



INTERNATIONAL

WORKERS OF THE WORLD — UNITE!

SECOND DECLARATION OF HAVANA

Editorial: After the Strikes in Spain

THE WORLD CRISIS OF STALINISM AFTER THE 22nd CONGRESS

by ERNEST GERMAIN

The Angolan Revolution Enters its Second Year

by MICHEL PABLO

A Review of the Third General Elections in India

by KAILAS CHANDRA

“ Colonials ,, and “ Europeans ,,

by MICHEL PABLO

OUR FRIEND SHERRY, OUR COMRADE PATRICE

News from the World Workers' Movement and the International

MAY - JULY 1962

15

2 SHILLINGS
35 CENTS

Contents

Editorial: <i>After the Strikes in Spain</i>	1
<i>Our Friend Sherry, our Comrade Patrice</i>	3
<i>The World Crisis of Stalinism after the 22nd Congress</i> by Ernest Germain	5
<i>Second Declaration of Havana</i>	12
<i>Statement by the International Secretariat on Spain and Portugal</i>	21
<i>The Angolan Revolution Enters its Second Year</i> by Michel Pablo	22
<i>A Review of the General Election in India</i> by Kailas Chandra	25
"Colonials" and "Europeans", a Review of Frantz Fanon's Book "Les Damnés de la Terre" by Michel Pablo	30
News from the World Workers' Movement and the International	
India: <i>New Left Majority in the Leadership of the Communist Party</i>	35
Great Britain: <i>The Young Socialists on the Common Market</i>	36
Australia: <i>The Conference of the Australian Section</i>	35

All Correspondence and Subscriptions via:

PIERRE FRANK, 64 rue de Richelieu, Paris 2.

Rates: Single copies: 35 cents; One year (4 issues): \$1.25
" " 2 shillings (2/5 postpaid); " " (" "): 8 shillings

Please Send all correspondence to PIERRE FRANK (above mentioned address) and not to the Printshop address.

In the Far East, *Fourth International* is available through the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, 49 Drieberg's Avenue, Colombo 10, Ceylon.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, the English-language edition of the theoretical organ of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, is published four times a year by E.D.I.T., Rome, Italy. *Direttore Responsabile*: LIVIO MAITAN. Autorizzazione Tribunale di Roma N° 7763 del 22 Novembre 1960. Printed in Italy



FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

ENGLISH . LANGUAGE EDITION OF THE THEORETICAL ORGAN OF THE
INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Number 15

May - July 1962

Editorial

AFTER THE STRIKES IN SPAIN

The events of the last weeks have marked a decisive turning-point in the situation in Spain, the beginning of a new upsurge of the Spanish revolution. At the same time, it has aggravated the crisis of Portuguese Fascism, that more and more vacillates under the blows of the liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique and of the workers and intellectuals in the metropolis itself. The convergence of successful revolutionary developments throughout the entire Iberian peninsula would exert a tremendous influence upon all the working class movements in Western Europe and mark the beginning of a turn on a more general scale.

The Spanish strikes, which are at the centre of the most recent developments, not only prove once again that the Franco regime has reached an advanced stage of disintegration, but also confirm that the essential role in the struggle against the Fascist dictatorship is played by the working class. Just as the big Italian strikes in 1943 preceded and accelerated Mussolini's fall, so the Spanish strikes of this year will be one of the decisive elements in the fall of Franco.

It is easy to understand that all forces and tendencies have been put into motion. The Spanish bourgeoisie, which for a long time considered Franco as its best instrument, in front of the crisis which has opened and deepens so menacingly, is impelled more and more urgently to seek an alternative solution, which by putting aside Franco and Falangism could conserve the capitalist system even if on "new", more "European" bases. The attitude taken by a large part of the Spanish Church, which did not hesitate to express in various ways its sympathy with the strikers and its criticism of the regime, together with the analyses published in the

big bourgeois international press, constitutes a significant symptom.

Needless to add, the less blind tendencies of American Imperialism are not hostile to an operation of "renewal" which, by restoring in Spain a conservative bourgeois democracy, would render a little more palatable the mythology of "Atlantic democracy".

On the other hand the caution with which this problem has been treated by the Spanish ruling classes reveals that they are afraid that this operation may objectively have different results from those they hope for. They are afraid that once the Falangist dyke is breached definitively, the flood of the mass movement will not halt respectfully before the taboos of a conservative bourgeois democracy. However it is clear that any delay or postponement will only sharpen the conflicts and render it even more difficult for the ruling class to find any new solution.

The Spanish working class movement is faced more urgently than ever with the problem of establishing a clear strategic line and creating a resolute revolutionary leadership. If the Spanish ruling classes and in the last instance, Imperialism itself aim at overcoming the present crisis by establishing a new bourgeois, conservative equilibrium, the working class movement must seek to make the anti-fascist battle develop essentially as an anti-capitalist one. The working class must not only strike at Franco and Falangism, but basically as well against the capitalist ruling class which is at the very origins of any fascism.

The experience of the Civil War, and the experience of the anti-fascist struggle in other countries (particularly in France and Italy), even if it

was at a different level, must together constitute for the Spanish working class a basic lesson. The defeat in Spain, the capitalist restoration in Italy under the aegis of the catholic party, and the even more negative events which led in France to de Gaulle's hegemony, prove for the Nth. time what are the bitter fruits of a policy of class collaboration, of popular fronts, in which bourgeois forces participate and finally prevail. Unfortunately this lesson does not seem to have been drawn.

The Socialist Party sterilised by exile, and submitting to the reactionary policy of international Social-Democracy, does not want to avert the bourgeois manouvres, but on the contrary attempts to be consciously one of the cogs of this whole conservative operation. The policy of the Communist Party is not substantially different: after having put forward the absurd line of so-called "national reconciliation", it now insists on the necessity and possibility of struggling against Franco by "peaceful means", on the basis of a united front even including the extreme right wing monarchists.

Obviously, if the "peaceful way" is sterile in countries of bourgeois democracy, it is then hopelessly grotesque under a regime of crude dictatorship. It not by peaceful means but by revolutionary struggle which in some regions may imply guerrilla actions, that Franco will be overthrown, and that the foundation will be laid for avoiding his replacement by another conservative bourgeois regime.

The working class must therefore coherently develop its struggle by fixing its transitional demands, by formulating its own strategy, by being fully conscious that the Spanish revolution must aim not at restoring bourgeois democracy but at overthrowing the capitalist regime and building a socialist republic.

This does not mean that the working class movement can ignore democratic demands. such as for instance a struggle for a revolutionary constituent assembly. But the decisive factor will be the concrete content that these demands assume in practice, the capacity of the working class movement to tie these demands to the essential, anti-capitalist objectives. It will be the decision to create from the beginning peoples' committees composed of workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty-bourgeois layers, conceived as embryonic organs of power, the

decision to organise detachments for the armed struggle against the regime.

One of the most promising elements of the present situation is the fact than, in spite of the orientation of the old leadership and even against this orientation, the young people especially, both in Spain and in the Emigration, are thinking and beginning to act on this plane. The role played in the last strikes by some new formations, such as the Frente de Liberacion Popular, has been underlined by various observers. As well there are possibilities of new developments inside old revolutionary organisations such as the P O U M.

The task of the Spanish revolutionary marxists at the present stage is to stimulate the young forces, the new formations, to help them in their day-to-day struggle as they go through new experiences and to help them to clarify theoretically all the basic problems of the Spanish revolution. At the same time the revolutionary marxists should not neglect the possibility of fermentation developing inside the traditional organisations, once more especially among the youth.

A necessary condition for accomplishing these tasks is that the revolutionary marxists succeed in creating efficient homogeneous nuclei which will be capable of integrating rapidly in the mass movement and able to educate the most advanced young cadres in all the political and theoretical lessons that the revolutionary marxists have drawn from the dramatic experiences of Spain and the whole of the Iberian peninsula. In Portugal where the relationship of forces inside the mass movement are different, special attention must be paid to those sectors influenced by the Communist Party which shall probably play an important role in at least the first stage of the upsurge of the mass movement.

The European and international working class movement should not remain a passive spectator, nor limit itself to publishing appeals for solidarity. The working class organisation must establish direct connections with all the Spanish workers' organisation and discuss together in what concrete forms (financial and military aid, boycotts etc.) international solidarity should be expressed to the fullest extent. Especially at the first stage, the trade union organisations must take the initiative: fullest support to the Spanish and Portuguese workers constitutes today their imprescriptible duty.

OUR FRIEND SHERRY, OUR COMRADE PATRICE.

Almost one year from the date of publication of this issue of our magazine, Sherry Mangan (Patrice), former editor of the Fourth International, died.

We publish below a tribute to his memory by Michel Pablo, written while in the Amsterdam prison.

Sherry Mangan, whom we have known and loved in our movement under his party-name of Patrice, has just passed away.

I received the news as a heart-felt blow at the saddest hour, at sunset, in my cell, by a short letter from a comrade of the I.S. in which he wrote. "The conditions of his death were painful enough, even if he did not suffer, for it is most probable that he died in his sleep. A group of our Roman comrades and friends, including myself, accompanied him on the 3rd July to the English cemetery, here in Rome, where we laid him on his grave a wreath of red flowers in the name of all the comrades and friends of our movement".

I shall wait to hear what were those "painful conditions". Revolutionaries who like Sherry Mangan abandon at the time of their fullest success, their class and privileges, to devote themselves entirely to the workers' movement, often know, among others, the painful conditions which precede their end.

In the implacable struggle which particularly we revolutionary marxist militants, we Trotskyists fight against the capitalist regime and the bureaucracy which has usurped workers' power, our position is often amongst the most painful.

The State and bureaucratic apparatuses are hunting us, and from everywhere pressures are put upon us, to make our independence of judgement submit and oblige us to fall into line with the "reasonable revolutionaries".

The most handicapped among us in this struggle are the militants of bourgeois and intellectual origin. For this reason, a number of them succumb under the pressure of the enemy, and either are broken or reintegrate with the fold they had momentarily deserted, abandoning any ideas of any new revolt.

But those who persevered until the end, as did Sherry Mangan, hide under their apparent bourgeois and intellectual bonhomie, a heroic and fiery soul, a sure and profound intelligence, which saves them from succumbing.

Sherry Mangan came from a bourgeois family in Boston. An only and favourite son, particularly of his father, a distinguished doctor in this aristocratic, puritan and intellectual town, he received a refined education, which he followed through to the university level.

Very soon Sherry Mangan devoted himself with success to literature and big journalism.

I am not competent to speak of his literary work as a youth. I know however that he wrote some poems which were judged remarkable and that he possessed a very vast knowledge of language and literary and general culture. Sherry Mangan came to our movement on the eve of the last war, when he was a well-known journalist contributing to publications as important as the periodical "Fortune" in the United States.

He was in Paris when it was taken by Nazi troops in 1940.

Of these events of the first period of the Nazi Occupation of Paris he gave a vivid description in his articles published in the press of the SWP, the American Trotskyist organisation of which he was a member. During the war he remained a long time in Latin America still as a

journalist, helping to his utmost the Trotskyist movement in these countries.

He was one of the first comrades from outside Europe with whom the European Secretariat made contact with after the entry of allied troops into Paris in August, 1944. Sherry Mangan wore the uniform of an officer of the American Army and was correspondent of "Fortune" for the whole of Europe.

In this double role he possessed important means which he put at the disposal of our movement. It was for instance thus that I personally could carry out with him a memorable voyage to Greece in 1945, before there was solidly installed the ferocious dictatorial regime which that country still knows.

The aim was to attend the Unification Congress of Greek Trotskyists. We travelled with Sherry Mangan, accompanied by his wife, in a little Greek boat which, for days and days, cautiously felt its way through the waters of the Mediterranean which were sown with mines, before reaching Piraeus after having rounded the Peloponnese.

I accompanied Sherry as his secretary, so as to avoid possible difficulties with the Greek police.

The Congress of Unification was held there on a barren mountain near Athens. Adequate guards were placed to watch the approaches for we feared the incursions of the police, who were already on the hunt for "communists". I remember the admirable endurance of Sherry, little used to this strenuous mountain-climbing and hard walking in full summer to the Conference, and to the very uncomfortable conditions in which it was held.

Then we left Greece together, in a military plane put at his disposal and which stopped in Rome. Thanks to the protection of his American officer's uniform and to his position as Fortune's correspondent, our revolutionary work benefited by unusual facilities, and we often laughed together about them. I profited greatly by it in Italy where I was able to make contact at that time with our militants in that country.

Many of us remember the attitude of Sherry when the French Police arrested all the participants of our first International Congress after the war, in Paris in April, 1946. For fear of having any dealings with the French Stalinists who were at that time very powerful, and who had influential men among the police looking for collaborators, we held this conference in a clandestine manner, in a first-floor room in a café near the Porte de St. Denis.

The Conference, which was attended by a good number of English, Irish, American, Belgian, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Swiss, Greek and Vietnamese delegates and others, had just started when armed police and soldiers burst in. I rushed over to Patrice, pseudonym that Sherry had already adopted for his new career as militant in our European and International movement, and had just time to whisper in his ear that he should put all the documents spread over the tables into his brief-case and should refuse by all means to give them to the police, no matter what pressure was put on him, using thoroughly his position as an American and as a journalist.

Patrice, with great calm and application, followed this advice. When the police took us to the police station, before taking us to the Palais de Justice, the documents of the Congress were well guarded in Patrice's brief-case which he held firmly to himself.

To the Commissaire de police who demanded that the brief-case should be examined, Patrice replied calmly that he should not forget his position as an American and as a journalist and asked that he be put in contact immediately with his Ambassador. The effect of this attitude, as I had thought, was like a clap of thunder. Monsieur le

Commissaire began a rapid retreat and spoke no more of the brief-case. No one at this period could touch the impunity of an American without fear of the consequences, even in Paris, dominated by the unnatural alliance of the Gaullist and Stalinist Resistance.

At the Palais de Justice we were locked up in a room on the ground-floor guarded by armed gendarmes. We passed there a memorable night, during which, following my proposal, we continued our conference, finishing it in the early hours of the morning by singing the Internationale. Our guards had played cards continuously, having understood absolutely nothing of the whisperings between the members of this strange band of "meteques" (outlanders). They only expressed some surprise at our morning song and at (according to them) the strange fervour which at this moment appeared on our faces.

Patrice had already been liberated during the night and had gone with his precious brief-case which was victoriously kept from examination by the police at the Palais de Justice. We were liberated early in the morning of the next day, the police having at last discovered that it was a Trotskyist Conference and not a gang of mysterious plotters.

It is to comrade Patrice that we owe the Statutes of our International, voted at the Second World Congress in 1948.

This cosmopolitan man, who travelled over a great part of the world, who knew at first hand the stupidity of any national particularism in the field of culture and of any feeling of superiority; who knew how to discover and love in each country the mark of civilization in whatever domain, from art to gastronomy; this man had the passion of the International.

He began and ended his militant life in the workers' movement, the Trotskyist movement in particular as a devoted and faithful adherent of the International.

From his social origin and education, he had early acquired habits of order, of extreme seriousness in the accomplishment of his work. In our movement he knew how to maintain and develop these qualities and set an almost unique example in the scrupulous execution of practical tasks, which one would easily tend to call sometimes unpleasant. He hated organically negligence, the attitude of "letting things go", and irresponsibility in executing tasks.

His punctuality in appointments, his extreme interest and seriousness in the work of translation, correction, editing of texts and publications of the International; his perseverance in carrying out in due time and in the best possible way any practical task he undertook; his strict observance of organisational rules had made him an example in the leading bodies of our movement in which he early took his place.

It is to comrade Patrice that we owe excellent oral translations at several of our Congresses, IEC and IS meetings, and also the English written translations of a large number of documents of the International.

This man who since his childhood had known great material comfort and who, if he had remained loyal to his class, would have continued to the end in a career full of all sorts of facilities and privileges, had calmly subordinated everything to his life as a militant, accepting willingly all the adversities and all the sacrifices which followed his choice.

From the beginning of the intensification of the Cold War and the rise in the United States of the Macarthy spirit of witch-hunting and anti-communist persecution, the journalistic career of Sherry Mangan began to fatally decline.

Known for his non-conformist opinions, he saw himself more and more put aside, to the extent that he was obliged to safeguard his dignity and independence by living for some years in Bolivia and since 1954 again in Europe, living by translating literary works for American periodicals and publishing houses.

His last years were, in more ways than one, painful ones. In addition to the sudden deterioration of his material situation, he lost his wife, and suffered from the consequences of his own heart illness, which grew more and more acute.

Remaining practically alone, ill, without resources, he found renewed comfort and supreme meaning to life, devoting himself still more totally to the movement.

From this point of view, the last years of Sherry Mangan were equally, in more than one respect, full of heroism and nobility. He knew how to organise on the basis of his new restricted precarious means of living a disciplined and dignified life devoted to the service of the movement.

Let me give some examples: it was our comrade who ensured alone over a long period the roneoed editions in several thousand copies of one of the main clandestine publications of the FLN in France.

Living quietly in a country house, he waited for the night, so as to avoid the indiscretion of inopportune visitors by day, to operate his electric roneoing machine, roneoing, collecting, stapling this publication alone, loading it into the car put at his disposal, and delivering it into the middle of Paris.

He worked in these conditions without interruption, several nights consecutively in an ill-heated place, damp and cold, in winter, always keeping the very strict timetable for this work, always present the day, the hour, the minute fixed for his appointments in Paris.

It was our comrade Patrice who assured, practically alone, the publication of our theoretical review in English, in Amsterdam.

He translated alone, almost totally its content, from French or Spanish. He corrected the proofs with extreme care and watched the work in the print-shop until the moment of the issue of the last page.

He waited still to see the copy bound, complete, before going back to Paris, where he lived until Autumn 1960.

He devoted to this work, of which he was one of the first to understand its extreme importance for our movement, innumerable hours, without caring for his health, which did not cease to deteriorate seriously.

In reality, he only lived by his will, stretched to the extreme. I remember the last trip we made together from Amsterdam to Paris in his car. He had just finished one more number of the review and was both infinitely tired and infinitely pleased.

Without waiting to rest, he decided to go back to Paris without stopping, driving as well in the night, in order not to miss an important appointment which he had the day after.

From Brussels, after nightfall, a dense fog slowed our progress and made it extremely dangerous to drive on.

Patrice was obliged to drive with his head out of the window, to be able to see sufficiently the turning of the road, but never thought of giving up. So we painfully drove on for hours and hours into the night, but at dawn the appointment in Paris was assured.

In his own way this good-living bourgeois of old, who was a man who had achieved success, and went happily, welcomed in all the capitals of the Americas, of Europe and in many cities throughout the entire world, evolved through his own strength of will and conscience into a true Bolshevik.

It pleases me to know that he rests in the English cemetery in Rome. Sherry certainly would have loved this hot, pleasant and mild earth which charmed Shelley and in which Keats sleeps his last sleep. These poets were very familiar and dear to him.

The young militants of our Italian movement will not fail to attend each year the grave of Patrice, as we will not fail to perpetuate his memory in our International Movement.

MICHEL PABLO

THE WORLD CRISIS OF STALINISM AFTER THE 22nd CONGRESS

by ERNEST GERMAIN

The 22nd Congress of the CP of the USSR did not provoke the present world crisis of Stalinism; it simply gave it a much sharper form. In the final analysis, the origin of this crisis lies in the contradictions between the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy and the logic of the world upsurge of the revolutionary forces. While for the moment this latter is expressed above all by the progress of the colonial revolution and the economic, technical and cultural progress realised by the Workers' States, it is equally opposed to the traditional structures of Stalinism, in matters effecting both the relations of bureaucracy and proletariat in the Workers' States, and the relations between the Soviet CP and the CPs of other countries. When the upsurge of the world revolution again sweeps into its vortex the proletariat of the more advanced imperialist countries, it will carry the crisis of Stalinism to its last paroxysm and shatter the last vestiges of subordination of the proletariat to the bureaucracy, as much in these countries as in the Workers' States. The international socialist revolution and the political revolution in the USSR will flow in together with the colonial revolution to carry soviet democracy to its highest and most mature level.

TWO PRINCIPAL SOCIAL FORCES

Superficially, the present phase of the crisis of Stalinism seems to be marked above all by the tension between Moscow and Tirana, which is only a simple reflection of the tension between the leadership of the Soviet CP and that of the Chinese CP. In reality, this crisis reflects essentially the disintegrating influence which two progressive social forces in the world today exercise on the ideas, apparatus and traditional system of Stalinism: the Soviet proletariat (and to a lesser degree the proletariat of other industrially advanced Workers' States), and the colonial masses. The action and influence of these two forces are *parallel* in the sense that they both, objectively, strike harder and harder blows at Stalinism. But they are not *identical*, in so far as the ends which they see immediately before them are not the same and even appear in some cases — provisionally — contradictory.

It is the play of these two social forces which in the final analysis explains the increasing polarisation of the Communist Parties into a Khrushchevian wing and a "Chinese" wing. The manner in which the bureaucracy reacts to them — which

is inspired in the last analysis by motives of self-defence, it must be remembered! — shows that neither tendency can be considered as more progressive than the other on a global scale, that the positions of both wings bring the masses important concessions, which tied to extremely dangerous positions from the point of view of the *overall interests* from the Revolution and communism, and that only our Trotskyist movement definitively offers a valid, complete solution to the problems today confronting the international communist movement. More correctly: to the extent that, under the impulse of the two social forces mentioned above, more and more progressive elements and tendencies begin to differentiate themselves within the various communist parties, they each in their own way "rediscover" revolutionary Marxism, and tend more and more towards the position of the 4th International.

