "I would be proud to have Khosrov Rouzbeh for a son-in-law. But we must let Afak herself decide." And I replied: "If Khosrov Rouzbeh has chosen me to be his life's companion, I promise to do my best to be worthy of him." The next day we exchanged rings under the table in the office of the governor of the prison.

A Heart That Belonged to the People

In 1949 the Tudeh Party was outlawed. Se-

veral members of the Central Committee and some of the functionaries were arrested and jailed. After three years in prison Khosrov Rouzbeh and a group of 10 comrades made a daring escape.

I did not hear from him for three months after the escape. And when at last we met Rouzbeh taught me another lesson. "You must not be hurt if I say that my heart cannot belong to you alone," he said. "I should be deceiving you if I allowed you to think otherwise. My heart belongs to the people. And if one day my heart should cease to beat, you must continue to do your duty to the people." Thus he prepared me for the tragic outcome.

Khosrov Rouzbeh was a real man and he loved people. It is not by chance that his last words before he was executed were: "When I joined the People's Party I followed the dictates of my heart which is dedicated to the Iranian people, to socialism. For me that path is sacred."

The coup d'état engineered by General Zahedi in 1953 ushered in another ordeal for the people. The prisons were filled with Communists and other progressives. Resorting to mediaeval methods of torture, the police discovered the military organization of the People's Party. They arrested 700 of the finest officers of the Army; 28 officers and a group of members of the People's Party were executed. The rest were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

But the police would not rest until they had arrested the leader and inspirer of the organization, Khosrov Rouzbeh. I too was wanted by the police, and for two years I had to go into hiding far from the family. For five months after the officers' arrest I did not see Rouzbeh and had no news from him. It was at this time that I received instructions from the Central Committee to leave Iran. Before leaving I asked for permission to see Rouzbeh. It was our last meeting. When he saw how upset I was at the thought of leaving the country he said: "You are a member of the Party. As a disciplined member it is your duty to carry out the instructions of the Central Committee."

He Went to His Death With His Eyes Open

In 1957 I heard the news of Rouzbeh's arrest over the air from London. He had been captured, the report said, after a 20-minute exchange of shots with the police during which he was wounded. I shall not try to describe what I felt on hearing this terrible news. For

ten months he was tortured and on May 11, 1958, he was executed.

Khosrov Rouzbeh met his death with his eyes open. Not because he was tired of living. No. His last words were: "If in court I defended my political and social convictions and opinions as frankly and fully as I was able, it was not because I consider death sweet. It is hard to die, and especially is this so for those who believe in their ideals, whose hearts are filled with the hope of a better life. But to remain alive at all costs and under any cir-

cumstances is not worthy of man . . . If life is preserved at the cost of shame and disgrace, loss of honor, abandonment of ideas, political and social convictions, then death is a hundred times more noble."

From the day of his arrest and until the end, progressive people everywhere, Communist and Workers' parties, fought to save him. They showered the Shah and government of Iran with telegrams of protest. But unfortunately these efforts were in vain, and they executed him.

Zdena Nedvedova-Nejedla:

GENERATIONS TO COME WILL REMEMBER OUR SACRIFICE

Dear Comrades,

Permit me to welcome you to our free socialist republic on behalf of all the women members of our Communist Party, all the women of Czechoslovakia.

I want you to know that you have our deepest sympathy in your bereavement. We Czechoslovak women can appreciate what you have gone through, because many of us have sacrificed everything, including personal happiness, for a better future, we too have lost near and dear ones in the struggle.

On March 23, 21 years ago, my husband, Dr. Milos Nedved, died in Oswiecim. That was a long time ago, but, like yours, the wound in my heart is still fresh. Our grief is all the greater because each of us lost not only a husband but a comrade and friend.

I shall never forget Milos Nedved, not only as my husband and the father of my daughter, but as the best comrade and friend I ever had. To both of us it seemed but natural that we should be Communists.

Humanism Brought Us Into the Communist Party

We were drawn to the Communists because of their love of people and their desire to see the material, intellectual and emotional needs of man satisfied irrespective of class or social position. That is why we began to study the works of Marx and Lenin.

In 1933, one month after we were both graduated as doctors of medicine, we were married. Milos, who had a bent for research, stayed on for post-graduate work in the clinic. I chose to be a children's doctor. We were both determined to continue our political work, and so we joined the Party. Milos set to work to organize a doctors' section of the society for cultural and economic relations with the USSR and later became its secretary.

We were a happy family, Milos, our daughter Hanocka and myself. We lived an active, interesting life. But the storm-clouds were gathering. Our country was severely hit by the economic crisis. Public eating places were haunted by hungry people picking up the leftovers, beggars huddled under the bridges, and ragged children, blue and pinched with cold, roamed the streets. Fascism was spreading over Europe — in Italy, Spain, Germany and Austria . . .

Our Duty — to Fight Fascism

The year 1938 came, bringing mobilization with it. Milos was forced to leave me. I did not weep then for I knew that he was going to defend not only our own republic but the world from fascism. But it was all in vain—the Czechoslovak government surrendered. Milos' father and mine had to emigrate at once to the Soviet Union to escape arrest. My mother and brother followed soon afterward. Milos headed an underground group of anti-fascist doctors and students. Looking forward to victory, he planned the socialist organization of the health service which became known as the Nedved Plan. Milos strictly observed the rules of the underground organization. I shall never forget how he said to me once: "I have good news, but I cannot, or rather I dare not tell you." I did not insist, for we were both doing underground work and were familiar with the rules of Resistance organizations. But after a while he could not contain himself any longer and he blurted it out: "Julius sends you his greetings. He is safe and sound!" That was indeed good news, for we had all been greatly concerned for Fucik's safety. To know that he was at large and busy writing was a great relief. And so although we were conscience-stricken at having broken the rules, we celebrated the glad tidings.

Up to 1941 it would have been possible for

us to emigrate to the Soviet Union legally. But we decided to stay on and carry on the work in our own country. I do not want to picture us as heroes. At that time we did not believe that the war would go on for so long or that we would have to experience the horror of interrogation, torture and concentration camp from which Milos was not fated to return. No one at the time could have imagined the monstrous things of which the Nazis proved capable.

We Shall Be the Victors

Then came that terrible day, April 29, 1942, the day Milos was arrested. We had gone to the country for a few days, and Milos had returned to town alone one evening to find the Gestapo waiting for him. I shall never forget the dreadful feeling of helplessness that overcome me. Until then I had always helped Milos in everything, I had always been beside him, and now suddenly he had been whisked away to some unknown dark shore. I tried in vain to obtain permission to see my husband. I do not know what was worse at that time after the attempt on Heydrich — the terrifying uncertainty, when each day I feared to find Milos' name in the list of those executed, or the certainty when the Gestapo came for us on June 5 that we were all going to our death.

They arrested Milos' mother and myself in order to force him to admit that he had been doing underground work and to get him to betray his comrades. We were both interrogated. I was given the "soft" treatment (I shall never know why), he was tortured unmercifully. They beat him, forced him to stand on his feet for hours on end, bent him double and bound him. He looked dreadful when I saw him, his lips were twisted in a grimace of pain, his wrists were black and blue from the ropes, his hearing was impaired — his eardrums had burst from the blows. Tears choked me when I saw him yet I dared not weep. And so we stood with heads held high and smiled into each other's eyes, deriving strength from our conviction that in the end we would be the victors in this unequal struggle.

We Shall Not Yield!

My husband and I were charged with belonging to the underground Communist Party and were sent to a death camp without trial. And so one day in late December we found ourselves together in a truck bound for the Terezin transit camp. We knew that we would be separated on arrival at our destination and we promised each other that we would bear

up. And even here on our way to the concentration camp, sitting on the floor of the truck, we were happy because we were together.

In January 1943 we were taken from Terezin to the death camp in Oswiecim. Oswiecim and its most terrible section, Brzezinka — bare brick barrack-type buildings with three rows of bunks; cold, darkness, filth, hunger and lice. Lice infected with typhus — the cheapest way of destroying the prisoners. We were issued with camp clothing crawling with lice, our hair was shaved and numbers tattooed on our arms. From then on we ceased being people and became numbers. Twice a day the numbers were made to stand for hours in the camp yard for roll call. They were forced to do work far beyond their strength. They staggered under their heavy loads, until they dropped and lay on the ground too weak to move. Corpses with numbers tattooed on their arms were strewn about the camp ground. There was no mercy. The aim was to destroy quickly and cheaply. The Nazi chieftains even rewarded our tormentors for their efficient work. Only the more fortunate managed to get into the prison hospital. There at least one could lie still and die in peace. My husband worked in a hospital in the men's section of the camp. He helped his patients more with kind words than with medicines, for he had none to give them. It was there that he contracted typhus and died, despite the efforts of his comrades to save him.

