

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of peace and socialism



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of Lenin's "April Theses"**

**The social responsibility of the intellectual
under capitalism**

—W. Hollitscher

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1917

1967



Fifty years ago, on April 4 (17), 1917,
speaking in the Taurian Palace, Petrograd,
Lenin presented his 'April Theses'

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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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The world-historic significance of Lenin's April Theses

IN APRIL 1917 Lenin submitted his famous theses on the tasks of the proletariat and its vanguard in the revolution envisaging the growth of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, tasks which the proletariat and all other sections of the working people of Russia carried through to victory in October.

The 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution highlights the importance of the lessons of this epochal event in human history. Bourgeois theorists have long argued that the October Revolution was an isolated event, resulting from the concurrence of unique and fortuitous circumstances. This belittles its importance for the subsequent stages of the liberation struggle of the peoples. On the other hand, a dogmatic approach to the application of its experience boils down to demanding an exact, or almost exact, repetition of the same pattern in the new historical conditions. Both viewpoints make any serious consideration of the lessons of the October Revolution virtually impossible. The important thing in our view is to see how universal laws actually operate in concrete, specific conditions.

In his April Theses Lenin, basing himself on a thorough examination of the situation in Russia in 1917, gave a profound analysis of the main objectively-conditioned laws governing the revolutionary process, of the essential aspects of revolutionary struggle which are not only of local—in respect of time and place—but of universal significance.

It follows from the Theses that the universal laws of history manifest themselves differently in different countries, in different

revolutions and even at different stages of one and the same revolution, and that the key to victory is conformity of political plans of struggle to the changing historical situation. And this conformity can be ensured only by taking account of the alignment of class forces at every stage of the movement and the interplay of these forces and the emerging political institutions, by correctly assessing the interaction of objective and subjective factors and properly correlating the immediate tasks and ultimate aims of the struggle.

On the whole, the April Theses provide us with a methodology of theoretical, class-political and practical organizational preparation of the revolution. Hence their undiminishing international significance.

Let us dwell on some of Lenin's propositions which are of methodological importance for revolutionary activity in the present-day conditions as well.

I.

In all circumstances, Lenin's approach to the elaboration of the plans of class struggle, to charting the way to victory, is of fundamental importance from the standpoint of successful guidance of the revolution. Conformity of theoretical programs, political slogans, and forms and methods of revolutionary action not only to the conditions of the given country, but also to the conditions of the given revolution and even of the given phase of the revolution, to the level of political consciousness and organization of the masses—this is the cornerstone of the art of revolution. It was this Marxist precept that deter-

mined the character of the activities of the Russian Communists.

As we know, prior to the February Revolution Lenin and his colleagues held that the immediate tasks of the working-class party in Russia were to turn the imperialist war into civil war, to overthrow the monarchy, to accomplish the bourgeois-democratic revolution and carry it to completion, i.e., to the establishment of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. These were the issues at stake in the democratic revolution.

The February Revolution realized these slogans, but with a number of "highly important modifications." The dual power that emerged signified the parallel existence of two dictatorships—that of the bourgeoisie as represented by the Provisional Government and the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry as represented by the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

Revolutionary leaders, or those who called themselves such, offered highly diverse appraisals of the contemporary situation and a variety of recipes for carrying out the immediate and long-range tasks facing the people of the country.

The Mensheviks, invoking what they held were immutable objective laws of history, insisted on the need for a long period of maturing of bourgeois relations in Russia. A minority of the Communists considered that the bourgeois-democratic revolution had not been completed and that Russia was not ripe for the socialist revolution, and that therefore the struggle should be carried on only around the democratic slogans of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution and establishing the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Lenin pointed to the profound fallacy of these viewpoints, to their deep-seated methodological defect—they did not reflect the essence of the socio-political processes under way in the country, the new alignment and correlation of class forces; they were totally at variance with reality.

Examining the situation in Russia following the February Revolution, Lenin noted first and foremost such phenomena in political and social life as the transfer of power to the bourgeoisie (the Provisional Government) and the existence of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which embodied the idea of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Consequently, as regards governmental power, both in the strictly theoretical sense and in the practical political respect, the bourgeois and

even the bourgeois-democratic revolution had been completed, although many of its tasks, the agrarian problem in the first place, had still to be accomplished.

The old formulas had to be supplemented and corrected, Lenin wrote, for although they proved to be valid in general their concrete realization did not proceed as had been anticipated. "The Bolshevik slogans and ideas on the whole have been confirmed by history; but concretely things have worked out differently; they are more original, more peculiar, more variegated than anyone could have expected," he said. "To ignore or overlook this fact would mean taking after those 'old Bolsheviks' who more than once have played so regrettable a role in the history of our Party by reiterating formulas senselessly learned by rote instead of studying the specific features of the new and living reality."

Thus, Lenin, who had once put forward the idea of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry as the culmination of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, now, on the basis of a scientific analysis of the alignment of class forces, found the slogan to be obsolete, no longer in step with the times. Despite the vociferous protests of the Mensheviks and the resistance of some leading functionaries of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin suggested withdrawing the old slogan, advanced a new plan of action envisaging the development of the bourgeois-democratic into the socialist revolution, and defined the main conditions for realizing the plan.

The methodological significance of the April Theses consists precisely in this scientifically substantiated flexibility characteristic of Marxism-Leninism in the matter of going over from one slogan to another, a flexibility which rules out mechanical application of old tenets and patterns and is based on creative analysis of the reality. It is a Marxist-Leninist precept that the content and form of the movement under all circumstances are determined by the objective reality. Hence, one of the most important guarantees of victory is the creative development of Marxist theory in accordance with the constantly changing situation. History has time and again confirmed the Marxist-Leninist thesis that he who clings to old patterns and formulas and mechanically applies them to new situations damages the revolution no less than he who, on the pretext of taking account of new conditions, renounces the basic principles of scientific communism which have been tested in the crucible of life and in the class struggle.

The Party's line at all stages of preparing and carrying out the October Revolution, the

bold turns in policy in the period of the New Economic Policy, orientation on ensuring the victory of socialism and building the material and technological foundations of communism in the USSR are all striking examples of the Leninist style of the revolutionary activity of the Soviet Communists.

This Leninist style is in evidence in many decisions of the world Communist movement, for instance those of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern which unhesitatingly renounced old formulas and evolved a new concept of revolutionary activity conforming to the changed conditions.

The spirit of Lenin's April Theses found expression in the theory and practice of the victorious people's democratic revolutions in Europe and Asia, all of which had their specific features as regards alignment of class forces, forms and methods of struggle, and relationships between political parties.

In the Americas this spirit found embodiment in the Cuban revolution which blazed its own trail to the winning of power and the consistent implementation of democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist changes. In some of the Latin American countries, as developments in recent years have shown, both the need and the possibility of finding a revolutionary way out of the crisis can be sensed. In view of this the persistent search conducted by the Latin American Communists and other revolutionaries for their own variant of the April Theses—a search involving a struggle against stereotyped patterns of all kinds—is now of greater importance than ever.

The spirit of creative innovation is clearly seen in the concept of the national-democratic revolution, the non-capitalist way of development. In the present conditions, this concept best meets social progress in the countries which were formerly oppressed by imperialism. But within the overall framework of the concept we find a great variety of ways of resolving the problems in keeping with the concrete conditions of the countries concerned.

Experience shows that in our epoch of rapid change on all continents and in all spheres of human activity it is more necessary than ever to follow Lenin's example and free the liberation movement from dogma, from trends which do not correspond to the new conditions and requirements, from propositions which were correct in the past (for the movement as a whole or for a particular country) but not valid today, firmly abiding by Marxist-Leninist principles and not clinging to this or that letter while burying in oblivion the spirit of scientific Communism.

II.

Lenin drew his conclusions regarding the ways of development of the revolution from a study of all aspects of the concrete realities of the Russia of 1917. He analyzed, on the one hand, the alignment and correlation of class forces and, on the other, the prospects of the development and consolidation of the political forms and institutions that had come into being in the course of the struggle — above all the Soviets, the product of the activity of the masses. This approach enabled Lenin to draw a number of important theoretical conclusions which constituted the basis of the political activity of the Communists and greatly contributed to the victorious advance of the revolution.

The Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary majority in the Soviets, which wanted to put the brake on the revolution, adopted a nihilistic attitude to the Soviets, pursuing a policy of full support for the Provisional Government, a policy of depriving the Soviets of their independent role in the revolutionary process.

Lenin outlined the revolutionary perspective of developing and utilizing the new political form born of life and struggle. He pointed out that the Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries "are dragging the revolution back, away from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies towards the undivided sway of the bourgeoisie, towards the usual bourgeois parliamentary republic."

To this political line Lenin counterposed the general line of the Bolsheviks: "We must ably, carefully, clear the people's minds and lead the proletariat and poor peasantry forward, away from 'dual power' towards the full power of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies and this is the commune in Marx's sense, in the sense of the experience of 1871. . . . The class-conscious workers stand for the undivided power of the Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Laborers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies—for undivided power made possible not by adventurist acts, but by clarifying proletarian minds, by emancipating them from the influence of the bourgeoisie." Thus there became apparent two lines of approach to the problems of class struggle.

The key issue was that of the role of the popular political institutions that emerged in the course of the revolution, of their utilization. Replying to those who considered that the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry had to be established first, Lenin wrote that this formula "envisages only a relation of classes, and not a concrete political institution implementing

this relation, this cooperation." This point is, in our opinion, of great methodological importance. It can be said that the formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, envisages only a relation of classes and not concrete political institutions which implement this relationship in the given historical conditions.

While engaging in this polemic concerning the role of the Soviets and pointing to the real prospect of the revolution developing into its socialist stage, Lenin came out with equal vigor against those who demanded a quicker pace, who displayed undue haste, urged prodding on the revolution, skipping necessary phases, and who advanced the slogan of the immediate overthrow of the bourgeois Provisional Government.

In making his analysis he again displayed with remarkable force an historical approach not only to drawing up general plans of the revolution, but also to determining the essence of concrete phases of the struggle.

Here, too, Lenin not only hit hard at the Right-wing capitulators but dampened the zeal of the hotheads, some of them Left adventurers pure and simple, who wanted "to hot up," to accelerate the revolution.

Lenin asked: ". . . why our comrades, too, make so many mistakes when putting the question 'simply': Should the Provisional Government be overthrown immediately?

"My answer is: (1) it should be overthrown, for it is an oligarchic, bourgeois and not a people's government, and is *unable* to provide peace, bread, or full freedom; (2) it cannot be overthrown just now, for it is being kept in power by a direct and indirect, a formal and actual *agreement* with the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and primarily with the chief Soviet, the Petrograd Soviet; (3) generally, it cannot be 'overthrown' in the ordinary way, for it rests on the '*support*' given to the bourgeoisie by the second government—the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and that government is the only possible revolutionary government, which directly expresses the mind and will of the majority of the workers and peasants. Humanity has not yet evolved and we do not know as yet a type of government superior to and better than the Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Laborers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies."

Lenin substantiated the struggle against the extremist trend with profound theoretical arguments. Above all he stressed the vital need to win the majority of the population to the side of the class-conscious workers.

"To become a power the class-conscious workers must win the majority to their side," he said. "As long as no violence is used

against the people there is no other road to power. We are not Blanquists, we do not stand for the seizure of power by a minority. We are Marxists, we stand for proletarian class struggle against petty-bourgeois intoxication, against chauvinism-defensism, phrasemongering and dependence on the bourgeoisie."

This was the underlying premise of another important aspect of the struggle for power. Lenin advanced the idea of winning the majority in the Soviets as the only way to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie in the existing conditions.

"In my theses," he wrote, "I absolutely ensured myself against skipping over the peasant movement, which has not outlived itself, or the petty-bourgeois movement in general, against any *playing* at 'seizure of power' by a workers' government, against any kind of Blanquist adventurism; for I pointedly referred to the experiences of the Paris Commune. And this experience, as we know, and as Marx proved at length in 1871 and Engels in 1891, absolutely excludes Blanquism, absolutely ensures the direct, immediate and unquestionable rule of the *majority* and the activity of the masses only to the extent that the majority itself acts *consciously*. Continuing this idea, Lenin wrote: "Blanquism means the seizure of power by a minority, whereas the Soviets are *admittedly* the direct and immediate organization of the *majority* of the people. Work confined to a struggle for influence within these Soviets cannot, simply *cannot*, stray into the swamp of Blanquism."

Such was Lenin's new approach to leadership of the revolution, which took into consideration not only the class balance, but also the presence of political institutions and forms extremely important for the transition from the rule of the bourgeoisie to the rule of the proletariat.

To win power Lenin stressed, the working class must have strong positions in the political life of society, expressed and consolidated in corresponding political institutions. Only when it has won such positions can the working class reach out for state power. If only the class alignments are taken into consideration, if the political institutions capable of bringing the proletariat nearer to the seizure of power are lost sight of, seizure of power will become an utopia, a matter of wishful thinking. At the same time Lenin took a broad view of the concept of the Soviets. When, for instance, Hands-off-Soviet-Russia Committees sprang up in Britain, Lenin said that they were true Soviets—a remark that showed that he did not regard any one form as the only admissible one.

III.

The new Leninist approach to analysis of the conditions and factors of the struggle for power soon won international recognition and was adopted by the world Communist movement.

Let us cite the example of the Italian Communists. In 1919 Gramsci wrote that the Bolsheviks excelled in politics, were superb political leaders, precisely because they had succeeded in fusing scientific theory with the collective creative effort of the masses, and had for the first time in history translated the concept of the proletarian state into reality. "A revolution is a genuine revolution and not bombastic, hollow, demagogic rhetoric only when it is embodied in a definite type of state, when it becomes an organized system of power."

Drawing on the experience of the Soviets in Russia, Gramsci outlined the perspectives of using political institutions to establish a proletarian state in Italy. In the Italian scene, he pointed out, working collectives of industrial enterprises with their "international committees," the Socialist primary cells, and the peasant communes were the centers of independent activity of the working people. The factory committees were democratic bodies of labor. Today they curbed the despotism of the capitalists and tomorrow, when they had developed and had assumed new functions, they could become organs of proletarian power. Gramsci spoke of the pressing need to set up broad representative bodies under the slogan "All power in the enterprises to the factory committees," which he linked with the slogan "All power in the state to Councils of Workers and Peasants."

The class struggle in the European countries where the masses triumphed and established socialist states offered striking instances of the creative approach to political institutions. The problem of political positions that would enable the working people to take power into their hands was a crucial issue on the correct solution of which the success of the people's democratic revolution depended. These positions were political institutions which developed into strongpoints of the revolution and in some cases embryonic forms of the new state power. In one form or another they reflected the balance of social forces and the alliance of workers and peasants, and other groups of the population.

Today the need for the working people to hold strong positions in the political life of their nations, formalized in political institutions, is an object of lively debate in the world Communist movement, and the answers vary

depending on the conditions. Some parties hold that given definite conditions the working people, basing themselves on broad democratic organizations and waging mass struggles, can make use of all the democratically elected representative bodies from the local authorities to parliament to uphold their interests.

Other parties believe that the new organizations springing up under capitalism as a result of attempts to introduce programming and planning offer new opportunities to the working class, which by penetrating into these organizations will strengthen its influence on the political life of the country.

Mention is made also of other forms testifying to the growing role of the working class in modern capitalist society (various types of factory committees, the movement for co-management in industry, and so on).

In countries where history has posed the problem of the working people seizing power by force of arms, the Communists give considerable attention to creating political positions for the working people that would enable them to launch the final and decisive battle against the tyranny of the exploiters.

Whatever the various views on this matter, and whatever the discussions inside or between the parties, it is clear that the question of political institutions and the political positions of the people in their struggle to win power and to build a democratic, just society remains a cardinal issue of the Communist movement today. And Lenin's methodology of posing and dealing with this question remains the lodestar in the search for new forms hastening the achievement of the goal.