Awakened after twenty years of torpor under the Stalinist dictatorship, the *Soviet proletariat* seeks primarily a standard of living more in conformity with the immense possibilities of the Soviet economy today, and next an increasing participation in the leadership of the State and the economy. Analysis of the draft programme submitted to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU allowed us to discover the reflection (undoubtedly deformed) of a *pressure of the Soviet workers as citizens*, which had just added itself to the pressure of these same workers as consumers, the principal motivating force of "destalinisation" since 1953. The events unfolded at the same 22nd Congress have given a shattering confirmation of this analysis.

Under this pressure, the Khrushchev fraction represents the most flexible and intelligent wing of the Soviet bureaucracy, the wing which has understood that any other policy on its part would in fact end at very short notice in a formidable explosion. Wanting to go into reverse, wanting to halt "destalinisation" or even to partially rehabilitate the dead tyrant, as asked for by the leaders of the Albanian CP, certain leaders of other "people's democracies" and, at least *sotto voce* by some of the Chinese communist leaders, would impress the Soviet masses as preparations to reintroduce the massive police terror, the inhuman and barbarous punishments for minor infractions of the "labour code", a ferocious squeeze on the standard of living in favour of a frantic (and for that reason yielding little profit) development of heavy industry. The Soviet masses,

today, are not prepared to tolerate or to witness passively any such return to the past. Khrushchev knows it, and gives them guarantees in this regard — postponing momentarily the date of reckoning when they will demand guarantees of much more substantial soviet democracy, and when they will end by smashing the very foundations of the bureaucracy's power in the economy and in the State.

There is therefore no base, in the Soviet reality of today, for any support of the Albanian or Chinese theses hostile to "destalinisation", inasmuch as the most ossified, most conservative and most reactionary layers of the bureaucracy, completely cut off from the people, no longer constitute a serious base for any political tendency. In this sense, the positions adopted by the Albanian and Chinese CPs on "destalinisation", which in fact identify "destalinisation" with "concessions to imperialism" — whilst in reality it is a matter of making concessions to the Soviet proletariat! — are fated to remain absolutely isolated in the USSR and amongst the masses of the "peoples' democracies". Khrushchev knows this very well. Every time he needs to reinforce his popularity or his prestige in the eyes of the Soviet masses in front of his Soviet or foreign critics, it suffices for him to "re-start" the destalinisation and to lead it to a higher stage, to attain his end for the moment.

But as soon as the positions adopted by the Chinese CP on questions other than "destalinisation" are examined, we find a completely different picture. Let us pass over to the question of *world war*, and more precisely *world nuclear war*, a question on which certain Chinese leaders have effectively adopted in the past an indefensible adventurist position. We do not know how far they have shifted their ground in this regard but a certain evolution can be seen; this appears evident. We must moreover recall that the leaders of the Chinese CP have never ceased to defend openly the Soviet disarmament proposals; they cannot very well be reproached for having nourished less illusions as to the possibilities of realising them in practice. We will return to this problem later on.

As for the essence of the questions which today animate and excite the masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries throughout the world the position adopted by the Chinese CP are infinitely closer to the preoccupations of these masses and to a correct Marxist revolutionary answer to these preoccupations, than the positions adopted by the Khrushchev fraction and by the majority of Communist Parties which follow this fraction.

Whether it concerns the problem of the roads which the liberation of the colonial peoples will take; or the help which the world communist movement should render to the colonial revolu-

tion; or the dangerous and demobilising illusions of a "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism, allegedly capable of definitively suppressing the danger of world war — the position of the Chinese CP remains much more to the "left", much more "Trotskyist" than that of Khrushchev, before or after the 22nd Congress.

When, at the second conference of Afro-Asian writers in Cairo (mid-February, 1962), the representatives of the Khrushchev line extend themselves in rhapsodising about "disarmament", and the spokesmen of the insurgent colonial masses of Africa reply that what interests them at the moment is not abstract "disarmament" but, on the contrary, armament, and call for guns to combat the barbarous repression of the colonialists, the "Khrushchevians" are just as disarmed in face of this argument as are the Albanians in face of the preoccupations of the Soviet workers. When, at the conference of the Latin-American peoples, the representatives of the various Latin-American CPs repeat one after the other that it is possible to achieve socialism "by peaceful roads", and that it is necessary to effect a "bloc" with the national bourgeoisie, then Fidel Castro, in his "second Declaration of Havana", asserts that *revolution is inevitable* in this part of the world, asserts that "experience has proved that the national bourgeoisie is paralysed by fear of the social revolution",

asserts that the peasants, whilst constituting the main body engaged in the revolution, "by reason of the culture-less state in which they are kept and the isolation in which they live, need the revolutionary and political leadership of the working class and of the revolutionary intelligentsia".

When he concludes by summarising the whole dilemma in the formula: "imperialism or revolution", he is not only enunciating "Trotskyist" theories: he is also expressing the preoccupations of 99% of the poor masses of the colonial countries, and completely disarms, in this milieu, the representatives of the Kremlin line.

The present crystallisation of positions is such, on both sides, that it *threatens to last a long time*. On the basis of the present positions, the Soviet CP has no chance of dislodging the Chinese CP from preponderant influence over the workers' movement in the colonial countries, and the Chinese CP has no chance of winning by its theses an important part of the Soviet working class. Even if it does not end in an open rupture between parties and an open rupture between States (a rupture which we would denounce and combat as a crime against the interests of the international proletariat), this division will remain deep, insurmountable, until the separation of a tendency which

combines the most advanced positions on the political revolution arising in the USSR, with the most advanced positions on the colonial revolution.

Mechanist minds will assert that, when all is said and done, the positions of the two fractions only reflect "the objective conditions" which prevail respectively in the USSR and China. The USSR, having acquired a higher economic base, "can permit itself destalinisation"; China, confronted with a still-heartbreaking poverty, numerous economic difficulties and a dramatic agricultural situation (*), "cannot afford the luxury of destalinisation". There is naturally a grain of truth in this explanation. But it is too simplistic and too mechanistic to account correctly for a much more complex reality.

THE CHINESE CP IS NOT STALINIST

To begin with, the Chinese CP is by no means "Stalinist" in the strict meaning of the term. If it is true that the experience of the "hundred flowers" undoubtedly convinced Mao that it was premature to institute too "liberal" a regime in the Party and in the country; if it is also true that in this second phase, the movement called the "People's Communes" gave birth to excesses comparable with those of the Stalinist forced collectivisation, it remains no less true that, neither by tradition nor experience, are the present leaders of the Chinese CP exemplary admirers of the late master of the Kremlin. Must we recall that they won power contrary to Stalin's formal "counsels" and "directives"? That after 1953 and above all on the morrow of the 20th Congress, they were much further advanced in "destalinisation", and that Mao's theory on the "contradictions amongst the people" comes closer to the roots of Stalinism in a far more serious way than the insipid formula of "the cult of personality"?

There is more. Actually, no taboo exists in China concerning the name, works or theories of Stalin. Economists like Tung Chou and Liu Chih-pai have been able to defend the definition given by Stalin of the "fundamental economic law of socialism"; an economist like Yu Feng-tsoun has been able to oppose at one and the same time Stalin and his backward disciples. And a still more important fact: the Chinese communists have begun to revise one of the immutable "theoretical" dogmas of Stalinism, namely the theory of "revolution by stages" in backward countries, they have drawn nearer to the Trotskyist theory of the permanent revolution, which they call "uninter-

rupted revolution", they are formulating a revolutionary credo which has many things in common with that of Fidel Castro and, pursuing this road, they end up revising even the Stalinist history of the 2nd Chinese revolution of 1925-7. (**)

In fact, one rather has the impression that the leaders of the Chinese CP have formed an *unprincipled bloc* with Molotov, Enver Hoxha and co., and this for simple reasons of fractional convenience.

If they all undoubtedly adopt positions hostile to the policy of "peaceful co-existence" as Khrushchev has conceived it — that is the only common ground uniting them — they each do so for different reasons and diverse ends: some because they are defending exorbitant privileges which the least reduction in police control risks destroying; others because they miss the happy days of complete bureaucratic arbitrariness; the Chinese (like the Cubans) because they see in the international spread of the revolution the best means of loosening the grip in which they are held by imperialist pressure and by their economic difficulties.

To argue on data from the "objective conditions" alone, is to disregard besides the global, world aspect of the problems which today confront every Communist leadership, and to disregard the common and global interests which in practice bind together the proletarians of every sector of the world.

It could perhaps be questioned whether a raising of the Soviet worker's standard of living is compatible with a truly "egalitarian" apportioning of resources between the USSR and China; but there is no evidence that the Chinese have posed the question in these absolute and extremist terms. But can it be seriously doubted that it is in the interests of the Soviet proletariat, as much as in those of the Chinese masses and the colonial masses in general, that the major part of the resources which, for the (illusory) aims of prestige and so-called "peaceful co-existence" diplomacy, are today diverted towards the aid of the colonial *bourgeoisie*, should go rather to the colonial *revolution* and the Chinese (Cuban, North Vietnamese, etc.) Workers' State? And can it be seriously doubted that the political revolution in the USSR, putting an end to wastage and permitting a new "leap forward" in Soviet economic growth, corresponds to the real interest of these same Chinese and colonial masses?

(**) See particularly the series of articles by Li Weihan, member of the CC of the Chinese CP, in the Peking "Red Flag" (Nos. 3-4 of 1962), in which it is clearly stated that either the proletariat will lead the peasantry to victory in the revolution, or else the latter will remain under the direction of the national bourgeoisie, and in this case the revolution will be defeated, to the careful reader, this is a scarcely veiled approval of Trotsky's criticism of the Stalin-Bukharin policy the 2nd Chinese revolution.

(*) According to the journal *Ta-Kung-Pao* in Peking of 9th January 1962, production of wheat in 1961 was only 5.51% higher than that of 1957, and production of rice only 0.9%.

It may be admitted that, *in their present condition*, these masses still cannot comprehend the global problem, in all its complexity. But is it not precisely the task of communists to represent continually, within the existing movement, "the interest of the movement as a whole", to "bring out in the various national struggles of the proletariat the common interests of the proletariat in its entirety, independent of its nationality", as the "Communist Manifesto" so well puts it? To have forgotten this fundamental principle, in confusing the interests of a nationalist bureaucratic caste with those of its proletariat and State, is something which has already cost the Soviet Communists very dearly. To-morrow, it could cost the whole world communist movement more dearly still.

"PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE" AND WORLD REVOLUTION

If the theses of the Chinese CP are more to the left than those of the Khrushchev fraction on the colonial revolution and "peaceful co-existence", they nevertheless suffer from a double defect: complete failure to recognise the problems posed by the Soviet proletariat on the one hand; an answer only *partially* and not totally correct, to the Khrushchevian argument on the question of "peaceful co-existence".

"The lamb and the wolf absolutely cannot co-exist peacefully", avows Mao-tun, President of the Association of Chinese Writers, at the 2nd Conference of Afro-Asian writers. And he introduces a subtle distinction between "peaceful co-existence based on the five principles" and "unconditional peaceful co-existence". This latter would be characterised especially by the fact that it does not consider the destruction of colonialism a *preliminary* condition to peaceful co-existence.

Feigning a polemic with "certain heads of State at the recent (Belgrade) conference of non-aligned States", but in reality crossing swords with the Khrushchev fraction, Kuo Chi-chou writes in the Peking "Red Flag" (No. 1, 1962) that

"the armed struggles waged by the oppressed nations against imperialism arise from the armed oppression by imperialism of the people of these countries... Wherever there is imperialist oppression and exploitation, there will be people to rise up and make a revolution. It is the noble internationalist obligation of socialist countries to support the national liberation movements *in every way possible*. Lenin gave the advice that the proletariat which has already seized po-

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

wer should unite, on the one hand with the proletariat of all countries, and on the other hand with the oppressed nations of colonial and semicolonial countries, in order to lead resolute struggles against imperialism and consolidate and develop the revolutionary cause of the proletariat".

Replying to "Red Flag" whilst feigning a polemic with Enver Hoxha, the Khrushchevian theoretician Alexei Roumiantsev asserts that peaceful co-existence does not exclude vigilance, that it implies "the growth in power of the socialist camp", "consolidation of the independence of countries which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke", struggle against "the imperialist policy which tries to export counter-revolution", "cohesion growing firmer and firmer of all the forces of peace" (*La Nouvelle Revue Internationale*, No. 1, 5th year, January 1962, p. 15). But by surreptitiously substituting the word "colonialism" for the word "imperialism", Roumiantsev dodges the real problem posed by Kuo Chi-Chou: *what is the attitude of the Khrushchevians with regard to the inevitable, armed revolutionary struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples to secure their complete liberation with regard to imperialism?*

But in his turn, Kuo Chi-Chou dodges a central problem in asserting that it suffices to ensure the reality of the "five principles" (and hence the national independence and sovereignty of all nations), for "peaceful co-existence" to become valid. In reality, this co-existence *remains illusory* even after the disappearance of the last colony, as long as there remain imperialist powers of great industrial strength, armed to the teeth with weapons of mass destruction. The Khrushchevian position is that imperialism can be "paralysed" by the external strength of the "forces of peace"; the Chinese position is that it can be paralysed by the victory of the colonial revolution. The revolutionary Marxist position, which is also, moreover, the only realistic one, is that the danger of war, the risk of war, and therefore the risk of nuclear extermination of the human species will exist, as long as an important imperialist bourgeois class exists: only the victorious socialist revolution in the principal capitalist countries of the world will remove the spectre of war.

In confining themselves to a sterile debate on "the struggle for peace" instead of conceiving *the struggle against the dangers of war as one of the principal levers in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in the imperialist countries, the Khrushchevians and Chinese moreover remove every possibility of progress being made in these countries by the Communist Parties, whose condition is in general most grievous.*

THE DIALECTICAL CHARACTER OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST DISCUSSION

If at the moment there are two principal poles in the discussion launched on the morrow of the 22nd Congress in the Communist Parties of the entire world, the Khrushchevian pole and the Chinese pole, this does not at all mean that the discussion can be summed up as a debate between these two positions. Quite the contrary: one of the principal characteristics of this debate is the extraordinary diversity of the positions to which it is continually giving birth.

We have the impression of a *process of uninterrupted differentiation*, in which the interaction between the "national" factors (experience of past defeats, predominant objective conditions, national traditions, the particular sharpness with which certain problems are posed, points of departure, particular structure of the "national" workers' movement, etc. etc.) and the "international" features (effects of "destalinisation" and the Peking-Moscow debate; particular relations with the Soviet bureaucracy; particular sensitivity with regard to such and such a position adopted by another CP; international fractional affinities, etc.) produce an infinite variety of positions.

A great number of examples could be cited. Let us restrict ourselves to the main examples.

The position of Enver Hoxha himself is not as "spotless" as it has appeared to some. His clique is odious and continues to employ vile means of domination. When it identifies the revelations about the crimes committed by Stalin against thousands of Soviet Communist with a "concession to imperialist propaganda", it goes beyond the limits of contempt. But even this clique, placed in quite new and exceptional conditions, abruptly cut off from the "Guiding Party", at odd times strikes a note which cannot be characterised as "Stalinist". In his speech of 7th November, 1961, Hoxha poses the question:

"Is it correct to attack a party after having heard the arguments from one side only, and deny the other side an expression of its point of view? Or must new principles be introduced into the communist movement, according to which the great must be heard but not the small, according to which the great are always right and the small always wrong?"

The question is not badly posed, and on this particular occasion we cannot help sympathising with the man who poses it... while sending the ball back to him, and asking why he accepted the condemnation of the Yugoslav Communists so cheerfully when there had been no session of this "international forum of Workers' and Communist Parties, which carefully examines every argument from a

Party and examines all its activity", the convening of which for submission of the Albano-Soviet disagreement he now demands in vain!

And when Hoxha reproaches Khrushchev for using brutal methods of pressure and blackmail to oblige the "brother parties" to fall into line with the positions of the Soviet CP, he is not far wrong. Yet could he explain why it is inadmissible to employ these methods in relations *between* Communist Parties, whilst it is perfectly normal to employ them *within* a Party like the Albanian Party...

Let us take two other examples of Communist Parties in power: that of the Czech Party and that of the Polish Party. The Czech Party has a tradition of particular servility with regard to the Soviet Party. Thus the first move of the Prague leaders is for an *imitation* of Khrushchev taking on a grotesque form. Did Khrushchev remove Stalin's corpse from the Mausoleum in the Red Square? Novotny will immediately remove Gottwald's corpse from the mausoleum in Prague. The matter could have rested at that... if the year 1961 had not been a particularly bad year in agriculture and in basic industry, if the provisioning of the population had not deteriorated in certain domains, if a growing tension between workers and bureaucrats had not appeared in various sectors and regions. Thus, the 22nd Congress in an unforeseen way precipitated a serious crisis in the leadership of the Party, which was ended (for the moment) by the elimination of Barak and his arrest. To imitate the "turn" of the Soviet Party to strict "socialist legality", there had to be a comic turn in Prague.

The Polish Party was less shaken by the revelations of the 22nd Congress than most of the other Communist Parties. The "secret report" to the 20th Congress has circulated widely inside it. Moreover, there was a suggestive addendum in the shape of Gomulka's report to the 9th Plenum of the POUP in October 1956. The militants and workers therefore knew for the most part what Khrushchev revealed to Communist public opinion for the first time at the 22nd Congress. The letter provoked two reactions in Warsaw: an attempt to deepen the explanation of the "origins of the cult of personality"; a timid effort to "re-start destalinisation" in Poland itself.

The interventions at the Plenum of the CC of the POUP which discussed the 22nd Congress are known about and especially those of Oscar Lange and Gomulka. No one is satisfied with the official formulas on the "cult of personality"; but no one dares go to the heart of the matter. Gomulka, however, once more exceeds the limits of "deviation" as far as the past is concerned. Whilst officially the "cult" commenced in 1934,

Gomulka traces its roots to the forced collectivisation, that is to say, he commences with the year 1930. The allusion to Polish agricultural policy, which must be defended, is transparent. But if Stalin were wrong in 1930, was Bukharin right? And Trotsky? How are these questions not to be raised?

We said that attempts to "re-start" destalinisation in Poland itself were timid. The way in which the 1956-7 upsurge was quelled left a bitter taste among the worker and student youth, not to speak of the intellectuals. In recent times, the political police seem to have dangerously increased their power in the country. Thus it is above all such "untouchable" personalities as the economist Lipinski, L. Infeld, and Tadeusz Kotarbinski who can permit themselves to give battle for a greater freedom of expression in the scientific, artistic and other fields. But it is the old Communist Stanislaw Brodzki who, in the illustrated weekly *Swiat*, has gone furthest. He drew the inference from the 22nd Congress of, in particular, "three principles of internal development in socialist countries: first elimination of the straitjacket of ideological conformism... an unlimited freedom of scientific discussion... second, going past purely formal popular democracy to real democracy, which should be determined as much by the workers as by Parliament; third, the widest democracy and freedom of discussion within the political forces which control the Socialist States and within the Workers' and Communist Parties".

This platform does not lack audacity, and must be regarded as "adventurist" in the other "peoples' democracies". But would it be by chance that Brodzki was unexpectedly imprisoned a little later (he was quickly released, but the intimidation was carried out)?

Among the Communist Parties in the imperialist countries, the case of the Italian CP is particularly revealing. Because of the peculiarities of the country (existence of a socialist party which is fairly strong and less "right wing" than in most countries of Europe ;interpenetration of socialist and communist "tendencies" within the GCIL; the already pronounced effects of the 22nd Congress; a real widening in influence of the Trotskyist organisation, etc.), the repercussions of the 22nd Congress began by being particularly wide and rapidly became sensational. There was the famous debate within the Central Committee, which was made public, on the origins of the "cult of personality"; the "penal rehabilitation" of Trotsky, proclaimed by one of the Party secretaries; much more progressive still, the discussion in the Young Communists' paper "*Nuova Generazione*", which openly expressed the need to revise the traditional posi-

tion on Trotsky's role during and after the October Revolution. There was the general reinforcement of a climate of freedom of discussion, of quasi-democracy, within the communist workers' movement, which, grafted on to a real resumption of the class struggle, arrived at an abundance of audacious ideas.

However, the dominant tendency in the Italian CP, which has led and channelled this whole movement of critical revision, is thoroughly "right wing", Khrushchevian. One can even say that in the matter of "destalinisation" as in the matter of "peaceful roads to socialism", it is simply more Khrushchevian than Khrushchev. It is true that it bitterly criticises the criminally passive positions of the French CP with regard to the Algerian revolution, and that at the Moscow Congress of the WFTU, it was the only one to constitute an "open opposition" to the official line, also on this question. Nevertheless, the fundamental orientation of this tendency is right wing, and this characteristic rapidly gained the upper hand over the positive aspects of "the offensive of destalinisation" upheld by Amendola-Pajetta. And when the Italian bourgeoisie outlined its "opening to the left-centre, that is to say to neo-capitalism, the lamentable bankruptcy of this tendency caused palpable damage to the whole Italian workers' movement. The positive residue from the repercussions of the 22nd Congress resides less therefore in a real straightening out of the PCI, *which can only be a political straightening out on class lines*, than in the strengthening of a climate of workers' democracy which facilitates the blossoming and strengthening of *critical left tendencies* within the Party itself.