At that time I myself lay hovering between life and death. When I was first taken ill, a message from Milos was conveyed to me: "I know you are ill," he said. "Don't give in and you'll be all right, for me the worst is over." These words had a powerful effect on me, they helped me to fight the disease. I won the battle thanks to my will to live and to the attentions of Julicka, a Yugoslav girl from Belgrade who took care of me and hid me under the blankets to save me from the gas chamber.

We Have Won

I lived through a severe crisis. I lost my husband, but I had to go on living if only for the sake of our child, for the sake of the victory of our cause. For it was up to us to prevent the horrors experienced by our generation from ever being repeated. This thought gave me the strength to survive. And now our daughter is helping me to carry on the struggle. Like her father, she is a member of the Party, and she is bringing up her two children in the same spirit.

It is painful to relive these memories, but

I am comforted by the knowledge that I have never betrayed the principles and the ideals for which my husband fought and died. That is how I brought up my daughter. And I hope that her children, our grandchildren, have inherited at least some of the traits of their grandfather, and that they will continue the

work which his generation began. I believe that they will achieve our goal — the building of a happy communist society. And I am confident that even after the final victory is achieved they will not forget the sacrifices which the Communists of our generation made to safeguard their happiness .

The Trade Unions of Mali Defend the Interests of the Working People

IN THE newly-independent African countries, the question of the relations between the trade unions and the mass parties, which in most cases determine the policy of the respective governments, is a crucial matter.

Specific problems face the trade unions in the newly-independent states whose governments pursue an anti-imperialist policy and where the ruling parties are rallying the people to fight for complete independence, for the creation of a national economy. Among this group is the Republic of Mali which has taken the non-capitalist path of development. The socio-economic conditions in the Republic, and the policy of the ruling party which has proclaimed scientific socialism as its ideological platform offer the perspective of a non-violent socialist revolution.

The French administration in Mali retarded the development of a national industry. The country's largest enterprise, for example, are the repair shops in Markala which employ only a few hundred workers. However, even though there is no modern industrial proletariat to speak of, the organized workers of Mali played a significant part in the national-liberation movement and in building the mass party known as the Sudanese Union.

This mass party, which rallied all the anti-imperialist forces of the nation, developed into a kind of militant alliance of the politically advanced, better organized but comparatively small urban working class and the politically awakening peasants who constitute the bulk of the population.

The party and trade unions in Mali were always on the same side of the barricades in the decisive actions against colonial oppression. In 1947-48 at the time of the seven-month strike of the railwaymen of the Dakar-Niger line, the Union called on the population to come out in solidarity with the strikers and to give them effective aid. The party and its representatives in the French National Assembly helped the working people win their fight for labor legislation in 1952. During the general strike in August 1953 the Union defeated the attempts of the colonial administration to

turn the working people and their trade unions against the peasantry and thus weaken their struggle. Of great significance was the work carried out by the party to organize peasant unions.

The working people and their trade unions proved their worth at the extraordinary congress of the Union in September 1960, which charted the policy of the young Republic of Mali. They pressed for the adoption of a revolutionary, anti-imperialist program of struggle for complete independence and oriented the Republic's first government to take the non-capitalist road.

The past three and a half years of independent development show that the country is steadily advancing along this path. The key branches of the economy have been nationalized. The country has established close contact with the socialist world. The government is carrying out measures aimed at loosening the grip of imperialism in the economy. Among these measures are the establishment of the Mali Import-Export Society, the Bank of the Mali Republic and the introduction of its own national currency, the Mali franc.

The trade unions support the policy of the party and the government, for they consider it to be the logical outcome of the struggle waged by the working people for more than fifteen years. In its resolution the First Congress of the National Union of the Working People of Mali (UNTM) recognizes the role of the Sudanese Union as "the leading party of the Mali revolution and once again assures it of its full support."

The leadership of the Union, for its part, realizes how important it is that the working people should actively participate in the national reconstruction. "It would be senseless to try to build socialism without the participation of the working people," Modibo Keita, President of the Republic, has stated. Opening the First Congress of the UNTM last year, its General Secretary Mamady Famady Sissoko noted that "in the Republic of Mali the trade unions are increasingly occupying an important place in the life of the nation . . ." A

general statute for the national enterprises has been adopted under which the basic means and instruments of production are declared the property of the people. The statute provides for management committees with the participation of workers organized in factory trade union committees. "The working people," M. F. Sissoko has noted, "bear full responsibility for the entire state sector and all national enterprises."

Thus the trade unions work in close contact with the ruling party which pursues a national policy in keeping with the aspirations of the working people. They rally the working people to carry out the decisions of the party, help to strengthen labor discipline, to improve skills, to organize emulation on socialist principles. This is the new feature in the life of the Mali trade unions since the establishment of independence.

The trade unions are faced with a variety of complex problems. They have to coordinate the actions of the workers employed in the declining, but still existing, private and foreign sectors of the economy, to settle with the national government the question of wages for the category of workers which the colonial administration sought to make a privileged caste. The salaries of the civil servants, medical personnel and teachers were much higher than the income of the peasant. With the achievement of independence the economic position of many in this small but politically active section of society has deteriorated. The party has called upon the trade unions which unite these categories of employees to explain the need for certain sacrifices on the part of the more well-to-do sections of the population to help build up a national economy and to meet the basic social requirements of the nation.

In order successfully to cope with these tasks it is essential that the working people, and especially the union leaders, be politically and theoretically developed, that they be familiar with the experience of the trade union struggle in other countries. The Mali unions maintain close contact with the trade unions of Africa, with the World Federation of Trade Unions, the General Confederation of Labor in France, the Italian General Confederation of Labor and with the unions in the socialist countries.

Conscious of the role the working people will play in developing the Republic, the unions are paying special attention to the political education of their members. With this end in view a school for trade union officials was opened in November 1961 which has since trained hundreds of functionaries for factory committees and union branches. The course gives the students a knowledge of the laws of social development, the role of the working class in the national-liberation movement and socialist revolution, the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory, its application to the concrete conditions of Mali which, according to the authors of the course, is a state of national democracy where there is "an active and fruitful alliance of the working class, progressive intellectuals, working peasantry, as well as honest-minded small shop-keepers and other middle sections." (Lecture Course of the Trade Union School.)

The Sudanese Union fully supported the initiative of the trade unions to open a school for trade union cadres and decided to do the same. Thus, in accordance with a decision of its Sixth Congress, Party schools were opened last year in all six regions of the country. A Higher Party School was opened in Bamako which will, as *l'Essor* (organ of the Union) writes, enable party functionaries "to improve their ideological education, combine theory with practice and master the fundamentals of scientific socialism without a knowledge of which no functionary can effectively participate in the construction we have begun." The school's program deals with the general laws of social development, the role of the people, revolutionary parties and trends, imperialism and colonialism, international problems and the policy of positive neutrality, the history of the party, the history of Africa and the national-liberation movement, political economy and the principles of socialist planning.

The experience of the joint efforts of the Sudanese Union and the UNTM to reinforce the independence of the newly-emergent Republic, to put it on the highroad of economic and social development and to raise the standard of living, has shown that the alliance of the trade unions and the ruling party is of a progressive character and meets the interests of the working class and its allies.

M. DIENNE

Peaceful Frontiers for Africa

OF THE 34 independent states in Africa today there is hardly one which does not have some kind of territorial claim on its neighbors. The root of the troubles lies in the history of the colonization of Africa, when the imperialists fixed the frontiers of the colonies arbitrarily without any regard for ethnic distribution of the population. The result was that not only peoples but even tribes and villages found themselves on different sides of the frontier. The Ewe tribe, for example, was first divided between Germany and Great Britain, and later, after the First World War, was split up once again, this time between Britain and France. Many villages were cut in two by this last division, so that today you find one part of the tribe in Ghana, and the other in Togo. It is not surprising then that the frontier dispute clouded the relations between these two republics for a long time. The Masai tribe is split up between Kenya and Tanganyika; the Malinkes between Guinea, Mali, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Gambia, and the Wolofs between Senegal and Gambia.