IV.

The socio-economic program of the revolution advanced in the April Theses likewise has basically new methodological aspects. It contains a profoundly dialectical substantiation of the inter-connection and inter-penetration of democratic and socialist measures.

In the situation existing in Russia this inter-connection was extremely complex. The socialist trend gradually asserted itself. But the democratic aims so vital to the people — peace, bread, land, etc. — had not been achieved. Though it called itself a democratic government, the bourgeois Provisional Government was incapable of meeting these demands. It could not do so because of its class nature and its class associations, both internal and external, and because of the objective logic of the class alignments in Russia.

On the other hand, the imperialist war had plunged the entire economic life into a severe

crisis, a crisis aggravated to the extreme by the sabotage practised by the bourgeoisie. The country was on the brink of economic disaster. This made it imperative to take anti-capitalist measures. In the meantime the dogmatists insisted that the revolution was still a bourgeois revolution, and that hence socialist experiments were ruled out. Lenin described this as a bourgeois argument, inasmuch as rejection of "socialist experiments" was tantamount to rejecting the revolution in general. Lenin advanced a dialectical solution of the problem. There could of course be no question of artificial "socialist experiments." Instead he elaborated a plan for developing, deepening and broadening the revolution with a view to convincing the masses of the need for socialist measures in the process of resolving democratic tasks, to awakening them to the fact that their vital needs could be met only through struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

Peace, of course, was a democratic demand, but it could not be won without a break with the "basis of bourgeois relations," the overthrow of the bourgeois government, the transfer of power to the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants, the classes which objectively had no interest whatever in a continued war. "The issue of the war," Lenin pointed out, "objectively poses itself only in revolutionary terms." And: "Without socialism there is no salvation for mankind from war, hunger, and the death of more millions upon millions of people."

As for the democratic task of combating economic dislocation Lenin stressed that it too had to be resolved by revolutionary anti-capitalist measures, for without stamping out sabotage by the bourgeoisie millions would have been doomed to death from hunger.

Again and again Lenin called attention to the economic soundness of these measures and to their immediate acceptability to the bulk of the population. At the same time, he noted that such measures, which though not yet socialist were no longer either bourgeois or "small-proprietor," were "bound to enhance the importance, role, and influence with regard to the entire population . . . of the urban workers, the vanguard of the proletariat and the semi-proletarians in towns and countryside."

"In their totality and their development," Lenin stressed, "these steps would be a *transition to socialism*, which cannot be achieved in Russia directly and immediately, without transitional measures, but is perfectly attainable and urgently necessary as a result of this kind of transitional measures."

Lenin insisted on proceeding prudently and

deliberately but firmly and immediately to carry out at local level this program of socio-economic changes. He pointed to the intricate, many-sided connection between such changes and the winning of power by the working class, the development of a new type of democracy. To carry out these measures in full, it was necessary that power should pass fully to the Soviets, for only the Soviets, only genuinely popular, democratic organizations were equal to such a program. At the same time every specific, practical measure taken by the Soviets locally (organizing production, obtaining grain, and so on) meant taking a step towards their undivided power.

V.

In elaborating his plan of leadership of the revolution, Lenin not only clearly defined the perspectives, possibilities and forms of the conquest of power by the people, but also equipped the Communists with a method of resolving such problems as the relation between the ultimate aims and the current tasks at successive stages of the struggle, the stage-by-stage development of the revolution and the sequence of revolutionary measures, and the inter-relation of objective conditions and subjective factors. In dealing with these problems Lenin attached great importance to the role of democracy in releasing the revolutionary energy of the masses.

The specific situation which prevailed in Russia at the time. Lenin wrote, demanded of the Communists ability to adapt themselves to the special conditions of Party work among unprecedentedly large masses of proletarians who had just awakened to political life. He admitted the possibility in those conditions of a Soviet government being formed in which the Communists would make up a weak minority. In that case "our task is, as long as this government yields to the influence of the bourgeoisie, to present a patient, systematic, and persistent explanation of the errors of their tactics, an explanation especially adapted to the practical needs of the masses."

These recommendations of Lenin's completely refute the slanderous allegation that the socialist revolution is a conspiracy against democracy. The overall lesson of the April Theses is that it is necessary not only to strive to win over the masses, but also to cooperate with all democratic forces. This cooperation, needless to say, implies criticism of the tactics of conciliatory, petty-bourgeois forces.

However, the situation in Russia was such that the cooperation of the forces and parties in the anti-capitalist front could not material-

ize, although two parties (the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries) entered the first Soviet government.

The objective process of the growing cohesion of all the working people, which is the social basis of cooperation with non-Communist anti-capitalist forces, is the universal tendency in the struggle for socialism. In the light of this thesis the unique features of the state form of socialist society in Russia—the Soviets in which only one party is represented—organically fuse with their universal aspect as political organizations of all working people. For a long time they were considered the best form of organization of the working people on an international scale as well.

Subsequent socialist revolutions brought with them new forms of democratic organization. As for the idea of building a broad democratic front under capitalism, it found deeper and broader embodiment in the strategy and tactics of the Popular Front. Today it is being realized in the creation of broad anti-monopoly anti-imperialist alliances, national fronts, and so on.

Lenin's methodology of the theory and practice of leading the revolution logically underscores the role of the party as a powerful catalyst of revolutionary processes. Only the vanguard of the working class—a vanguard armed with a scientific theory—can fathom the complexities of events, discern the alignment of classes and their movement, single out the main tasks and the secondary ones, suggest to the masses the order in which these tasks should be tackled, ensure steadfast progress in the struggle, eschewing both trailing behind events typical of the Right opportun-

ists and the reckless excesses of the extremists, and organize and unite the revolutionary masses.

Historically and theoretically, the April Theses were at the sources of the present-day world Communist movement. In them Lenin devoted special attention to the international ties and problems of the Russian revolution, which was a turning point not only in the destiny of one country but in the revolutionary movement as a whole. Moreover, the April Theses registered the fact that the demarcation line between the revolutionary and the reformist wings of the working-class movement had become clearer, and in view of this, Lenin proposed discarding the old name of the Party—"Social Democratic"—restoring the wrongly forgotten name of "Communist" which Marx had given to the vanguard, and founding an independent international revolutionary organization, the Third International.

Later, the demarcation between revolutionaries and opportunists spread to every national contingent of the working class. This provided the basis for the process of forming and developing the Communist parties, which constituted a new stage in the working-class movement and a step forward in the history of mankind.

The reactionaries resorted to the most brutal reprisals against the young Communist movement but were unable to halt the inexorable advance of history.

Today the Communist movement is the most powerful movement of modern times, a movement which is successfully reshaping the world.

The USSR today

"Citizens of the USSR have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality."

From the Constitution of the USSR

FACTS AND FIGURES*

2. LABOR IN THE USSR

SHORTLY AFTER THE October Revolution the Soviet state turned its attention to labor legislation. The first steps were taken to abolish unemployment. A Labor Code was introduced providing for an 8-hour day, annual paid vacations for factory and office workers and for labor protection in all branches of the economy.

By 1930 the unemployment problem had been solved. Since then steady growth in the number of workers has been a feature of the Soviet economy.

The years of Soviet power have also witnessed big changes in the deployment of workers in the respective branches of the economy, a big increase in the proportion of people engaged in industry, construction and transport, in education and public health, science and art. Although the number engaged in agriculture has dropped by more than half, gross production has more than doubled.

RISE IN LABOR PRODUCTIVITY (in percentages of 1928)

| | Industry | Construction | Railway transport |
|------|----------|--------------|----------------------|
| 1940 | 313 | 247 | 269 |
| 1950 | 454 | 309 | 295 |
| 1955 | 675 | 459 | 411 |
| 1960 | 927 | 705 | 610 |
| 1965 | 1,163 | 910 | 797 |

To date the Soviet Union has outdistanced the leading capitalist countries of Europe for rate of labor productivity. It is still behind the United States, but whereas in 1913 U.S. productivity of labor was nine times higher, today it is only 2-2.5 times higher.

*Construction. See No. 3 of our journal for the first of the series.

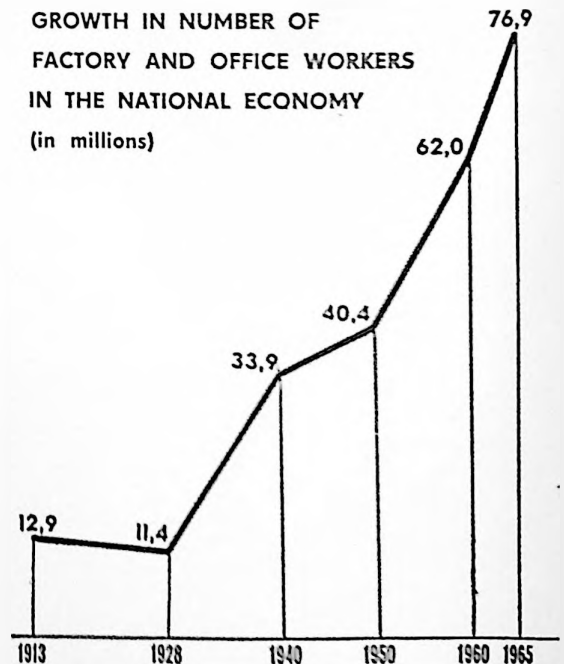
Higher productivity of labor in the USSR has made for increased production. In 1959-1960 it accounted for 67 per cent of the country's overall increase in industrial output.

Rapid growth of labor productivity is also characteristic of socialist agriculture. By 1965 it had risen fivefold compared with pre-revolutionary Russia and nearly 2.5 times compared with 1940.

A feature of socialist labor is the growing number of inventions and rationalization proposals introduced in the economy: 2,800,000 in 1966 making for an economy of up to 2,000 million roubles annually.

The past 50 years have also witnessed big changes in the cultural and technological level

**GROWTH IN NUMBER OF
FACTORY AND OFFICE WORKERS
IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY**
(in millions)



DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE DIFFERENT SPHERES IN THE ECONOMY

(in percentages)



- In industry and construction
- Agriculture and forestry
- Transport and communications
- Trade, catering, state purchasing and technical supply organizations (the segment for 1940 unlined)

- Education, public health, science and art
- State administration, cooperative management, public organizations, credit and insurance institutions
- Other branches of the economy (housing, municipal, etc.)

Items 6 and 7 are both indicated for 1913 in the unlined segment.

of the working people, a very big increase in the number of workers with a general or specialized technical training.

To supply industry, construction and transport with skilled workers a network of vocational and technical schools was created in 1940 which has trained 16 million workers. In addition millions of specialists have been trained as the table below shows:

NUMBER OF SPECIALISTS WITH A HIGHER OR SECONDARY SPECIALIZED EDUCATION

(excluding servicemen)

| | 1913 | 1928 | 1965 | No. more in 1965 than in 1913 |
|---|------|------|--------|-------------------------------|
| Total number of specialists with higher or secondary education (in thousands) | 190 | 521 | 12,066 | 63.5× |
| including: | | | | |
| with higher education | 136 | 233 | 4,891 | 36 × |
| with secondary specialized education | 54 | 288 | 7,175 | 133 × |

Fifty-eight per cent of the specialists with a higher or secondary education are women. The proportion of women in the medical, teaching and engineering professions is 74, 69 and 30 per cent respectively.

In 1965 women made up 49 per cent of the total number of factory and office workers in the USSR.

The rapid growth of social production and the rise in the productivity of labor are making for a shorter working day and, consequently, more leisure. At present the average working day in Soviet industry is 6.93 hours, the average

working week 39.4 hours, one of the shortest in the world.

FIFTY YEARS AGO . . .

MARCH-APRIL 1917. After the February Revolution the Bolshevik Party emerged from illegality and was in a position to function openly and freely. Prominent Party men began to return from exile, prison and emigration. Membership at the time was about 24,000. The largest Bolshevik organizations were in Petrograd—2,000 members, Moscow—600 members, Yekaterinoslav—400 members, and in Kiev 200 members.

March 4 (17), the Bureau of the Central Committee passed a decision to get in touch directly with the local Party organizations. Such contact was established before long with more than 70 branches.

March 5 (18), *Pravda*, the Bolshevik Party paper, appeared in 100,000 copies. This was followed by the publication of other Bolshevik papers, among them *Sotsial-Demokrat* (Moscow), *Golos Pravdi* (Kronstadt), *Golos Sotsial Demokrata* (Kiev), *Proletarii* (Kharkov), *Soldatskaya Pravda*, *Okopnaya Pravda*, *Volna* (Helsingfors), *Zvezda* (Yekaterinoslav), *Rabochi* (Kazan), *Tiesza* in the Lithuanian language, *Kiir* in Estonian and *Cina* in Latvian.

The Bolsheviks strengthened their influence among the revolutionary workers and soldiers, began explanatory work among all sections of the population. A military organization of the Central Committee and Petrograd Committee was set up to direct political work in the armed forces.

March 27 (April 9), Lenin together with another 30 emigres, including 19 Bolsheviks, left Switzerland for Russia. Since the governments of Britain and France refused to allow Bolsheviks to return to Russia through their coun-

tries, permission to travel via Germany was obtained, permission being granted in exchange for the release of German and Austrian war prisoners interned in Russia. This plan was approved by the Left Zimmerwaldists who together with a group of leading European Left Socialists issued the following statement:

"While not for a moment doubting that the German government will speculate on this to intensify anti-war feeling in Russia we declare that . . . our Russian fellow socialists are not only entitled to return, but are in duty bound to take this opportunity of returning to Russia."

April 3 (16), late in the evening, Lenin arrived in Petrograd. He was accorded an enthusiastic welcome by the people.

At the Finland Station he addressed the workers and soldiers from the top of an armored car, ending his speech with the slogan:

"Long live the socialist revolution!"

April 4 (17), Lenin read his *April Theses* at

a meeting of Bolsheviks and repeated it at a joint meeting of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks attending the All-Russia Conference of Soviets. "The specific feature of the present situation in Russia," stated the *Theses*, "is that the country is *passing* from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to its *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants." This was the course of socialist revolution.

April 17 (20). The theses were published in *Pravda* and later reprinted by Bolshevik newspapers in Moscow, Kharkov, Krasnoyarsk, Ufa, Baku, Tiflis and other cities.

The theses were discussed in all Party organizations. Although opposed by Kamenev, Rykov, Pyatakov and a small group of their supporters who asserted that Russia was not ready for the socialist revolution, the entire Party rallied solidly round Lenin's ideas.

Lenin and the methodology of modern science

P. N. FEDOSEYEV

IN OUR ERA of scientific and technological revolution the hallmarks of which are the growing role of natural science in industry, interlocking of the different branches of science and a fantastic accumulation of scientific information, the need for a philosophical generalization and interpretation of the new scientific findings is felt and this, in turn, begets a greater interest in problems of methodology. And the basic principles for resolving these problems can be found in the ideological legacy bequeathed to us by Lenin.

Far from detracting from the significance of Lenin's fundamental methodological views, the rapid advance of scientific knowledge in recent years has made them more timely than ever today, on the eve of the centenary of his birth. This is due primarily to the far-sightedness with which the great thinker and dialectician fathomed the essence of the far-reaching revolutionary changes in modern science and its dominant trends. His basic works, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, *Philosophical Notebooks*, and others, contain not only a philosophical generalization of an entire era in the development of science but also exceptionally important methodological insights for the future. For instance, what Lenin said about the infinity of the electron is increasingly recognized as being of fundamental importance for the methodology of modern theoretical physics. The timeliness of his views is plainly demonstrated by the objective logic of scientific development.