RIGHT TO TENDENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL

The monolithism of the communist movement did not survive the Stalinist epoch. But it has begun by giving birth to a monster: "tendencies" represented by "national" parties which are opposed as such one to the other: "Russians" against "Chinese", "Yugoslavs" against "Albanians", "Italians" against "French", etc. The extreme bureaucratisation of the parties, the absence of a tradition of normal communist discussion, has seen to it that even when the lid is lifted most of the militants, having acquired the right to speak, have found nothing very interesting to say (with the exception of the Italian and Polish cases). They must learn again to speak, as they had to learn again how to think for themselves.

This situation however cannot be prolonged indefinitely without confronting the international

communist movement with the most serious threats: that of transforming the conflict between parties into a conflict between States, and particularly that of striking a blow at the Sino-Soviet alliance. The monolithism retained on the national level thus turns on the "Guiding-Party" which inspired and installed it. There is no remedy for this situation other than a return to freedom of tendencies *within* the Communist Parties, which will quickly result in the formation of international tendencies, infinitely more compatible with State alliances than the monolithic "national" tendencies.

It could be asserted that the present debate within the international communist movement reflects revolutionary Marxist positions in a "broken" way, as the crystal breaks up the sun's rays into the spectrum of colour which it contains. All the Trotskyist position are to be found again amongst the various participants in the debate, but no present tendency adopts them all: the Russian liquidate the Stalinist heritage, the Chinese come close to the theory of permanent revolution, the Cubans boldly assert that a Workers' State must appeal to the proletarians of other countries to extend the revolution internationally, the Yugoslavs explain that the management of the factories must be in the hands of workers' councils, the Italians (and to a lesser extent the Polish) return to the Leninist tradition of free discussion within the Party and the unions, the Albanians proclaim the principle of equality of rights for all Communist Parties, great or small, and necessity for settling disputes through frank and loyal international discussions. Only one basic position of revolutionary Marxism is still not defended by any of these parties, remains a "monopoly" of our Trotskyist movement: the absolute necessity for a revolutionary International, based on democratic centralism, to co-ordinate and guide the international communist movement.

And yet, practical experience imposes the necessity for a World Party in a more and more pressing manner on all communists. Not only because it is quite definitely the only means of maintaining international unity of action in the movement and preventing the State conflicts from which only imperialism would profit, but also because this remains the only way to secure correct political elaboration, which is based on practical experience as much as on doctrinal criteria. Without international organisation, no international practice; without international practice, no correct analysis of the international situation; without a correct analysis of the international situation, no correct analysis of the national situation and no possibility of working out a correct policy: these elementary

truths, communists will painfully learn again in the months and the years to come.

The idea of a new communist international at first sets many communists aback. Who speaks of an International speaks of centralisation, they think, and who speaks of centralisation speaks of bureaucratisation impelled from the centre. The argument is not even valid for the past. It is not bureaucratisation of the Communist International which is at the bottom of the degeneration of the international communist movement, it is the bureaucratisation of one "national" party (the Russian party) which is at the bottom of the degeneration of the International. If the latter had had a greater independence with regard to the Russian party — if its centre had, for example, been established outside Russia — not only would several communist parties have escaped the later bureaucratisation, but the Communist International would undoubtedly have been a force to brake and thwart to a certain extent the bureaucratic suffocation of the Bolshevik Party.

A truly democratic International, an International which tolerates within itself various tendencies and which is the arena in which the international revolutionary experiences are freely collated, within the framework of a freely accepted discipline — what a magnificent consummation this would be of the extraordinary richness and variety of the revolutionary processes throughout the world today. No one has yet found a better solution for combining political elaboration and unity of action in their highest and maturest form. This is the solution which we will continue to propound.

For the moment there prevails the impression of fragmentation and disorder, and even perfectly honest and devoted communist workers can miss the epoch of Stalin, "when all was so clear and so simple". But the disorder and fragmentation today are precisely the *product* of the fictitious unity of yesterday, based on the stifling of discussion, thought and proletarian reality. Through the present fragmentation and disorder, the world communist movement makes its way inexorably, according to its own laws, towards a unity and an organisation at a higher level, towards a Communist International constituted on the basis of the Leninist programme, adapted to the reality of our epoch. It is by working with this aim that communists will demonstrate in practice that if there is a crisis, and a death-bed crisis, of stalinism, there is not, there will never again be, a crisis of communism.

10th March, 1962

THE SECOND DECLARATION OF HAVANA

The Second Declaration of Havana which we are reproducing here, in response to the call that this Declaration addresses to all the friends of the Cuban Revolution throughout the world, is concrete proof of the revolutionary spirit which continues to animate the leaders, the cadres and the militants of the Fidelist movement in Cuba, as well as the revolutionary masses of the whole island.

The "trotskyist" accents of this Declaration are incontestable. For the first time since the October Revolution here is in fact a Socialist Revolution which, having triumphed in one country, does not restrict itself to the national task of economic reconstruction, which does not transform the inevitable transitory compromises with Imperialism into a strategy based on "peaceful co:existence" with Imperialism, a revolution the leader of which does not hesitate to call on the workers — the poor peasants of the countryside and the workers of the cities — to take up arms, and to overthrow the domination of the ruling classes through the revolutionary, insurrectional way.

Just as the Yugoslav revolution constituted a progress in relation to the practice of the Stalinist parties in the workers states born on the morrow of the second world war, so the Cuban revolution now opens up bold perspectives that not one of the new workers states dared until now to open up.

This substantial progress is explained by both objective and subjective causes.

Objectively, it arises from the fact that the people of Cuba have built a workers state in the very heart of the world zone dominated by Imperialism, at the gates of the most powerful Imperialist metropole, those of the United States. The help of the other workers states has undoubtedly been vital to allow Cuba to subsist up till now. But this help alone does not suffice to break the Imperialist siege and the leaders of the Cuban revolution are absolutely correct in not having illusions concerning the importance of the military assistance they would receive from the Soviet bureaucracy in case of new imperialist aggression. That is why life itself obliges them to put their hopes primarily on the help of the Latin American working masses, to see in the international extension of the revolution in Latin America the best means of defence of the Cuban revolution, to see in the constitution of a Second Front in the Andes the best counter-attack against new counter-revolutionary interventions of American Imperialism.

Subjectively, it arises from the fact that Fidel Castro and his team have never been Stalinist, that they first came to Marxism and then to Leninism on the basis of their own experience; that their doctrinal thought is infinitely more flexible, more living, much closer to the sources of revolutionary socialism than the pragmatic and (more and more revisionist) dogmas codified by the successive groups which have led, and still lead, the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Second Declaration of Havana has some deficiencies, namely concerning the characters of the State which must arise after the victory of the Revolution in the countries of Latin America, and which according to us must be a workers State. But we

should be very bad revolutionaries, in fact incorrigible sectarians, if in front of such a living, broad, popular and radical revolution as the Cuban Revolution, we made use of these deficiencies — secondary ones, for the Fidelist practices encourages the Latin American masses to "do as Fidel did", that is to say, to crown the revolution with the creation of workers states! — to put into a secondary position our primordial task which is **THE UNCONDITIONAL DEFENCE OF THE PROLETARIAN CUBAN REVOLUTION AND STATE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.**

All those who read the Second Declaration of Havana and assimilate its eminently revolutionary message, are duty bound to put all their efforts into breaking the imperialist blockade through which Wall Street is trying to starve the Cuban people before unleashing against them a new military attack.

The Latin American revolutionary Marxists must fight in the first ranks for the defence of the Cuban Revolution to raise the masses of their countries against the shameful policies of their reactionary governments which at Punta del Este made themselves accomplices to the Imperialist siege. They must demand from governments "apparently more flexible" toward the Cuban revolution that they put in practice their anti-imperialist speeches developing their commercial ties with Cuba, assuring a large supply of food to the heroic Cuban people. The best help they can give to Cuba is, in the final analysis, the efficient development of the revolutionary struggle on the continent on the road to the creation of other workers states.

The revolutionary marxists of Africa and Asia must explain to the masses of their countries and to the militants of the national liberation movements that the imperialist siege of Cuba sets an extremely dangerous precedent, which, if it is allowed to succeed would threaten with the same fate whatever other people fight to achieve their emancipation from Imperialism and capitalism. That is why revolutionaries all over the world must fight for the defence of Cuba.

The revolutionary Marxists of the Imperialist countries must strive by all means to break the odious attempt to starve Socialist Cuba. They must mobilize the workers parties and trade unions of their countries, to throw all their weight into the balance to check the Washington plan of associating the countries of NATO and all Imperialist countries with the siege against Cuba. They must demand that normal commercial relations be maintained and broadened with the Socialist Republic of Cuba, that the Cuban people receive all help possible in regards to pharmaceutical products, food, spare parts, agricultural machinery and industrial equipment allowing them to freely build a better future.

The revolutionary marxists and all the communist Left of the workers States must demand of their governments and first of all of the soviet government, that they should considerably increase their aid to Cuba. It is shameful that this soviet government, which pretends to construct Communism in its country, which distributes important economic aid to feudal potentates such as the King of Afghanistan or to bourgeois reactionaries such as Nehru, watches

with crossed arms the deteriorating conditions of food supply in Cuba, and seek even to exploit the temporary economic difficulties of the Cuban revolution to — exert pressure on the price of sugar. The workers of the Soviet Union must understand that the Cuban revolution is for them a means of defence and protection against Imperialism much more efficient than numerous divisions of tanks, and that in demonstrating their solidarity with Cuba, in demanding a more ample aid for the Cuban revolution, they are only defending their own interests.

Such is the response of the Fourth International to the call launched by the Second Declaration of Havana. We call on our militants, our sympathisers and friends to act in this way. **Everything for the defence of the Cuban Revolution!**

On May 18, 1895, on the eve of his death from a Spanish bullet through the heart, José Martí, apostle of our independence, said in an unfinished letter to his friend, Manuel Mercado:

"Now I am able to write... I am in danger each day now of giving my life for my country and for my obligation... of preventing in time — through Cuba's independence — the United States from extending its control over the Antilles and consequently falling with that much more force upon our countries of America. Whatever I have done till now, and whatever I shall do, has been with that aim..

"The people most vitally concerned in preventing the imperialist annexation of Cuba, which would make Cuba the starting point of that course — which must be blocked and which we are blocking with our blood — of annexation of our American nations to the violent and brutal North which despises them, are being hindered by lesser and public commitments from the open and avowed espousal of this sacrifice, which is being made for our and their benefit.

"I have lived inside the monster and know its guts; and my sling is the sling of David".

In 1895, Martí already pointed out the danger hovering over America and called imperialism by its name: imperialism. He pointed out to the people of Latin America that more than anyone, they had a stake in seeing to it that Cuba did not succumb to the greed of the Yankee, scornful of the peoples of Latin America. And with his own blood, shed for Cuba and America, he wrote the words which posthumously, in homage to his memory, the people of Cuba place at the head of this declaration.

HUMILIATION

Sixty-seven years have passed. Puerto Rico was converted into a colony and is still a colony saturated with military bases. Cuba also fell into the clutches of imperialism. Their troops occupied our territory. The Platt Amendment was imposed on our first constitution, as a humiliating clause which sanctioned the odious right of foreign intervention. Our riches passed into their hands, our history was falsified, our government and our politics were entirely molded in the interests of the overseers; the nation subjected to 60 years of political, economic and cultural suffocation.

But Cuba arose. Cuba was able to redeem itself from the bastard guardianship. Cuba broke the chains which tied its fortunes to those of the imperial oppressor, redeemed its riches, reclaimed its culture, and unfurled its banner of Free Territory and People of America.

Now the United States will never again be able to use Cuba's strength against America, but conversely, dominating the majority of the other Latin-American states, the United States is attempting to use the strength of America against Cuba.

What is the history of Cuba but the history of Latin America? And what is the history of Latin America but the history of Asia, Africa and Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples but the history of the most pitiless and cruel exploitation by imperialism throughout the world?

At the end of the last and the beginning of the present century a handful of economically developed nations had finished partitioning the world among themselves, subjecting to its economic and political domination, two-thirds of humanity, which was thus forced to work for the ruling classes of the economically advanced capitalist countries.

The historic circumstances which permitted certain European countries and the United States of America a high level of industrial development placed them in a position to subject the rest of the world to their domination and exploitation.

What motives compelled the expansion of the industrial powers? Were they reasons of morality and civilizing as they claim? No: They were economic reasons.

From the discovery of America, which hurled the European conquerors across the seas to occupy and exploit the lands and inhabitants of other continents, the fundamental motive for their conduct was the desire for riches. The discovery of America itself was carried out in search of shorter routes to the Orient whose goods were highly paid for in Europe.

THIRST FOR GOLD

A new social class, the merchants and the producers of manufactured articles for commerce, arose from the womb of the feudal society of lords and serfs in the decline of the middle ages.

The thirst for gold was the cause which spurred the efforts of that new class. The desire for gain was the incentive of its conduct through history. With the growth of manufacturing and commerce its social influence also grew. The new productive forces which were developing in the womb of feudal society clashed more and more with their subjection, its laws, its institutions, its philosophy, its morality, its art and its political ideology.

New philosophical and political ideas, new concepts of right and of the state were proclaimed by the intellectual representatives of the bourgeois class, which — because they responded to the new necessities of social life — gradually entered into the consciousness of the exploited masses. They were then revolutionary ideas opposed to those outworn ideas of feudal society. The peasants, the artisans, the workers in manufacture, led by the bourgeoisie, overthrew the feudal order, its philosophy, its ideas, its institutions, its laws and the privileges of the ruling class, that is, the hereditary nobility.

At that time the bourgeoisie considered revolution necessary and just. It did not think that the feudal order could and should be eternal — as it now thinks of its capitalist social order.

It encouraged the peasants to free themselves from feudal servitude, it encouraged the artisans against the medieval guilds and demanded the right to political power. The absolute monarchs, the nobility and the high clergy stubbornly defended their class privileges, proclaiming the divine right of kings and the immutability of the social order. To be liberal, to proclaim the ideas of Voltaire, Diderot, or Jean Jacques Rousseau, spokesmen for bourgeois philosophy, then constituted in the eyes of the ruling classes as serious a crime as it is today in the eyes of the bourgeoisie to be a socialist and to proclaim the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

When the bourgeoisie took political power and estab-

lished upon the ruins of feudal society its capitalist mode of production, on this mode of production it erected its state, its laws, its ideas and institutions. Those institutions sanctified in the first instance the essence of its class rule: private property.

The new society based on the private ownership of the means of production and free competition was thus divided into two basic classes: One the owner of the means of production, ever more modern and efficient; the other, deprived of all wealth, possessing only its labor power, of necessity sold in the market as another piece of merchandise simply in order to live.

With the feudal bonds broken, the productive forces developed extraordinarily. Great factories arose in which greater and greater numbers of workers were assembled.

The most modern and technically efficient factories continually displace from the market the less efficient competitors. The cost of industrial equipment continually rose. It became necessary to accumulate more and more capital. A greater portion of production passed into a smaller number of hands. Thus arose the great capitalist enterprises and later, according to the degree and character of the association, the great industrial combines through cartels, syndicates, trusts and corporations, controlled by the owners of the major portion of the stock, that is to say, by the most powerful heads of industry. Free play, characteristic of capitalism in its first phrase, gave way to monopolies which entered into agreements among themselves and controlled the markets.

Where did the colossal quantity of resources come from which permitted a handful of monopolists to accumulate billions of dollars? Simply from the exploitation of human labor. Millions of men, forced to work for a wage of bare subsistence, produced with their strength the gigantic capital of the monopolies. The workers amassed the fortunes of the privileged classes, ever richer, ever more powerful. Through the banking institutions these classes were able to make use not only of their own money but that of all society. Thus was brought about the fusion of the banks with great industry and finance capital was born. What should they do with the great surplus of capital which was accumulating in ever greater quantities? Invade the world with it. Always in pursuit of profit, they began to seize the natural resources of all the economically weak countries and to exploit the human labor of their inhabitants with much more wretched wages than what they were forced to pay to the workers of their own developed countries. Thus began the territorial and economic division of the world. By 1914, eight or ten imperialist countries had subjugated territories beyond their own borders covering more than 83,700,000 square kilometers, with a population of 970,000,000 inhabitants. They had simply divided up the world.

IMPERIALIST WARS

But as the world, limited in size, was divided to the last corner of the earth, a clash ensued among the different monopolist nations and struggles arose for new divisions, originating in the disproportionate distribution of industrial and economic power which the various monopolistic nations had attained in their uneven development. Imperialist wars broke out which would cost humanity 50 million dead, tens of millions wounded and the destruction of incalculable material and cultural wealth. Even before this had happened Karl Marx wrote that "capital comes into the world dripping from head to foot from every pore with blood and mire".

The capitalist system of production, once it had given all of which it was capable, became an abysmal obstacle to the progress of humanity. But the bourgeoisie from its

origins carried within itself its contradiction. In its womb gigantic productive instruments were developed, but with time a new and vigorous social force developed: the proletariat, destined to change the old and worn-out social system of capitalism to a superior socio-economic form in accordance with the historic possibilities of human society, converting into social property those gigantic means of production which the people, and no one else but the people, by their work had created and amassed. At such a stage of development, the productive forces made completely anachronistic and outmoded a regime which stood for private ownership and with it the economic subordination of millions and millions of human beings to the dictates of a small social minority.

The interests of humanity cried out for a halt to the anarchy of production, the waste, economic crises and the rapacious wars which are part of the capitalist system. The growing necessities of the human race and the possibility of satisfying them, demanded the planned development of the economy and the rational utilization of its means of production and natural resources.

It was inevitable that imperialism and colonialism would fall into a profound and insoluble crisis. The general crisis began with the outbreak of World War I, with the revolution of the workers and peasants which overthrew the Czarist empire of Russia and founded, amidst the most difficult conditions of capitalist encirclement and aggression, the world's first socialist state, opening a new era in the history of humanity. Since that time until today, the crisis and decomposition of the imperialist system has incessantly worsened.

World War II, unleashed by the imperialist powers — and into which were dragged the Soviet Union and other criminally invaded peoples of Asia and Europe, who engaged in a bloody struggle of liberation — culminated in the defeat of fascism, formation of the world camp of socialism, and the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for their sovereignty. Between 1945 and 1957 more than 1.2 billion human beings conquered their independence in Asia and Africa. The blood shed by the people was not in vain.

The movement of the dependent and colonial peoples is a phenomenon of universal character which agitates the world and marks the final crisis of imperialism.

Cuba and Latin America are part of the world. Our problems form part of the problems engendered by the general crisis of imperialism and the struggle of the subjugated peoples; the clash between the world that is being born and the world that is dying. The odious and brutal campaign unleashed against our nation expresses the desperate as well as futile effort which the imperialists are making to prevent the liberation of the peoples. Cuba hurts the imperialists in a special way. What is it that is hidden behind the Yankees' hate of the Cuban revolution? What is it that rationally explains the conspiracy, uniting for the same aggressive purpose the most powerful and rich imperialist power in the contemporary world and the oligarchies of an entire continent, which together are supposed to represent a population of 350 million human beings, against a small country of only seven million inhabitants, economically underdeveloped, without financial or military means to threaten the security or economy of any other country? What unites them and stirs them up is fear. What explains it is fear. Not fear of the Cuban revolution but fear of the Latin-American revolution. Not fear of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and progressive layers of the middle strata who by revolutionary means have taken power in Cuba; but fear that the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the middle strata will by revolutionary means take power in the oppressed and hungry countries exploited by the Yankee monopolies and reactionary oligarchies of America,

fear that the plundered people of the continent will seize the arms from their oppressors and, like Cuba, declare themselves free people of America.

SPECTER OF CUBA

By crushing the Cuban revolution they hope to dispel the fear that torments them, the specter of the revolution that threatens them. By liquidating the Cuban revolution, they hope to liquidate the revolutionary spirit of the people. They imagine in their delirium that Cuba is an exporter of revolutions. In their sleepless, merchants' and usurers' minds there is the idea that revolutions can be bought, sold, rented, loaned, exported and imported like some piece of merchandise. Ignorant of the objective laws that govern the development of human societies, they believe that their monopolistic, capitalistic and semi-feudal regimes are eternal. Educated in their own reactionary ideology, a mixture of superstition, ignorance, subjectivism, pragmatism and other mental aberrations, they have an image of the world and of the march of history conforming to their interests as exploiting classes.

They imagine that revolutions are born or die in the brains of individuals or are caused by divine laws and moreover that the gods are on their side. They have always thought that way — from the devout patrician pagans of Roman slave society who hurled the early Christians to the lions at the circus and the inquisitors of the middle ages who, as guardians of feudalism and absolute monarchy, burned at the stake the first representatives of liberal thought of the nascent bourgeoisie, up to today's bishops who anathematize proletarian revolutions in defense of the bourgeois and monopolist regime.