The Somali people were dispersed in British, Italian and French colonies. As a result, part of the Somalis today are to be found in Kenya, part in Ethiopia, while tens of thousands still are under the colonial yoke in so-called French Somaliland. Imperialism is responsible for the strife witnessed in East Africa today. The North-eastern frontiers of Kenya, the border between the Ethiopian province of Ogaden and the Somali Republic are the scene of clashes that have taken a toll of hundreds of lives.

The French colonialists left behind a host of unsolved problems in their former colonial empire. They divided Western and Equatorial Africa into small economically feeble territories which gained independence as late as 1960. Undefined borders are the source of friction between many of the former French colonies. A case in point is that of Dahomey and Niger both of whom lay claim to the island of Lette in the Niger River which forms the frontier between the two states.

A striking example of the arbitrary way in which territorial questions were settled by the colonialists is the history of Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain in Africa. Kilimanjaro was located in the British colony of Kenya, until Queen Victoria gave it to Emperor Wilhelm as a birthday present, whereupon the moun-

tain passed into Tanganyika, then part of German East Africa.

The interweaving of tribes, nationalities and states, which is one of the features of present-day Africa, has given rise to a powerful movement for the unity of the continent. Built on a genuine anti-imperialist foundation, such unity could facilitate the solution of the vexing territorial problem.

In a speech last year at the conference in Addis Ababa, President Modibo Keita of the Mali Republic said: "We must renounce our territorial claims if we do not want to institute what might be called 'black imperialism' in Africa. African unity demands strict observance of the boundaries inherited from the colonial system."

The most realistic solution in the present conditions would be to end at once not the arguments but the bourgeois-nationalist methods of settling them. Formulating this idea, Diallo Telli, representative of the Guinea Republic in the United Nations, said: "The present frontiers between the African countries are arbitrary and unjust. But they should not be changed by force, otherwise all Africa will be enveloped in flames." Under the Charter of the Organization of African Unity adopted in Addis Ababa, all the signatories are pledged to settle outstanding questions through negotiation. All peace-loving people in Africa today are anxious to prevent fratricidal frontier wars. This striving has the support of the African Communists and friends of the awakened continent everywhere in the world. N. S. Khrushchov's message to the heads of state urging all states to make a solemn pledge to reject the use of force in settling territorial disputes was evidence of this support. The head of the Soviet government observed that the resort to armed force to satisfy territorial claims retards the development of the independent African states. "Nor should one forget," said Khrushchov, "that conflict between African countries on territorial questions can be a boon to stronger states which have not yet abandoned all hope of recovering some of their losses in one way or another."

Besides friends, independent Africa has treacherous enemies: imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Operating through their placemen in Africa, the imperialists are stirring up nationalist passions around frontier questions to the point of armed conflicts. They

are seeking to divert the attention of the peoples from the urgent tasks of economic and social construction, to weaken the anti-imperialist trend in the policy of the newly independent states, and to justify the presence of their troops and military bases in these territories on the alleged grounds that the Africans are unable to safeguard peace in Africa by their own forces. All this hinders the struggle against the remnants of colonialism, for the liberation of the entire continent from foreign domination, and gives reactionaries the opportunity to raise their heads and to launch an offensive against the progressives on the pretext of safeguarding national security.

In the past year the neo-colonialists and the domestic reactionaries have succeeded in instigating several armed border clashes. And in each case the barrage of nationalistic propaganda has served as a screen for imperialist interests.

For example, Moroccan reactionaries, alarmed at the prospect of unity among the anti-feudal forces in the country and disturbed by Algeria's progress in building the new life, inflated the frontier dispute with its neighbor over a large part of Algerian Sahara. Last autumn, with the blessing of Paris, the monarchist regime in Morocco launched a full-scale war which cost the lives of many Algerian and Moroccan working men in soldiers' uniform.

For a long time the dispute over the "special border district" in Northeastern Kenya inhabited by 100,000 Somalis served Britain as a pretext for delaying the granting of independence to Kenya. The dispute remained unsettled even after Kenya became independent last December. Such "tardiness" on the part of British diplomacy suggests that London is none too anxious to settle the dispute, and the fact that the British authorities hastened to use the border clashes as an excuse for keeping British troops in Kenya and for the retention of British military bases at Kahava and Gilgil seems to confirm this assumption.

The conflict on the frontier between Somalia and Ethiopia, provoked by the reactionaries, has also assumed threatening proportions, with regular army units equipped with modern weapons and aircraft operating on both sides. This is another conflict which furthers the imperialist efforts to prevent the consolidation of African unity.

Two trends are clearly emerging in the settlement of territorial disputes between the

young African states: one is the striving for a peaceful, progressive and truly national solution, the other is a militarist, bourgeois-national tendency which runs counter to the vital interests and aspirations of the peoples. Unwilling to shed the blood of fellow-Africans, the people are pressing their governments to abandon the use of force. It is noteworthy that during the Morocco-Algerian conflict the progressive forces in Morocco sided with the people of Algeria. The Moroccan Communists, loyal champions of the national interests, were in the front ranks of those calling for a peaceful solution of the conflict. Ali Yata and other comrades issued a statement declaring that "there is no conflict between the people of Algeria and the people of Morocco." *Al-Moukafih*, the Moroccan Communist newspaper *At Tahrir*, organ of the National Alliance of Popular Force, and other patriotic newspapers in Morocco repeatedly called for an end to the bloodshed.

As a result of the pressure, both local and on the scale of the African continent, the Moroccan authorities finally agreed to hold talks in Bamako, which ended in the signing of a cease-fire agreement. In Ghana and Togo, Dahomey and Niger, too, the tendency toward the peaceful settlement of border conflicts won the day.

The question of the peaceful settlement of outstanding issues figured prominently on the agenda of the Second Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in Lagos, capital of Nigeria, February 24-29. The Council recommended to Ethiopia and Somalia to do everything to prevent the outbreak of armed clashes and reaffirmed the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes between the African states as set forth in the Charter of the OAU. In talks held at the end of March in Khartoum, Somalia and Ethiopia agreed to end hostilities and withdrew their troops from the frontier area.

This is a victory for peace-loving Africa, a victory for the idea of unity, which is cherished by every African. The African peoples realize that the more united and the more resolutely they act in the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle for the economic and cultural renaissance of their continent, for unity and peace, the sooner all the territorial issues between the African states will be amicably resolved.

M. AHMADI

The Lessons of Gabon

GABON, a former French colony in West Africa, gained its independence in August 1960. Imperialist interests however were jealously guarded by their puppet President Leon Mba who allowed the French monopolies to continue plundering the natural wealth of his country.

The entire economy of this small state is virtually controlled by big financial concerns like the Banque de Paris et de Pays-Bas, Union Parisienne, the banking houses of Rothschild, Schneider and Morgan.

Moreover, the neo-colonialists are destroying one of the chief sources of Gabon's wealth — the okume tree which, in great demand on the world market, is being exported at the rate of a million tons a year. The Moande manganese deposits, among the world's largest, are exploited by the Compagnie Minière de l'Ogooué with the participation of U.S. and British capital. Gabon's iron ore is mined by the Société de Mine de fer de Mekambo which is controlled by big financial groups in France and the United States. Various monopoly corporations are also extracting oil (890,000 tons in 1963) and gold (1,118 kg in 1963). Gabon's uranium deposits are of particular interest to the French neo-colonialists. The entire output goes to the French atomic energy commission. Gabon uranium went into the making of the French atom bomb.

The French imperialists, who are extracting fabulous profits from Gabon, have always endeavored to depict that country as a model of political and economic stability. They invariably hold it up as an example of cooperation within the Euro-African framework which, it is alleged, ensures the peoples a high standard of living.

True, according to official statistics average income per capita in Gabon is 37,000 African francs a year, which is more than in many African countries. However, if one deducts from this figure the inordinately high incomes of the Europeans who hold all the skilled jobs, the average income for the Gabonian will drop to 20,000 African francs a year. But this figure too does not tell the whole story. It should be remembered that Gabon, with its population of 450,000 pays its President 800,000 African francs a month, its 12 ministers get 350,000 a month each and 150,000 goes to each of its 65 deputies in Parliament. The majority of the population subsists on an average of 500-600 African francs a month, a sum equiv-

alent to what a European in Libreville pays for a single meal.

This state of affairs has aroused deep dissatisfaction among all sections of the population.