The present revolution in the natural sciences is a continuation of the revolution

which began in the early years of this century. The results of the initial stage were summed up by Lenin in generalizations that still stand as guide-posts in methodology. His theses concerning the indispensability of dialectics in physics, the infinity of matter, the relationship between absolute and relative truth, etc., retain their validity to this day. Moreover, what used to be applicable mostly to physics is being extended to all areas of knowledge. Philosophy, needless to say, is called upon to take into account the steadily deepening content of modern science.

The fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution is a landmark, a striking demonstration of the dialectics of social progress. In the history of science it marks a half-century of struggle to consolidate and develop the creative union of dialectical materialism and natural science proclaimed by Lenin.

PROGRESS OF NATURAL SCIENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Guided by the creative spirit of Lenin's views of scientific methodology—as all Marxist-Leninist parties are—and eschewing any clinging to the letter of one or another quotation, it will be seen that his counsel in this sphere is essentially a call dialectically to develop materialist philosophy in keeping with progress in the scientific cognition of the world and practical achievements.

Lenin underscored time and again that dogmatism and stagnation in thinking lead to a

narrow-minded sectarianism, to a vulgarized substitution of yesterday's slogans for scientific analysis of the realities of today, to loss of touch with real life and to adventurism in theory and practice.

Philosophy can influence scientific development only by creatively perfecting itself in conformity with the requirements of rapidly progressing natural science. Ways and means of developing dialectical materialist philosophy in step with the achievements of natural science held the center of attention of an international symposium held in Moscow in October 1966 on the subject "Dialectics and Modern Natural Science (Problems of the Dialectics and Logic of Contemporary Natural Scientific Cognition)."

The symposium, attended by scientists from the socialist countries who are cooperating in developing the methodology of science, searched for the most effective ways of ensuring fruitful interaction between materialist philosophy and natural science in the conditions of the technological revolution, though the basic principles discussed are of course applicable also to the social sciences.

Much attention was paid to the old problem of the inter-relation of philosophy and natural science on the historical and logical planes, with the emphasis on how dialectical materialism can promote progress in natural science and how the achievements of basic research can be used to develop and enrich materialist philosophy.

At present an important part in resolving these problems is played by analysis of the actual achievements of natural science, the processes involved in the interaction of philosophers and natural scientists, and also the perspectives of their growing cooperation.

In order to enhance the efficacy of the union of natural science and philosophy it is imperative to see the development of dialectical materialism as such in the correct light, to appreciate the fundamental point stressed by Lenin that Marxist philosophy can be truly advanced only on the bedrock principles of materialism and dialectics, in struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology.

In this connection it is sometimes asked whether taking a creative approach to philosophy does not in the final analysis imply replacing dialectical materialism with some other, old or new "ism." The answer is no. Experience leaves no doubt on this score. Scientific development of philosophy in this twentieth century presupposes further development of dialectical materialism.

Fundamentally alien to science are the attempts made to refute such cornerstones of materialism as the primacy of matter and

the theory of reflection. The categories and concepts elaborated by modern natural science cannot be counterposed to the basic principle and categories of dialectical materialism. Now as in the past reactionary philosophers aim at revising the very concept of matter; they deny its objective nature and regard the widely used and highly fruitful method of modeling as the antipode of the theory of reflection. At times information and communication are opposed to the dialectical concepts of interconnection and interaction, and the material object is replaced by the concept of structure. It goes without saying that the relationships between the categories of the natural sciences and those of dialectical materialism should be thoroughly elucidated. But it is essential also to intensify the struggle against bourgeois ideology, to uphold and develop the fundamental principles of dialectical and historical materialism.

The Marxist concept of absolute and relative truth is of course fully applicable also to our own philosophy. For, as Engels pointed out, the more complex the area of knowledge and the more removed we are from the material objects of study, the fewer absolute truths we perceive. But it is also unquestionable that in the course of the centuries materialist philosophy has evolved principles offering a solid groundwork for continued progress in this respect. We would be diehard dogmatists if we did not see the relativity of many of the concrete propositions of our philosophy and the need to re-examine, develop or clarify them. On the other hand, however, we would fall prey to relativism and, in the final analysis, to idealism were we to assume that the development of our philosophy presupposes negating its fundamental principles. For there are principles that cannot be shaken. We are duty bound to stand by them in the interests of promoting scientific knowledge, in the interests of truth.

There is the well-known precept advanced by Engels (and elucidated and developed by Lenin) that materialism must assume a new form or modify its old form with each major discovery in natural science, not to speak of radical changes in the life of society. But neither Engels nor Lenin meant by this run-of-the-mill discoveries of the kind made every year. The reference is to those ushering in a new era in science. It is these epoch-making discoveries that must be taken into account in order to enrich materialism.

Consequently, in the vital matter of genuinely scientific advancement of philosophy in step with the new gains and findings of research, as in any important undertaking, it is impermissible to take a shallow, sensational

approach, to succumb to the momentary influence of transitory aspects of the development of cognition and reality and swing from one extreme to another, ready light-mindedly to revise even the fundamentals of our world outlook without profound analysis of the facts. Moreover, it is essential to stress that the scientific development of materialism presupposes not only preserving but also reinforcing its content. As Lenin said, our Marxist scientific ideology is integral, "cast from one piece of steel."

It would be a mistake to say that inasmuch as Marx in his *Theses on Feuerbach* criticized the old materialism primarily because of its contemplative nature, underestimation of the activity of the subject, and since in the twentieth century the scale and role of this activity in changing the world have grown immeasurably, the world should not be seen as an objective reality but interpreted as activity. Such an approach would definitely not advance scientific philosophy.

In substantiating the materialist conception not only of nature but of society, Marx showed that social life is essentially practical endeavor and regarded practice as the basis of history and human knowledge, the criterion of truth. In the early years of this century Lenin developed these points in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and *Philosophical Notebooks*. Continuing along these Marxist-Leninist lines, we, the materialists of the second half of the twentieth century, declare: however great the potential of human activity to transform the environment, the world can never be reduced to this activity alone. For human endeavor is a matter of man's active attitude to his environment. The effectiveness of his activity is closely linked with his ability profoundly to reflect the objective reality. Ignoring this fundamental precept of materialism inevitably leans to voluntarism and adventurism. Activity that does not take account of the objective laws of being and is not based on profound scientific reflection of these laws in the consciousness of its agents is likely to degenerate into subjectivism and arbitrariness, discrediting the entire cause of progress.

Science is effective only insofar as it faithfully reflects both the current state and the trends of development of the objective reality. On this score let us dwell on one rather widespread misconception. The well-known passage from *Philosophical Notebooks*, "Man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but creates it," is often cited without due attention to the fact that here Lenin merely sums up Hegel's views on the transition of ideas and concepts into practical ac-

tion. The materialist interpretation of this thesis is, as Lenin put it, that "the world does not satisfy man and man decides to change it by his activity." We would be ignoring Lenin's counsel concerning the need to take a materialist approach to Hegel were we to confuse Hegel's idealistic views with their materialist interpretation.

Is the argument valid that there can be only a dialectics of "humanized nature," i.e., nature mastered by man, and that the conclusions suggested by this dialectics are inapplicable to nature as a whole? Refuting this argument, Lenin pointed out that the thesis that the world is material, a thesis borne out by all human experience, can be fully applied to the whole of the world, that is, also to those areas where practice and cognition have not yet penetrated.

A number of misconceptions have arisen as regards the interrelation of materialism and humanism. They cannot be set one against the other, or the latter substituted for the former. It would be incorrect to say that an outlook of naturalistic humanism and not materialism corresponds to modern natural science which has probed deeply into space and the micro-world and which is nearing the synthesis of living protein, revealing the secrets of the cell and creating logical machines.

The fact is that genuine humanism can be based only on genuine materialism. Any other approach would only signify a retreat from scientific, dialectical materialism to pre-scientific, anthropological materialism. Criticizing Feuerbach and, to a point, Chernyshevsky, for their anthropologism (their abstract science of man), Lenin showed that the latter was but a faint outline of materialism.

The genuinely scientific way to strengthen the link between subject and object in modern science consists not in a return to nineteenth century materialism but in developing the science of man (the subject) in the light of twentieth-century materialism.

Speaking of developing materialism, it should be noted that both Engels and Lenin made it clear that it is not its basic principles but its natural philosophical precepts which are subject to revision under the impact of major discoveries.

Both natural philosophical and sociological precepts are of course bound to change in line with revolutions in science and society. But development of Marxist philosophy also implies the development of its basic theses, of its laws and categories, and a deeper understanding of their interconnections. In other words, what is in question is evolution of the method, or of methodology in general,

as well as of the fundamentals stemming from the underlying conception of the world. It is of paramount importance for philosophers to assimilate, in cooperation with natural scientists, the new findings and concepts provided by natural science.

Let us cite a few examples to illustrate the point. Take, for instance, the concept of structure, which today occupies a prominent place in science generally and which, as we know, determines the nature of the interconnections between the elements of integral systems.

One could, of course, simply add this category to other philosophic categories and regard this as adequate "development" of dialectical materialism.

Or it might be declared a purely natural-science category irrelevant to philosophy and the list of philosophical categories left unchanged as if it had not emerged at all. Yet the history of philosophy shows that materialism has developed neither by means of mechanical incorporation of natural science categories nor through ignoring them.

In this connection let us examine the evolution of the concept of the material object from the standpoint of the dialectics of its form and content. The ancient philosophers, Aristotle for instance, regarded form as the active, creative aspect, and matter as the passive. In the age of the mechanistic world outlook form came to be interpreted as the integument, the configuration of the material object with no connection with its essence and structure.

Dialectical materialism imposed the problem of form and content in an entirely different way, making the concept of the material object far more profound, organic, so to say, with form regarded not as the external integument but as the internal structure of the content.

The classics of Marxism applied the concept of structure to analysis of social phenomena long before it acquired the universal significance in natural sciences which it has today.

Marx proceeded from the economic structure of society in the theoretical analysis contained in *Capital*. It was on this basis that Marxism examined such phenomena as the social and class structure of society. And in our day, too, it is impossible to get to the root of social developments without the approach to social, class and economic structure of society evolved by Marxism. When bourgeois sociologists take the credit for the "discovery" of structure (in the sense of an approach based on structure or structural systems), they are at odds with the real logic of the development of knowledge.

It was Marxism-Leninism, then, that elab-

orated and first applied the principles of a scientific approach to the relationship between form and content and to the key problem of structure.

In our day the dialectical-materialist examination of the concept of structure has been continued by the joint efforts of materialist natural scientists and philosophers. Here mention should be made, for instance, of the treatise *Structure and the Forms of Matter* published by the USSR Academy of Sciences in the series "Dialectical Materialism and Modern Natural Science."

In the sphere of methodological analysis of the concepts of information and communication associated with cybernetics, the task is to compare these concepts with the development of philosophical categories, above all such as interaction and interconnection characteristic of the complex relationships between objects in all areas of the material world. Here there are vast openings for creative quests.

In recent years philosophical treatises on models have acquired major significance. It should be borne in mind that there are no grounds whatever for counterposing representation by model to the theory of reflection. What is in question is that philosophy should take full cognizance of the rapid progress of modern science, the birth of new notions and concepts, and tackle them, as Lenin said, in order correctly to interpret, generalize and digest them. And this can be done thanks to the objective flexibility of dialectical materialist philosophy, a flexibility which of course has nothing in common with absolute relativism.

Philosophers, then, cannot analyze and formulate philosophical categories today as they did in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

Hence the duality of the responsibility resting on philosophers and natural scientists. The former are called upon to take full account of the movement of contemporary knowledge. The latter should not counterpose the categories of one or another specialized science to philosophical categories, but see their interconnection.

It would be dangerous indeed if we were to divorce the application of the categories of natural science from the application of those of philosophy. In the event of this being done, both philosophy and natural science would be the losers. Philosophy would be cut off from science, doomed to scholasticism, and would cease to play an active role in the development of knowledge. On the other hand, in natural science the categories of the specialized branches would have only a technical

significance. And this would be fraught with the danger of infiltration by reactionary ideology, substitution of a scientific world outlook by categories of a purely formal order.

Furthermore, natural science would be deprived of the methodological instruments of scientific cognition generally. Each science has, of course, its own theoretical generalizations. There are also sciences which serve as generalizing agencies for an entire group of branches of natural science. But not to see their interaction with general philosophical categories would mean losing a priceless advantage, giving up the methodological instruments provided by philosophy and enriched through elaboration of the methodology of natural science.

Just as Lenin, thanks to the creative spirit of dialectical materialism, gave a consistently scientific philosophical interpretation of the revolution in natural science at the beginning of the century, so today a correct understanding of the present scientific and technological revolution is being elaborated on the same solid theoretical foundation. Marxism, which gave humanity a scientific theory of the social revolution, is able better than any other theory to penetrate into the essence of the complex processes of the modern technological revolution.

THE ROLE OF METHODOLOGY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN NATURAL SCIENCE

An examination of the interaction of dialectical materialist philosophy and natural science highlights the unity of the theoretical aspect stemming from a world outlook and the logical and methodological aspects of our philosophical research.

In speaking of the perspectives of this research, world outlook and logic, methodology, are often counterposed and even divorced from one another, and when it comes to the methodological problems of science, the importance of principles stemming from the underlying conception of the world and the associated ideological conclusions drawn from the development of science is at times underestimated if not wholly denied.

Clearly the theoretical and ideological importance of the interpretation of matter and law-governed regularity in the light of the latest findings, the classification of matter in nature and the corresponding classification of sciences is not diminishing. What is more, methodological work in natural science cannot advance successfully unless it is based on the solid foundation of a world outlook. For the method is a résumé of philosophical

theory. Hence the effectiveness of a method essentially depends on the world outlook underlying the theory it epitomizes. Unity of dialectical method and materialist theory is what makes our philosophy scientific. And it is this that explains why problems of methodology are now coming to the fore in the philosophical treatment of the problems of natural science, a trend which by no means minimizes the role of the world outlook but merely throws light on the more complex agencies through which it is woven into the very fabric of natural science, primarily through methodology.

The growth of the role of methodology is due to two objective circumstances.

First, the growth of knowledge presupposes not only more profound theoretical perception of the object but also the accumulation of information about the process of cognition itself. The "science of science," the center of attention of which is naturally held by questions of method—how the world can be most effectively cognized—is acquiring a growing importance.

In tackling these problems it would be ill-advised, to say the least, not to draw on the vast experience in elaborating methodology contained in the philosophy of materialism and in the rational elements of idealistic systems of thought. For, as Engels said, "even formal logic is primarily a method of arriving at new results, of advancing from the known to the unknown."

To a far greater extent this is true of dialectics and in general of the modern methods of logical analysis. Consequently, the very accumulation of knowledge and the new trends towards its formalization, mathematization, etc., necessitate an examination of the logic of science from the philosophical standpoint.

Second, the growing role of methodology is associated also with the break-down dating from the nineteenth century of the speculative approach typical of the old natural philosophy. In former times philosophers influenced natural science primarily through natural philosophy. This was historically justified, inevitable, and up to a point fruitful. Since the ancient world had no experimental data to substantiate atomistic theory, it crystallized through the agency of natural philosophy. In this way philosophers filled in gaps in natural science—sometimes poorly, and, at times, quite successfully.

The nineteenth century witnessed the demise of natural philosophy, for by then natural science had acquired a strong base of its own and was not in need of its help.

We speak of the end of natural philosophy

not in the sense that nature ceased to be the object of philosophical examination. Only positivists, not adherents of materialist dialectics, can pose the question thus. The general laws of being, including the general laws governing the development of nature, always had been and remain the subject of materialist dialectics. We consider the existence of the dialectics of nature, the philosophy of natural science, or, as we nowadays put it, the philosophical problems of natural science, unquestionable. But we reject natural philosophy in the specific sense of a method for resolving scientific problems through substituting specialized research by philosophical speculation.