All reactionary classes in all historic epochs, when the antagonism between exploiters and exploited reaches its highest peak, presaging the arrival of a new social regime, have turned to the worst weapons of repression and calumny against their adversaries. The primitive Christians were taken to their martyrdom accused of burning Rome and of sacrificing children on their altars. Philosophers like Giordano Bruno, reformers like Hus, and thousands of other nonconformists with the feudal order, were accused of heresy and taken by the inquisitors to be burned at the stake.

Today persecution rages over the proletarian fighters and this crime brings out the worst calumnies in the monopolist and bourgeois press. Always, in each historic epoch, the ruling classes have committed murder — invoking the defense of society, the country, order — to defend the privileged minorities against the exploited majorities: "Their class rule" maintained by blood and fire against the dispossessed; "the country", whose fruits only they enjoy, depriving the rest of the people of those fruits, in order to repress the revolutionaries who aspire to a new society, a just order, a country truly for all.

MARCH OF HUMANITY

But the development of history, the ascending march of humanity does not hold back, nor can it be held back. The forces which impel the people, who are the real makers of history, determined by the material conditions of their existence and the aspirations for higher goals of well-being and liberty, which emerge when the progress of man in the fields of science, technology and culture make it possible, are superior to the will and the terror unleashed by the ruling oligarchies.

The subjective conditions of each country, that is to say, the conscious factor, organization, leadership, can accelerate or retard the revolution, according to its greater or lesser degree of development, but sooner or later, in

each historic epoch, when the objective conditions mature, consciousness is acquired, the organization is formed, the leadership emerges and the revolution takes place.

Whether this takes place peacefully or in painful birth does not depend on the revolutionists, it depends on the reactionary forces of the old society, who resist the birth of the new society engendered by the contradictions carried in the womb of the old society. The revolution is in history like the doctor who assists at the birth of a new life. It does not needlessly use the tools of force, but will use them without hesitation whenever necessary to help the birth. A birth which brings to the enslaved and exploited masses the hope of a new and better life.

In many countries of Latin America the revolution is today inevitable. That fact is not determined by anyone's will. It is determined by the horrifying conditions of exploitation in which American man lives, the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, the world crisis of imperialism and the universal movement of struggle of the subjugated peoples.

The anxiety felt today is an unmistakable symptom of rebellion. The very depths of a continent are profoundly moved, a continent which has witnessed four centuries of slave, semi-slave and feudal exploitation beginning with its aboriginal inhabitants and slaves brought from Africa, up to the nuclei of nationalities which emerged later: white, black, mulatto, mestizo and Indian, who today are made brothers by the scorn, humiliation and the Yankee yoke, and are brothers in their hope for a better tomorrow.

The peoples of America liberated themselves from Spanish colonialism at the beginning of the last century, but they did not free themselves from exploitation. The feudal landowners assumed the authority of the Spanish rulers, the Indians continued in painful servitude, the Latin-American man in one form or another continued to be a slave and the tiniest hopes of the people gave way under the power of the oligarchies and the yoke of foreign capital. This has been the truth of America — in one hue or another, in one variation or another. Today Latin America lies beneath an imperialism fiercer, much more powerful and crueler than the Spanish colonial empire.

And before the objective reality and the historically inexorable Latin-American revolution, what is the attitude of Yankee imperialism? To prepare to wage a colonial war against the peoples of Latin America; to create an apparatus of force, the political pretexts and the pseudo-legal instruments subscribed to by the reactionary oligarchies to repress with blood and fire the struggle of the Latin-American peoples.

The intervention of the government of the United States in the internal politics of the countries of Latin America has become more open and unbridled each time.

The Inter-American Defense Council, for example, has been and is the nest where the most reactionary and pro-Yankee officers of the Latin-American armies are trained, for use later as shock troops in the service of the monopolies.

The North American military missions in Latin America constitute a permanent apparatus of espionage in each nation directly tied to the Central Intelligence Agency, inculcating in those officers the most reactionary sentiments and trying to convert the armies into instruments of its own political and economic interests.

Presently in the Panama Canal zone, the North-American high command has organized special courses to train Latin-American officers in fighting against revolutionary guerrillas, with the aim of repressing the armed action of the peasant masses against the feudal exploitation to which they are subjected.

In the United States itself the Central Intelligence Agency has organized special schools to train Latin-American agents in the most subtle forms of assassination; and

in the Yankee military services the physical liquidation of the anti-imperialist leaders is an accepted policy.

It is notorious that the Yankee embassies in the different Latin-American countries are organizing, instructing and equipping fascist bands to spread terror and to attack labor, student and intellectual organizations. These bands, into which they recruit the sons of the oligarchies, lumpen, and people of the lowest moral character, have already perpetrated a series of aggressive acts against the mass movements.

SANTO DOMINGO

Nothing is more evident and unequivocal about the intentions of imperialism than its recent conduct in the events in Santo Domingo. Without any kind of justification, without even making use of diplomatic relations with that republic, the United States, after stationing its warships before the Dominican capital, declared with its usual arrogance, that if Balaguer's government sought military aid, it would land troops in Santo Domingo against the insurgence of the Dominican people. That Balaguer's power was absolutely spurious, that each sovereign country of Latin America should have the right to resolve its internal problems without foreign intervention, that there exist international norms and world opinions, and that there even exists an OAS, did not count at all in the considerations of the United States.

What did count were its designs for holding back the Dominican revolution, the reinstatement of its odious policy of landing marines, with no more basis or prerequisite for establishing this new buccaneer concept of law, than a tyrannical, illegitimate, crisis-ridden ruler's simple request. The significance of this should not escape the peoples of Latin America. In Latin America there are more than enough of the kind of rulers who are ready to use Yankee troops against their own people when they find themselves in crisis.

North-American imperialism's declared policy of sending soldiers to fight the revolutionary movement of any country in Latin America, that is to say, to kill workers, students, peasants, Latin-American men and women, has no other objective than the continued maintenance of its monopolistic interests and the privileges of the traitorous oligarchies which support it.

It can now be seen clearly that the military pacts signed by the government of the United States with Latin-American governments — often secret pacts and always behind the back of the people — invoking hypothetical foreign dangers which no one saw anywhere, had the sole and exclusive object of preventing the struggle of the people; they were pacts against the people; against the sole danger — the native danger of the liberation movement that would imperil the Yankee interests. It was not without reason that the people asked themselves: Why so many military agreements? Why the shipment of arms which, even though technically outmoded for modern war, are yet efficient for smashing strikes, repressing popular demonstrations staining the land with blood? Why the military missions, the pact of Rio de Janeiro and the thousand and one international conferences?

Since the end of World War II, the nations of Latin America have been impoverished more and more, their exports have less and less value, their imports cost more, the per capita income falls, the awful rate of infant mortality does not decrease, the number of illiterates is higher, the people lack jobs, land, adequate housing, schools, hospitals, means of communication and means of life. On the other hand, North American investments exceed ten billion dollars. Latin America, moreover, is the provider of cheap raw materials, and the buyer of expensive finished articles. Like the first Spanish conquerors, who bar-

tered mirrors and trinkets for gold and silver — that is how the United States trades with Latin America. To guard that torrent of riches, to gain ever more control of Latin America's resources and exploit its suffering peoples — that is what is hidden behind the military pacts, the military missions and Washington's diplomatic lobbying.

This policy of gradual strangulation of the sovereignty of the Latin-American nation and of a free hand to intervene in their internal affairs culminated in the recent meeting of foreign Ministers at Punta del Este. Yankee imperialism gathered the ministers together to wrest from them — through political pressure and unprecedented economic blackmail in collusion with a group of the most discredited rulers of this continent — the renunciation of the national sovereignty of our peoples and the consecration of the Yankees' odious right of intervention in the internal affairs of Latin America; the submission of the peoples entirely to the will of the United States of North America, against which all our great men, from Bolivar to Sandino, fought. Neither the government of the representatives of the exploiting oligarchies, nor the big reactionary press, in the pay of the monopolies and feudal lords — they did not conceal themselves but openly demanded agreements which constituted formal suppression of our peoples; abolishing it with a stroke of the pen at the most infamous conspiracy in the memory of this continent.

BUYING VOTES

Behind closed doors, in reluctant meetings, where the Yankee minister of colonies dedicated entire days to beating down the resistance and scruples of some ministers, bringing into play the millions of the Yankee Treasury in an undisguised buying and selling of votes, a handful of representatives of the oligarchies of countries which together barely add up to a third of the continent's population, imposed agreements that served on a silver platter to the Yankee master the head of a principle which cost the blood of all our countries since the wars of independence. The Pyrrhic character of such sad and fraudulent accomplishments of imperialism, its moral failure, the broken unanimity and the universal scandal do not diminish the grave danger which agreements imposed at such a price have brought so close to the peoples of Latin America. At that evil conclave Cuba's thundering voice was raised without weakness or fear to indict, before all the peoples of America and the world, the monstrous attempts, to defend with a virility and dignity, which will be clear in the annals of history, not only Cuba's rights but the deserted rights of all our sister nations of the American Continent. The word of Cuba could find no echo in that house-broken majority, but neither could it find a refutation; only impotent silence befell its demolishing arguments, the clearness and courage of its words. But Cuba did not speak for the ministers, Cuba spoke for the people and for history, where its words will be echoed and answered.

At Punta del Este a great ideological battle unfolded between the Cuban revolution and Yankee imperialism. Who did they represent there, for whom did each speak? Cuba represented the people: the United States represented the monopolies. Cuba spoke for America's exploited masses; the United States for the exploiting, oligarchical and imperialist interests; Cuba for the nationalization of foreign enterprises; the United States for new investments by foreign capital. Cuba for culture; the United States for ignorance. Cuba for agrarian reform; the United States for great landed estates. Cuba for the industrialization of America; the United States for underdevelopment. Cuba for creative work; the United States for the sabotage and counter-revolutionary terror practiced by its agents — the destruction of sugar-cane fields and factories, the bombing by their pirate planes of the labor of a peaceful people. Cuba

for the murdered alphabetizers; the United States for the assassins. Cuba for bread; the United States for hunger. Cuba for equality; the United States for privilege and discrimination. Cuba for the truth; the United States for lies. Cuba for liberation; the United States for oppression. Cuba for the bright future of humanity; the United States for the past without hope. Cuba for the heroes who fell at Giron to save their country from foreign domination; the United States for the mercenaries and traitors who serve the foreigner against their country. Cuba for peace among peoples; the United States for aggression and war. Cuba for socialism; the United States for capitalism.

SHAMEFUL METHODS

The agreements obtained by the United States through methods so shameful that the entire world criticizes them, do not diminish but increase the morality and force of reason of Cuba's stand, which exposes the sell-out and treason of the oligarchies to the national interests and shows the people the road to liberation. It reveals the corruption of the exploiting classes for whom their representatives spoke at Punta del Este. The OAS was revealed for what it really is — a Yankee Ministry of Colonies, a military alliance, an apparatus of repression against the liberation movement of the Latin-American peoples.

Cuba has lived three years of the revolution under incessant harassment of Yankee intervention in our internal affairs. Pirate airplanes coming from the United States, dropping incendiary substances, have burned millions of *arrobas* of sugar cane; acts of international sabotage perpetrated by Yankee agents, like the explosion of the ship "La Coubre", have cost dozens of Cuban lives; thousands of North-American weapons have been dropped in parachutes by the U.S. military services into our territory to promote subversion; hundreds of tons of explosive materials and bombs have been secretly landed on our coast from North-American launches to promote sabotage and terrorism; a Cuban worker was tortured on the naval base of Guantanamo and deprived of his life with no due process before or any explanation later; our sugar quota was abruptly cut and an embargo proclaimed on parts and raw materials for factories and North-American construction machinery, in order to ruin our economy. Cuban ports and installations have been surprise attacked by armed ships and bombers from bases prepared by the United States. Mercenary troops, organized and trained in countries of Central America by our territories, escorted by ships of the Yankee fleet and the same government, have in a warlike manner invaded with aerial support from foreign bases, causing much loss of life as well as material wealth; counter-revolutionary Cubans are being trained in the U.S. army and new plans of aggression against Cuba are being made. All this has been going on incessantly for three years, before the eyes of the whole continent — and the OAS was not aware of it.

The ministers meet in Punta del Este and do not even admonish the U.S. government nor the governments who are material accomplices to these aggressions. They expel Cuba, the Latin-American victim, the aggrieved nation.

The United States has military pacts with nations of all the continents; military blocs with whatever fascist, militarist and reactionary government there is in the world: NATO, SEATO and CENTO, to which we now have to add the OAS; it intervenes in Laos, in Vietnam, in Korea, in Formosa, in Berlin. It openly sends ships to Santo Domingo in order to impose its law, its will, and announces its proposal to use its NATO allies to block commerce with Cuba. And the OAS is not aware! The ministers meet and expel Cuba, which has no military pacts with any country. Thus the government that organizes subversion throughout

the world and forges military alliances on four continents, forces the expulsion of Cuba, accusing her no less of subversion and ties beyond the continent.

Cuba, the Latin-American nation which has made land-owners of more than 100,000 small farmers, insured employment all the year on state farms and co-operatives to all agricultural workers, transformed forts into schools, given 70,000 scholarships to university, secondary and technological students, created lecture halls for the entire child population, totally liquidating illiteracy, quadrupling medical services, nationalizing foreign interests, suppressing the abusive system which turned housing into a means of exploiting people, virtually eliminating unemployment, suppressing discrimination due to race or sex, ridding itself of gambling, vice and administrative corruption, armed the people, making the enjoyment of human rights a living reality by freeing man and woman from exploitation, lack of culture and social inequality, which has liberated itself from all foreign tutelage, and established the bases for the development of its economy in order no longer to be a country producing only one crop and exporting only raw materials, is expelled from the Organization of American States by governments which have not achieved for their people one of these objectives. How will they be able to justify their conduct before the people of America and the world? How will they be able to deny that in their concept the policy of land, of bread, of work, of health, of liberty, of equality and of culture, of accelerated development of the economy, of national dignity, of full self-determination and sovereignty, is incompatible with the hemisphere?

CUBA'S RECORD

The people think very differently, the people think that the only thing incompatible with the destiny of Latin America is misery, feudal exploitation, illiteracy, starvation wages, unemployment, the policy of repression against the masses of workers, peasants and students, discrimination against women, Negroes, Indians, mestizos, oppression by the oligarchies, the plundering of their wealth by the Yankee monopolists, the moral stagnation of their intellectuals and artists, the ruin of the small producers by foreign competition, economic underdevelopment, peoples without roads, without hospitals, without housing, without schools, without industries, the submission to imperialism, the renunciation of national sovereignty and the betrayal of the country.

How can the imperialists make understood their conduct and condemnatory attitude toward Cuba? With what words and what argument are they going to speak to those whom, all the while exploiting they ignored for so long?

Those who study the problems of America are accustomed to ask: what country, who, has concentrated upon — for the purpose of remedying — the situation of the idle, the poor, the Indians, the Negroes and the helpless infants, this immense number of infants — 30 million in 1950 (50 million in eight more years). Yes, who? What country?

Thirty-two million Indians — like the Andes Mountains — form the backbone of the entire American continent. It is clear that for those who considered the Indian more as a thing than a person, this mass of humanity does not count, did not count and, they thought, never would count. Of course, since they were considered a brute labor force, they had to be used like a yoke of oxen or a tractor.

How — under what oath — could anyone believe in any benefit, in any Alliance for Progress with imperialism, when under its saintly protection, its killings, its persecutions, the natives of the south of the continent, like those of Patagonia, still live under strips of canvas as did their ancestors at the time discoverers came almost 500 years ago? Where are those great races which populated northern Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia, such as the Guarani who were savagely decimated, hunted like animals and buried in

the depths of the jungle? Where is that reservoir of indigent stock — whose extinction is continually hastened — which could have served as a base for a great American civilization? Across the Paraguayan swamps and mournful Bolivian highlands, deeper into itself, America has driven these primitive, melancholy races, brutalized by alcohol and narcotics to which they became addicted in order at least to survive in the subhuman conditions (not only of nutrition) in which they live. Where does a chain of hands stretch out almost in vain, yet stretching out vainly across centuries? Over the Andean peaks and slopes, along great rivers and in the shadowy forests, it stretches uniting their miseries with those of others who are slowly perishing, Brazilian tribes and those of the North of the continent and the coasts, until in the most incredible and wild confines of the Amazonian jungle or mountain ranges of Perija, Venezuela's hundred thousand indigent are reached, then to the isolated Vapicharnas, who await their end, now almost definitively lost to the human race, in the hot regions of the Guianas. Yes, all these 32 million Indians, who extend from the United States border to the limits of the Southern hemisphere, and the 45 million mestizos, who for the most part differ little from the Indians; all these natives, this formidable reservoir of labor, whose rights have been trampled on, yes, what can imperialism offer them? How can these people, ignored so long, be made to believe in any benefit to come from such bloodstained hands?

Entire tribes which live unclothed; others which are supposed to be cannibalistic; others whose members die like flies upon their first contact with the conquering civilization; others which are banished, that is, thrown off their lands, pushed to the point of locating in the jungles, mountains or most distant reaches of the prairies where not even the smallest particle of culture, light, bread, nor anything penetrates.

In what "alliance" — other than one for their own more rapid extermination — are these native races going to believe, these races who have been flogged for centuries, shot so their lands could be taken, beaten to death by the thousands for not working faster in their exploited labor for imperialism?

"ALLIANCE" FOR NEGROES?

And to the Negro? What "alliance" can the system of lynching and brutal exclusion of the Negro offer to the 15 million mulattoes of Latin America, who know with horror and rage that their brothers in the North cannot ride in the same vehicles as their white compatriots, nor attend the same schools, nor even die in the same hospitals?

How are these disinherited racial groups going to believe in this imperialism, in its benefits or in any "alliance" with it (which is not for lynching and exploiting them as slaves)? Those masses who have not been permitted even modestly to enjoy any cultural, social or professional benefits, who — even when they are in the majority or number millions — are mistreated by the imperialists in Klu Klux Klan costumes, are penned in the most insanitary neighborhoods, in the least comfortable tenements built expressly for them, are shoved into the most menial occupations, the hardest labor and the least lucrative professions. They cannot presume to reach the universities, advanced academies and private schools.

What Alliance for Progress can serve as encouragement to those 107 million men and women of our America, the backbone of labor in the cities and fields, whose dark skin — black, mestizo, mulatto, Indian — inspires scorn in the new colonialists? How are they — who with bitter impotence have seen how in Panama there is one wagescale for Yan-

kees and another for Panamanians, who are regarded as an inferior race — going to put any trust in the supposed Alliance?

What can the workers hope for, with their starvation wages, the hardest jobs, the most miserable conditions lack of nutrition, illness and all the evils which foster misery?

What words can be said, what benefits can the imperialists offer to the copper, tin, iron, coal miners who cough up their lungs for the profits of merciless foreign masters, and to the fathers and sons of the lumberjacks and rubber plantation workers, to the harvesters of the fruit plantations, to the workers in the coffee and sugar mills, to the peons on the pampas and plains who with their health and lives amass the fortunes of the exploiters?

What can those vast masses — who produce the wealth, who create the values, who aid in bringing forth a new world in all places — expect? What can they expect from imperialism, that greedy mouth, that greedy hand, with no other vista than misery, the most absolute destitution and death, cold and unrecorded in the end?

What can this class, which has changed the course of history, expect, which in other places has revolutionized the world, which is the vanguard of all the humble and exploited, what can it expect from imperialism its most irreconcilable enemy?

And to teachers, professors, professionals, intellectuals, poets and artists, what can imperialism offer? What kind of benefits, what chance for a better and more equitable life, what purpose, what inducement, what desire to excel, to gain mastery beyond the first simple steps, can it offer to those who devotedly care for the generations of children and young people on whom imperialism will later gorge itself? What can it offer to these people who live on degrading wages in most countries, who almost everywhere suffer restrictions on their right of political and social expression, whose economic future doesn't exceed the bare limits of their shaky resources and compensation, who are buried in a gray life without prospects which ends on a pension not even meeting half the cost of living? What "benefits" or "alliances" can imperialism offer them save those which redound to its total advantage?

If imperialism provides sources of aid to the professions, arts and publications, it is always well understood that their products must reflect its interests, aims and "nothingness". The novel which attempt to reflect the reality of the world of imperialism's rapacious deeds; the poems aspiring to translate protests against its enslavement, its interference in life, in thought, in the very bodies of nations and peoples; and the militant arts which in their expression try to capture the forms and content of imperialism's aggression and the constant pressure on every progressive living and breathing thing and on all that is revolutionary, which teaches, which — full of light and conscience, of clarity and beauty — tries to guide men and peoples to better destinies, to the highest summits of life and justice — all these meet imperialism's severest censure. They run into obstacles, condemnation. Its presses are closed to them; their names are barred from its columns of print and a campaign of the most atrocious silence is imposed against them — which is another contradiction of imperialism. For it is then that the writer, poet, painter, sculptor, the creator in any material, the scientist, begins truly to live in the tongue of the people, in the heart of millions of men throughout the world. Imperialism puts everything backwards, deforms it, diverts it into its own channels for profit, to multiply its dollars; buying words or paintings or stutters or turning into silence the expression of revolutionists, of progressive men, of those who struggle for the people and their needs.