The action taken by a group of young officers on February 18 which, backed by a section of the Gabon army, forced the President to resign and turned over the power temporarily to a government headed by Jean-Iler Aubame, leader of the opposition, was a reflection of the popular sentiment. It is noteworthy that the uprising was carried out without the loss of a single life and perfect order was preserved throughout the country.

But the French imperialists, who have suffered some painful setbacks of late in the Congo (Brazzaville) and Dahomey, realized that this time the interests of the big monopolies in Gabon were in jeopardy. On orders from de Gaulle personally, French paratroopers were rushed to the spot from Brazzaville and Dakar. After quickly overcoming the resistance of the Gabon army, numbering a grand total of 400 men, the paratroopers reinstalled the deposed dictator Leon Mba and proceeded to "restore order" in the country.

This armed intervention aroused indignation in Africa and throughout the world. No excuses (President Mba's request for help, fulfillment of treaty obligations, etc.) can justify this act of imperialist aggression. There is no excuse for the presence of French troops with whose help the puppet president is now taking reprisals against all who participated in the peaceful action of February 18. Meetings and demonstrations are being held all over Gabon demanding the resignation of the president and the withdrawal of foreign troops. The situation remains tense.

Of late certain admirers of General de Gaulle have begun to talk about the "wise" policy France is pursuing in the colonies. It is claimed that France has already completed decolonization, that the policy of the French imperialists differs from that of the international gendarme — U.S. imperialism.

The events in Gabon have blasted that myth. They have shown the whole world that French imperialism has no intention of giving up its positions, that it remains a bitter enemy of the peoples of its former colonies. In Brazzaville, too, at first the French troops were ordered to attack the rebels, but when thou-

sands of Africans poured onto the streets, the French military command thought better of it. The French imperialists did not intervene openly in the Congo not because they did not wish to but because they were afraid to.

One of the main lessons to be learned from the unsuccessful revolt in Gabon is that any uprising, however progressive, has little chance of success if it is effected by a handful of people without popular support. Victorious revolutions are carried out by the people. In

Zanzibar, in the Congo and in Dahomey the reactionary regimes were swept away with the broad participation of the people, the trade unions and other mass organizations. Freedom is not presented to the people on a platter. African patriots are beginning to see that to win freedom it is necessary to build up a front of democratic forces so that when the time comes any attempt at interference by the imperialists will meet with a crushing rebuff.

V. SHERMAN

Against the Persecution of Democrats

THE WILL OF THE COMMUNISTS WILL NOT BE BROKEN

IN A RECENT issue of the paper put out by the West German trade union of the workers of the printing and paper industry, Egon Lutz, editor, wrote: "Citizens, protect your Constitution. You have seen for yourselves the danger menacing it. You have a Department for the Protection of the Constitution, the top posts in which are still held by former SS men and Gestapo officials; a Department which thinks nothing of violating constitutional guarantees when it is a matter of tapping telephones or censoring correspondence. You have a Ministry of the Constitution (Minister of the Interior) who is either unable or unwilling to denounce these foul practices. Therefore, citizens, safeguard your Constitution! Safeguard it primarily against the Department for Protection of the Constitution and against the Minister of the Constitution!"

These words show how right was the Communist Party of Germany when it declared over seven years ago that the banning of the Party marked the beginning of a drive against the democratic rights of the people.

Trials in which not people but their political views are indicted have become more frequent in Federal Germany. In the course of three political trials Herbert Wils, a Communist, was condemned to a total of 62 months' imprisonment on the charge of distributing Communist Party literature. Last March the Communists Klaus Weigle, Max Walling and Karl Lorenzen were tried for seeking nomination during the general election held in the summer of 1961.

According to incomplete figures, in 1963 alone 206 trials were organized against the supporters of the policy of accord and sanity—against trade unionists, journalists, housewives and

others, in which the accused were sentenced to a total of 131 years of imprisonment or subjected to such penalties as disenfranchisement, police surveillance, prohibition to work at their trade for a term of five years. *West-deutsches Tageblatt* reported that the prosecutor's office instituted legal proceedings against peace supporters in roughly 80,000 cases. And this at a time when over 4,000 war criminals are at large in the Federal Republic.

Quite recently the Bonn rulers engineered another series of anti-Communist provocations. In Hamburg, Bremen and the Ruhr the police carried out a series of raids which culminated in the arrest of 15 people. The press raised a hue and cry about a "Communist conspiracy," and the Public Prosecutor announced that a new trial was being prepared.

The endless violation of democratic rights and liberties by the legal bodies has alarmed all sections of the population. The Socialist Students' Union, spokesmen of the Evangelical Church, the League for Human Rights, the Committee for Amnesty, composed of lawyers, professors and theologians, have demanded an amnesty for all who have been persecuted for their convictions. This amnesty might be instrumental in putting an end to anti-democratic practices.

More and more people in Federal Germany realize that the legal status of the Communist Party must be restored. The journalist, Sebastian Haffner, addressing students in Munich, expressed the view that the persecution of German Communists should be discontinued. Dr. Sigurd Paulsen, editor of the *Bonner Aus-sen-politische Korrespondenz*, declared that the trends generated by the signing of the Moscow

partial test-ban treaty should be used for easing the tension in Germany and for taking steps towards its reunification; and this necessitates the lifting of the ban on the Communist Party. A poll conducted by the Allensbach Institute of Public Opinion revealed that many expected the Erhard government to raise the ban on the CPG. In the Federal Land of Rhine-land-Palatinate a group of 22 social workers, among them chairmen of production councils, a trade union secretary, a member of the district board of the Social Democratic Party, intellectuals and clergymen, addressed a petition to the Chancellor, urging restoration of the legal status of the Communist Party.

The imposition of the ban in 1956 was designed to pave the way to a policy of revenge. But this policy has suffered a fiasco and is meaningless today. Equally meaningless is the continuing ban on the CPG. The people need a new policy—that of peaceful coexistence, détente and settlement of relations between the two German states. They need the policy formulated by the Communist Party at its Congress in 1963. The sooner the ban on the Party is lifted the sooner will this policy gain the upper hand.

Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party, addressed a letter to Federal Chancellor Erhard, requesting him to remove the ban. Among other things, Comrade Reimann suggested that the government should proclaim an amnesty, discontinue all trials and victimization deriving from the ban on the CPG, see to it that the freedom of speech and of the press guaranteed in the Constitution is ensured to all citizens of the Republic, including Communists, secure the right for all Communists to put forward their candidatures in the elections to local and laender parliaments as well as to the Bundestag, and restore the legal status of the Party.

At the beginning of April Max Reimann met legal representatives of the CPG in Prague.

The meeting thoroughly examined the legal aspects involved in restoring legality to the CPG and found that, from the legal standpoint, the decision of the Federal Constitutional Court banning the Party could be reversed. At a press conference held later Max Reimann stressed the wide response in West Germany to the call for restoring the Party's legal status. He told the journalists that he had sent a letter to Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, asking for his support.

The authors of the ban anticipated that it would banish our Party from the political life of the country. However, the plan miscarried. The *Rheinischer Merkur*—a paper close to the extremely reactionary forces in the CDU-CSU—has had to admit that: "Despite the ban, the Communist movement has not died. It lives on. . . . The Federal Constitutional Court's ban has not stopped the activities of the Communist Party. On the contrary, they have grown in scope."

In recent times the working people of the Federal Republic have seen for themselves that the Communists are the staunch champion of their interests. Wherever the workers are fighting for higher wages and against rising prices, wherever the peasants demonstrate against the anti-peasant government measures, wherever the struggle is waged for the rights of the youth, for a policy of peace and a guarantee of democratic rights and liberties—everywhere the Communists are in the forefront of the struggle. We are proud that the prestige and the influence of our Party is growing, that in recent months we have won new members, primarily from among the working-class youth. The demand to restore the Party's legal status is an elementary democratic demand. Hence our people accord extensive support to the slogan we have advanced. The stronger the Communist Party the nearer the victory of our common cause—the cause of peace and democracy.

G. SCHREINER

BAATHIST CRIMES IN SYRIA

SINCE their advent to power in Syria the Right-wing Baath have pursued an anti-popular policy. Enjoying no support among the people they maintain themselves in power through terror and repression. Dozens of patriots are held in prison. Many public personalities of varying political views, undesirable in the eyes of the government, are arbitrarily denied civil rights. Among them are Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Com-

munist Party, Akram Hourani, former leader of the Left wing in the Baath Party, Afif Bizre, former Chief of the General Staff, and many others.