The natural-philosophy approach to methodology is inevitably associated with the imposition of one or another concept on natural science. In certain circumstances this develops into running things by handing down orders. There was a time when we ourselves experienced the evils of methodological guidance of natural science by decree. In our day the natural philosophy approach is an expression of incompetence in both natural science and philosophy. Incompetent intervention on the part of some philosophers in natural science was one of the causes of unpleasant and even pernicious consequences in the mutual relationships of the two. We remember only too well what happened with the theory of relativity, cybernetics, genetics, and in other areas. We condemned such intervention and together with it the natural-philosophy approach which is incompatible with really fruitful interaction between dialectical materialism and natural science. The incompetent natural philosophical approach merely discredits philosophy and we cannot allow it to recur.

Philosophy influences natural science primarily through its world outlook and scientific methodology. True, we still have some philosophers who regard methodology with suspicion, holding that the very concept is a bourgeois invention, a Machian contrivance, if not something worse. This, of course, is a misconception on their part, but a misconception which can cause much harm, for denial of the methodological role of philosophy in relation to natural science would drag up back to the natural-philosophy approach. It would impel us on to the path of incompetent interference in specialized areas of science. Hence it must be made plain that the suspicions entertained as regards methodology are groundless and invalid.

Dialectical materialism as the universal methodology of natural science makes it possible correctly to generalize and interpret its new findings. Today, when natural science is searching for a new generalizing theory and

new ideas, it is particularly important to focus attention on methodological problems. It is in this area that dialectical materialism exerts its greatest influence on science generally, and can itself be enriched and developed. Not to realize this is not to see either the active role of philosophy or the tasks involved in its creative development.

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM AND THE UNITY OF THE SCIENCES

It is common knowledge that the growth of scientific knowledge is accompanied by its differentiation. Not only new trends but also new branches of science are constantly emerging. In our time when the mass of scientific information is rapidly increasing such specialization of science and scientists is inevitable and justified. For one thing, it helps to heighten the productivity of research. But at the same time it would be a mistake not to see the negative and even dangerous aspects of excessive specialization.

In conformity with the dialectical law of contradiction growing differentiation in knowledge as such gives rise to a need for a synthesis of sciences in order to counteract their fragmentation. Clearly, today the issue is one of a broader synthesis taking in not only natural but also social sciences. The introduction of precise methods in the social sciences is of particular importance for the socialist countries, which are building up their economies on a scientific footing.

The tendency towards approximation and in a sense the coalescence of natural and social sciences is especially significant on the philosophical plane. For the old philosophy, at different stages and in different forms, acquiesced in or even propounded the separation of the two. Hegel saw the principle of development operating in society but not in nature. Feuerbach combined materialism in interpreting nature with idealism in understanding society. This separation was most glaringly formulated by the neo-Kantians, for whom the science of nature was one of laws and the science of society merely called upon to describe unique, isolated phenomena. Dialectical materialism broke down this philosophical barrier, placed social science on a scientific footing and became an instrument for overcoming the contradiction between the development of natural science and the development of social science.

From the philosophical standpoint it is important to elaborate the concept of law, law-governed regularity, in the spheres of both natural and social science. For, as we know, bourgeois scientists tend to oppose the latter

to the former by directly or indirectly denying that there are any laws governing the development of society.

Some Western historians, abstracting themselves from the regularities underlying historical events, see the facts of the past in a completely individualized light and hold that no generalization is possible. Others—and this is more pronounced among bourgeois historians—have a predilection for generalizing one or another formal aspect without regard for the concrete historical content of phenomena.

Such approaches are of course a far cry from genuine science. Take the cyclical concepts which have gained currency. Advocates of these concepts (followers of Spengler and Toynbee) stress only the analogous aspects of phenomena encountered in completely different epochs and ignore the specific aspects. The similarities, as we know, are explained by the fact that society develops in a spiral combining movement forward with cyclical elements. The supporters of the cycle theory, concentrating on the element of recurrence and denying the existence of the specific, repudiate the doctrine of socio-economic formations, of social progress. They indirectly deny the existence of laws of social development in the true sense of the word.

Since the cyclical concepts are advanced as an "effective counterweight to Marxism," Marxist researchers naturally attach much importance to refuting their proponents, especially in view of the pessimistic, apocalyptic note struck by many of them. However, in criticizing these concepts it should be borne in mind that they are sharply assailed also by the extreme Right among Western historians who deny that there are any regularities in the historical process and hold that it baffles cognition.

The trend towards the approximation of the natural and social sciences facilitates the overcoming of non-scientific theories in the latter. As this trend develops, dialectical materialism not only synthesizes knowledge from the general philosophical standpoint but also serves as a reliable link between the natural and social sciences.

Realization of the tendency towards synthesis of these sciences presupposes a truly synthesized philosophical basis, the laying of which has proceeded in a complex and bitter struggle.

The utter inadequacy of speculative methods became patent by the middle of the nineteenth century and the attempts made by some philosophers to cling to them in tackling problems of natural science completely discredited natural philosophy. This in turn

caused many researchers to question the value of philosophical thinking in general.

The result, as we know, was the rise of positivism. Comte, and after him all trends of both the initial and modern forms of positivism, rejected philosophy, meaning primarily its world outlook aspect. The fact that the positivists applied themselves to many problems of formal logic, including the problems of experiment, the subject and classification of sciences, mathematical logic, and analysis of the language of science, attracted large numbers of natural scientists. At the same time the positivists confined philosophy within the pale of the above-mentioned problems, ignoring questions of world outlook which they claimed were "meaningless," i.e., neither true nor false.

Some positivists (for example, Mach) were atheists. Yet their criticism of materialism not only made their atheism vague and inconsistent but objectively played into the hands of theology. Others (John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, L. Wittgenstein and others) more or less openly upheld religion, criticized atheism and believed that problems of world outlook were inaccessible to the human mind and belonged to the sphere of the mystic. In other words, the positivists counselled the natural scientists to confine their investigations only to the facts, only to experience (interpreted, incidentally, from subjective idealist positions), excluding the problems of causality from the domain of natural science and philosophy.

This approach directly and indirectly surrendered problems relating to the conception of the world to the theologians and opened the way to the Thomists, whose influence has grown in the past half-century. The position of the mid-twentieth century Thomists differs from that of the positivists. They concentrate on discussions of world outlook, the essence of being, the genesis and the end of the world, and the emergence of life, leaving the concrete problems of natural science to scientists. Some theologians, including Thomists, carry on in the footsteps of the old religious philosophers and seek to give theological interpretations to all the epoch-making discoveries of natural science.

In elaborating the world outlook aspect of the philosophical problems of natural science we must carry on the polemic against modern Thomism as one of the most popular trends of bourgeois ideology. Thomism clearly lays claim to being the synthesized foundation of cognition generally. But the synthesis it offers is a mystical one fundamentally alien to science. Believing that scientific knowledge stands in need of an irrational complement,

Gilson, a prominent neo-Thomist, for instance, denies that science can be identified with rational cognition" (*God and Philosophy*).

The development of knowledge in general shows that the only genuinely scientific base on which a synthesis of all the natural and social sciences can be achieved is the consistently materialist philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. We can see this for ourselves not only by contrasting dialectical materialism to neopositivism, Thomism and other trends of contemporary idealism, but by comparing the philosophical level of generalization of knowledge with other forms and levels of synthesis of scientific information.

The human mind has always felt a need for a synthesis of knowledge which would reflect the objective material unity of the world. It can be said that it is from this need that philosophy as such was born.

Without generalization there can be no science. Every scientific law is a generalized reflection of phenomena. It is an historical fact that each branch of knowledge has produced its own generalizations. At a certain stage a big role in this was played by formal logic, and even mathematics. By elaborating its own concepts and categories, formal logic helped to generalize the findings of research. As for mathematics, it has long served as an instrument for formal description and generalization of truths established by science. But at the same time there was always a need for broader conclusions, and hence the development of philosophical generalizations alongside general notions arrived at through formal logic and mathematics. Philosophy, and especially materialist philosophy, was a synthesizing factor. It should be said that classical idealism also contributed much to the evolution of philosophical categories and thereby helped scientific generalization.

Today we are witnessing the rapid development of branches which help to generalize the findings of natural science and, to a point, also those of the social sciences. Mathematics plays an important role not only as a means of expressing and describing phenomena, but also as a method used in the search for new truths. Logic, too, has greatly developed. Cybernetics has emerged as a new and powerful instrument of knowledge. And the quantum theory serves physics, chemistry and other natural sciences as an important means of generalization.

It would be a mistake not to see the enor-

mous role of this logical apparatus, mathematical methods, cybernetics and modelling in the development of science. The philosopher who fails to see this or who denies the importance of these instruments of generalization will fall behind the times and can only harm both philosophy and natural science.

At the same time it should be stressed that precisely because of the signal development of logical and mathematical means of scientific generalization the methodology too must be developed, i.e., the philosophical problems of natural science elaborated and Marxist philosophy enriched. The point is that mathematics, cybernetics and formal logic themselves need to be interlinked. Mathematics has divided into a number of departments each of which strictly speaking is a separate science in itself. Logic has branched out into many-valued logic without the law of the excluded middle, model logic, normative logic, the logic of valuation, the theory of logical succession, etc. All these too need to be generalized and synthesized. The only way to achieve this is through elaboration of the philosophical problems of natural science, the dialectics of nature, dialectical materialism.

Above all it should be borne in mind that mathematical, logical and cybernetic generalizations cannot resolve problems such as those of the subject and the object, man and nature, nature and society, theory and practice, as well as a number of general methodological problems treated by philosophy, by dialectical and historical materialism. And unless these general philosophical problems are resolved, the logical and mathematical apparatus will have little more than technical significance.

Hence elaboration of the general philosophical categories and laws promotes correct understanding and development of the entire generalization apparatus of modern natural science generally speaking and each of its branches in particular. Philosophy, as we see it, cannot undertake to solve the specific problems of natural science. Nor can it develop without contact with natural science, while the latter in turn would lose much if its union with dialectical materialist philosophy were to be weakened.

The fact that both the philosophers and the natural scientists of the socialist countries, and also leading researchers in the capitalist countries, are actively working to consolidate this creative union bequeathed to us by Lenin is a guarantee of the continued advance of scientific knowledge.

Towards a developed socialist society

STANKO TODOROV

IN THE twenty-three years during which Bulgaria has been stepping out along the socialist highway, deep-going revolutionary changes have been effected in the life of her people. From the plateau of victorious socialism, which is steadily gaining strength, one gets a clearer view of both the successes and unresolved problems, of the contours of communism which are becoming increasingly visible. The Communist Party strives correctly to assess what has been achieved and to put on the agenda tasks dictated by the current stage of development. This feature of its policy was reflected in the proceedings and decisions of its Ninth Congress held in November 1966, which charted a concrete program for the further growth of socialist society in Bulgaria.

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Our Party defines the present stage in the country's development as the stage of building a *developed socialist society*. "Today the People's Republic of Bulgaria," Todor Zhivkov has said, "is at a new stage in its socio-economic and political development — the stage of building a developed socialist society." In keeping with the content and demands of the given stage the Ninth Congress defined the main task of the current five-year plan to be the continuation of building socialism by way of further enlarging its material and technological base, perfecting social relationships, enhancing the socialist consciousness of the people and, as a result, raising the standard of living. Building a developed socialist society is the logical development after the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism have been completed. In each country taken separately the building of a comprehensive socialist society presup-

poses solution of tasks which differ in both volume and content.

Bulgaria's entering on this stage was prepared by the entire course of the country's development after the victory of the socialist revolution. As a result of the armed uprising of the people on September 9, 1944, which owed its victory to the decisive aid of the Soviet Army and the active leading role of the working class and its Communist vanguard, political power passed into the hands of the working people. This marked the beginning of the transition from capitalism to socialism. An exceptionally important role in tackling the tasks of that time was played by the Fifth Party Congress, held in 1948 under the direct leadership of Georgi Dimitrov, which charted the main guidelines of building socialism in Bulgaria. Of great theoretical and practical value was the definition of the essence and role of the state of people's democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the line towards socialist reconstruction of agriculture by way of setting up co-operatives without advance nationalization of the land, towards industrialization and cultural upbuilding with due cognizance of the specific conditions in Bulgaria.

It took the Party a whole decade after its Fifth Congress to solve the grand and complex tasks of the transitional period and to ensure the triumph of socialism. In this period we had to overcome the difficulties caused by the economic backwardness of the country and its petty-bourgeois structure. No little harm was caused by the personality cult which was practised after the death of Dimitrov. The socialist development of the country was also actively resisted by world imperialism. And if despite all this socialism has triumphed the credit belongs to the Party which

pursues a correct policy corresponding to the objective conditions and laws of social development, firmly relies on the masses, the working class, peasantry and people's intelligentsia, and steadfastly strengthens our friendship with the Soviet Union and other countries of the world socialist community.

The successful completion of the transitional period was beneficially influenced by the April (1956) meeting of the Central Committee and the turn in the life of the Party it brought about. Proceeding from the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and considering the experience of the world Communist movement and the traditions of our Party, the meeting resolutely rejected the personality cult which disparaged the role of the Party as the leader of the people in their fight for socialism.

At its Seventh Congress (1958) our Party could with every justification declare: "Socialism reigns supreme throughout the national economy. This means that the reconstruction of the economy along socialist lines has been accomplished, and exploitation of man by man abolished for all time. . . ."

In the success achieved by that time the Party saw reliable socio-economic and political prerequisites for the further comprehensive advance of the country along the road to socialism. The Party was fully aware that it was impossible to start building the higher phase of communism without the all-round development and modernization of the productive forces, without industrialization and consolidation of the cooperative system, without resolving the tasks of social development peculiar to socialism. Objective analysis of the country's development by the end of that period showed how much had yet to be done for the final affirmation of socialism so that its advantages could manifest themselves in full.

Above all, the existing material and technological base did not correspond to the demands of a developed socialist society. Although industrial output had grown 8-fold by 1957 compared with 1939, industry was still inadequately developed and modernized. Nor was the task of building a modern heavy industry resolved. Machine-building, the chemical industry and iron and steel were in an embryonic state. Agriculture—although 100 per cent cooperative by that time—did not have at its disposal the necessary technological means. The growth of output in agriculture (141 per cent in 1957 compared with 1939) was still inadequate to meet the growing requirements of the population, of the processing industry and export. The national income per head of popu-

lation had risen 167 per cent in 1957 compared with 1939, but it is common knowledge that in the past Bulgaria ranked one of the last in Europe as regards the level of national income.

By 1958 socialist production relations had dominated in all branches of the economy. However, the victory of public (state and cooperative) ownership did not yet mean that the process of moulding the socialist relations of production could be considered finished. Much had to be done to create more mature political and ideological relations in our society. Life demanded that the activity of the socialist state be perfected in both form and content, that a system of economic management be evolved which would fully meet the objective laws of development. Another demand was that the effectiveness of the socialist economy should be raised and socialist democracy extended. Work had to be continued to imbue members of society with a new attitude to labor and public property, to eradicate the vestiges of the bourgeois world outlook and bourgeois ethics in both day-to-day life and in the minds of the people. A number of problems in public education, culture and science had to be resolved.

In these circumstances only a policy aimed at building a developed socialist society could have a realistic, scientifically sound nature. Ignoring the objectively necessary stages in building communism and artificially speeding up social processes could but do harm to our cause.

In the new conditions created as a result of the complete victory of socialism, the Party had to define the perspectives and main tasks of the socialist construction. The entire course of fulfilment of the decisions adopted by the April meeting and by the subsequent congresses showed that the Party had coped with its tasks. Implementation of the April line created the conditions for accelerating the development of the productive forces and social relations, for improving the work to educate working people in the spirit of communism.