We cannot forget, in this sad picture, the underprivileged children, the neglected, the futureless children of America.

America, a continent with a high birth rate, also has a high death rate. The mortality of children under a year

solute majority sector, at times exceeding 70 per cent of the Latin-American population.

Discounting the landlords, who often reside in the cities, the rest of that great mass gains its livelihood working as *peons* on the *haciendas* for the most miserable wages, or work the land under conditions of exploitation which in no manner put the Middle Ages to shame. These circumstances are those which determine that in Latin America the poor rural population constitutes a tremendous potential revolutionary force.

The armies, built and equipped for conventional war, which are the force on which the power of the exploiting classes rest, become absolutely impotent when they have to confront the irregular struggle of the peasants on their own terrain. They lose ten men for each revolutionary fighter who falls and demoralization spreads rapidly among them from having to face an invisible and invincible enemy who does not offer them the opportunity of showing off their academy tactics and their braggadocio which they use so much in military displays to curb the city workers and the students.

The initial struggle by small combat units, is incessantly fed by new forces, the mass movement begins to loosen its bonds, the old order, little by little begins to break into a thousand pieces, and that is the moment when the working class and the urban masses decide the battle.

What is it that from the beginning of the struggle of those first nuclei, makes them invincible, regardless of the numbers, power and resources of their enemies? The aid of the people, and they will be able to count on that help of the people on an ever growing scale.

But the peasantry is a class which, because of the uncultured state in which it is kept and the isolation in which it lives, needs the revolutionary and political leadership of the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals, for without them it would not by itself be able to plunge into the struggle and achieve victory.

In the actual historic conditions of Latin America, the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Experience shows that in our nations that class, even when its interests are in contradiction to those of Yankee imperialism, has been incapable of confronting it, for it is paralyzed by fear of social revolution and frightened by the cry of the exploited masses.

Facing the dilemma of imperialism or revolution, only its most progressive layers will be with the people.

The actual world correlation of forces and the universal movement for the liberation of the colonial and dependent peoples points out to the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals of Latin America their true role, which is to place themselves resolutely in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

Imperialism, utilizing the great movie monopolies, its cablegraphic agencies, its periodicals, books and reactionary newspapers, resorts to the most subtle lies to sow divisionism and inculcate among the most ignorant people fear and superstition against revolutionary ideas which can and should frighten only the powerful exploiters with their worldly interests and privileges.

Divisionism, a product of all kinds of prejudices, false ideas and lies; sectarianism, dogmatism, a lack of broadness in analyzing the role of each social layer, its parties, organizations and leaders, make difficult the necessary unity of action of the democratic and progressive forces of our peoples. They are defects of growth, infantile sickness of the revolutionary movement which must be left behind. In the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle it is possible to push the majority of the people resolutely behind goals of liberation which unite the spirit of the working class, the peasants, the intellectuals workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the most progressive layers of the national bourgeoisie. These sectors comprise the immense majority of the pop-

ulation and join together great social forces capable of sweeping out the imperialist and reactionary feudal rule. In that broad movement they can and must struggle together for the good of our nations, for the good of our peoples, and for the good of America, from the old militant Marxist, right to the sincere Catholic who has nothing to do with the Yankee monopolists and the feudal lords of the land.

PRIMARY TASK

That movement would pull along with itself the most progressive elements of the armed forces, also humiliated by the Yankee military missions, the betrayal of national interests by the feudal oligarchies and the sacrifice of the national sovereignty to Washington's dictates.

Where the roads for the peoples are closed, where the repression of workers and peasants is fierce, where the rule of the Yankee monopolists is strongest, the first and most important task is to understand that it is neither honorable nor correct to beguile people with the fallacious and convenient illusion of uprooting — by legal means which don't exist and won't exist — ruling classes who are entrenched in all the state positions, monopolizing education, owning all media of information, possessing infinite financial resources — a power which the monopolies and oligarchies will defend with blood and fire and with the might of their police and armies.

It is the duty of every revolutionist to make the revolution. It is known that the revolution will triumph in America and throughout the world, but it is not for revolutionists to sit in the doorways of their houses waiting for the corpse of imperialism to pass by. The role of Job doesn't suit a revolutionist. Each year that the liberation of America is speeded up will mean the lives of millions of children saved, millions of intellectuals saved for culture, an infinite quantity of pain spared the people. Even if the Yankee imperialists prepare a bloody drama for America, they will not succeed in crushing the peoples' struggles, they will only arouse universal hatred against themselves. And such a drama will also mark the death of their greedy and carnivorous system.

No nation in Latin America is weak — because each forms part of a family of 200 million brothers, who suffer the same miseries, who harbor the same sentiments, who have the same enemy, who dream about the same better future and who count upon the solidarity of all honest men and women throughout the world.

Great as was the epic of Latin-American independence, heroic as was that struggle, today's generation of Latin Americans is called upon to engage in an epic which is even greater and more decisive for humanity. For that struggle was for liberation from Spanish colonial power, from a decadent Spain invaded by the armies of Napoleon. Today the call for struggle is for liberation from the most powerful world imperialist center, from the strongest force of world imperialism and to render humanity a greater service than that rendered by our predecessors.

But this struggle, to a greater extent than the earlier, will be waged by the masses, will be carried out by the people: the people are going to play a much more important role now than then, the leaders are less important and will be less important in this struggle than in the one before.

MASSES MAKE HISTORY

This epic before us is going to be written by the hungry Indian masses, the peasants without land, the exploited workers. It is going to be written by the progressive masses, the honest and brilliant intellectuals, who so

greatly abound in our suffering Latin-American countries. Struggles of masses and ideas. An epic which will be carried forward by our people, despised and maltreated by imperialism, our people, unreckoned with till today, who are now beginning to shake off their slumber. Imperialism considered us a weak and submissive flock; and now it begins to be terrified of that flock; a gigantic flock of 200 million Latin Americans in whom Yankee monopoly capitalism now sees its gravediggers.

This toiling humanity, these inhumanly exploited, these paupers, controlled by the system of whip and overseer, have not been reckoned with or have been little reckoned with. From the dawn of independence their fate has been the same: Indians, gauchos, mestizos, zambos, quadroons, whites without property or income, all this human mass which formed the ranks of the "nation", which never reaped any benefits, which fell by the millions, which was cut into bits, which won independence from the mother country for the bourgeoisie, which was shut out from its share of the rewards, which continued to occupy the lowest step on the ladder of social benefits, continued to die of hunger, curable diseases and neglect, because for them there were never enough life-giving goods — ordinary bread, a hospital bed, the medicine that cures, the hand that aids.

But now from one end of the continent to the other they are signaling with clarity that the hour has come — the hour of their redemption. Now this anonymous mass, this America of color, somber, taciturn America, which all over the continent sings with the same sadness and disillusionment, now this mass is beginning to enter conclusively into its own history, is beginning to write it with its own blood, is beginning to suffer and die for it.

Because now in the fields and mountains of America, on its slopes and prairies and in its jungles, in the wilderness or in the traffic of cities, this world is beginning with full cause to erupt. Anxious hands are stretched forth, ready to die for what is theirs, to win those rights which were laughed at by one and all for 500 years. Yes, now

history will have to take the poor of America into account, the exploited and spurned of Latin America, who have decided to begin writing history for themselves for all time. Already they can be seen on the roads, on foot, day after day, in endless march of hundreds of kilometers to the governmental "eminences", there to obtain their rights.

Already they can be seen armed with stones, sticks, machetes, in one direction and another, each day, occupying lands, sinking hooks into the land which belongs to them and defending it with their lives. They can be seen carrying signs, slogans, flags; letting them flap in the mountain or prairie winds. And the wave of anger, of demands for justice, of claims for rights, which is beginning to sweep the lands of Latin America, will not stop. That wave will swell with every passing day. For that wave is composed of the greatest number, the majorities in every respect, those whose labor amasses the wealth and turns the wheels of history. Now they are awakening from the long, brutalizing sleep to which they had submitted.

For this great mass of humanity has said, "enough!" and has begun to march. And their giant march will not be halted until they conquer true independence — for which they have vainly died more than once. Today, however, those who die will die like the Cubans at Playa Giron. They will die for their own, true and never-to-be-surrendered independence.

Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!

THE PEOPLE OF CUBA

Havana, Cuba Free Territory of America

February 4, 1962

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba resolves that this Declaration be known as the Second Declaration of Havana, translated into the major languages and distributed throughout the world. It also resolves to urge all the friends of the Cuban Revolution in Latin America that it be widely distributed among the worker, peasant, student and intellectual masses of this continent.

Statement by International Secretariat on Spain and Portugal

The International Secretariat of the Fourth International salutes the heroic and great struggle undertaken by the workers, students, intellectuals and anti fascists of Spain and Portugal against the bloody dictatorships of Franco and Salazar. For the first time since the seizure of power in Spain by Franco, there is a struggle in process throughout the Iberian peninsula against Fascism.

This combined struggle will join and support the struggle of the Angolan and Mozambiquan people, oppressed and tortured by Portuguese imperialism. Everything must be done by the workers of Europe and the world, and by their political and trade union organisations to crush Spanish and Portuguese fascism so that the heroic Spanish and Portuguese fighters and their oppressed African brothers triumph over their tormentors.

The international Workers revolutionary movement must support with all its might the Iberian revolution which is beginning.

The fall of Franco and Salazar, the liberation of the Angolan and Mozambiquan peoples will constitute an important advance of world revolution.

— these events will shake up the reactionary regimes

throughout Europe and the relative stability of the Atlantic bourgeoisie;

— they will reinforce the struggle in France against Gaullism and the fascist menace;

— they will intensify the reawakening of the struggle in Greece against the reactionary dictatorship;

— they will strike a hard blow at imperialism in its anti-Soviet preparations for war;

— they will bring about an intensification of the anti imperialist and socialist revolution in Africa, Latin America and in the whole world;

— they will be a decisive step towards the establishment in the whole of the Iberian peninsula of a socialist regime in the interests of the workers.

The Fourth International expresses its unconditional solidarity with the Spanish and Portuguese workers as it has already done so towards the Angolan and Mozambiquan fighters. It calls upon all the trade union and political organisations of the workers' movement of Europe and the world to demonstrate their solidarity with the gigantic struggle taken up against fascism in the Iberian peninsula.

10th May, 1962

THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION ENTERS ITS SECOND YEAR

by MICHEL PABLO

From the 4th to the 6th of February, 1961, a multitude of people led by militants wearing the insignia of the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) attacked prisons, the radio station and the military barracks in Luanda.

Portuguese police, army and civilians responded by killing more than 3,000 Africans in one day alone — February 5th. Having escaped the Luanda massacres, some of the nationalist cadres managed to reach the countryside where they organized resistance among workers employed on plantations in *Baixa do Cassange* in the Malange district.

Encouraged by these examples, the peoples of the north took up armed struggle and since then there has been war in Angola.

All the evidence indicates that a new "Algerian war" has been kindled in southern Africa within the immediate neighbourhood of imperialism's last reserves on the continent: the Union of South Africa and the Rhodesias.

Caught between a blazing Congo in search of its abortive revolution, and a part of Africa where a strong European minority exists, well organized and fully determined to defend tenaciously its exorbitant privileges, Angola has been called on to face a bitter struggle. However, about the final outcome there can be no doubt at all.

IMMEDIATE ORIGINS AND BACKGROUND OF THE WAR

On the face of it, it was the Angolan masses who took the initiative of "violence" and Portuguese imperialism, in order "to defend itself", was obliged to reply. In reality, however, the Luanda events of February 1961 followed a long series of provocations and all kinds of exactions on the part of the hated Portuguese rule.

The Angolan multitude's attack on the military and civil prisons of Luanda on the 4th of February, 1961 was aimed at freeing nationalist leaders and militants under arrest since March 1959. On the 8th of June, 1960 in Luanda the police had also arrested the nationalist leader *Agostinho Neto*, who was taken to Lisbon and then deported without trial to the Cape Verde Islands. When the people of Dr Agostinho Neto's native village called for his release in a peaceful demonstration the Portuguese army replied with the massacres of *Icolo* and *Bengo* in which 30 people were killed and 200 wounded.

On the 25th of June of the same year 1960, Abbé Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, an African priest who is well-known in Angola for his anti-colonialist attitudes, was also imprisoned and then deported without trial.

During July 1960 Portuguese troops, who had received considerable reinforcements since the Congo's independence, made frequent terror raids on the African quarters of Luanda and into the interior of the country, engaging in brutalities, massacres and tortures among the African population.

The aim was, of course, to prevent by repression the Congo Revolution's extension southwards, especially as the *Bakongo* inhabitants of the northern part of the country belong to the same people as the freed "French" and "Belgian" *Bakongo*. Moreover there can be no doubt about the almost direct influence Congo events had upon Angolan resistance.

From the date of Congo independence (1st July, 1960),

the idea of resistance, including armed resistance, against the Portuguese colonialist administration had begun to gain ground not only among advanced nationalist circles in Luanda but also in the forest regions and towns of Cabinda and northern Angola.

It was precisely these small groups of resistant peasants which had started to assemble in the forests of northern Angola and Cabinda from that time onwards, and who were under Lumumbist political influence, (1) that responded to the Luanda massacres of February 1961 by launching a campaign of reprisals against European dwellings, plantations, shops, offices and communication centres around 15th March, 1961.

But the more deep-seated and fundamental origins of the Angola war, which can develop along no other path than that of War-Revolution, the path of the Angolan Revolution, are naturally to be found in the characteristics and consequences of the centuries-old yoke placed on the country by Portuguese imperialism.

Portuguese occupation of the territory that today constitutes Angola has only been in any way effective since the Treaty of Berlin of February 26, 1885, which sanctified the division of Africa among the imperialist powers. And so great and stubborn was resistance and repeated revolt — about once every twelve years — among the population of the interior, that *military conquest* of Angola by the Portuguese was only achieved as late as 1922. This means that administrative occupation of this vast territory, about two and a half times the area of France and inhabited by nearly four and a half million people, did not effectively commence until that date (1922).

From that time forward colonization by European settlers who now number about 200,000 started to extend into the interior and great concessionary enterprises started to grow up, which exploited vast coffee plantations, diamond, iron and manganese mines, and oil fields.

The Portuguese had, however, reached Angola in 1482 and in the century that followed they occupied many strongholds along the coast. From about 1700 to 1850 the country's chief exports were slaves and 15 million Negroes were sent to the plantations of South America. (2) The slave traffic was officially abolished in 1836, but *disguised* slavery — a characteristic peculiar to Portuguese imperialism — has continued for millions of Angolan workers!

THE WORKERS OF ANGOLA

These may be divided into three main groups:

(a) *Forced labourers*, who are veritable beasts of burden, most of them peasants, and make up about 50 per cent. of the mass of African workers. In theory, however, the system of free work has been in operation in Angola since 1906. Forced labourers are recruited by agreement between settlers and administrators, and they often work 12 hours a day receiving an average of less than \$3.50 per month. The administrator instructs the native chiefs to send him strong, sturdy men for coffee and palm cultivation. These are sent to Tonga and to Catete where they cultivate the fields under the watch of the armed

(1) As explained below.

(2) According to Father Diuconi.

forces. (3) Forced labour is without doubt one of the main causes of the material, physical and cultural degradation of the African.

(b) *Free labourers*, who work in settlers' enterprises under a unilateral contract signed between the government and the settlers, with a fixed daily wage of about seven dollars a month! The labourer receives his wage a fortnight after the end of the month. In the meantime he makes use of vouchers entitling him to feed himself from the settlers' stores, and which must be paid for out of his wages. Moreover trade union rights do not exist and 95 per cent. of African workers are deprived of any legal trade union organization. (4)

(c) *Intellectual workers*, who are given the title of *assimilados*, have, in principle, the same rights as the Portuguese. Their number, however, is less than 1 per cent. of the total African population.

According to official figures Angolan workers number 800,000, of whom 150,000 work in industry and more than 500,000 in agriculture.

But wage labour for private employers and for the colonialist State, as well as forced labour (for the construction and upkeep of roads, bridges, brick-making, plantation work) in reality encompasses some two and a half million Africans - men, women and children under 12 years of age.

THE ANGOLAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Where social conditions of this sort exist, where 99.3 per cent. of the population —the *natives*, as they are called by Portuguese law— can take no part in elections, where the illiteracy figure is more than 99 per cent. and constitutes a further obstacle to reaching the status of *assimilado*, no path is left open but the path of "violence", armed struggle, as the only means of collective national liberation and individual rehabilitation.

Before the Angolan national political movement took the "Algerian" and "Cuban" road —the road of armed struggle— it went through all the phases common to the general history of liberatory movements among colonial peoples.

For a long time they nursed themselves on illusions about assimilation with the occupiers, or reforms, or achieving independence in "association", in "co-operation" with

(3) This is how Marcelo Caetano, former Portuguese colonial minister, justifies forced labour:

"Labour does not appear spontaneously... in other words: demand does not correspond to a proportional supply of hands. Recruiting agents have had to comb the bush in search of men fit for work in the plantations, factories, mines, ports and communications, and the administrative authorities have had to intervene in order to discipline recruiting, the more so because the State needs workers for public works... And as European establishments cannot always be set up there where labour is abundant, the consequence is that recruiting for work for third parties [i.e. private employers] by means of contracts generally of six months' duration, causes the despatch of workers to regions far away from where they live." (M. Caetano, *Os Nativos na Economia Africana* - Coimbra, 1954).

(4) There are only two legal trade unions, the *National Union of Drivers, Railwaymen and Metal Workers* and the *National Union of Employees in Commerce and Industry*, preponderantly European and whose leaders are nominated by the Governor General and the Minister of Colonies.

Illegal trade unionism is represented by the *Union of Negro Workers and Labourers of Angola* (UTONA) which has its headquarters inside Angola, and the *National Union of Workers of Angola* (UNTA) which has its headquarters in Leopoldville.

the imperialist metropolis "by legal means". All this, however, was naturally a movement confined to "advanced" intellectual circles and was doomed to failure in the peculiar circumstances of an atrophied Portuguese imperialism which seeks "prestige" and economic power in the mediaeval exploitation of an empire of some 13 million inhabitants.

It was the intensification of the fascist nature of the Salazar régime, established in Portugal in 1928, that impelled the development and maturing of the Angolan national movement.

In 1929 Luanda Africans founded first the *Liga Nacional Africana* (LNA), and then the *Grémio Africano* (African Club), which was later called the *Associação Regional dos Naturais de Angola* (ANANGOLA). African 'natives' tended to support ANANGOLA and *assimilados* to support the LNA.

Even this latter organization, which was more linked to the people, experienced an insuperable crisis during the second world war, its plebian rank and file demanding the abandonment of reformist methods and the adoption of methods of direct mass struggle. Its leadership, corrupted by imperialism and infiltrated by the police, was unable to respond to the aspirations of the masses.

Only in the first years after the war did a national *cultural* movement emerge, which was to be the herald of the present national *political* movement, from among the Angolan youth of the towns, especially Luanda, and those studying abroad in Lisbon and Paris. Angolan poets and writers, Negroes and mulattos, brought to birth the embryo of a national consciousness, introduced the liberatory ideas that agitated the post-war revolutionary world and subjected the Portuguese imperialist ideology to the weapon of criticism.

During the 1950s in the cultural field *Agostinho Neto*, *Mário de Andrade*, *Viriato Cruz*, *Ilídio Machado*, representatives of the budding Angolan national literature, crystallized the national aspirations of the Angolan youth and masses.

In December 1956 leaders of the *Partido da Luta Unida dos Africanos de Angola* (PLUA), an illegal mass organization that had been created a little earlier, and other organizations together created the *People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola* (MPLA), an African mass political organization, founded in Luanda and in the interior of Angola by Africans who had never left their country.

Parallel with these developments inside Angola, Angolan nationalists from among emigrants in the then Belgian Congo founded the *União das Populações do Norte de Angola* in 1954. It became the *União das Populações de Angola* (UPA) in 1958.

NATURE AND PROBLEMS OF THE LEADERSHIPS OF THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION

In the Angolan national movement the MPLA and the UPA are at the present the main political organizations which claim the leadership of the Angolan Revolution. It is difficult at the present time to ascertain the extent of their respective influence among the Angolan masses in struggle.

The MPLA seems to control the guerrillas operating in the districts of *Luanda*, *Quanza Norte* and *Malange*, while UPA controls those in the north of the country along the Congo-Angolan frontier. The UPA, which has its roots among the half million Angolans who live in the Congo as a consequence of a migration that first started two hundred years ago, was originally nothing but an off-shoot of the Congo national movement. So much so that its present chief leader *Holden Roberto* who appeared on the international scene for the first time after the Accra Conference of 1958, seemed at that time to be merely a disciple of Lumumba, introduced into the confidence of leading African nationalist circles thanks to Lumumba's prestige.

Holden Roberto claims to have started the armed strug-

gle of Angolan peasants which, he says, commenced on the 15th of March, 1961 in the district of Congo in northern Angola. He refuses to take part in the formation of an *Angolan Liberation Front* in which MPLA would participate on a footing of equality, and he proclaims his organization, the UPA, to be the sole and exclusive leader of the Angolan Revolution.