Only recently the Baath committed yet another heinous crime. On January 28 the police agents arrested Abdel Kader Ykhwann, member of the regional committee of the Communist Party in Homs. Ykhwann died under torture. Seeking to cover up their crime, the

murderers secretly buried their victim during the night.

The murder evoked indignation both in Syria and abroad. People everywhere protested: demonstrations were held all over the country, demanding that the culprits be brought to trial. The pressure was such that Prime Minister Amin Hafez had to instruct the Attorney-General to investigate the case, to tell the people the truth about the crime and call to account those guilty. The Minister of the Interior, who went especially to Homs to calm the population, was compelled to denounce the murder, qualifying it as a "criminal offense."

Subsequent developments showed, however, that the government's "denunciations" were not worth much, for a few days later the Baath arrested in Latakia another progressive leader, Akhmed al-Fadel, who likewise was subjected to savage torture.

The Baath crimes expose the true nature of their rule, established behind the screen of the demagogic slogans of "unity," "freedom" and "socialism."

Right from the outset the Syrian Communists pointed out that the Baath rule would not solve the social and political problems confronting the country.

The coup d'état of March 8, 1963, which brought the Baath Party to power, was the result of a series of conspiracies engineered by the imperialists and home reactionaries who dreaded the spread of the democratic movement and the prospect of a powerful alliance of all the national forces.

The Baath Party is acting, through its Right (Aflak) wing, on direct orders from the imperialists and the jingo elements. Its main slogan is anti-communism. Baath, a hotch-potch of heterogeneous trends and currents, cannot be a consistent exponent of the popular will and lawful demands of the masses; this is borne out by the contradictory nature of the laws and decrees adopted under the Baath rule: those of them which are of a democratic character still remain on paper.

Posing as socialists, the Right-wing Baathists raised a hullabaloo over the relatively progressive amendments to the agrarian reform law. In actual fact, however, they not only refused to go further with the agrarian reform, but enabled the feudal lords to recover the land already given to the peasants. Thus, Dkham al Khadi — the biggest feudal bey — was encouraged to evict the peasants from the land they had been given under the Reform and to make short shrift of those who refused to obey.

The new trade union law is anything but

democratic. Trade unionists in Damascus and Haleb addressed letters to the authorities demanding the repeal of the law. Its undemocratic character can be seen in that it entitles the authorities to interfere in the affairs of the unions. Point 3 of Clause 2 of the law says: "Industries in which the workers can organize shall be defined by a decree." Point 2 of the same clause forbids the workers employed in the defense industry to be members of a trade union. Courts shall have the right to dissolve the unions.

It is not only workers and peasants but the entire people who are affected by encroachments on democratic rights. Freedom of the press applies only to Baath publications. Intellectuals and office employees who are not members of the Baath are dismissed and replaced by Baath men.

Discrimination is practised against the Syrian Kurds. Blinded by nationalism, the Syrian rulers placed at the disposal of the Iraqi Baathists (then still in power) a regiment for operations against the Kurds.

The Syrian Communists have resolutely opposed the anti-national policy of the Right-wing Baathists who ignored the demands of the people for social and economic reforms and gave a free hand to the imperialists conspiring in Syria.

Pretending that they want order in the economy, the Baath widely publicized their new economic measures connected with the foreign-exchange policy. What is actually meant is establishing a foreign-exchange market parallel to government control over foreign currency. This is a concession not only to the home capitalists but also to the neo-colonialists. The newspaper *L'economie Arab* made it clear that the issue of new foreign-exchange legislation was raised by the West German government during unofficial talks with the Baath.

Summing up the results of a year of Baath rule in Syria, it can be said that it has led on the one hand to unemployment and a rising cost of living, to a freezing of the agrarian reform law and disruption of economic life and, on the other, it has discredited the idea of socialism which in the Baath version is nothing but anarchy, economic crisis and constant retreat before the feudalists and the big bourgeoisie.

This policy has led to the isolation of the Baath Party and to a rise of the popular struggle for the overthrow of the regime. On their part, the imperialists and the home reactionaries, realizing that Baath rule is nearing its end, have stepped up their conspiratorial activity with a view to preventing the replacement of the regime with a democratic government.

The Syrian Communists declare that it is more urgent than ever for patriots and democrats, regardless of their political views and religious beliefs, to unite against the danger with which the country is threatened as a result of the policy of the Right-wing Baathists and the conspiracies of the imperialists. The

Communist Party maintains that only an alliance of all the national and democratic forces in the framework of a united people's front can ensure Syria a national-democratic regime, stabilize the situation in the country and take it along the road of progress.

Akhmad CHAGOURI

FRANCO IN RETREAT

THE brutality of Franco's repressions is universally known. In the past 20 years large numbers of Spanish democrats have been victimized and persecuted for their political beliefs. The authorities practise outright lawlessness, trample even on the legal norms of their own legislative bodies.

Spaniards from all walks of life are protesting against the repressions, and are actively supported by world public opinion.

The movement to put an end to the dictatorial policy and to establish a regime which would guarantee to all freedom of political convictions and religious beliefs is growing daily. The movement has assumed various forms: strikes, exposures of the facts of repressions, public opinion polls conducted by lawyers associations.

Under the impact of the growing national struggle and the international solidarity, the regime has had to make some concessions. Last December the government adopted a law which abolished the notorious special military tribunal for struggle against communism.

Since its formation in March 1940, the tribunal passed a host of monstrous verdicts, sending to their deaths thousands of anti-fascists. Today it has been replaced by a judiciary board and by a special tribunal empowered to examine the cases of those arrested for political "crimes."

The new law has annulled Clause 2 of the decree on the struggle against terrorist acts adopted on September 21, 1960. According to this decree, not only strikes but any criticism of the regime, its institutions and officials were qualified as sedition. Nowadays "crimes" of this order are in the province of the judiciary board and the special public order tribunal which operates on the basis of ordinary civil legislation.

It is obvious that the new law is a concession forced from the Franco regime. It should be borne in mind, however, that this law does not abolish the system of political repressions.

Its sole aim is to impart to them a semblance of legality in the framework of the so-called liberalization of the regime.

Hence the setting up of the new tribunal by no means signifies the restoration of democratic legal norms. Nevertheless, the very fact that a concession has been made can stimulate the struggle against the terror and win new sections of the population for this struggle.

In February legal proceedings were instituted in the civil tribunal of Madrid against a group of anti-fascists whom the government press characterized as "people with socialist convictions." These were members of the Socialist Workers' Party who had been arrested in 1958. The patriots were condemned to various terms of imprisonment (from one to five years) and to fines ranging from 10,000 to 50,000 pesetas. Their sole "crime" was that their views did not suit Franco and his stooges. The trial of the Socialists was the first of its kind—the first instance of a political case being heard in a civil court. This is yet another fact confirming that the regime is having to retreat under pressure from the people and world public opinion.

The trial of the socialists has demonstrated the strength of the opposition to the regime. The new "priests of Franco justice" were able to condemn only 13 of the 33 accused, and the verdict itself was passed not so much on the people as on their ideas. With dignity the accused defended their ideas in the court. Their defense lawyers, many of whom are known in the country as active members of the democratic and liberal opposition to Franco, accused the regime of suppressing any manifestation of the freedom of thought guaranteed in most countries of the world.

Thus, the hearing in the new public-order tribunal reaffirmed the desire of our people to put an end to the present state of affairs in the country and to open the way to freedom and democracy in Spain.

Baudelio SANCHEZ

REACTION ON THE OFFENSIVE IN BRAZIL

THE reactionary putsch of March 31 which brought down Joao Goulart's regime and set up a military dictatorship directly supported by foreign imperialists was a severe blow to the Brazilian revolutionary movement and the democratic and patriotic forces in general. As a result, the situation throughout Latin America has clearly taken a turn for the worse.

Although the whole story of the Brazilian events is not yet known, the social roots and character of the coup are obvious. Goulart's first steps towards restricting landlord land tenure and accelerating independent development, the relative independence of his foreign policy and the proposed introduction of universal suffrage made his government unacceptable to the oligarchy and U.S. imperialism. All who stood to gain from the country's socio-economic backwardness and to whose purposes the reactionary aspects of the political set-up were perfectly suited—the latifundists, the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, the corrupt state governors, the reactionary military and a considerable part of the clergy, as well as the Pentagon and the U.S. oil monopolies — joined forces against Goulart. The ultra-reactionaries were, moreover, reinforced by elements on whose support or neutrality he had evidently counted. The majority of the army officers who used to parade their patriotism and "loyalty to democracy," the big bourgeoisie which had flirted with liberalism, the White House and the U.S. State Department which only yesterday propounded the "need for far-reaching reform" on the continent—all came out at the decisive moment against genuine reform in order to forestall the establishment of real democracy and to prevent progress towards real independence.