Having scientifically determined the perspectives, the Central Committee gave priority to the development of industry, above all its most progressive branches; the power and chemical industries, metallurgy and, particularly, engineering. The line was adopted towards turning Bulgaria into a country of developed machine-building specializing in the production of certain types of machines and machine-tools within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. This line was incarnated in the directives for economic development, which constituted the basis of

the third and fourth five-year plans, which had been successfully fulfilled. Here we shall note in passing that during the fourth five-year plan (1961-65) more production assets were created than all the assets that existed by 1960, and that by 1966 industry was producing three times more than in 1956.

A big step forward was made also in developing the material and technological base of agriculture. It became more highly mechanized, more fertilizers were used, a number of irrigation installations were built, and the area of irrigated land was extended by several hundred thousand hectares. With the amalgamation of agricultural cooperatives the specialization and concentration of farm production was further developed, and important steps were taken to provide more incentives to the farmer. As a result, output in agriculture increased 65 per cent compared with 1956.

The following main indices testify to the viability of the line of the Party aimed at further developing the productive forces. The social product (1939 = 100) grew from 251 in 1956 to 621 in 1965, and national income from 179 to 390 respectively. Good progress was made in 1966. In this year alone the national income rose by 11 per cent, industrial output 12.2 per cent, agricultural output 15 per cent, and the consumption fund grew by roughly eight per cent.

As a result the standard of living has been considerably raised. In the past decade real incomes have almost doubled. Of significance, as regards both principle and practice, is the accelerated growth of incomes of the farming population. This not only cements the worker-peasant alliance and not only stimulates the peasants to take an active part in the socialist construction, but also helps accelerate the process of overcoming the distinctions between town and country.

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The Ninth Congress of the Party drew up, fully in keeping with the line of the April CC meeting, a concrete program for further development of the productive forces. This program, in line with the country's possibilities and taking due cognizance of the international division of labor, envisages that by 1970 basic production assets in the national economy will have risen by 90 per cent as compared with 1965, output in industry by 70 per cent and in agriculture by more than 30 per cent, and our national income will be about 50 per cent higher. This means that in the new five-year plan period, too, social production will develop at an accelerated rate, which in turn will create fresh prerequisites

for a rapid rise in the standard of living.

The most essential and fundamentally new element which the Ninth Congress introduced into economic policy should be seen in the turn from extensive to intensive economic development. The need for this is prompted by many reasons and considerations such as the current scientific and technological revolution and the intensification of production on the world scale, Bulgaria's participation in world trade, the need to accelerate the growth of the national income and to raise the standard of living. The Central Committee of the Party drew attention to our lagging in the sphere of labor productivity, properly evaluated the significance of new demands and laws in the development of modern production, and worked out by the time of the Ninth Congress a constructive program for the solution of urgent economic problems and tasks. In our economic, organizational and political work we proceed from the premise that the sooner and the better our leading cadres, scientists, engineers and technicians and all our working people realize the need for intensification and modernization of all branches of the economy, the better and in the more organized way they work for this, the more successfully and effectively our economy will develop, the more mature and richer our socialist society will become, and real conditions will be created for building communism in Bulgaria.

Modernization is inconceivable without the proper development of science, without it becoming a direct productive force, and without technological progress. In the past few years a network of research institutes and design organizations has been set up, and these bodies are now rendering invaluable aid to production. In view of the growing exigencies of life the Ninth Congress charted the basic tasks for the coming years in the field of science and technological progress, focussing attention on solving the overall problems of decisive significance for socialist construction. Special attention is paid to effectiveness of research and rapid application of its findings. There is no need for a country like ours to repeat all the stages of technological development traversed by other countries. It should absorb and apply as speedily as possible the latest achievements and the productive, scientific and technological experience of the advanced countries.

Congress noted that the adoption of scientific methods in the organization of production, labor and management is basic to raising the effectiveness of our economy. This is a problem of nationwide importance, the solution of which presupposes thorough preparation, careful study of the experience of the

economically advanced countries, sociological research and research at the level of engineering and technical personnel and training the necessary cadres. Measures are being elaborated under the guidance of the Central Committee with a view to accelerating technological progress.

The Party is working for a decisive turn towards intensive economic development, utilizing such a powerful lever as the new system of management. The aim of the new system of management is to ensure highly effective operation of the economy, but this can be achieved only by giving priority to factors of intensive economic growth. By its very nature, points of departure and economic mechanism the new system is such that it creates conditions for a steady growth of labor productivity and presupposes full utilization of other factors conducive to the intensification of production. The new system leads to the intensification of the entire national economy, harmonizing the interests of society as a whole, those of work teams and individual workers and provides them with economic stimuli.

Developing the economy, our country while making full use of its own resources draws at the same time on the economy of the socialist commonwealth, actively participates in the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, and pursues a line of bringing our economy closer to that of the Soviet Union on the basis of specialization and coordination.

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The Party tackles the main problems of the development of the productive forces in close connection with perfecting the social relations in their totality. Production is essentially a social process, and hence its scale and rates of development depend on the maturity of the socialist social relations. The Party clearly realizes the important role these relations play in our advance towards socialism, and takes every step to ensure their complete triumph.

Overcoming the wrong views and concepts of the past, the Central Committee has carried out in the past decade a series of measures to perfect the socialist production relations in all branches of the economy. An end was put to underestimating the significance of the cooperative form of ownership, and conditions were created for enhancing its role. The forms and content of the relations between the working class and the peasant co-operators have changed.

An important role in perfecting production relations and raising the effectiveness of production is played by the trust form of organization of our economy. Dozens of state-owned

trusts, formed in recent years, cover production, technology, design and, in some cases, trade functions in the corresponding sectors of the economy. The trusts are responsible for the overall development of these sectors, for satisfying the requirements of production, the home market and export trade with goods which are objects of their activity.

The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers are creating conditions needed for the successful functioning of the trusts. The plan for the current year devised for the trusts includes only generalized indices of economic activity, fixes the size of investments, currency resources, the share in export and import, etc. Funds are being created in the trusts with which they will be able to solve issues connected with the intensification and development of production. The further perfecting of planning will be along the line of combining planned state targets with economic independence of the trusts, with granting them the necessary economic means with which to boost production.

The new system of management and the formation of the trusts necessitate reform of the banking system.

In keeping with the tasks and functions of the trusts, now responsible for the entire process of production in the given branch, their participation in trade is being augmented. They can engage in external trade transactions—within the limits of the state monopoly, of course, and under supervision and control of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. These changes logically derive from the new system of management and are aimed at creating conditions in which its essence would be manifested in full, for accelerated and intensive development of our economy.

The Ninth Congress concluded that it was necessary to devise new forms of guiding the cooperatives and regulating their relations with the state, forms which would correspond to the current stage and create conditions for the more independent operation of the cooperatives. The forthcoming congress of co-operators will discuss the establishment of a Union of Cooperatives which should help to consolidate the material and technological base of the cooperatives, boost farm production and reduce its costs, and set up inter-cooperative enterprises and farms on the basis of modern industrial technology by way of utilizing untapped assets. This will be a new stage in the development of cooperative ownership, in perfecting social relations in the countryside. It will open up broader possibilities for improving the conditions and raising the cultural standards of the rural population.

The scale and impact of the growing influ-

ence exerted by socialist production relations on the development of the productive forces depend to a large extent on the system of incentives. In recent years this problem has been in the center of attention of the Central Committee.

Our Party does not counterpose material incentives to moral stimuli. It works to improve the forms and raise the effectiveness of moral stimuli, to promote socialist emulation and communist attitudes to labor, to deepen the socialist consciousness of the people. The Party regards the inter-connection and unity of purpose of material and moral stimuli as the way which guarantees further success in socialist construction and in the communist education of the people.

Incentives can fulfil their role only when they embrace all elements and aspects of the reproduction process, when the interests of society as a whole, those of the workers' collectives and individuals are harmoniously combined, when the working people steadily raise the profitability and effectiveness of social production. With the introduction of the new system of management the problem of raising incomes is approached in a new way. Incomes of factory workers, office employees and cooperative peasants will now depend to a large extent on the amount and quality of realized products, on the profitability of production and on the end results of their economic activity. Needless to say, centralized resources of raising the standard of living will be used as before.

The new system of management, the democratic principles in running production and the heightened consciousness of the working people have brought about the need to evolve better forms of worker participation in guiding production and economic activity. These forms are embodied in production (economic) committees in the enterprises and in economic councils of the trusts. The production committees and economic councils discuss and decide issues involved in developing and perfecting production, improving quality and raising the profitability of the enterprise, correct distribution of incomes, selection of leading personnel, perspectives of the given branch, etc. Managers of the enterprises and the trusts ensure the fulfilment of their decisions, and consider their suggestions, observing the existing legislative regulations. This makes it possible to augment the role of public organizations in the economy without infringing the principle of one-man management. Today we are anxious to create conditions that will enable these democratic bodies more fully to perform their role, to specify their areas of competence and functions.

Practice has demonstrated the advantages of the new system of management. As a rule, gross and net output, accumulations, labor productivity and earnings of the working people grow faster in the enterprises working under the new system. In the process of experimenting with the new system certain shortcomings have been revealed in the work of economic, state and Party organizations—incorrect views, conservatism, inertness in methods and consumer attitudes. Our Party considers it its task to improve the mechanism of the new system and create the conditions for the full manifestation of all its advantages. The new system presupposes, as the Ninth Congress stressed, a creative approach in Party and economic work, timely solution of issues involved in reorganizing planning and price formation and democratization of economic activity.

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Building a developed socialist society is linked with perfecting political, social relations. The main and objectively sound direction of this has been and remains the extension of democracy in all spheres of life, enlisting the working people in discussing and solving the main problems pertaining to the country's socialist development. New and more effective forms of participation by the people in running the country have asserted themselves: the rights and functions of standing committees under the auspices of the People's Assembly and people's councils have been extended, comradesly courts and people's control bodies have been set up, the working people are more active in safeguarding public order, etc. The functioning of the Fatherland Front, the YCL and trade unions has improved. An important role in building socialism is played by our ally, the Agrarian People's Union.

While promoting the democracy of our social system, the Party takes exception to petty-bourgeois spontaneity, attempts to counterpose democracy to the dictatorship of the proletariat and social discipline, to all kinds of abstract talk about democracy and freedom in general, and the preaching of bourgeois pseudo-humanism.

The problem of further developing the democratic foundations of our society is posed and examined in the decisions of the Ninth Congress as an overall one, as a problem embracing both the sphere of management and the many-sided political relations, above all those associated with the role and functions of the socialist state.

Under the new system of management in the next five years the correlation between

democracy and centralism in the economy will further change in favor of the democratic principle, and the role of the working people will be enhanced. These changes, logical in character, will affect not only the superstructural components of social relationships but also their economic basis—socialist ownership. The increasingly effective participation of the working people in management and in distribution of incomes expresses the deep-going essence of socialist production relations as the relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid between workers freed from exploitation, between co-owners of the means of production. Democracy in this sphere is inseparable from the content and essence of economic relations under socialism.

Congress stressed the need to steadily enhance the role of representative bodies—the People's Assembly and the local councils, to reinforce control by Parliament over the work of the central bodies and the machinery of state. Congress decisions envisage that the work of the latter should be placed wholly and entirely on a scientific footing, and chart the guidelines for the local councils in the conditions of the new system of management.

Congress also outlined changes in the legal superstructure that are caused by historical necessity. These changes are needed to enhance the role and strengthen the democratic content and social functions of juridical norms and institutions, to transform the latter into a still more reliable means of raising the effectiveness of economic management, and to secure correct regulation of social relations in their totality. In this connection the draft of a new Constitution is being prepared which will reflect the changes that have taken place, and create the juridical prerequisites for the country's further advance along the road to socialism and communism.

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The resolute overcoming of dogmatism, theoretical errors and misconceptions of the past has created a favorable climate for the development of social sciences, for agitation and propaganda, and for an upsurge in culture and in the arts. There was the urgent task of strengthening the social function and significance of the social sciences which should correctly reflect the social processes taking place and give the Party a scientific foundation for formulating its policy. The Central Committee shows an example in this respect. Its meetings and the materials of the Party congresses have elaborated such important problems as the character and laws of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, the correlation of the general laws and the specific

features of our development, the character, ways of development and perspectives of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, and the general perspective of the country's development in the period up to 1980. A major problem elaborated by the Party in recent years was that of the new system of management.

The Ninth Congress noted the significance of the social sciences, especially now that priority is given to scientific guidance of the social processes. Efforts are now focussed on all-round elaboration and clarification of such questions as the role of socialist social relations, the interaction of the objective conditions and the subjective factor at the current stage, the spiritual world, the interests and psychology of the citizen of our country. Another urgent problem today is that of studying the conditions, prerequisites and forms which are needed to secure scientific guidance of the processes of social development. This problem is of an overall character, and its elaboration presupposes coordination of efforts by representatives of several social sciences, research institutes and higher educational establishments, theorists and practical workers alike. The Party highly appreciates and encourages research into concrete problems of our life. It insists that workers on the ideological front should boldly and creatively generalize socialist practice, elaborate on this basis scientifically sound proposals and show how they can be realized.

In all its activity in the realm of culture the Party is guided by Marxism-Leninism, by the laws and Leninist principles of the socialist cultural revolution. Thanks to this, the cultural revolution has triumphed in our country and conditions have been created for the steady spiritual advancement of our people. Our major gain has been the development of the democratic principle in the leadership of cultural life, the close unity of men of culture and arts around the Party and its policy. Our ideological front, now stronger than ever, is in a position to uphold the ideas of communism in the fight against bourgeois ideology, to cut short ideological subversion by imperialism.

The Ninth Congress reaffirmed and furthered the line of the Party in the ideological sphere. We attach significance to the Congress ruling that work be continued to bring more democracy into the ideological activity and its individual sectors. For us democracy is not a question prompted by considerations of the moment or by demagogy. We see it as a vital necessity, as the condition for the all-round development of the spiritual and social life of our society. That is why the Party works

vigorously to remove all obstacles in the way of democratization, to get rid of unscrupulous attitudes, of ascribing unfounded political accusations, and of stifling of criticism. The Central Committee recently adopted a decision to reorganize the work of the Committee for Culture and Art. This decision opens new possibilities for accelerating the democratization process in the spiritual life of our society.

Our literature and arts, developing along the correct, Marxist-Leninist path, reflect the great truth of socialism, affirm our reality in its revolutionary development and enter the lists against negative phenomena. Petty-bourgeois radicalism, neglect of principle or ideas are alien to our writers and artists. They create true-to-life, optimistic works of socialist realism which educate the working people in the spirit of devotion to communism. Our artistic front has gained strength ideologically thanks to the correct, principled line of our Party, its uncompromising stand against attempts to sever this front from Party policy, against bourgeois influences and incorrect understanding of innovation and creative freedom.

Our working people see for themselves the advantages of socialism. Being convinced of the correctness of Party policy, they are becoming more deeply imbued with communist ideas, becoming conscious fighters for the general line of the Party. Success in the communist education of the people and deep-going changes in their outlook and psychology are logical consequences of the soundness of the Party line, evidence of the maturity of the Party and its ability correctly to pose and solve the problems of socialist upbuilding.

The Ninth Congress set the task of raising the ideological and theoretical level of Party propaganda, perfecting the forms of popularizing our revolutionary theory. The profound changes in the culture, daily life and outlook of people make it necessary to pose many questions of propaganda, political and explanatory work in a new way. In this sphere, too, it is essential to apply in full a consistently scientific approach, carefully examining and regulating the operation of those social factors which influence the moulding of the outlook and moral character of our contemporary.