The MPLA does not deny the action undertaken by the peasants of the Congo district nor the political influence exerted on them by UPA (5). It does, however, affirm that the MPLA initiated the events of Luanda in February 1961, which precipitated the action of the northern peasants and which afterwards extended this action throughout the central part of the country. Furthermore, the MPLA insistently urges the creation of a United Front which would include itself and UPA.

On the programmatic level the differences between the two organizations seem unimportant at the present stage, both stressing the primary objective of a national anti-imperialist struggle for national independence.

But the Algerian and Congo experiences among others have clearly shown that the division of the national movement perpetuated in the course of direct mass action, is neither an accident nor the consequence of personal, tribal or ethnic rivalries. Division develops quite definitely along precise *class lines*, the national anti-imperialist struggle having an inexorable tendency, in the present historical context, to develop into Social Revolution with a view to *effective political and economic independence from the yoke of imperialism*.

Now, only a socialist régime can definitely secure such an aim. But even at the *national anti-imperialist* stage of the Revolution it is now usual to see the African national movement split into two tendencies, one "Bourguibist", that is to say, bourgeois and pro-Western, the other "Castroite", that is, oriented definitely towards socialism and effective disengagement from imperialism.

Anyone who wants to have a clear picture of developments in the Angolan Revolution must bear especially in mind the peculiar role American imperialism is at the present playing in Africa, and more particularly in Black Africa.

For reasons which are at once *economic*, connected with the considerable agricultural and mineral wealth of this part of the continent, and at the same time *political*, related to the strategic importance of Africa in the "cold war", Yankee imperialism has determined on the one hand to oust the weaker imperialisms, and in the first place those of Belgium and Portugal, and on the other to put a stop to the implantation of Sino-Soviet influence in this region.

To this end it will make great play of black nationalism, supporting among other things formal independence under "national" governments evolving in its economic and diplomatic orbit. An instance of this is the operation at present being conducted in the Congo through the channel of the Central Government, both against Tshombe on the one hand, who is the instrument of interests that are chiefly British, but in part Belgian and even French too, and on the other against Gizenga, the instrument either of potential Soviet penetration, or else of the rebirth of an authentic revolutionary movement in the Congo.

To be sure, the Angolan national movement will not fail to take advantage of inter-imperialist rivalries, nor of antagonism between East and West in order to hasten the hour of formal national independence. But inasmuch as this independence can be fully realized only through the

(5) See also article entitled "The armed struggle" which appeared in the first issue of *Unidade Angolana*, "combat journal of the MPLA", published in Leopoldville since December 1961.

(Address: *Unidade Angolana*, 51, Avenue Tombeur de Tabora, Leopoldville, CONGO).

anti-imperialist, social and socialist development of the Revolution it is of some importance that the Angolan masses should be aware precisely which is the vehicle in the present Angolan national movement through which Yankee imperialism's activity is operating.

A year of savage repression by Portuguese imperialism, whose forces now reach a total of some 60,000 armed men, has been unable to put down the heroic resistance of the Angolan masses.

In spite of 50,000 dead, 150,000 refugees and several hundred political detentions, the struggle that has been started is continuing and will continue until its victorious conclusion.

But, as we have already said, it will be very hard. The fate of all southern Africa, where European settlement is strongly entrenched, is what is at stake in the Angolan Revolution. Hence the active solidarity with Salazar of the Rhodesias and the Union of South Africa, as well as United Nations moderation in its interventions on this question, which so far have all been verbal.

The prolonging of the Angolan war, its extension southwards, its deepening into a veritable Revolution, threatens to set alight a region as explosive and already turbulent as the Union of South Africa. It also threatens to lead to the fall of the Salazar régime which would give a considerable impetus to the revolution with which Spain is now pregnant.

This explains the solidarity and caution of imperialism reflected in the United Nations resolutions counselling Salazar to formal, controlled step-by-step decolonization of this land that has suffered for so many centuries.

It is, however, through the extension of the war into the southern part of the country which, although they are considerably fewer than the inhabitants of the centre and the north, is peopled by hardened nomad herdsmen, that the Revolution will be released to some extent at least, from the help presently provided by the Congo, which is conditioned by precise and definite foreign influences.

Such an extension would simultaneously divide the efforts of the repressive forces and at the same time bring closer a common front with the South African masses, who are the principal natural and inevitable allies of the Angolan Revolution.

Moreover, the early affirmation of a more precise social program for the Angolan Revolution, with the accent on the agrarian question in particular, would galvanize the activities of the peasant masses, the basic framework of the Revolution.

The European allies of the Angolan Revolution cannot but ardently wish for the rapid formation of an anti-imperialist united front of all Angolan political organizations. But their main duty is to prevent the delays, the gaps and the weaknesses which characterized their action in support of the Algerian Revolution, and to hasten more effectively to the active support of the Revolution that has begun in Angola. *This should be done concretely by the formation of broad representative committees for material and moral aid to the Angolan Revolution.*

These committees should be organized on the basis of an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist United Front of all proletarian political and trade union organizations, for financial, medical, technical and military assistance to the Angolan Revolution, for publicizing and popularizing its cause and promoting the commercial and diplomatic boycott of Portuguese fascism.

It is a question of re-establishing by means of active and effective solidarity that utterly necessary welding of the European Revolution to the Colonial Revolution, in a new front that will be among the most valiant, the most poignant known to the liberatory struggle of peoples still subjected to imperialist slavery.

20th February, 1962.

A REVIEW OF THE THIRD GENERAL ELECTIONS IN INDIA

by KAILAS CHANDRA

The bourgeois politicians all over the world have acclaimed the general elections just concluded in India — the third since she achieved political independence in 1947 — as a big triumph for parliamentary democracy in the East.

The Congress Party led by Mr. Nehru, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie, has won an overwhelming majority of seats in the Lok Sabha (House of People) and has also emerged as the ruling party in all the 15 State Legislatures and three territorial councils in the country. This is a matter of satisfaction for the capitalist world which views with indulgence the experiment of "parliamentary" democracy in India as a bulwark against communism. India has a relatively stable capitalist economy among the newly independent countries of Asia which gives her a unique status.

It is also a feather in the cap of Mr. Nehru that this regime should be in a position to ensure the cooperation of more than 210 million voters to go to the polls to elect as many as 3,797 representatives to a "sovereign" Parliament and the various provincial legislatures especially when the ruling bourgeoisie in the neighbouring countries of Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia etc. have to resort to periodic military coups to keep their regimes in power.

But despite this "triumph" of bourgeois democracy, there is a powerful section of capitalist politicians in India, both in the Congress Party and outside it, which is concerned about the outcome of parliamentary elections. These politicians do not conceal their admiration for military dictatorships and also advocate the need for a "strong dictator", ostensibly as a means to liquidate the "corruption" and "red tape" of a parliamentary democracy. The open expression of this neo-fascist tendency is to be found in the politics of the Hindu communal party, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party sponsored by the former feudal princes and landlords.

While the Jan Sangh indulges in Muslim-baiting as a part of its campaign to revive "Hindu nationalism", the Swatantra Party's main plank of agitation is unfettered free enterprise as opposed to the "mixed economy" of the Congress party. Both these parties which spearhead the drive of the Indian bourgeoisie against revolutionary Marxism have registered spectacular gains in the recent elections.

As opposed to them the Left has at best managed to retain the status quo in some parts of the country while in others it had to suffer serious defeats. The opportunist class collaborationist politics of the traditional left parties like the Communist Party of India and the Praja Socialist Party contributes to the electoral debacle of the Left.

It is only in the states of West Bengal, Andhra and Kerala that the CPI and its left allies have been able to retain their position. But in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat, strong-holds of the semi-feudal landed interests, the reactionary Swatantra, Jan Sangh combination has scored spectacular gains at the cost of the left.

The so-called camp of "democratic socialism" as represented by the petty bourgeois Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party has emerged a considerably weakened force on a national scale and in some states it has been virtually liquidated. As a sequel to their electoral defeat these two parties are explaining the possibility of a merger.

Another peculiar feature of the elections, was the

emergence of strong regional and separatist tendencies in some states. They were symbolised by the Akali Dal, which advocated the creation of a Sikh-dominated Punjabi speaking State, the Hill Leaders' Conference clamouring for a separate Hill State in Assam and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Madras advocating a "sovereign" Dravidaastan consisting of four southern states.

There is thus no common national political pattern emerging in the country. The election results illustrate the theory of uneven development in relation to a multi-lingual and "multi-national" nation like India.

NEW PARLIAMENT - ITS COMPOSITION

In the new Lok Sabha of 507 (there are seven nominations by the President and elections for six constituencies still to be held) the Congress has won 358 seats this time as against 347 it had in the old house.

There is no officially recognised opposition in the Lok Sabha which requires a strength of 51 members for recognition. But the CPI has once again emerged as the biggest opposition group with 35 members, including six elected as "independents". The united front allies of the CPI the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Kerala and Bengal) and Forward Bloc (Bengal) have secured two seats each. There are four or five independents who have been elected with the support of the CPI and other left groups.

But the emergence of the Swatantra Party as the second major opposition group with 22 members in the Lok Sabha is a counterweight to the Left. The group includes four members returned to the Lok Sabha by the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa — a regional group of feudal landlords which recently merged with the the Swatantra Party. The Jan Sangh has improved its strength of four members in the old house to 15 in the new.

The PSP had 17 members in the old house but its strength has been reduced to 12 while the Socialist Party has managed to retain its strength of six.

Among the variety of other groups represented in the new Lok Sabha are: Hindu Mahasabha (another Hindu communal party) one, Ram Raja Parishad (an obscurantist religious group in Madhya Pradesh) two, the Muslim League (Kerala) two, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Madras) seven, Akali Dal (Punjab) three, Jharkhand Party (a group of tribal interests in Bihar) three, Nutan Gujarat Parishad (Gujarat) one, Hindi Rakshak Samiti (a Hindu communal group pledged to the retention of Hindi as the official language in Punjab) one, Lok Sevak Samiti (Bengal) one, the Republican Party (representing scheduled caste masses) three, and independents twenty.

In terms of the percentage of the total votes polled for the Lok Sabha as compared to the 1957 elections, the CPI and the Jan Sangh among the four "national" parties recognised by the Election Commission are the two that have improved their position while the Congress Party and the PSP have considerably reduced electoral support.

About 54 per cent of the total electorate of 210 million exercised their franchise. The Congress Party has secured 45.06 per cent of the total votes polled this time as compared to 47.78 per cent in 1957. The CPI improved its position from 8.92 per cent last time to 10 per cent now

and the Jan Sangh from 5.98 per cent to 6.38 per cent. The PSP's voting strength has fallen from 10.41 in 1957 to 6.88 per cent now. The Swatantra Party, though a

comparative newcomer, has secured 8.84 per cent of the total polled while 25.21 per cent of the votes went to other parties and independents.

LOK SABHA

Electorate : 21,60,47,643 ; Polled : 11,44,25,547

Percentage : 52.96 (1952 : 45.70 ; 1957 : 49.60)

Party	1952 Polled	Percent- age.	Polled	1957 Percent- age.	Seats.	Polled	1962 Percent- age.	Seats.
Congress	4,76,65,875	45.0	5,75,79,593	47.78	371	5,15,12,243	45.02	356
Communists	52,99,095	5.0	1,07,54,075	8.92	27	1,13,99,268	9.96	29
P.S.P.	1,73,73,377	16.4	1,25,42,666	10.41	19	78,29,997	6.84	12
Swatantra	—	—	—	—	—	77,84,495	6.80	22
Jan Sangh	32,46,288	3.1	71,49,824	5.83	4	73,63,772	6.44	14
Socialists	—	—	25,00,000	2.07	7	28,12,795	2.49	6
D.M.K.	—	—	7,44,128	0.62	2	23,15,610	2.01	7
Republican	25,01,964	2.35	24,30,324	2.02	7	10,59,886	0.92	3
Akalis	—	—	—	—	—	8,29,129	0.72	3
R.R.P.	21,51,603	2.03	4,28,183	0.35	—	6,29,823	0.55	2
Mahasabha	10,03,034	0.95	10,43,094	0.87	2	5,02,115	0.44	1
Jharkhand	—	—	8,99,835	0.75	7	4,99,950	0.43	3
Forward Bloc	9,11,096	0.85	10,06,351	0.83	3	4,31,007	0.38	2
Muslim League	—	—	3,96,140	0.33	1	4,19,761	0.37	2
R.S.P.	3,93,984	0.37	8,43,007	0.70	1	1,99,337	0.17	2
Others	2,53,98,219	23.95	2,21,96,695	18.42	43	1,88,36,359	16.46	25
Total	10,59,44,495	100	12,05,13,915	100	494	11,44,25,547	100	489

1952: The Socialist Party and K.M.P.P. votes have been combined to give the P.S.P. total.

The Republican Party figures include the votes polled by the S.C.F. in 1952 and 1957.

1962: Five constituencies—four in Himachal and one in Punjab (Kangra)—will go to the polls in the latter half of April.

N.B. Above figures are divided into Lakhs, Indian numerical measurement (Editor)

RESULTS OF ELECTIONS TO STATE LEGISLATURES

The reverses suffered by the Congress Party in the elections to the state legislatures especially in the "Hindi heartland", consisting of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan are attributed to the internal squabbles within the ruling party. The rightist parties — notably the Jan Sangh — took advantage of the Congress rift in the absence of a strong leftist movement in these states.

It is worthwhile to note that the Jan Sangh's appeal has been confined to the Hindi speaking states and despite all its efforts it has failed to secure even a single seat in the non-Hindi speaking states. This is possibly because the Jan Sangh and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, a semi-military organisation which constitutes its inner core, have been able to muster support only in those areas where the Muslim League propagated its two-nation theory during the independence struggle. The Hindu communalism of the Jan Sangh also tends to be identified with a "Hindi chauvinism" which is resisted by the people in the non-Hindi speaking states. (The Jan Sangh has been able to return

a Muslim to the Rajasthan legislature but this is considered more of a freak than a deliberate attempt by the party to be "secular").

In no State has the Congress polled so poorly as in Uttar Pradesh where it has been returned to power with less than 35 per cent of the total votes cast. The Jan Sangh has replaced the PSP as the main opposition in the Legislative Assembly by acquiring a strength of 49 members as against 17 it had in the old house while the PSP has reduced its strength from 44 to 38 and the Socialist Party from 25 to 24. The CPI has also taken advantage of the Congress debacle to improve its position from nine to 14.

Madhya Pradesh is another state where the Congress Party's poll registered a sharp decline from about 50 per cent of the total in 1957 to about 39 per cent this time.

This is the only state where the Congress has failed to secure an absolute majority of seats in the 288-member legislative assembly. Here again, the Jan Sangh with a strength of 41 has replaced the PSP as the main opposition. But the PSP and the SP have both improved their position by winning 33 and 14 seats respectively in the assembly as against 12 and 8 members respectively

they had in the old assembly. But the CPI which had three members in the old assembly has been able to return only one this time although it has managed to get one of its nominees elected to the Lok Sabha as an independent with the support of dissident Congressmen.

Both in UP and in Madhya Pradesh the Hindu-Muslim communal riots fomented by reactionary elements on the elections seem to have helped the communal parties. The strained relationship between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and border disputes is used by capitalist parties in both these countries to foment periodic communal riots to divert the attention of the masses from their real economic problems.

The Swatantra Party has emerged as the main legislative opposition to the Congress in the states of Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan and Gujerat which were once strongholds of feudal landed interests. The main support to the party has come either from the former feudal princes or the big landlords affected by the limited (bourgeois) land reforms of the Congress governments...

The Swatantra Party has secured 50 seats in the 318-member state legislative assembly in Bihar pushing the PSP to the third position with 29 seats while in Rajasthan it has emerged as the main opposition with 36 seats in a 176-member assembly. The Congress Party has managed to secure only 50 per cent of the seats and 40 per cent of the total votes cast in the elections to the Rajasthan assembly.

Among the Hindi states the pattern in Punjab is somewhat different. The Akali Dal agitating for a separate Punjabi-speaking state has secured 19 seats in a 152-member state assembly and nearly 20 per cent of the votes cast, mostly in the Sikh majority areas. But in the Hindi speaking areas of the Haryana region the Hindu communalists (Jan Sangh and Hindi Rakshak Samiti) have bettered their position at the cost of the Congress. The main opposition in the state legislature is formed by dissident congressmen who contested the elections as independents.

The CPI has also improved its position from six seats in the old Punjab assembly to nine in the new but this is attributed to the electoral understanding the party had with the Akali communalists in some of the rural constituencies. The PSP has been liquidated while the SP has managed to win four seats in the state assembly. The Congress has managed to win a majority of 90 seats (although the votes polled by it has been reduced to 43.80 per cent of the total) in a 152-member house.

In the elections to the Lok Sabha from the centrally administered Delhi region the Congress Party has emerged victorious by annexing all the five seats and 50.68 per cent of the total votes cast. But the Jan Sangh which polled nearly 33 per cent of the total votes cast is a serious threat to the ruling party. The CPI supported the Congress candidates against Jan Sangh. The elections to the Lok Sabha from the centrally administered Himachal Pradesh (a frontier region bordering Tibet) are still to be held because of the weather conditions.

MIXED PATTERN IN EASTERN STATES

The Congress Party has improved its position in the eastern region, having won a larger ratio of votes in West Bengal, Orissa and Tripura and a larger number of seats in Assam than in 1957.

The United Left Front consisting of six left parties (including the CPI, RSPI, RCPI, Forward Bloc, Marxist Forward Bloc and the Bolshevik Party) gave the slogan of an "alternate Government" but managed to secure only 81 seats in a 252-member state assembly. The Left Front

could make some inroads into the rural areas although some seats were lost in the traditional left constituencies in the greater Calcutta region. Among the constituents of the United Front the CPI has secured 50 seats while the seats won by other parties include Forward Bloc 13, RSP 7, RCP 2 and independents nine, representing 38 per cent of the total votes polled in the state. The Congress Party has secured 47.19 per cent of the votes and 157 seats. The PSP has won only five seats as against 21 it had in the old house.

The CPI has also given a better account of itself in the Tripura where it has won both the parliamentary seats and 13 out of 30 seats for the territorial council. As against this the CPI has failed to win a single seat in the Assam legislative assembly and has lost heavily in Grissa and Manipur. (Tripura and Manipur are centrally administered regions bordering Burma near Nagaland).

The Congress Party seems to have consolidated its position in Assam as a result of the chauvinist anti-Bengali agitation that broke out in the state last year, and has secured 48.32 per cent of the total votes cast and 79 seats in the 105-member state legislative assembly. The dubious ("neutral") role played by the CPI has cost it the limited support it had in the state in the past. The CPI had won 8 per cent of the votes cast and four seats in the Assembly in 1957 whereas this time 12 of the 21 candidates set up by the party forfeited their security amounts. The RCPI which had put up 17 candidates for the state assembly and one for the Lok Sabha managed to win only one seat in the assembly although all but one of its candidates secured enough votes to retain their deposits (ten per cent of the total votes cast in each constituency). (The RCPI is not officially recognised by the Election Commission and its candidates were therefore listed as candidates).

The PSP in Assam has reduced its strength from eight to six members in the Assembly while the Hill Leaders Conference has emerged as the main opposition with 11 members. From the Bengali majority areas two anti-Assamese chauvinists have been returned to the State assembly.

In Orissa only the elections to the Lok Sabha were held in February. The mid-term elections to the legislative assembly were already conducted in the state in 1961 following the dismissal of the former Congress ministry by the Centre. The Congress has secured 55.53 per cent of the total votes cast while the Ganatantra Parishad (now Swatantra Party) has secured 17.42 per cent and the PSP 15.50 per cent. One significant development in the Orissa elections was the general apathy of the voters. Only less than 25 per cent of the voters exercised their franchise this time as against 34.5 per cent in the 1961 mid-term elections.

The come-back staged by the CPI in Kerala, the striking gains made by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and the total rout of the leftist controlled Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in Maharashtra are among the more notable features of the elections in the southern states. In Andhra the CPI vote has gone down quite sharply, compared with 1957 or even 1952-despite the fact that 23 independents have been returned to the Andhra assembly with the CPI support. But the CPI has improved its representation in the legislature from 37 to 51 (plus 23 independents supported by the party), because of the triangular or multi-cornered contests caused by the Swatantra, and some local parties.

The Congress Party in Andhra has improved its total vote from 41.54 per cent in 1957 to 47.25 per cent this time although the total number of seats won by it in the 300-member assembly has fallen from 187 to 177.

The Kerala Lok Sabha elections (elections to the state legislative assembly were held in 1960 after the CPI min-

istry was dismissed by the Central Government) show that the Congress-PSP coalition now ruling the state does not have the support of a majority of the electorate. The CPI polled 35.46 per cent of the votes cast but if 10.54 per cent polled by three CPI backed independents and 3.60 per cent polled by the RSP (in alliance with the PCI) are added to the CPI total the percentage polled by the United Leftist Front comes to 49 as against 44 polled by the ruling coalition. The Muslim League which has been able to return two of its nominees to the Lok Sabha has its political influence confined only to this state. It was till recently a part of the anti-communist Congress-PSP coalition.