The conspiracy was hatched for months in Brazil and abroad. Things came to a head when Goulart switched over from promises to actual decrees. The U.S. State Department's statement of March 29 concerning "Communist infiltration" in Brazil and Goulart's "tolerance" of Communists gave the green light to the plotters, and the unrest in the navy provided the pretext. Invoking an imaginary "Communist threat" they stampeded the wavering elements.

The outcome is now common knowledge. The oligarchy and its stooges are jubilant over the triumph of "law and order." The National Business Association has extended the ruling military junta a loan totalling 3,000 million cruzeiros, and U.S. and West German

monopolies have announced their readiness to invest more capital in Brazil. The first act of the governing junta was the annulment of the Goulart government's decree on partial land reform and its plan for the abolition of illiteracy.

It should be pointed out that the system of government overthrown in Brazil was precisely that bourgeois representative democracy which the U.S. rulers extol. Goulart's reforms were far more modest than those proposed under the Alliance for Progress and were to have been implemented by peaceful means. The events of March 31-April 2 were a *reactionary, anti-democratic and unconstitutional military coup* of the kind which was criticized in the USA by adherents of the so-called "New Deal" for Latin America in 1961-63.

All this reveals the hypocrisy of the U.S. ruling circles which not only enthusiastically hailed the coup but went so far as to declare it "an expression of support for constitutional government." Statements of this kind evoked unfavorable comment even in the capitalist press. The *New York Times*, for instance, said that the coup "was no more constitutional than if the Pentagon Chiefs of Staff deposed President Johnson."

In the final analysis the people of Brazil are bound to give a due rebuff to the reactionaries. At the moment, however, it is the pressing duty of democrats everywhere to protest against the terror unleashed in the country.

A "purge" of progressives has been officially proclaimed. Thousands have been dismissed from their jobs and hundreds of government officials have been removed from their posts and arrested. Forty members of the Chamber of Deputies and senators have been deprived of their seats and stripped of parliamentary privileges. Democratic and liberal governors and mayors have been ousted from office and arrested. Trade union leaders have been thrown into prison and the unions placed under military control. Other public organizations have been dissolved, their headquarters raided and their newspapers closed.

Wholesale arrests are being made in the country. According to the Uruguayan *La Manana*, the victims include not only opponents of the coup but all who "hold independent views on the serious political events in Brazil." In the state of Guanabara 5,000 people were arrested, in Rio de Janeiro 2,000, in Minas Gerais over 3,000, and in Rio Grande-do-Sul 5,000 (refugees report that in the latter state all suspected sympathizers of Goulart and espe-

cially Brizola are being seized). The prisons are overflowing and warships are being turned into floating jails, while thousands have been transported by airforce planes to the notorious Fernando de Noronha island. More and more reports of murders of democratic leaders are pouring in. In Recife, the Uruguayan press reports, G. Bezerra, an official in the civil cabinet of the progressive ex-governor Arrais was hacked to death. Colonel A. Alcantara Monteiro has been killed and the trade union leader Antildo Pascoal Viana was thrown out of a fifth-floor window in Rio de Janeiro. The scale of the atrocities perpetrated by the hirelings of the landlords against peasant activists in the inland districts is still unknown.

Even some Right-wing bourgeois leaders are dissociating themselves from the repressions, calling for the observance of at least a semblance of legality. But the reactionaries have taken the law into their own hands and are taking revenge for their recent fears for their privileges and power. The lives of thousands of fighters for the people's interests are in danger.

Revolutionaries and democrats, progressive organizations and liberal leaders in scores of countries are protesting against the repressions, demanding the release of the arrested, restoration of constitutional guarantees and freedom of organization.

The revolutionary and patriotic forces of Latin America see in the Brazilian events a sign that the oligarchy, supported by U.S. imperialism, has launched a new general offensive. Hence they are closely examining the political and tactical lessons of these events and are closing their ranks in preparation for decisive battles with the reactionaries.

The present socio-economic and political set-up in Latin America is doomed. Nothing can save it. Revolution is on the order of the day on the continent, and no reactionary coups and no repressions can prevent it. On the contrary, coups and repressions make the revolution an all the more urgent necessity. The masses are awakening and rising to the struggle, and this is an earnest that the revolutionary process cannot be reversed.

C. RUBIO

Reviews

Lessons of a Thousand-Year-Old History

THE BOOK by Jean Kill, a leading member of the Communist Party of Luxembourg entitled *The Thousand Years of Luxembourg. Whence? Whither? An Outline History** opens with a kind of prologue beginning with the words: "In April 1963 our capital celebrated its 1000th anniversary . . . A thousand years . . . is a long time, and much water has flowed under the bridges of the Alzette since the time when Count Siegfried built a castle on Bockfelsen rock and thus laid the foundation not only of our capital but also of our country as an independent entity."

The people had to wage a long struggle for their freedom and independence, for national sovereignty, for their socio-economic and democratic rights. And from the history of this struggle the author draws this lesson: "National freedom . . . is vital to the working class; for only by possessing this freedom can it measure

its strength with the exploiting class. National oppression confuses the issue in the conflict between the classes in an oppressed country. National freedom by no means signifies automatic social emancipation of the working class, it is the essential prerequisite for this. Hence the national question still retains its paramount importance" (pp. 145-146).

The people of Luxembourg know what it means to be without rights, either political or economic. Their territory was often ravaged by predatory armies. They were annexed arbitrarily now to one country, now to another. At one time even the question of bartering the country was on the agenda. As a result of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, victorious Germany demanded, among other things, that France transfer to her the rights to the French railway line passing through Luxembourg. "France had no option but to agree. Luxembourg was not asked at all. That is how a nation is treated when its vital industrial installations pass into the hands of foreigners. From the hands of one foreigner, they pass into the

*Jean Kill. 1000-jähriges Luxemburg. Woher?—Wohin? Ein Beitrag zum besseren Verstaendnis der Geschichte des Luxemburger Landes. Luxemburg, Druck und Verlag COPE, 1963. 252 pp.

hands of others," the author concludes (pp. 153-154). This is yet another lesson.

UNFRIENDLY NEIGHBORS

Much suffering was brought to the people of Luxembourg by their unfriendly neighbor—militarist Germany. On more than one occasion attempts were made to Germanize Luxembourg. The most ruthless of these was the Hitler occupation: in the course of four years 10 per cent of the population, who refused to bow to Hitler, were killed or tortured to death. An outstanding role in the Resistance was played by the Communists who suffered heavy losses. Among the many who gave their lives for the country was Bernard Zenon, Chairman of the Communist Party and one of its founders.

Reactionary German historiography, especially Nazi historians, asserted that the people of Luxembourg were part of the German nation. For centuries this pan-German idea had been opposed by the people of Luxembourg.

The assurances of German militarism, which has twice ravaged the country in the space of the past 50 years can by no means be trusted. This, undoubtedly, is true also today, when Luxembourg has been drawn into NATO, the Common Market, the European Coal and Steel Community and other closed organizations, in which the leading part has long been played by West German militarists and revanchists.

VALUABLE CONCLUSIONS

In the long history of his country Jean Kill discerns moments which make it possible to draw conclusions of value to the Communist Party in its struggle. Here are some of them: the fight "... against the international solidarity of the reactionary forces" calls for the "international solidarity of the popular masses" (p. 99); the isolation of the working class is the "... most dangerous situation in which the workers' revolution can find itself" (p. 127). The Communist Party of Luxembourg starts from the premise that it is necessary to banish war from the life of society, that "provided there is good will, all outstanding international issues can be resolved peacefully, taking into account all justified interests" (p. 140). Hence its consistent peace policy and its fidelity to the principles of peaceful coexistence in the documents of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960. This attitude was reaffirmed in the report of the Party's Seventeenth Congress (April 1964) made by Dominique Urbany, General Secretary of the Party.