Our Party is educating the people in the spirit of socialist patriotism, instilling in them and reinforcing the feeling of national pride, while resolutely opposing both survivals of bourgeois nationalism and the worshipping of everything foreign. This education has its inexhaustible source in the glorious history of our people, their age-long struggle against foreign invaders and against fascism, their gains in the fight for building socialism. This

work is not counterposed to but organically linked with the education of the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of solidarity and friendship with the CPSU and all Marxist-Leninist parties, with all revolutionary forces throughout the world. Our experience has confirmed the correctness of the line aimed at combining patriotism and internationalism in the policy and in the ideological work of the Party.

In this work we take cognizance of the fact that imperialism is stepping up its ideological attack against the socialist system and Marxism-Leninism. Imperialist propaganda seeks to make the working people indifferent to politics and ideologies, to set them against socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology. With this aim it is fanning chauvinist feeling and sentiment.

In order to defeat these attempts of the imperialist bourgeoisie it is necessary to refute every manifestation of modern anti-communism, to educate the working people and especially the youth in the spirit of class hatred for the bourgeoisie, its ideology and morals, improve the work to eradicate the vestiges of capitalism in the outlook and life of the people, ensure a profound and positive elaboration of the problems of life, economics, politics, ideology and culture. The task is to wage a systematic, offensive struggle against bourgeois influences, against attempts at ideological corruption and to educate ideologically tempered people selflessly devoted to communism.

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In its entire activity both at home and on the international arena the Party links the struggle for building socialism and communism with its policy in international relations. Our country pursues an active foreign policy aimed at lessening international tensions, strengthening mutual trust among the peoples, and solving issues by peaceful means, on the basis of constructive solutions.

The policy of our Party on the world arena is a class, Marxist-Leninist policy which takes cognizance of the real balance of world forces, the fact of existence of three groups of states different in their socio-political structure—the socialist and capitalist countries, and the developing countries which have recently freed themselves from colonial oppression. With an eye to our international commitments in the Balkans, it is fighting for turning this area into a zone of peace and fruitful cooperation. The Ninth Congress made an analysis of our foreign policy, noted its achievements and charted its main objectives for years ahead.

The Ninth Congress noted the aggravation of the international situation and the growth of world tensions. One reason for this is the aggression of U.S. imperialism against Vietnam. We shall continue as before to render political, economic, moral and military aid to the fraternal people of Vietnam until the invader is completely defeated. For us this is a matter of fulfilling our internationalist duty. Of course, it should not be forgotten that the Vietnam question has not only a military but also a political aspect. What is needed is to work with still greater persistence for a political solution to the Vietnam crisis.

Our Party attaches significance to another international problem—that of European security. The efforts of the West German militarists and revenge-seekers to get their hands on atomic weapons and their territorial claims are a constant source of tension in Europe. Bulgaria, jointly with other Warsaw Treaty member-countries, is waging a resolute struggle to bar the way to revanchism, to create an effective system of European security, and to consolidate friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the European continent.

True to its traditions and to the behests of Georgi Dimitrov, the Party strives to fulfil its internationalist duty with honor. It is working to strengthen unity and to overcome the differences in the international Communist movement. The statement made in the report of the Central Committee to the Ninth Congress that conditions are maturing for holding an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties evoked a favorable worldwide response. The internationalism of our Party was highly appreciated in speeches made by the delegations from the fraternal parties which attended our Congress. Our Party regards the CPSU as a consistent champion of creative Marxism-Leninism, a vanguard fighter for the cause of communism, its true ally, friend and brother. The unbreakable unity of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stems from the community of views, the community of interests, aims and tasks of our great cause.

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Our successes and our perspectives are inseparably linked with the consolidation of the Party, with raising the level of its organizational and ideological work, further introduction of Leninist standards of Party life and principles of leadership, with affirmation of collective methods in the work of Party committees and organizations.

The Party has conducted its activity in keeping with the objective laws of the country's development—with due account of the experi-

ence of the international Communist movement, primarily that of the USSR. It takes cognizance of the operation of all factors—internal and international, economic and social, permanent and temporary—which affect the building of socialism in our country. Today one of the essential features of Party policy, the source and earnest of our further success, is its scientific soundness.

The Ninth Congress set the task of enhancing the role of Party committees and organizations as organs of political leadership, of introducing on a still broader scale a scientific approach to the solution of issues, of adhering to collective methods of Party work. "At present," Todor Zhivkov said at the Congress, "this is the most important thing and, in a sense, the new one which should be more and more systematically affirmed and promoted in the activity of the Party."

Imperative for raising the scientific level of Party leadership is the profound and objective examination of reality, closely combining Party work with concrete needs and with the development of particular spheres of life. In particular the Congress noted the significance of studying public opinion and social psychology, sentiments and attitudes in tackling problems of social development. In this sense special significance attaches to thorough sociological, economic, statistical, juridical and other research, to timely and objective information, and experimental work. Our efforts are now directed towards basing the entire activity of the Party, the work of Party committees and organizations on a scientific footing. Under the leadership of the Central Committee systematic work is being carried out to raise the level of Marxist-Leninist grounding of leading personnel and specialists. The Party requires its members to be models of political awareness, devotion to principle and discipline, to be able to influence the masses and lead them.

In the light of the decisions of the Ninth Congress the regional, town, district and community Party committees are examining in a deeply scientific way the state of the economy and its development, social relationships and ideological work, mustering all their forces to attain fresh success in all spheres of life. With the active assistance of researchers, economic centers and groups of economic analysts are being formed in the regions and in the enterprises and sociological and social studies are being conducted. This makes it possible to choose the most rational means, methods and forms of work, to find a sure way to success.

Thus, the Party is asserting itself not only as the universally recognized ideological lead-

er of the working people, a leader capable of elaborating scientifically founded solutions for the problem of socialist construction, but also as an experienced organizer of the practical activity of the working people, an inspirer of their struggle for success in all fields of life. All that our Party is doing for the successful building of socialism, for the development of the productive forces, social relations and culture, is an expression of the genuine humanism of our social system, of solicitude for man.

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Building a developed socialist society is a grand and complex undertaking, requiring from the Party scientific and theoretical eluci-

dation and practical solution of the tasks arising in connection with completing the building of the material and technological base of socialism, perfecting social relationships, raising the standard of living and deepening the consciousness of the working people. Our Party is confidently leading the people along this road. The decisions of its Ninth Congress have equipped the people with a scientifically-founded program for the further development of socialist society in Bulgaria. Today all its energies, will and efforts are directed towards practical implementation of this program. In this the Bulgarian Communists see the fulfilment of their paramount national and internationalist duty.

Technical progress in Hungary's agriculture

IMRE DIMENY

I.

MOST OF THE socialist countries have now completed the socialist reconstruction of their agriculture. All told more than 100 million peasant families have taken to farming in the new way in the past thirty years.

By the end of 1965, 97.6 per cent of the entire farm area of Hungary belonged to the socialist sector with its two forms of producer cooperatives and state-owned farms. The average cooperative holding was 1,373 hectares, while the state farms averaged 4,730 hectares.

Before the Second World War Hungarian agriculture ranked among the most backward in Europe. There were only 7,000 tractors, concentrated exclusively on the big estates and accounting for only five per cent of agricultural draft power. In effect the small and medium-sized peasant farms had no machines at all. Artificial fertilizers were rarely used. Both crop cultivation and livestock raising were conducted mainly by extensive methods, owing to which low-yield crops were the rule. Peasants kept mainly those breeds of livestock best adapted to the conditions of extensive farming but which yielded low returns.

The Second World War aggravated the plight of our agriculture. More than half of the tractors and other farm machines went out of commission, and about half the head of livestock was destroyed. Only in 1949 was the prewar level regained as regards livestock and farm machines and implements.

After 1949 steps were taken to modernize farming and improve its technical equipment. But the initial progress was limited, primarily because of mistakes in economic policy, underestimation of the role of agriculture, and to no small extent the inertia of small-scale production. Wide-scale technical re-equipment

of agriculture began only after its socialist reconstruction which, in the main, was completed in 1959-61. Farm production and in particular output for the market increased in three years of collectivization by 8.5 per cent as compared with the average for the three previous years. The decisive role in this was played by the political support and active aid rendered the peasantry by the working class. In carrying out the socialist reconstruction of agriculture the Socialist Workers' Party strictly observed the Leninist principles of voluntary association, gradualness, material incentives and state aid to the newly-formed cooperatives. This made it easier for the peasants to go over to socialist forms of farming.

The Party, correctly assessing the home and international situation, arrived at the conclusion in 1958 that the political conditions had become ripe for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The policy pursued after the defeat of the 1956 counter-revolution had strengthened the alliance of the workers and peasants and rallied the working peasantry closer around the Party and the government. The working class realized that the socialist transformation of agriculture was its own vital concern and that its task was to lead the peasantry forward along the socialist road. As for the peasants, it was explained to them that only large-scale socialist farming could release them from their plight and create the conditions for raising their material and cultural standards. The rural organizations of the Party gained strength and Party work in the countryside was raised to a higher plane.

For the Party a prime task was gradually to create the economic prerequisites for cooperative farming and to enlarge the material and technological base of the cooperatives. In

the course of the Second Five-Year Plan (1961-65) 40,000 million forints, one-fifth of the total invested in the national economy, was channelled to agriculture. The Party's policy was aimed at putting the newly-formed cooperatives on their feet as quickly as possible. Socialist reconstruction accelerated the technical revolution in agriculture.

II.

The socio-economic changes following liberation were accompanied by a relatively rapid growth of industry, as a result of which part of the agricultural labor force shifted to the towns. In the past fifteen years the number engaged in farming has dropped from 2,200,000 to 1,500,000. As a consequence there has been a big increase in the demand for power traction and farm machinery. The share of mechanical draft power grew considerably, amounting to 75 per cent by the end of 1965. The number of tractors (in terms of 15 hp units) increased from 52,700 in 1961 to 91,500 in 1965. The average area cultivated per 15-hp tractors dropped from 98 hectares in 1961 to 55 hectares in 1965. At the same time the number of other farm machines increased even faster than that of tractors. This greatly facilitated more rational utilization of the tractors and made for all-round mechanization. As a result notable progress has been made in ensuring timely performance of basic field work. The biggest achievements have been registered in mechanizing grain harvesting. In 1966, 83 per cent of the grain crop was brought in by machine. But so far little has been done to mechanize the harvesting of late root crops. In 1966 roughly 30 per cent of the sugar beet harvesting and 20 per cent of the potato digging was done by machine. The level of mechanization is still low in harvesting corn, grapes and fruit, and also in some areas of livestock raising.

Much more fertilizer, especially mineral, is used nowadays. The amount used per hectare rose from 41.2 kg. in 1961 to 70.1 kg. in 1965. As a result yields have risen. The yield of wheat, for instance, rose from 1.37 tons per hectare in 1946-50 to 2.17 tons in 1966.

Increased use of pesticides has played a big part in cutting losses due to pests and plant diseases and making farm production more stable as regards both quantity and quality.

Chemical agents are now employed to combat weeds, in particular by wheat, corn, pea and potato growers. Herbicides facilitate extensive use of harvesting machinery and thereby reduce the need for manual labor. Our success in corn growing, for example, is di-

rectly connected with the use of herbicides. The same is largely true of the wheat crop.

Recent years have witnessed substantial headway in land reclamation and irrigation. Some 500,000 hectares, or about eight per cent of the cultivated area, have been improved in the past five years, and this has increased yields by 300-500 kg. per hectare.

Recent years have been notable from the standpoint of the more extensive use of select seed, especially of wheat, sunflower, corn and peas. Last year 80 per cent of the wheat area was sown to high-yield varieties. Especially valuable among these is a hardy beardless variety yielding top-quality flour developed in the Soviet Union. Nearly 60 per cent of the sunflower area was planted to a Krasnodar variety with a high oil yield, and 95 per cent of the corn area to home-developed hybrids. As for our achievements in growing peas and long-fibre hemp, we owe these too primarily to new varieties. However, in the case of some other crops we still lack varieties with sufficiently high yields. This, indeed, is one of the causes of the lag to be observed in our crop farming.

Noteworthy too is the progress made in growing fodder crops and in mixed feeds for cattle and poultry, a sphere which was completely neglected before the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Production of mixed feeds was started only in 1961, but by 1965 their output was brought up to nearly two million tons. This met our poultry feed requirements almost completely and the requirements of the cooperative and state farms for hog feeds by roughly 80 per cent.

Big investments have been made in large-scale construction in agriculture. Especially notable progress has been made in building poultry houses, most of which now measure up to the most up-to-date standards. This not only saves labor and makes it more productive but also increases production and profitability.

Some advance has been registered in modernizing hog-raising. Putting cattle-raising on a modern footing has proceeded slowest of all. High production costs greatly limit the possibilities for setting up big cattle farms with the latest technical equipment. As a matter of fact, the share of beef and dairy cattle in the total livestock is still relatively small. In 1965 this branch accounted for only 30 per cent of the gross value of livestock produce. Although the share of hog-raising and poultry farming is still large, it should be noted that our livestock farmers too have made progress in introducing up-to-date methods — broiler factories, artificial insemination, improved designs of silage cutters, and better control over improvement of strains.

III.

One of the problems facing the producer cooperatives is the relatively high average age of their members. Hence the importance we attach to economic and socio-political measures capable of offering young people a greater inducement to stay in the villages and work on the farms. These measures include a pension scheme based on the same principles as the pensions to which industrial and office workers are entitled, regular guaranteed payment for labor, extension of the sphere of cooperative economic activity, and a consistent approach to the cooperatives as both voluntary associations of working peasants and independent large-scale socialist enterprises.

Recent years have been marked by a substantial improvement in training people for agriculture. The number of engineers, technicians and skilled operatives in agriculture has grown and now amounts to 7,500, 12,000 and nearly 60,000 respectively. We are convinced that with the further development of technology only those farm specialists will meet the growing requirements who are endowed with a sense of the new, who realize that effective production depends on technical advance, have an adequate political grounding, and are able to carry the masses with them and to run the cooperative and state farms so as to make the maximum use of the local possibilities in line with the interests of the national economy as a whole. Modern agriculture calls for high skills. Growing realization of this is prompting more young people to take an interest in farming and to study for a career on the land. The state is allocating substantial sums to provide training facilities to growing numbers of farmers.

IV.

During the Second Five-Year Plan (1961-65) farm production increased 10 per cent over the previous five years, the annual growth rate averaging two per cent.

In striving for greater efficiency we are working to ensure the simultaneous and proportional development of industry and agriculture. As hitherto, the important thing is to ensure a higher rate of advance in industry and to enhance its role in the economy as a whole. But industry can be promoted only if agriculture is built up at the same time. Hence one of our tasks is gradually to do away with the relative lag in farming caused mainly by the legacy of the past. This is all the more important since in our country the balanced development of the economy and raising liv-

ing standards largely depend on the development of agriculture. Consequently, we cannot approach the problems of agriculture only from the standpoint of the peasants. These problems are the concern also of the working class and all other sections of the working people. We hold that the steady consolidation of the alliance of the workers and peasants is the decisive factor in our socialist development.

The Third Five-Year Plan (1966-70) calls for an increase of 13-15 per cent in agricultural production as compared with the average for the previous five years. In other words, we are counting on an average annual growth of 2.6-2.8 per cent. In setting this goal we proceeded primarily from the following:

1. A large part of the investments made during the Second Five-Year Plan will begin to yield returns in the third five-year period. This applies, for example, to most of the newly planted vineyards and orchards. Earlier land reclamation work will make itself felt to an increasing extent. It should also be borne in mind that efficiency, technical standards, vocational training and the peasants' political activity have all been on the upgrade in the recent period.