The Congress has once again emerged as the ruling party in Madras by annexing 139 seats in a 206 member legislative assembly and 46.09 per cent of the total votes polled in the state. But the success of the DMK which secured 27 per cent of the total votes cast and 50 seats as against 15 seats it won in 1957 in the assembly came as a big surprise. Apart from being a champion of a separate Dravidistan (with right to secede from the Indian Union) and opposed to the "domination of North" (anti-Hindi etc.), the DMK has a "caste" base among the poor peasants and landless labourers in the Tamil districts. Among the other parties in Madras the CPI has reduced its strength from four to two in the state assembly while the Swatantra Party despite the popularity of its founder leader Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has won only six seats. The DMK received electoral support from the Swatantra Party, CPI and even the Muslim League in different districts.

Mysore is the only state in the country where the PSP remains the principal opposition having increased its representation from 13 to 20 seats in the 208-member assembly while the Congress party has been reduced in strength from 150 to 138 seats. The CPI has also improved its position from one to three while the Swatantra Party has got a representation of nine members.

In the western Indian states of Maharashtra and Gujarat which formed parts of the bilingual Bombay state till their bifurcation in 1960, the Congress party has been returned to power with a handsome majority. In Maharashtra particularly where the Congress had suffered a serious defeat in 1957 at the hands of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, a leftist-controlled united front of various opposition parties agitating for the creation of a unilingual Maharashtra, it has considerably recovered its position and raised its strength from 136 in a 264-member assembly to 215 this time.

The Congress which polled only 45 per cent of the total votes polled in 1957 in Maharashtra has secured now nearly 52 per cent. The united opposition front which got 128 (including PSP 32, Peasants and Workers Party 31 and CPI 18) in 1957 has managed to get only 49 seats (PWP 15, PSP 9, CPI 6 and others 19). The PCI leader S. A. Dange failed to retain his Parliamentary seat in Bombay city. The debacle of the leftists in the S.M. Samiti (which consists of CPI, PWP, RCPI etc.) was admittedly due to their failure to take advantage of the militant democratic movement for unilingual Maharashtra to develop class struggle and the illusions some of them entertained about parliamentary forms of struggle.

In terms of the seats won the Congress party has improved its position from 97 seats to 113 in the Gujarat state assembly although the votes polled by it has fallen from 55.92 per cent in 1957 to 49.62 per cent this time. The Swatantra Party has emerged as the main opposition with 26 seats in the 154-member assembly while the PSP has improved its position from four to seven but the CPI has failed to gain any representation in the legislature. Mr. Indulal Yagnik, a peasant leader who led the movement for unilingual Gujarat has once again been returned to Parliament (on the Nutan Gujarat Parishad ticket) defeat-

ing a prominent Congress trade unionist from Ahmedabad city.

One striking feature of the elections is that once again no national opposition to the Congress party has emerged despite the admission even by bourgeois politicians that the Congress is in a state of decay. Says a newspaper commentator: "Exclude Mr. Nehru and the Congress is reduced to an ill assortment of groups warring for power. There is today no party of adequate stature and strength visible as a corrective to the Congress, let alone as an alternative to it. This is not a situation on best calculated to ensure democratic continuity". (*Times of India*, April 5).

This might be an overstatement but it explains the present situation. The bourgeois politicians are indeed apprehensive about the continuity of parliamentary democracy after Nehru. To them the alternative undoubtedly is a military dictatorship, which might be attempted even during the life time of Nehru, unless the revolutionary Marxists are in a position to intervene and lead the country towards a socialist revolution.

If even after the three general elections held under adult franchise the relationship of political forces in this country continue to be confusing, the main cause of it is the CPI which thanks to its Stalinist distortions over the last three decades and the consequent zigzags in its political line has failed to emerge as a revolutionary working class alternative to the bourgeois Congress.

THE LINE OF THE CPI

Thanks to the illusions created by the CPI leadership about the "progressive character" of the Indian bourgeoisie, the Congress leadership has successfully utilised Nehru's personality and his pseudo-socialism to a large extent blunt the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. The reactionary capitalist politicians of the Swatantra and other parties have exploited the CPI support to Nehru (because of the his so-called "neutralist" position in the cold war strategy between the Soviet bureaucracy and the imperialist powers) to depict him as a "secret communist", no doubt, for their own factional reasons. In the absence of a powerful all-India revolutionary party emerging as a real challenge to the Congress the anti-capitalist discontent of the masses finds a distorted expression on the various tendencies represented by regional groups like DMK in Madras, the Peasants and Workers Party in Maharashtra or the Republican Party representing the scheduled caste masses.

The revolutionary Marxist tendency as found in the groups like the RCPI and RSPi are too weak to influence the trends in the left movement on a national scale. But the process of Marxist integration has begun and this must be consolidated. As for the petty bourgeois socialist parties, the PSP and SP, they represent a disintegrating force, unable to rally the masses behind them in a determined struggle against capitalism.

The emergence of the extreme reactionary forces and rout of the left in some states has provoked a big discussion among the ranks of the CPI and the right wing leadership supporting the "progressive bourgeoisie" as represented by Nehru is being openly questioned by the ranks of the party.

The class collaborationist line of the CPI leadership was typically illustrated in the line taken by the party in the contest for a parliamentary seat from Bombay City between Defence Minister Krishna Menon and Acharya Kripalani sponsored by the reactionary combination of the Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party and PSP. The CPI leader, Dange sabotaged the possibility of a left candidate being put up by the leftist controlled S.M. Samiti against Kripalani and Menon as insisted by the PWP, RCPI etc. and forced his

own party and other constituents of the Samiti front to support Menon against Kripalani.

The entire big business press and all the reactionary politicians, backed by the American imperialist lobby, campaigned against Menon on the ground that he was a communist or a crypto-communist (agent of China etc.) The left failed to expose the bourgeois character of Menon's "socialism". Prime Minister Nehru utilised Menon's election campaign to bolster up the Congress prestige in the eyes of the masses. The result was that Menon with his pseudo-leftism, was elected to Parliament from Bombay city by a margin of 145,000 votes over his rival and paradoxically enough all the CPI and other leftist candidates with the solitary exception of one were defeated in the traditional working class constituencies in Bombay city. In U.P. Delhi and other states also the CPI identified itself with the so-called progressive Congressmen.

The poll results have undermined the position of the right-wing leadership of the CPI and the left wing is taking advantage of the new situation in its bid to capture the leadership of the party.

The left wing inside the CP identifies itself with the political line of the Chinese CP in the present Sino-Soviet ideological controversies.

The CPI leadership is sharply divided on important issues raised in the international communist movement. A debate on the 22nd Congress of the CPSU postponed on the eve of the general elections is taking place now.

The task of the revolutionary Marxists in the coming period is to participate in the present debate in the Communist movement to bring about a healthy differentiation between the right and the revolutionary left inside

the CPI. This should of course be coupled with a vigorous movement to consolidate the regroupement of genuine Marxists on the basis of an all-India party.

The outcome of the third general elections is bound to result in a realignment, a broad-based polarisation of class forces although in the ideological field a great deal of confusion prevails. Four major political tendencies are crystallising: The extreme right reaction represented by the fascist Swatantra-Jan Sangh combination. The Congress party trying to consolidate capitalism on the basis of parliamentary democracy, petty-bourgeois reformist socialists (including the PSP, SP and right wing of the CPI) and the revolutionary communists (consisting of the CPI left and other Marxist groups). The future of the Indian masses lies with the revolutionary Marxists and their ability to forge into an all-India party of the working class.

Under the pressure of the right reaction the Congress leadership is moving more to the right as is evidenced by the rightist-loaded central cabinet announced by Nehru after the elections. This has frustrated the hopes entertained by a section of the leftists that Nehru might give a left orientation to his domestic policies. The indications are in fact that under the impact of new mass awakening and growing resistance to the capitalist policies of his Government, Prime Minister Nehru will move further to the right and resort to a more repressive policy in relation to workers and peasants movement. The revolutionary Marxists must accept the challenge of the bourgeois politicians, and frustrate their attempts to take the country along the road of a military dictatorship, by the only effective method known to history, a radical transformation of Indian society by means of a socialist revolution.

“COLONIALS” AND “EUROPEANS”

A review of

Frantz Fanon's book “LES DAMNÉS DE LA TERRE” (1)

by MICHEL PABLO

The Colonial Revolution is a phenomenon which dates practically from the end of the second world war.

Revolutionary Marxism cannot be accused of ignoring until this time the “colonies” and the “colonial problem”.

The writings of Marx and Engels, as much as those of Rosa Luxemburg, of Lenin and of Trotsky are witness of the enormous importance attached to these questions at all times.

But for all these classic writers of Revolutionary Marxism, theoreticians of the proletarian socialist revolution, the main arena of this Revolution — as much from the perspective of time as from the material and cultural basis for socialist reconstruction — was Europe, bastion of the revolutionary proletariat and of advanced industrial capitalism, specifically: France, Germany, Great Britain.

It is really from the experience of the Russian Revolution and of the Third International in the period of Lenin and Trotsky that the idea, or rather the intuition of the “light from the East” begins to penetrate marxist revolutionary thought. That is to say the idea of the possible tendency of the world Socialist Revolution developing from the “periphery” of the colonial and semi-colonial world, towards the “centre”, occupied by the advanced capitalist nations of Europe and North America.

But the practical importance of the European Revolution as an immediate perspective of the World Socialist Revolution remained preponderant until the second world war.

There is then a certain basis for the criticism made by some people at the present time of Marxism, that it had in part “underestimated” or “ignored” the colonial and semi-colonial world and its particular problems.

Undoubtedly perspectives had been dominated too much and over too long a period by the European situation, so that the global picture was somewhat distorted and analysis was insufficiently sharp in relation to more specific problems of the advanced capitalist countries.

The post-war world is essentially quite different from former marxist analysis and understanding.

It is at once a world of three epicentres in constant interaction, no longer a world dominated by a circular motion from the preponderant unilateral action of a center and a periphery, the center determining the periphery; these three epicentres are: the advanced capitalist nations; the workers states; the “Third World” of the semi-colonial and colonial nations.

The first problem which is posed for Marxism is that of an analysis of the economic functioning of this new world; in order to explain more particularly the profound reasons which determine the present economic conjuncture of capitalism and its long term tendencies.

For in spite of the appearance of the new workers states, and in spite of the spectacular advance of the colonial Revolution, the capitalism of the advanced countries has experienced a consolidation and an economic expansion, undeniable and baffling at first sight.

We will return later to this question.

The second problem which is posed to Marxism is that

of reconsidering the revolutionary forces at work in the colonial and semi-colonial world, more particularly of the peasantry.

The third fundamental problem is that of the development of the Revolution and of the construction of Socialism in the “backward” nations.

The fourth problem is that of the relations between the Revolution in the three epicentres of the contemporary world, of the vision, of the global synthesis and comprehension of the World Revolution in its totality.

A book such as “Les Damnés de la Terre” written by Frantz Fanon who knew that he was to die very soon, presents at first sight a standpoint which may shock or disorientate an intellectual and even a European “marxist”.

Frantz Fanon, scientist, psychiatrist, intellectual of colonial origins, who early on joined the Algerian Revolution, identified himself with it, and died honoured as a militant “brother” of the FLN, did not claim to be a Marxist and was certainly not a Marxist.

From this there stems a certain confusion and ambiguity, a weakness in analysis and a weakness in the conclusion of this vivid book, written as it is by a passionate and gifted scientific observer of the colonial revolution.

It remains a work of extreme importance for marxism, a witness of an authentic “colonial” revolution who knew both Europe and its culture and also the “Third World” and its revolution from the inside.

Fanon's work is one of precise diagnosis giving a detailed picture of the colonial revolution, analysed from the inside by a revolutionary intellectual who is both a colonial fighter for freedom and rooted in European culture. Critical and lucid, he is so also in relation to his own revolution and the temptations towards “conciliationism”.

The book is a true example of “revolutionary culture” whose apostle he is, of the only true “national” culture which emerges from the phase of a peoples' struggles for its national and social emancipation.

It is in this spirit that it should be read and meditated upon by marxists of the advanced capitalist nations who necessarily have only a bookish knowledge of the colonial revolution and who are imbued with the “classic” marxist culture and with the revolutionary experience appropriate to these countries. Such an equipment is absolutely necessary but insufficient for the more profound comprehension of the non-European, non-North American realities of the world today.

For revolutionary marxists in general the first two chapters of Fanon's book which deal with “violence” can appear as an “intellectualist” dissertation on a somewhat banal theme. Marxists after all uphold the absolute legitimacy of the revolutionary action of the masses including armed action for emancipation from the yoke of imperialism and capitalism. For it is not only Engels (after Marx) who legitimised “violence” as the “midwife of history” (2) but all the assembly of marxist revolutionaries from Rosa Luxemburg, to Lenin and Trotsky.

What gives a particular poignancy, a particular appositeness to Fanon's plea in favour of “violence” is its con-

(1) Editions F. Maspero - Paris.

F. Maspero, Publisher - Paris.

(2) As Sartre supposed in his preface.

temporary note in relation to the practical reformism which a number of nationalist and almost all the communist parties have adopted in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Fanon marks an accurate and mordant criticism of the arguments used to justify this reformism.

Thus the very important concretisation which Fanon makes of this vague term "violence", with its populist, 19th century overtones, in the "armed struggle of the peasantry" which begins and develops through the whole period of the Revolution in a great number of colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Finally the book excels in the description of the psychological effects of the revolution on the "colonised" who are usually in "permanent tension" with an "entrenched aggressiveness", which is further conditioned or depressed by introverted attitudes. Fanon's analysis of this complicated psychology is memorable.

"At the level of individuals, violence liberates", says Fanon, "demystifies" and "raises the people to the level of the leader".

It rehabilitates the "colonised" individual, cures him of "colonial neurosis", "reintegrates man" as Sartre adds in his preface, proscribing also this unique medicine for his compatriots menaced by Fascism: "to fight or rot in the camps".

Rehabilitated by others than revolutionary Marxists "violence" that is to say the revolutionary action of the masses including armed action is not only an excellent enterprise for the peoples of the "Third World".

For the rest these peoples "instinctively" from their own objective conditions and experiences take the path to "violence", impose it on political parties who have the chance of showing themselves worthy of the confidence which the masses give to them.

This lesson is particularly valuable for the European workers' movement which has experienced for some time the pressure of a relative amelioration of its material condition and of political reformism preached to it by the traditional socialist and communist leaderships.

The example of France at the moment caught in the dilemma of the path to Fascism or the path to socialism is the perfect illustration of ideological disarmament and of the impasse to which the new "peaceful roads to socialism" inexorably lead, faced with a sharp evolution of bourgeois democracy towards Bonapartist dictatorship and Fascism.

It is then especially salutary that the colonial revolutionaries like Fanon, matured by their own experience, rediscover after the Revolutionary Marxist, the collective and individual virtues of revolutionary mass action, including armed action and make it the basis of every authentically revolutionary political party.

The ideological neo-reformism of the European workers' parties who have betrayed the European Revolution and the Colonial Revolution is thus combatted conjointly by the action and by the revolutionary ideology of the forces exterior to the advanced capitalist nations, with whom and from whom will be constituted henceforth the new leadership of the world Socialist Revolution.

REHABILITATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PEASANTRY

Fanon, as we have already said concretises "violence" in the armed struggle of the peasantry, the class which to him is the most deprived, the most exploited and hence the most radical and the most revolutionary, even the only revolutionary class in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

"The peasantry" he writes "is systematically ignored by the propaganda of most of the nationalist parties. Now it is clear that in the colonial countries only the peasantry is revolutionary. It has nothing to lose and everything to gain. The peasant, the déclassé, the starved is the one

who discovers most quickly that violence alone pays". Thus the peasant according to Fanon is the real "damned", the most exploited element in the colonial countries. But at the same time he is the most able, the most ready to "stand up" and begin real revolutionary action, of the only type that is worth while: armed guerilla action.

"The great error, the persistent vice of the majority of the political parties in the underdeveloped regions has been as in the classical schema, to address themselves first of all to the most conscious elements; the proletariat of the towns, the artisans and the functionaries, that is to say to a minute part of the population which hardly represents more than one percent".

Here Fanon affirms that contrary to the case in the advanced countries, the "proletariat is among the most protected stratum of the colonial regime. The embryonic proletariat of the towns is relatively privileged. It represents that fraction of the colonised people, necessary and irreplaceable for the efficient working of the colonial apparatus - tramway conductors, taxi-drivers, miners, dockers, interpreters, hospital staffs etc. These are the elements which constitute the most loyal stratum of the nationalist parties and who from the privileged place that they occupy in the colonial system constitute the 'bourgeois' fraction of the colonised people".

Fanon wishes to say ideologically "bourgeois" fraction, disposed to reforms, to compromises, who murmur "revolution" but hesitate to really begin it. For Fanon is fully conscious of the existence of a real national bourgeoisie, against whom he concentrates his principal barbs as will be seen later on.

The analysis which Fanon makes of the role of the urban proletariat can appear exaggerated to a European Marxist; however with qualifications it "fits" well enough those countries with a weak industrial development.

To make the concrete process of the colonial revolution dependant on the scheme of the Revolution in the advanced countries would lead to a very grave disorientation. For the structures being different, the specific content of the classes and of the castes is different, and hence the equally different dynamic of the Revolution.

The colonial peasantry which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the underdeveloped nations (80-90%) is composed of strata such as agricultural workers, the poor peasants, the detribalised peasants who flow into the towns and camp in the shack towns like a specific lumpen proletariat.

Now these are effectively the layers who in contact with "illegal" revolutionaries expelled from the towns, suspected by their own parties, refugees in the country, meditate, organise and unleash the real revolution: armed guerilla struggle in the country, individual "terrorism" in the cities.

Fanon who has studied closely the Algerian Revolution, an example of the colonial revolution in action, thus arrives at the theory of the Cuban Revolution which Castro has just theoretically formulated, particularly in his discourse-confession of December 1961 and in the second declaration of Havana.

Thus the outbreak of the revolution in a number of countries of colonial and semi-colonial structure can be visualised by the union of a jacobin leadership sui generis, like the July 26 Movement or the Algerian leadership or the Angolan revolutionaries, with the masses impatient enough to be disposed to the direct armed action of the revolutionary peasantry.

Here is effectively the real beginning of the Revolution in the colonial countries which can make up for the cowardice and the treason of the Communist Parties imprisoned in classic "ouvrieriste" schemes applied without discernment to colonial countries and the search for an impossible alliance with a "national bourgeoisie" both "anti-Imperialist" and revolutionary which does not exist.

What is new for Revolutionary Marxism in relation to this experience is this: that we pass from the appreciation of the revolutionary role of the peasantry (3) and the necessity of the workers and peasants alliance (4) to the understanding of the possibility of beginning and carrying through for a whole period, the Revolution in a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries by the armed struggle of the revolutionary peasantry.

On the other hand if a simply jacobin leadership sui generis, that is with an initial ideology, national-revolutionary in type and not yet Marxist is capable by its uniting with the revolutionary peasantry to begin the revolution, to continue it for a whole period and thus reactivate the momentarily demoralised or defeated stratum of the urban proletariat, a proletarian leadership, a revolutionary marxist leadership should do as much or more.

This in summary is on the theoretical plane the new concrete experience of the Cuban and Algerian Revolution in particular, and completes the knowledge on the role of the peasantry drawn from the triumph of the Yugoslav and Chinese Revolution.

TWO DANGERS FACING THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION: "BOURGOUBISM" AND BUREAUCRACY

Rarely has a colonial revolutionary made such an indictment as Fanon against the "national bourgeoisie" that idol of the nationalist parties, allied with, embellished and abetted by the Communist parties.

It is true that Fanon sometimes seems to dream of an "authentic national bourgeoisie", "revolutionary" and "creative" as was the western bourgeoisie in its historical origins when struggling against feudalism and does not understand that in the epoch of Imperialism and of the decline of capitalism, the fact of the presence of the proletariat and of the danger of the Socialist Revolution means that the "national bourgeoisie" can in no way assume its former role as in the days of its struggle against feudalism.

However the clinical description of the present state of the "national bourgeoisie" is exact: "From its beginnings the national bourgeoisie of the colonial countries identifies itself with the end of the western bourgeoisie. It does not lap these stages, it just begins at the end. It is already senile before it has known either petulance, and intrepidity, or the wilfulness of youth or of adolescence".

Economically underdeveloped, anaemic, parasitic, fearful and distrustful of the revolutionary masses of the peasantry in particular, this "national bourgeoisie" only dreams of substituting itself for the economic and political system of colonialism as the exploiter and oppressor of the nationalist masses.

"The colonised bourgeoisie which has achieved power employs its class pugnacity to seize the positions formerly occupied by the foreigners" i.e. administrative and economic posts inherited from the colonial period.

It discovers "its historic mission of serving as an intermediary, the current of transmission for a capitalism engaged in camouflaging itself and which appears today under the mask of neo-colonialism".

Politically it has recourse to the regime of the single monolithic party, "the modern form of the bourgeois dictatorship without a mask, without make-up, without scruple, utterly cynical".

The single party become "more and more an instrument of coercion more and more anti-democratic", helping the bourgeois power to "gag the people" to spy upon the anti-conformist militants and the masses.