"We were united and we are united," he said, "with the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the vast majority of the other Com-

munist parties in regard to the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that there are real possibilities in our time to prevent another world war, a nuclear showdown between West and East. The world balance of forces is such that it not only affords real opportunities for consolidating peaceful coexistence but also creates more favorable conditions for the victory of socialism on a world scale, our country included. Hence defense of peace continues to be our vital task. Therefore we wholeheartedly welcome the initiative and success of the Soviet Union in working for peace, for example the conclusion of the Moscow partial test ban treaty, and we emphatically denounce the attempts made by the leaders of the Communist Party of China to torpedo this peace-loving policy."

One of the basic trends of our time—the growth and consolidation of the socialist world system—is also important for Luxembourg, Kill stresses (p. 247). The economic superiority of socialism over capitalism is becoming increasingly evident. For the Communist Party of Luxembourg, too, the policy of peaceful coexistence opens up new horizons in the fight for socialism and poses new tasks, such as the need to work for neutrality and for the complete independence of the country, for the withdrawal from NATO and other militarist organizations. "For our people peace and peaceful coexistence are, perhaps, even more vital than for other peoples. The new military technology and atomic war are fraught with the danger of annihilating whole nations and countries. One bomb is said to be enough to destroy all life over an area of 5,000 sq. km. We are a small nation, and the area of our country is only 2,580 sq. km. As we know from the experience of the two world wars, we are situated at the intersection of all the military highways. No matter what happens, we would be victims. It is a terrifying thought that in the event of war the life and the very existence of our people would be at stake," said D. Urbany. What a contrast to the irresponsible statements made by the Chinese leaders to the effect that even if a thermonuclear war should take a toll of "half of mankind the other half would survive, imperialism would be wiped out completely and there would be only socialism in the world."

FOLLOWING ITS OWN ROAD

The Luxembourg Communists hold that every country will come to socialism of its own free will, following its own road. The lessons of history teach that "bloodshed and civil war are not necessarily the attributes of the revolution, including the socialist revolution" (p.

114). The author expresses the conviction of his Party, a conviction based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis, namely, that "it is both natural and logical that Western Europe, too, will eventually turn to socialism, because socialism is the more progressive and *more productive* socio-economic system . . . Today socialism has become so strong and so firmly established that it can, and will, prove its superiority to the rest of the world in the course of peaceful competition. Hence it is quite possible that in many countries socialism will supersede capitalist society by peaceful, bloodless means" (p. 250). And further: "Each people will come to socialism in its own way. As regards Luxembourg, we are confident that here socialism will be achieved gradually and in a democratic way" (p. 251).

The Communists hold out to the people of Luxembourg the perspective of socialism. In so doing they proceed both from the general concepts of Marxism-Leninism and from the specific conditions of their country. "A bright future," writes Jean Kill, "awaits us as a socialist nation. It is only under socialism that nations can reach full development. Only when the people of Luxembourg own the vital means of production now in the hands of the foreigners (mines, iron and steel works, big enterprises, power sources) will they be true masters in their own house. Unemployment, crises and wars will vanish for ever, and all working people will be ensured a decent life.

"Why do we still speak of the nation rather than of the class? In a socialist Luxembourg, besides the working class, there will be as hitherto the peasants, the middle sections, handicraftsmen and intellectuals as well as the various parties, as long as they are needed. But there will no longer be a class of exploiters or a party whose program is based on exploitation, war and national oppression" (p. 251).

COOPERATION WITH THE SOCIALISTS

In this struggle the Communists should not underestimate the significance of cooperation

with the socialist and other parties. D. Urbany said apropos of this: "We should study and correctly assess the situation and developments in the other parties. In this matter 'schematism' is inadmissible. Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with 'schematism.'

"It is easy enough to say that the Christian Social monopoly capitalists, the Liberal political poseurs and the Socialists are agents of Big Business, while we Communists are the only good people. Such views may sound '100 per cent Communist,' but they are incorrect.

"The demarcation line on the front of struggle against monopoly capitalism and militarism cannot be drawn so clearly between the parties as visualized at times by some Communists.

"We must be absolutely clear about the fact that further development will result in the front of the struggle passing through other parties and their organizations."

In this connection Jean Kill draws attention to the Communist approach to religious people who are numerous in Luxembourg. He writes: "We Communists believe in mutual tolerance, we respect the religious feelings of the believers even if we do not share them; we realize that differences in religious and philosophical views cannot, and should not, prevent people from fighting jointly for peace, progress and socialism" (p. 84).

All this notwithstanding, as the Sixteenth Congress stressed, the guarantee of success is a strong and massive Communist Party—a party with ideological clarity, a party waging a courageous and consistent struggle; hence all our efforts, the Congress said, should be aimed at building the Party ideologically and organizationally. Another important thing is to win new members.

The keynote of the book is the idea of international working-class solidarity, the idea of proletarian internationalism. Without this, socialism, which "will solve the 'Luxembourg question' finally and completely," will not be achieved.

Neo-Colonialism and Trade Unions

IN RECENT TIMES we have seen intensified activities by the most reactionary circles in the United States to maintain or establish control over independent states and to oust older imperialist rivals. Conspiracies and military coups are among the more blatant, violent and frantic measures taken by American imperialism. But alongside them, all the time, there go the insidious and less recognized forms of neo-

colonialism behind which the Wall Street monopolies are working night and day to maintain and extend their dominion.

A major form of these new tactics is that of attempting to make use of trade unions in developing countries in order to reduce them to being tame appendages of the monopolies, to paralyze the militancy of the workers and their will to resist, and, in every way possible, make

it easier for the big employers to make record profits on the basis of low wages, poor conditions and intensification of labor. In this way it is hoped that the workers in these countries will be prevented from playing their necessary role in the national-liberation movement and the unhampered development of their countries.

There have been several books in recent times by American authors on the aims and tactics of U.S. neo-colonialism.* One of these is *Spearheads of Democracy—Labor Unions in the Developing Countries*, by George C. Lodge, son of the millionaire Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam. George Lodge has also had a political career, having served in both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, specializing on labor questions.

Mr. Lodge is astute enough to understand the importance of the working class in the newly developing countries. In fact his whole thesis is based on this and on the recognition that "trade unions have come to be of central and critical importance in the world struggle today." He is also aware of the fact that "the obscure trade unionist of today may well be the president or prime minister of tomorrow. In many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America trade unions are almost the only organized force in direct contact with the people and they are frequently among the most important influences on the people" (p. 9).

But Mr. Lodge, understandably, is not interested in the trade unions as bodies called upon to fulfil the class mission of the labor movement. On the contrary, he is concerned with the prosecution of the cold war and with the possibilities of the various U.S. agencies utilizing the trade unions in Africa, Asia and Latin America in order to carry forward U.S. foreign policy. This he does not even bother to conceal.

"We are involved in a total war. . . . This book is a plea to government, management and labor to perceive more precisely than they have the importance of organizations of workers in the developing world to the fulfilment of U.S. foreign policy. . . ." And again, "our foreign policy cannot be successful unless it specifically includes and gives high priority to the activities of worker organizations in these vast areas." (pp. 9-12).

The book is interlarded with such pronouncements, so that the reader is left in no doubt as to the author's intentions.

Having clearly set down his intention, the author then goes on to explain, in considerable detail, his tactics. Again and again he empha-

sizes the advantages to the State Department of working indirectly through other bodies, of hiding its real face which would too easily be recognized for what it is.

He tries to explain the failure of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) to help forward U.S. foreign policy in the developing countries by reference to its "meagre resources" for such work. "How much, after all," he asks, "can be done around the world with a few million dollars a year?" Historically, of course, the efforts of the ICFTU on behalf of international and especially American imperialism have failed, but the expenditure of a "few million dollars a year" (in fact, considerably more than a few million) has wrought considerable damage to the trade unions of Africa, Asia and Latin America, causing constant divisions in their ranks.

The workers in these countries, however, are now more aware as to the nature of the ICFTU and are more reluctant to allow their trade unions to be connected with this body. This is particularly so in Africa where in country after country the trade union centers have disaffiliated from the ICFTU and have condemned it as an agency of U.S. imperialism and a weapon of neo-colonialism.

Any attempt in Africa to try to prevent the emergence of an independent Africa Federation of Trade Unions would, admits Mr. Lodge, "not only fail to get support but would tend to sustain the Communist contention that the ICFTU is a Trojan horse for Western 'imperialism'."

For these reasons, Mr. Lodge advises that the pushing of U.S. policy in developing countries could be better done now by other bodies than by the somewhat discredited ICFTU.

In this regard he thinks that much can be done by the AFL-CIO, although here again he confesses that "in many key areas it has been losing ground" very often because "it has unfortunately identified itself with the wrong people."