2. The more favorable material and financial conditions provided for the cooperatives should act as an added stimulus prompting the membership both collectively and individually to improve performance. Modernization and intensification of farming will be continued in the big socialist agricultural enterprises. Our object is to increase productivity of labor in most cooperatives so that they can cover their basic and current expenditures from their own incomes, ensure cooperators an income equivalent to the wages of industrial workers, and build up the accumulations necessary for expanding production according to plan. Incentives for cooperators will, as hitherto, be differentiated according to local conditions. The cooperatives will establish an income-sharing fund, part of which will be used to ensure guaranteed, regular remuneration for labor. We want the big cooperatives, while strengthening their cooperative character, to operate along industrial lines and to go over to regular guaranteed payment for labor. This is not to say, of course, that cooperatives functioning in unfavorable production conditions will not continue to enjoy state support, mainly through price subsidies.

3. Pensions and other social benefits for cooperative members are to approximate to the social benefit and pension schemes for industrial and office workers.

4. With a view to deepening democracy in

the cooperatives in conformity with the overall development of the system of economic management, we are setting up representative cooperative bodies. The principle followed is that the obligations of the cooperatives can stem only from legal standards and contractual arrangements, as well as from the decisions of their membership meetings and elected committees. Congresses and associations of cooperatives will function as their democratically elected representative bodies. The first cooperative congress is to be held this year. The National Council of Cooperatives will study cooperative issues at national level, work out a common line, and formulate and submit to government bodies proposals aimed at improving the functioning of the cooperatives.

5. While giving priority to the commonly owned economy of the cooperatives we shall pay more attention to helping the members make the maximum use of their personal plots. More assistance will be given to the simpler forms of cooperation.

6. More emphasis will be placed on planning and contractual arrangements in agriculture in the over-all context of the reform of economic management. The cooperatives will continue to sell the bulk of their produce under contract to purchasing organizations and processing enterprises. The terms of the contracts should be mutually advantageous and both sides equally obliged to honor their commitments.

The cooperatives have the right to sell both their joint output and the produce grown by members on their personal plots (with the exception of items which fall under state monopoly) not only to specialized purchasing organizations and processing plants, but also to export agencies, hotels, restaurants and other organizations, as well as directly to the consumers, or to process them by their own facilities. Moreover, they can market their produce jointly. However, they are not allowed to buy and resell produce, except in specified cases, nor can they assume the functions of wholesale trading organizations.

7. During the Third Five-Year Plan 44,000-45,000 million forints is to be invested in agriculture. This is about one-fifth of the total investment earmarked for the national economy. The money will be channelled primarily

into modernization. In the process we propose gradually to do away with the disproportions still existing between basic and supplementary investment, on the one hand, and production, processing, transporting and storing of produce, on the other. The object is to ensure better coordination between the farms, food industry enterprises and the distributive network.

A sizeable part of the investments is to go to mechanizing the harvesting, loading, transport and drying of late crops, primarily mechanizing the harvesting of corn, potatoes and sugar beet. Much importance will be attached to all-round development of cattle raising. More chemicals will be used. The quantity of mineral fertilizers for 1970 is expected to be double that of 1965. The material and technical base of agriculture will be thus substantially expanded, and this will make for better utilization of latent possibilities and more rapid growth of production.

The achievement of the aims we have set for ourselves for the immediate future will depend primarily on the conscientious labor of the cooperative members and state farm workers. Alongside providing bigger incentives much attention will be paid to political education and professional training.

As regards the development of property relations in the producer cooperatives the Ninth Congress of the Party arrived at the conclusion that "the fundamental political and economic interests of the nation call for such a solution of the question of land ownership as would bring it into harmony with large-scale cultivation of the land, i.e., cooperative ownership. It should be made possible, as a matter of both principle and law, for the producer cooperatives to acquire the title to the land they use upon payment of a stipulated purchase price. The emergence of cooperative ownership of the land involves a long process and necessarily presupposes agreement between the producer cooperatives and the owners of the land."

Our peasants have confidence in the policy of the Party. This policy makes it possible systematically to improve the conditions of the peasants, to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance—the political foundation of our society—and to consolidate the socialist relations of production in the countryside.

Fraternal contacts

February 4-6. L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC CPSU, and Y. V. Andropov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, paid a visit to Czechoslovakia on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Party and had talks with Party leaders.

February 8-10. The foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty states met in Warsaw to exchange views on the efforts of the socialist countries aimed at lessening international tension, strengthening peace, security and European cooperation.

February 25-March 1. During a friendly visit to Moscow as guests of the Central Committee of the CPSU, J. Kadar, B. Biszku and K. Erdyi, leaders of the Hungarian Party, exchanged opinions with Soviet Party leaders.

February 28-March 1. A Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid was signed during the visit to Poland of a Czechoslovak Party and government delegation led by President Novotny.

February 13-March 3. A government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic headed by Kim Il, Secretary of the CC of the Party of Labor and First Deputy Chairman of the Cabinet, visited the Soviet Union on the invitation of the Soviet Government. The government delegations of the two countries signed agreements on economic, scientific and technical cooperation and reciprocal goods deliveries.

March 8-9. W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party,

and J. Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited Budapest where they had talks with Hungarian Party leaders.

March 13-15. Talks between Soviet and Bulgarian Party leaders were held during a visit to Moscow by T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Z. Zhivkov, and T. Tzolov, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

March 14-15. A Party and government delegation of the German Democratic Republic headed by Walter Ulbricht and Willi Stoph visited Warsaw. A Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the two countries was signed on March 15.

March 16-17. The visit to Prague of a GDR Party and government delegation led by Walter Ulbricht and Willi Stoph culminated in the signing of a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid.

March 17-18. N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, I. G. Maurer, member of the Executive Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and P. Niculescu-Mizil, member of the Executive Committee, paid a visit to Moscow on the invitation of the CC CPSU where they had talks with Soviet leaders.

March 21-23. Talks between Soviet Party leaders and leaders of the GDR were held during a visit to Moscow by a GDR delegation headed by Walter Ulbricht.

The old British imperialism and the new

JACK WODDIS

AT PRESENT the British people face very acute problems. The Labor Government has imposed a wage freeze on the workers, backing up its previous pressure for this by actual legislation to enforce it. Prices, in many cases as a direct consequence of Government taxation policies, are rising, and thus the workers are suffering a cut in real wages. Unemployment, again a direct result of Government policy, is soaring, especially in the motor industry; total unemployment is 644,000 (February figure) and is expected to increase still more. Social service spending already much too little to overcome the deficiencies in housing, education and health services, is to be cut still further; and the worst off sections of the population, especially those on low wages or old age pensions, will be the hardest hit of all. Two well-known authorities, Professor Abel-Smith and Professor Townsend, have estimated that there are now no less than 7½ million people, or 14.2 per cent of the population of Britain, living at or below the poverty level; the total includes 2¼ million children. Tens of thousands of workers now thrown out of work are in danger of being pushed down into this poverty stratum, and many more, with their wages frozen while prices rise, will be pressed close to the poverty line.

At the same time the Government, by its taxation policy and restrictions on credit, is discouraging private investment while it is curtailing its own. Industrial output in Britain, already slowed down to a snail's pace, even compared with most other capitalist countries, will be almost halted. In August, 1966, the National Institution of Economic and Social Research, for instance, forecast a rise of just over one per cent in national output in 1967. A later estimate by the London and Cam-

bridge Economic Bulletin, made after the Government's "crisis" measures in July 1966, argues that in the eighteen month period up to the end of 1967, "gross domestic product at factory cost will fall by 0.2 per cent." In other words, from near stagnation to the beginnings of an actual decline.

To add to these disturbing developments, there is ominous talk about devaluing the pound, and the Government is stepping up its moves to take Britain into the European Common Market.

The situation in Britain, and the policy being pursued by the Wilson Labor Government, is a reflection of the deep crisis facing British imperialism — a crisis which is both economic and political.

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Fifty years ago, in his classic work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin drew attention to the especially parasitic character of British imperialist economy. Britain was then the world's leading imperialist power, but already displaying the characteristics of decay, with an increasing proportion of her imports no longer being paid for by exporting goods but through the huge flow back to Britain of imperialist super-profit, especially through the exploitation of the colonies. On the eve of the first world war one-fifth of imports into Britain were no longer paid for by exports. By the eve of the second world war, over one-third of imports were no longer covered by exports. In fact, in the 165 years since 1800, imports into Britain exceeded exports in 159 of these years.

Up until the second world war this presented no difficult problem for the British Government as far as her balance of payments was

concerned, since the difference was paid for by super-profits from the colonies and by profits from other overseas investments.

Why is it, then, that Harold Wilson now warns the people that Britain must export more, and that "we are living beyond our means"? In his new book, *The Case For Socialism in the Sixties*, John Gollan, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, explains the difference between the situation before the Second World War and now in these words:

"Then the military cost to Britain of colonialism did not appear in our balance of payments. These costs were borne by the colonial governments run by Britain. They were paid for entirely by the colonial workers, out of whose labor came the colonial super-profit flowing back to Britain and the cost of their military subjection. In the 1938 balance of payments there was no entry for government overseas military expenditure, and total government overseas expenditure was only £16 million. In 1964 government expenditure overseas, mostly military, was £431 million."

This cost of colonialism, of maintaining British bases and troops overseas to protect British investments and super-profits, and which formerly was paid for by the colonial people themselves, is now being imposed on the British working people by the Government acting as the spokesman of the big companies which reap the benefit from colonial-type exploitation.

This change in the position of British imperialism, and the consequences which have ensued for the British people, arise from the change in the relation of world forces, following the Second World War. The emergence of a powerful socialist camp, the advance of the national-liberation movement leading to the ending of direct colonial rule in sixty countries, inhabited by 1,250 million people, and the growth of the working class, democratic and peace movements in the imperialist countries, has weakened the position of imperialism as a whole.

For British capitalism, which has relied largely on the exploitation of a vast colonial empire, this change in the world has been particularly serious. Furthermore, Britain finds now that its efforts to continue the exploitation of the former colonial areas via the various methods of neo-colonialism are meeting not only with the resistance of the peoples themselves but with the competition of other imperialist powers who are able to penetrate many of these territories now that Britain's colonial monopoly over them has been ended. The United States, in parti-

cular, has increased its investments in the British Commonwealth since 1945, and has greatly expanded its trade relations with the Commonwealth countries. From a military standpoint, too, the United States has strengthened its position in a number of Commonwealth countries at the expense of Britain; and in Australasia her advance over Britain in this respect is expressed in the ANZUS Pact which binds Australia and New Zealand to a U.S. military alliance from which Britain is excluded. At the same time, other imperialist rivals, especially West Germany and Japan, and to a lesser extent Italy and France, are increasing their trade with British Commonwealth countries and stepping up their investments in these territories.

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British imperialism has tried to meet this post-war crisis by a series of measures designed to enable it to continue deriving great benefits from the exploitation of the colonial and former colonial people, as an essential element in the maintenance and strengthening of British capitalism. In the period after 1945, Britain at first tried to restore fully her colonial domination in Asia, and to assist other imperialist powers to retain theirs. Through her leadership of the Southeast Asia Command at the end of the war, she gave every assistance to the Dutch to try to restore their control over Indonesia, and to the French to do the same in Indochina. At the same time, she took brutal steps to restore her rule in Malaya and Singapore, but had to concede independence to India and Burma when compelled to do so by the very strength of the people's struggle in these countries. In the Middle East, too, where her rule was in a more indirect form, she strove to hold on to her positions, only to be severely shaken by her defeat at Suez in 1956, and the overthrow of King Feisal and Nuri Said in Iraq in 1958. By 1957, her efforts to hold down by brute force her colonial possessions in Africa too were beginning to break down. The Kenya Emergency had sharply revealed the extent of the conflict between British imperialism and its African possessions, as had the advance of the powerful political movements in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zambia and Malawi.

Increasingly, therefore, British imperialism found it necessary to turn to the new methods of neo-colonialism, retreating where it had to, tying independent states to new military agreements and alliances, holding on to military bases and creating new ones, finding new forms of economic penetration and control, and utilizing all existing political connections

and ideological influences to subordinate the new states to its will. Both division (as in India, with the partition into India and Pakistan) and Federation (as in Central Africa, and later in Malaysia, South Arabia and the West Indies) were used to keep the peoples within the British sphere of interest. The dilemma of Britain in Africa was explained in 1960 by the then Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, in his well-known "wind of change" speech which, in reality, applied not only to Africa but to the colonial problems of Britain everywhere:

"The wind of change is blowing through the continent. Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must accept it as a fact. Our national policies must take account of it . . . I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so, we may imperil the precarious balance of East and West . . . As I see it, the great issue in this second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or to the West. Will they be drawn into the Communist camp?"

Thus, the tactics of British imperialism were laid down — to retreat in the face of the national-liberation movement, but to strive to influence it, to gain influence over it so as to keep it "with the West," that is, within the orbit of imperialism.

These tactics, however, have met with ever-increasing setbacks and have presented ever new problems to British imperialism, both economic and political. To operate the new tactics of neo-colonialism, British imperialism has found it necessary to maintain a string of overseas military bases stretching right across the world. This has been described by the British Prime Minister as a policy of being "strong East of Suez." This has been spelled out more precisely by the Defense Minister, Dennis Healey, in a speech in Canberra on February 2nd, 1966:

"We have no intention of ratting on any of our commitments. We intend to remain and shall remain fully capable of carrying out all the commitments we have at the present time, including those in the Far East, in the Middle East and in Africa. We do intend to remain in a military sense a world power."

This, as we have seen, imposes a crushing defense expenditure on Britain. Furthermore, the extending revolt of the peoples of Africa and Asia compels Britain to seek constantly for fresh military bases, to close down old ones, and, at considerable new costs, establish new ones, preferably on remote islands sparsely populated, and where it is hoped no strong national-liberation movements will arise to compel the abandonment of the base.

Parallel with its drive to maintain its military position in the Third World, British imperialism has also made extraordinary efforts to retain and strengthen its economic grip in order to ensure an ever bigger flow of profits from overseas investments. By the end of 1945 the total of British overseas capital assets was £2,417 million. In the past twenty years, under successive Labor and Tory Governments, every effort has been made to build up afresh this accumulation of overseas capital as the essential foundation of Britain's imperialist economy. The total figure has now reached £11,000 million — and it is to protect these investments that the British people have to bear the burden of an annual arms bill of over £2,000 million

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The Labor Government, pursuing a policy to defend British imperialism, favors the export of capital to obtain more profitable returns than from domestic investment — and the corresponding military expenditure to protect these investments. It is this export of capital and the overseas military expenditure which are the real cause of the balance of payments crisis of which the Government speaks so often. It is the big monopolies which benefit from the investments. It is the British people who have to pay to protect them — in heavy taxes, in cuts in social services, in the "wage freeze" and credit "squeeze" policy, and in unemployment.

* * *

Britain's imperialist crisis also confronts the British Government with acute political problems. Its hopes that it would be able to contain the new independent states within the total orbit of British imperialism, and that the people and Governments of the former colonies would be content to remain pawns of their former colonial masters, have not been fulfilled.

A stage has been reached in which the ideas of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, are beginning to have a powerful attraction for the most advanced leaders and parties of the national movements.

In desperation at this continuing advance of the anti-colonial revolution, British imperialism, largely in concert with other imperialist powers, has turned to the technique of the military coup the assassination, mass repression and the establishment of open dictatorships as a means of halting the peoples advance.

One of the first acts of the Labor Government when it took office at the end of 1964 was to make the Ascension Island available

to the Belgian paratroops for their drop on Stanleyville, which signaled the opening of the new imperialist counter-offensive, which has since gone ahead in Africa Asia, Latin America and the Carriibbean, as shown particularly by the coups in Indonesia and Ghana, and in the moves for an Islamic Pact directed mainly against the United Arab Republic.