"Some naive people belonging to the new bourgeoisie do

not cease to repeat that in an under-developed country the control of affairs by a strong state, that is, a dictatorship, is a necessity. With this perspective the Party is responsible for the surveillance of the masses. The party duplicates the administration and the police and controls the masses not with the object of assuring their real participation in the affairs of the nation but to remind them constantly that the State expects their obedience and discipline... The great mass of the people is seen by the state as a blind force which must be constantly held in check whether by mystification or by the fear inspired by the police forces. The party serves as a barometer, as the source of information. The militant becomes an agent. He takes charge of punitive expeditions into the villages.

"The beginnings of opposition parties are liquidated with baton blows and the throwing of stones. The candidates of the opposition see their houses burnt. The police multiplies its provocations. Under these conditions certainly the party is single and 99.99% of the votes return a government candidate. We must say that in Africa a certain number of governments behave according to this model.

"The party instead of favouring the expression of popular grievances, in place of seeing its mission as one of providing the free circulation of the ideas of the people to the leadership, forms a screen and forbids such freedoms"

Often this "national" party behaves as an "ethnic" party "It acts like a tribe constituted as a party" which organises a "veritable ethnic dictatorship".

It leads "to the return of the most odious and most shameful chauvinism, it leads to "frenzy, to the exarcebated triumph of radicalism", of "tribalist positions" or "regionalist phobias in the interior of the same national reality". Thus the fine dreams of "African unity" or "Pan Arab unity" or "Black unity" from the period of the anti-Imperialist struggle and the struggle for freedom collapse lamentably into these xenophobic passions in relation to neighbouring states and even African fellow citizens.

"The national bourgeoisie shows itself incapable of realising simple national unity", that is the ineluctable conclusion of every "bourgeois" solution of the Colonial Revolution, every bourgeois solution.

Thus it is against this "national bourgeoisie" useless and dangerous at the same time, that "the united effort of the masses organised into a party and the intellectuals highly conscious of their tasks and armed with revolutionary principles must struggle".

"The theoretical question which has been posed for the last half century" writes Fanon, referring in his way to the theory of the permanent revolution, "whether in the underdeveloped nations it is possible to jump the bourgeois phase or not, must be resolved on the plane of revolutionary action and not by a rationalised preamble: the struggle against the bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped nations is far from being a theoretical position. It is not a question of executing the judgement levelled against it by history. It is not a question of combatting the national bourgeoisie in the under developed nations because it risks restraining the global and harmonious development of the nation. It must be opposed because it is useless in every respect, it has no historic mission to fulfill and because it is from birth degenerated, parasitic, useless".

WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?

What solution does Fanon offer?

It is precisely in this sphere that weaknesses and ambiguities appear in the analysis and the comprehension of the global process of the revolution of our time.

Certainly as Sartre has noted in his preface, Fanon is for a Democratic Socialist solution of the Revolution, which guarantees "land and bread" to the peasants and the masses, combats bureaucracy, frees the women and the

(3) Emphasised by Marx and Engels.

(4) Emphasised by Lenin and Trotsky

youth, abolishes the professional army, opposes narrow and reactionary "nationalism", raises the entire "people" to the control of affairs and goes beyond the "Single Party", the instrument in the hands of the government, the means of transmitting the orders of the government".

Fanon believes in a socialist regime, but in one which is the opposite of Russian or Chinese "socialism" (5) based on "human investment" a sort of "forced labour" which determines a bureaucratic and police structure; it must be "entirely turned towards the mass of the people, and based on the principle that man is the most precious good, hence it will develop more quickly and harmoniously, thus rendering impossible that caricature of society where some hold all the economic and political power to the disadvantage of the nation as a whole".

Thus the "Third World" not having to "choose at any price" "between socialism and capitalism as it has been defined by men of different epochs and continents" must look for its own "way to socialism" and its own "humanism".

It can be seen how imprecise, vague, ambiguous is this scheme which confounds involuntarily the socialism of Marx, of Lenin and of Trotsky with its bureaucratic stalinist caricature and in which Fanon outlines his solution which he sees as "original".

The confusion becomes all the greater in the conclusion which summarises in a sense all the criticisms which Fanon has made in the course of his writing of "Europe" and its "culture" en bloc opposed to the "Third World" taken equally en bloc.

"The Third World today faces Europe as a colossus whose aim must be to attempt to resolve the problems which Europe has not known how to solve".

"Thus it is not a question of talking about output, its intensification, about rhythms. Nor is it a question of returning to nature. It is a question very concretely of not being drawn anew into directions which mutilate them, of not imposing on the mind rules which overwhelm and distort it. There is no need under any pretext to dominate, to bully men, to deprive them of individuality, personal life, to break and kill them".

Turning away from Europe, mankind must grow a new skin, develop a new thinking, try to create a new man.

That capitalist and stalinist "Europe" is not an example to be imitated by the "Third World" is understandable and justified.

The "anti-European" sentiments of Fanon reflect powerful currents and ideas which flow across, at the present moment, all the "Third World" and which must be seriously considered and taken account of.

For therein is a form of negative reaction in front of the powerlessness which the European workers movement has shown until now to aid effectively the colonial revolution and to propose its own solution that of the authentic Socialist Revolution which avoids stalinist bureaucratisation.

As long as this powerlessness continues it is almost inevitable that the "Third World" turns away from the necessary connection with the European Revolution and the advanced capitalist nations and in general, succumbs to xenophobic attitudes and frantic nationalism and seeks its own "original" solution.

In these conditions however, this search risks provoking a "Bourgeois" or a stalinist bureaucratic solution, because in this domain the material and cultural level is determining.

It is stupefying to realise with what rapidity within the framework of extreme material and cultural penury which reigns in the "Third World" and particularly in Africa, the

(5) To which Fanon refers implicitly certainly but very clearly.

Revolution becomes bourgeois or bureaucratises itself, just as its victory over Imperialism is finally confined within the frontiers of fragmented states "Balkanised" by the policy of Imperialism, frontiers which have no relation to ethnic and genuine national realities.

Certainly Fanon is aware of the "nationalist" degeneration — or tribalism as it might be called — of the Revolution in Africa in particular, and preaches incessantly the imperious necessity for federalist regroupings of a larger nature aimed at "African Unity".

But even when he emphasises the necessity for a "national culture" which is certainly not the resurrection and artificial maintenance of "traditionalism", but the "utilisation" of the past with the "intention of opening the future, of encouraging action of reviving hope, making a "national culture" which is only blocked in reality by the combat for national existence. Fanon still isolates or opposes this culture" to the discovery and promotion of universalising values".

But "it is in the heart of the "national consciousness" "that there develops" according to Fanon "and flourishes the international consciousness and this double emergence is only in brief the beginning of all culture".

All these formulations however correct they might be in relation to the narrow and reactionary "nationalism" which the "national bourgeoisie" affirm, remain nevertheless confining in relation to the absolute necessity of underlining the indispensable common socialist solution of the problems of the Colonial Revolution and of the revolution in the advanced nations in the closest possible unity and universality of true culture.

Science for example both in nature and in relation to man and technique, the most valuable elements by far of true contemporary culture, is universal, without speaking of the universal tendencies reflected in contemporary architecture, pictorial arts or music.

Fanon remarks that "the most extravagant opulence" in which the "European nations" indulge themselves at the present moment is "literally scandalous because it has been built on the backs of slaves, it is nourished from the blood of slaves, it comes in a direct line from the soil and the sub-soil of this underdeveloped world" and he concludes that "aid to the underdeveloped nations far from constituting a programme from the sisters of charity", "is a debt owed" to the "colonised peoples" by the capitalist powers which in fact they must pay.

Nevertheless he realises that this economic and technical cooperation necessary as it is between the advanced capitalist nations and the "Third World" will not be achieved with "the cooperation and the good will of the European governments" but "with the decisive aid of the European masses" that is to say with the European workers movement and the European Revolution.

But this point of a fundamental interest for the rapid healthy harmonious development of the colonial revolution is almost forgotten, left unexploited, even denied in the argument and conclusion of the work.

There is naturally a lot to say on the summary manner in which Fanon conceives the reasons for the present "opulence" of Europe and the economic relations which prevail between the advanced capitalist nations and the "Third World".

Let us content ourselves with the following observations:

If the exploitation of the colonies has considerably contributed to the historic process of primitive capitalist accumulation to the expansion and maintenance of capitalism, the exploitation of the metropolitan proletariat and of the peasantry has contributed no less.

To attribute the present "opulence" of capitalism exclusively to the exploitation of the "Third World" is indefensible from the scientific non-sentimental point of view.

In order to explain scientifically the present economic

situation of capitalism, the dialectical interaction of a number of factors has to be considered, among which the most important are: the revolutionary technological progress, the process of industrialisation of the "Third World" and the structure of international trade, especially that prevailing between the "advanced" capitalist nations and the "Third World".

Already based on a well developed economic, technical and cultural structure, post-war capitalism has been enabled to benefit from the "new industrial revolution", a process which has augmented without ceasing the productivity of work and determined the spiral process of an increase at once, of profits, of salaries, and the mass of accumulated capital on the basis of an increased world demand, assisted particularly by the increased penetration of capitalist merchant and industrial capital throughout a whole series of regions (including metropolitan areas) and in areas of peasant economy.

The aspect of "colonial exploitation" prevails at the present moment in the trade between the advanced capitalist nations and the "Third World", a trade which is not equal but which is conducted to the profit of the industrial nations, principally because of the "price scissors" in industrial and agricultural articles whereby the industrial countries "sell dear" their manufactured products and "buy cheap" primary commodities and agricultural products.

But it is a question here of a situation of different economic level, on which can only be fundamentally altered by a rapid industrialisation of the "Third World" which would then change the structure of present trading.

In order that this absolutely necessary industrialisation, vital to abolish effectively the present condition of the "Third World" is not retarded or is not made in a stalinist

manner which sacrifices "man" and "peasant man" in particular for a whole generation, the effective alliance between the Colonial Revolution and the European and North American Revolution is absolutely indispensable.

This is the viewpoint which the authentic revolutionaries equipped with a global vision of the world revolution, whether they are of the "colonial" or the "European" nations must constantly assert in their respective parties, so that the actual existing separation — disastrous in its consequences — between the Colonial Revolution and the European Revolution is not erected into a theory of "messianism", European, or "colonial".

The struggle of the "damnés de la Terre" is common to the colonial and European workers and peasants and their salvation is similarly common.

Fanon wrote his book rather as a political testament aimed above all at forestalling a "bourgeois" or bureaucratic finale for the Algerian Revolution which he had passionately supported and served. For this revolution began and continued as the effort of a whole people aspiring to a complete transformation, of life for "land" for "bread" and "for the liberty and dignity of man".

Fanon died before this Permanent Revolution had entered into its more particularly social phase which is beginning now.

No doubt the authentic Algerian revolutionaries who will regroup themselves on the platform of revolutionary and democratic socialism which Fanon has outlined — Fanon being until now the most accomplished and the most radical of the FLN — will refer to him and his book in order to honour fully the essential message, which he transmitted to them: not betray the Revolution, not to stop half way, not to compromise it in the "association" with Imperialism, but to continue it, deepen it, complete it.

COMMUNIQUE

The International Executive Committee and the International Secretariat of the Fourth International state that the information published in some Latin American newspapers concerning a so-called "extraordinary conference of the Fourth International" which « designated a new International Executive Committee and International Secretariat » is completely false. The last Congress of the Fourth International took place in January, 1961. A new Congress is now being prepared.

The International Executive Committee and the International Secretariat also state that the so-called Latin American Bureau of the Fourth International does not at all represent the Fourth International, nor its political line; and that the positions expressed by the Argentine newspaper, "Voz Proletaria", especially on the question of nuclear war and the Second Declaration of Havana, do not correspond to those of the Fourth International.

India

NEW LEFT MAJORITY IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The left wing led by B.T. Ranadive has succeeded in establishing a majority in the central policy making body, the Secretariat, of the Communist Party of India and the "official" right wing has been reduced to a minority, at the recent meeting of the party's 110-member National Council held at Delhi in April 1962. In the new nine-member Secretariat the leftists have a majority of five with the "left centrist" general secretary, E.M.S. Namboodiripad of Kerala supporting them. Namboodiripad fills the post which was held by the "right centrist", Ajoy Ghosh till his untimely death early this year. The left wing consists of P. Sundaraya of Andhra, Hariskishan Singh Surjeet of Punjab, Jyoti Basu and Bhupesh Gupta of West Bengal.

The right wing of course has had the satisfaction of securing an important amendment in the party constitution and getting their nominee, S.A. Dange, elected as the first chairman of the CPI ostensibly as a check on the militant activities of the left wing.

But it is doubtful if the rightists can contain the leftists within a framework of a moderate line of supporting the bourgeois Nehru Government. Already a serious fractional struggle for the control of the provincial party units has been initiated by the two wings. In fact there is every indication of the rift developing to a breaking point. The right wing in the CPI has also begun a slanderous campaign against the Chinese CP in its attempt to discredit the left wing.

The right wing in the Secretariat consists of M.N. Govindan Nair, Namboodiripad's rival in Kerala, Z.A. Ahmed of Uttar Pradesh and Yogendra Sharma of Bihar in addition to Dange. The strength of the Central Executive has been raised from 25 to 30 to make room for the new members of the Secretariat and a few others — Gangadhar Adhikari of Bombay, Y.K. Vyas of Rajasthan and Ajtar Singh Malhotra of Punjab. In the Central Executive the rightists claim a small majority.

An earlier attempt to elect Dange as the party's general secretary was resisted by the left wing which, however agreed to an amendment of the party constitution as a matter of compromise. B.T. Ranadive, the theoretician the left wing and P.C. Joshi, the theoretician of the right wing have however, been dropped from the party's two policy-making bodies as a temporary truce.

How serious is the internal rift in the CPI? Bourgeois journalists have tried to minimise its significance by suggesting that it is just a make-believe to mislead non-communist public opinion. Obviously the internal conflicts in the CPI are not a make-believe. The differences dividing the two wings are so deeply rooted that they could not be resolved at the meeting of the National Council which lasted for 10 days.

The National Council in fact adopted several inconsequential resolutions on Algeria, rising prices etc. It also issued a call for the creation of a "democratic front" of all progressive forces including "democratic Congressmen" to fight the forces of "communal and rightist reaction" in the spirit of the Vijayawada thesis of the CPI.

But it avoided a decision on the crucial issues which are the main causes of the present rift. No post-mortem

report on the third general elections, explaining the electoral debacle of the CPI in some states was adopted. It has also scrupulously avoided evaluation of the controversial decisions of the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party regarding "destalinisation".

The new Secretariat has been authorised to draft suitable resolutions on these subjects for discussion at the next meeting of the National Council scheduled to meet in August. This meant virtually shelving the issues.

A debate on these questions would have brought to the open the differences on the strategy and tactics to be pursued by the Party in the coming period. The left wing has demanded a redefinition of the Party's attitude to the Congress Government headed by Nehru. There is also a controversy in the Party about the characterisation of the Indian revolution (whether it is still bourgeois democratic or socialist).

The right wing still affirms its faith in the parliamentary road to socialism (as embodied in the Amritsar thesis of the CPI) while the left wing stresses the need for irreconcilable class struggle against the bourgeois state.

The Sino-Soviet ideological polemics have no doubt had an impact on the ranks and the leadership of the CPI. Since the CPI was built up during the Stalin era, its leadership is sharply divided on the process of destalinisation set in motion in the Soviet Union. The CPI press has published in the recent months various reports on the 22nd Congress — including the reports made by Togliatti, Gomulka and Thorez. The party weekly "New Age" also recently published the full speech of the Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, attacking the old Cuban Stalinists such as Escalante.

There is a great deal of confusion among the party as even among the leaders on this question. While the right wing uncritically supports the Khrushchev line the left wing is critical about the methods adopted by Khrushchev in his struggle against his political opponents in the CPSU. The CPI is also divided on the India-China border dispute. But the attitude on the border dispute is in fact related to the differences the two wings maintain on the characterisation of the Nehru regime. The right led by Dange betrays a chauvinist degeneration in their support of New Delhi, and in its condemnation of the Chinese action as "aggression". The right argues that the CPI should support Nehru because of his policy of neutralism which fits into the Kremlin cold war strategy against the Western imperialists. The left wing maintains that the Nehru Government is exploiting the border dispute for the political objective of fighting Communism internally.

The CPI dominated by the right wing today characterises the Nehru Government as a "regime of the progressive bourgeoisie" fighting against "feudalism and remnants of imperialism". In pursuance of its "lesser of the two evils" theory it is also pledged to support the "progressive Congressmen" as represented by Menon, Malaviya, Nanda etc. as against "reactionary Congressmen" like Morarji Desai, S.K. Patil etc. and the "progressive" Congress as against the reactionary Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh etc.

The right wing still upholds the slogan of parliamentary

roads to socialism in India, and perpetuates the illusion that so long there is "parliamentary democracy" in India, there is the possibility of the working class seizing power by constitutional means. Hence its emphasis on electoral alliances with various parties in the provinces.

As against this, the leftist view is that the Nehru Government is "bourgeois" and therefore basically allied to world imperialism. Although the left-wing suffer from certain sectarian limitations it adopts a basically healthy class struggle approach. It rejects the parliamentary road

to socialism and concentrates its fire on the right wing for creating "illusions" around the personality of Nehru as the only "saviour of democracy" in India.

During the post-mortem discussions on the third general elections these differences inside the CPI have been sharply posed in various states. The left wing has accused the right of being the "liquidationists" of the party because of its opportunist electoral alliance with various opposition groups (like the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in Maharashtra etc.).

Great Britain

THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND THE COMMON MARKET

Herewith the text of a resolution passed at the Young Socialist annual conference.

This Conference views with dismay the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party's lack of a policy independent of the capitalist class in relation to European unity. Conference declares that the present attempts to unify Europe, i.e., economic unification accomplished from above through agreements by capitalist governments cannot succeed and are designed for the benefit of the monopolists and the financiers of Europe and will create a reactionary political block.

Conference recognising the historic and organic necessity of European unity declares that it can only be achieved on the basis of a Socialist economy. It therefore calls upon the Labour Party of Britain and Europe to take the lead

in organising the working class in the struggle for a Socialist united Europe. As a first step to this, convening a general Congress of European Labour into which should be invited all the sections of the Labour Movement.

It believes that only such a policy can bring about a real unity, permit the planning of resources and industries, and the aid of underdeveloped countries, and lay the foundations of peace and lasting prosperity. Conference restates the fundamental Socialist belief that economic crises and war are an inherent part of the capitalist mode of production.

Conference is against the policies of declining world capitalism and the Common Market is one of these and Conference is for an independent working class programme of International Socialism.

Australia

THE CONFERENCE OF THE AUSTRALIAN SECTION

The Australian Section of the Fourth International held a National Conference on the 22nd and 23rd of April, 1962. Reports were delivered on the political situation, the Australian economy, the crisis of stalinism, the colonial revolution and the organisational tasks of the section. We publish some extracts from the colonial resolution.

We must fight vigorously all aspects of Australia's involvement in the imperialist military alliance, we must fight every attempt to send Australian troops out of Australia to be involved in any of imperialism's counter-revolutionary wars in Asia. In this, we should struggle to have the principle of the historic ALP Conference's victory on "No Troops For Malaya" (Hobart) extended to cover Vietnam, Laos and all Asia.

We must expose all aspects of Australian capitalism's role as a colonial power, particularly in New Guinea, and to a lesser extent, Fiji. Throughout the South Pacific, the colonial revolution is on the march. Radically inclined independence movements are taking shape quite spectacularly in Fiji, and in the French Dependencies of Tahiti and New Caledonia (we have examined these from time to time in "International"). Due to the involvement of Australian capital in those colonies, and their geographical location relative to Australia, Australia will inevitably become more and more involved in their capitalist "defence". We must resolutely espouse the principle of self-determination for those territories, and fight for the Australian labor movement to give the maximum solidarity and assistance to the emerging independence and labor movements in these areas.

In New Guinea, Australia's "Congo", the signs of the headlong development of the nascent native independence

movement have been multiplying for years. The first stages of this process of developing native political awareness are, of course, the movements maligned by the imperialists as "cargo cults", which have been universal throughout the South Pacific area for many years and which, in many cases, develop into embryonic nationalist political formations. (This process has been studied by the British Marxist anthropologist, Peter Worsley, in his fine analysis of the cargo cults, "The Trumpet Shall Sound").

The next stage, already developing in many areas, is in the quite politically advanced nature of such ventures as the independent-minded natives co-operatives which Brian Cooper was framed for assisting, and the recent spectacular Buka tax resistance movement whose leader was so sophisticated that the panicky Australian bourgeois press dubbed him a "native Castro".

The Australian Government has shown an awareness of these developments, and is trying to head them off with a two-pronged campaign, one prong being brutal repression against all authentically nationalist leaders, such as the Buka Islanders and their sympathisers, such as Brian Cooper; the other prong being the attempt to create an "Uncle Tom" class, an "elite" among the natives, tied to imperialism.

We must devote great attention to the developing struggle in New Guinea, the colonial freedom struggle in which the Australian labor movement is most intimately involved. We must demand the right of Australian unions to assist in the formation of genuine unions in New Guinea, in opposition to the Government's tame-cat unions plan. We must campaign against every incident of Government repression of authentic native leaders and movements. We must raise the slogan and campaign for genuine self-determination for Australian New Guinea now.