Not that the AFL-CIO has been parsimonious in spending money for its overseas activities on behalf of the U.S. State Department. Thus, writes Mr. Lodge, in 1954 alone the CIO spent more than \$500,000 on equipment for these purposes, in addition to other funds spent for overseas propaganda. Further, during 1960 and 1961, we are told, "the AFL-CIO spent about a million and a half dollars for international activities, roughly eight per cent of the federation's income." Individual American unions have spent further sums for these purposes. Thus the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union "has spent well over \$1 million in

*See Review of Arnold Rivkin's book *Africa and the West* in our issue No. 2 for 1963.

the last three years" in Asia, Latin America and Europe, while the United Automobile Workers executive board voted to spend \$1.5 million, especially through the International Metalworkers' Federation (i.e., the metal International Trade Secretariat, linked with the ICFTU).

But the AFL-CIO, like the ICFTU, also stands exposed before the workers of Africa, Asia and Latin America. For this reason Mr. Lodge proposes that the American trade unions, to accomplish their "international objectives," should "undertake certain new kinds of work . . . and expand and reorganize their international staff." Emphasizing that "there must be recognition, at the highest levels of American labor, of its importance to the fulfilment of United States foreign policy," he then comes to one of the main ideas in this book. This is the tactic of channelling most of the funds and activities for influencing and corrupting trade unions in developing countries via the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) which are connected with the ICFTU although they officially retain a form of autonomy.

With an almost naive brazenness (only to be explained by Mr. Lodge's knowledge that few workers in Asia, Africa or Latin America will ever read his book) Mr. Lodge explains:

"In general, American unions should be encouraged to increase their participation with the Trade Secretariats. . . . Given the suspicions which inevitably surround an American operating alone in some neutralist countries, given the reluctance of many good non-Communist worker leaders to accept help directly from the United States, given the risks of alienating our friends and allies in Europe, Great Britain, and elsewhere . . . it might be better to work together through a Secretariat, in which American interests are protected. . . ." (p. 114).

Having thus laid down his general tactical line—"all organizing activity and all direct assistance . . . should be channelled through the International Trade Secretariats," Mr. Lodge then explains how each arm of attack can fit in with this plan.

The ICFTU, he says, should continue to collect its "International Solidarity Fund" and then distribute these funds to the Trade Secretariats. There should be cooperation with the AFL-CIO so that this body "would be able to act decisively and quickly . . . through its affiliates in the Trade Secretariats."

A special role is also found for American businesses operating overseas. Appealing to American businessmen to "put new emphasis on its good conduct abroad," Mr. Lodge emphasizes, in answer to those who may cry: "What

about profits for the stockholders?", that there is really no choice. If the U.S. monopolies operating overseas do not help to establish "free," "anti-Communist" trade unions, if the whole aim of building up these class-collaborating trade unions fails, then "of course, there will be no benefits." So there we have it—the aim of this "new" policy is to safeguard the profits of U.S. monopolies.

Further, stresses Mr. Lodge, this new course of action does not only offer "the chances of making the company's investment far more secure." But, "what is more important, the interests of the United States and the free world would be immeasurably advanced."

The U.S. government is also allocated its specific tasks in this all-embracing strategy advocated by Mr. Lodge for, as he explains so blandly, "there is an intimate link between foreign policy and the operations of U.S. companies abroad."

The author considers that the 13 million dollars a year officially spent by the U.S. administration on "international labor affairs" is insufficient and calls for a big expansion of government activity on this front. He is anxious that the U.S. government present itself in a new light to the newly-developing countries, and he suggests that "we should . . . clarify for ourselves and others the economic system of the United States, explaining forthrightly that it is not a 'capitalist' system, as capitalism is generally known and described, but is in fact nearer to what most of the developing people in the world mean by socialism"! A strange form of "socialism" which is in favor of "making the company's investments more secure"!

Mr. Lodge advocates that use be made of the Agency for International Development (AID) funds rather than working directly via the government. He explains, with almost touching frankness:

". . . many unions could not afford politically to accept aid from the U.S. government. It would make them appear to be agents of the United States which in neutral areas is sometimes inadvisable. . . . There is, therefore, a good deal to be said for extending aid to foreign unions through the American labor movement and the International Trade Secretariats" (p. 180).

Mr. Lodge then explains the various ways in which this might be done, with funds from the AID going from the U.S. to a particular government in Latin America, for example, and, at the same time the ITS suggesting to its affiliated union in that particular country that they should apply to their own government which will then simply pass on the AID

funds! "A similar route," he suggests, "could be followed with the Inter-American Development Bank" (p. 181).

Mr. Lodge is also anxious that more use should be made of labor attachés—"we should have a labor attaché in every country of the world"—and very keen that suitable candidates be recruited "from the American labor movement to serve in the Foreign Service as labor attachés" (p. 194).

* * *

If anyone has had any doubts before about the role being played by the American Right-wing labor leaders towards the trade unions in the developing countries, these doubts should now be laid to rest, for Mr. Lodge has made it quite clear. As he himself says, the American government, "American management and labor abroad" are nothing other than "three arms of our foreign relations."

These three arms are all actively at work, disrupting trade unions, corrupting trade union officials, and trying to turn the trade

unions in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America into simple tools of U.S. foreign policy.

The dangers of this menace have recently been seen in British Guiana, where American-backed trade union leaders have worked openly with U.S. and local reactionaries in an attempt to overthrow the Left-wing Progressive People's Party government led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan. It is not without significance that one of the main forms through which funds have been channelled to these Right-wing leaders in British Guiana has been the International Trade Secretariats so favored by Mr. Lodge.

In writing his book, Mr. Lodge shows complete contempt for the workers whom he treats as pawns in his cold war game. This book is one more warning that behind its mask of "anti-colonialism," U.S. imperialism is utilizing ever trick in the neo-colonialist pack in order to penetrate the developing countries and bring them under American domination.

Jack WODDIS

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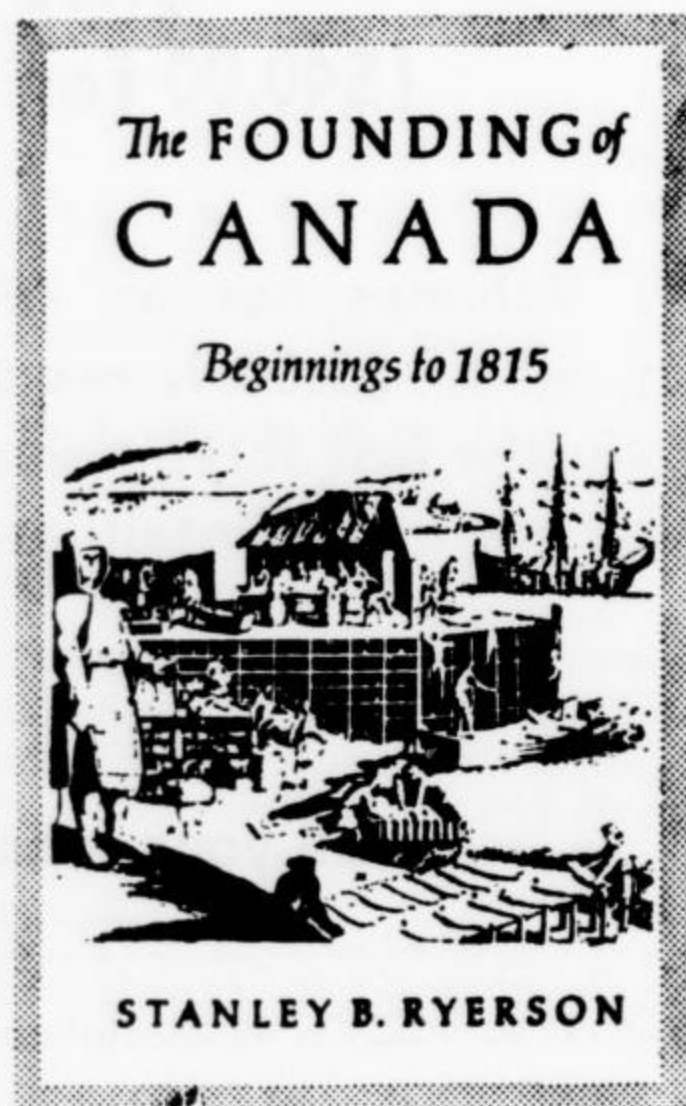
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