Such successes as British imperialism has had are only temporary, and new political problems face her in her relations with the former colonial territories, as well as with her remaining colonies. The 1966 Commonwealth Premiers' Conference revealed only too well the acute difficulties facing British imperialism. It has been the intention of successive British Governments that the Commonwealth would act as a unifying factor, as a means of British imperialism retaining its domination over all the countries of which it is composed. In practice, however, the conflicts between the majority of the Commonwealth countries, on the one hand, and Britain, on the other, are so sharp that the meetings of Commonwealth Premiers have become arenas of political battle.

The problem had become particularly noticeable by 1960, when the independence gained by a number of African countries, and the Asian states which had won their sovereign status a decade earlier, resulted in a shift in the balance of forces represented at Commonwealth Premiers' meetings. This change meant that, from a numerical standpoint, Britain and the "white" dominions (Australia, Canada and New Zealand) were now a minority — and, in terms of population represented at the conference, the balance against them was still more unfavorable. But the difference was only superficially one of color or race; in reality, it represented a conflict between imperialism in its new neo-colonialist phase and the former colonial peoples struggling to complete their liberation.

From Commonwealth Conference to Conference, the differences between Britain and the new states have become sharper and sharper, especially in connection with Africa. At the 1960 and 1961 Conferences, feeling over the apartheid regime in South Africa was so strong, especially after the 1960 massacre at Sharpeville, that South Africa was compelled to resign from the Commonwealth. The next focal point was the Central African Federation which was finally dissolved in 1963. For the past three years the key issue has been Southern Rhodesia, the majority of Commonwealth Premiers insisting on the British Government taking measures to end the tyranny of the white racialist minority in that territory.

Between the 1965 Conference and that in 1966, the European minority Government in Southern Rhodesia, which up to that time exercised internal self-government, unilaterally declared independence. In the ensuing months, despite strong demands from the African States, and condemnatory resolutions at the United Nations, the Wilson Government refused to take any decisive steps to remove the illegal Smith regime; with the result that, as the months went by, the prestige of the British Government slumped in the eyes of the African and Asian peoples.

In addition, the Commonwealth countries at the United Nations, as well as at the United Nations Trade and Development Conference in Geneva, saw the British Government more and more as a main supporter of imperialism everywhere. On almost every major issue the British representatives were found to be voting against the majority of the Afro-Asian bloc; and, in fact, were not infrequently found to be on the same side as Portugal and South Africa. (It was not lost on the peoples of Africa and Asia, either, that the socialist countries were their most consistent supporters and champions on these occasions).

In this post-war period, as British imperialism has found it more and more difficult to maintain its control over the overseas territories which it used to govern, so it has turned closer to the U.S. Thus an essential component of British policy in face of its crisis is the Anglo-American alliance which finds its clearest expression in the abject support which the British Labor government gives to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Despite the volume of criticism in Britain concerning this policy the Wilson Government sticks to this line. The explanation was made clear at the time of Wilson's visit to Johnson in 1964 shortly after the election of the Labor Government. The joint communique issued after their talks made it clear that British support for the United States in Vietnam was in return for American support for British policy in Malaysia. Repeatedly when the question of the British Governments' East of Suez policy has been discussed in the British press, commentators have openly made it clear that U.S. pressure is one of the dominant influences behind the British Government's decision to maintain its large forces overseas, especially East of Suez.

Apropos of this, *The Sunday Times* (3rd July, 1966) commented:

"Mr. Wilson's policy is an Anglo-American war policy. His foreign policy is an Anglo-American policy, and Mr. Stewart (at that time Foreign Secretary) is wholly committed to that. His economic policy is an Anglo-Ame-

rican economic policy, and that is the basis of what Mr. Callaghan (Chancellor of the Exchequer) has been doing. His defense policy also is Anglo-American, and Mr. Healey (Defense Minister) is the MacNamara of the British Isles."

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How critical had become Britain's policy in relation to the other Commonwealth countries was revealed at the 1966 Conference of Commonwealth Premiers right from the start. Out of 23 Prime Ministers eligible, only 13 attended, the others being represented by Deputies; and Tanzania, although eligible, did not attend at all. The majority of the Commonwealth representatives present insisted on the question of Southern Rhodesia being given priority, and, in pursuit of this aim, they compelled Wilson to accept putting this as the first item on the agenda. For several days the debate over Southern Rhodesia raged in the Conference; and in the end only the most deceptive maneuvers by Wilson enabled him to secure the assent of the Commonwealth representatives to the final communique. Even so, the communique could not but reveal the differences.

The majority of Commonwealth representatives demanded that the British Government use force and comprehensive mandatory sanctions to remove the Smith regime, that it release the political prisoners before any interim Government is set up, that such a government should include the national leaders, that Britain should refuse to negotiate with the illegal regime, that the principle of one man, one vote be accepted and that there should be no independence before majority rule. Mr. Wilson rejected all these demands, although they had to be noted in the communique.

At the same time, he was able to secure the assent of the Commonwealth representatives to the British Government sending representatives to Southern Rhodesia in order to "explain" the decisions of the Conference. By this deceit, Wilson obtained a virtual mandate from the Conference to resume negotiations with the Smith regime. The outcome has now been seen in the talks between Wilson and Smith, which have made clear the extent of British imperialism's readiness to make a deal with the white settlers.

The White Paper issued after the Wilson-Smith talks showed that the British Prime Minister was prepared to allow Smith to continue as Prime Minister, to permit white minority domination to remain indefinitely, and to grant legal independence to Southern Rhodesia before majority rule. All the ifs and buts in the White Paper were of no significance, since once power was handed over to

the white minority it would feel free to do as it wished.

This appeasement of the white racialists by Wilson was met in the same manner that appeasement has always been met. The white settlers' government rules by open terror and brute force. Its racist and fascist outlook is such that it is not prepared to yield an inch or to make the slightest concession even in words. In particular it did not wish to relinquish a vestige of its power even if the concession was in itself more formal than real. For these reasons it rejected Wilson's proposals, especially as Wilson had made it clear beforehand that he was not prepared either to use force to remove Smith, or to impose complete sanctions including oil and covering South Africa.

The reaction to this betrayal by a number of Commonwealth leaders indicates once again the difficulty which British imperialism has today in carrying out its policies.

This dilemma has resulted in certain sections of ruling class opinion in Britain questioning the very basis of the Commonwealth. Some Conservative circles advocate a new form of Commonwealth, while others urge even its dissolution.

Whether the Commonwealth survives in its present form, or breaks up, depends largely on whether one or more of the newly independent members withdraws from it. But even the break-up of the Commonwealth does not in itself mean the end of British imperialism. Whatever happens to the Commonwealth structure, the real struggle must still be waged against British imperialism, and its success depends on solidarity action with the national liberation movements which are striving in different ways to end British imperialist domination.

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In the recent period, the Wilson Government has had to take into account the extent of criticism in Britain of its whole imperialist policy. So sensitive is Wilson to this criticism that he finds it expedient to argue that he is trying to end Britain's "imperial posture." He even tries to defend the extravagant overseas military expenditure by the rather lame excuse that this is essential if Britain is to fulfil her responsibilities to the United Nations. In fact, on repeated occasions the United Nations General Assembly, or Committee on Colonialism, have voted for propositions directed against Britain's retention of overseas military bases.

The British Labor movement has been by no means hoodwinked by Wilson. At last year's Labor Party Conference, despite the opposition of the Right-wing leaders, a reso-

lution was carried demanding a cut in the commitments East of Suez and in Germany, an end to "over-dependence on American support" and a considerable reduction in arms expenditure. In the Parliamentary Labor Party, too, there has been strong criticism of the Government's imperialist policies, expressed in the special meeting which Mr. Wilson had to have over the question of the "East of Suez" policy, and in the resolution of over 100 MPs demanding that there should be majority rule in Southern Rhodesia before independence.

A particular point of criticism has been the Government's abject support of the United States aggression in Vietnam, and activities on this, both at regional and national level, have received wide support.

In all these activities, the Communist Party has played its part and has helped the whole movement to see the issues more clearly than before. For several years, the Communist

Party has been pointing out the connection between the standard of living of the British workers and the heavy expenditure on overseas military expenditure and on capital exports. We have constantly stressed the necessity to change the whole imperialist structure of the British economy, to find a new basis of economic relations with the developing countries, based on mutual benefit, to extend trading relations with the socialist countries, to work for full economic co-operation with the whole of Europe, and to establish a comprehensive system of collective security.

These ideas are making increasing headway in the British working-class and progressive movement, and among the young people. The further development of this movement, in solidarity with the movement of the peoples of the Third World, is needed in order to defeat the imperialist policy being followed by the British Labor Government.

The economic problems of Austria

ALFRED RUSCHITZKA

DESPITE THE increased economic potential with which Austria emerged from World War II, and the prolonged postwar boom, the country is faced with serious economic problems on which its future depends.

In no other European capitalist country has capitalist development been so contradictory, deformed and spasmodic, as in Austria. The defeat suffered by the bourgeois revolution of 1848-49 and the resultant relative stabilization of late feudalism made the ruling circles of Austria hostile to industry. Industrialization, therefore, was slow. Many Austrian bourgeois, hailing from the landed aristocracy, turned to branches associated with their land

and forests — textile, food-processing and woodworking industries.

This, and the belated industrialization explains why heavy industry became, right from the outset, the domain of foreign capital. This "division of labor" was accepted also by the part of the Austrian bourgeoisie which emerged from the urban middle classes. This trend acquired a special significance in view of the claim of the German-speaking bourgeoisie of the old Austro-Hungary, although outnumbered by the Slavs, Italians and Hungarians, to a position of dominance in the empire. Being unable to attain this position without help from abroad, it depended since

its emergence on the support of the German bourgeoisie to which it gravitated politically and economically, even when quite obviously assigned the role of junior partner. These features of the Austrian bourgeoisie made themselves fatally felt at turning points in Austrian history.

The lessons of fascism were not lost on the Austrian people. National consciousness grew, also among the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, an influential part of the ruling class still retains the traditional orientation on the German bourgeoisie. This is a highly dangerous element of Austrian politics in general and of economic policy in particular. These men have gained control of the conservative People's Party and, hence, of the government.

STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS— ECONOMIC VICISSITUDES—RECESSION

Starting with 1938 the structure of the Austrian economy changed to meet the needs of the German war economy. Enterprises appeared which apparently were too big for Austria.

The new structure clearly necessitates a search for new export opportunities. To maintain full employment and a high level of business activity Austria has to export about one-third of her output. This makes her economy particularly sensitive to market fluctuations in the countries which buy Austrian goods. Therefore Austria needs more export markets and hence the importance of trade with countries whose economies are not affected by crises. All economists are aware of this, but political considerations have made export even more one-sidedly oriented than was the case during the prewar period of the domination of German capital.

In 1965, 46.7 per cent of Austrian export went to Common Market countries (mostly to West Germany), 17.6 per cent to countries of the European Free Trade Association, 17.8 per cent to the socialist countries, and 17.9 per cent to other countries. As regards imports, these groups of countries accounted respectively for 59.5, 14.5, 12 and 14 per cent.

As long as the economic situation remained favorable—with minor fluctuations—no one but Communists and some non-Communist economists warned against the danger of this one-sided orientation. Their views, however, were countered with ironical smiles or silence, and the Communists', with anti-Communist phrases. This "argumentation" was made effective by the fairly steady growth of exports. The deficit with the Common Market countries was compensated by growing profits from tourism. Annual rate of growth sometimes reached six per cent, and the balance of payments was favorable.

This resulted in the belief that "the boom has come to stay," that "everything in the garden is lovely." As a rule, 25 per cent of the gross national product was invested (true, the effectiveness of the investment was the lowest in Western Europe). The low level of wages and the good market opportunities retarded modernization, with the result that now there is a technological gap ranging from five to 10 years. Expenditure on research and development is a bare one per cent of the national product.

Only today when the neglect of structural problems, plus the impact of the recession in West Germany and some other factors have sharply slowed down economic growth, these "sins of the past" are painfully manifesting themselves everywhere.

Growth of production, which exceeded six per cent in the first quarter of 1966, averaged only some three or four per cent for the year and is expected to drop to 1—3 per cent in 1967. For the first time there is a serious threat to full employment.

Seeking to cushion the recession in its own country West German capital has launched an export offensive to utilize the favorable internal economic situation still existing in Austria—to be sure, at the expense of the Austrian economy.

For many years the foreign trade deficit has been covered by receipts from the tourist trade. But in 1966 these receipts grew only by one per cent, and in 1967 they are expected to remain round about the same level. The prospect is that only 65.7 per cent of the trade deficit will be covered, as against 83.8 per cent in 1965.

Last autumn the government proclaimed a "policy of vigorous economic growth." As a vital measure, it submitted to the parliament so-called laws on promoting economic growth and designed to stimulate investors by abolishing or reducing taxes on reinvested profits and allowing businessmen to invest annually 45 per cent of the depreciation fund. These laws can bring businessmen a saving in taxes of up to 3,000 million schillings a year. But the anticipated results have not materialized. Private investment plans for this year show a seven per cent decrease compared with 1966. The chief reason is the striving to make up for the consequences of the decline in the boom primarily through reducing wages.

As a result of the refusal to make the necessary investments for modernization the technological gap further reduces the competitive value of Austrian goods on foreign markets, where the struggle is becoming sharper.

Moreover, because of government policy entrepreneurs really did not know on what

markets to orient the new investment. The government wants association with the Common Market as soon as possible, but the growing resistance in Austria to this makes conclusion of the treaty with the EEC problematical, and the Austrian capitalists prefer not to make new investments until the situation clears up. Since entry into the EEC would necessitate withdrawal from the EFTA, the industries whose plans were geared to expansion of trade with that zone have stopped making new investments. Association with the Common Market holds out, in addition, the prospect of diminishing trade with the socialist countries. Hence uncertainty in this field as well, aggravated by obvious sabotage on the part of the government. This, too, hardly encourages investors.

The best way out would be to do away with the one-sided orientation of foreign trade through expanding trade with the EFTA, with the socialist market and the developing countries. This would not only help get rid of the West German pressure, the unfavorable balance of trade and the over-sensitivity to market fluctuation, but would open up good prospects for investors and thus act as a spur to economic growth.

But the government, giving priority to political considerations, maintains that the one-sided orientation on West German is a factor which cannot be changed. This acts as a brake on trade with the socialist countries. Reduced imports from these countries adversely affect export opportunities. Moreover, the government's refusal to guarantee credits for large orders makes it impossible for the Austrian enterprises, especially the nationalized ones, to accept orders.

Austrian agriculture is, by tradition, the best financed branch of the country's economy. Here, too, the reasons are political. The agricultural population still provides the bulk of the conservative voters for the main bourgeois party. Although agriculture and forestry account today for only 16 per cent of the population and 8.5 per cent of GNP, this sector has in recent years been subsidized by the state to the tune of 4,000 million schillings annually.

The decreased tax revenue following the adoption of the above-mentioned laws, as well as the preparation for entry into the Common Market, whose rules preclude subsidies, have compelled the government to set about liquidating the system of financial aid to agriculture. In the 1967 budget the agricultural subsidies have been cut by 900 million schillings. However, agriculture is still guaranteed artificial price maintenance. The subsidies and the guaranteed prices can be abolished only

if the government raises the prices of farm products and thus redirects the means heretofore used to support agriculture. This, naturally, will affect the purchasing capacity of the population and limit consumption in other areas, which, in turn, will tell on industry.

Attempts are being made to neutralize the inflationary impact of the rise in prices caused by the government with the help of measures designed to "tone down" business activity. For instance, on instructions from the Finance Minister the National Bank has refused to grant the general demand for a lower bank rate, while the government is seeking an agreement with the Trade Union Federation to freeze wages or at least slow down their growth.

But it is precisely in these conditions of a worsening economic situation that cheap investment credits and a higher purchasing capacity secured through higher wages would be conducive to economic growth and general economic improvement. The experts agree on this, but the top politicians pay no heed.

This attitude is explained by the political aims of the government, which hopes that economic difficulties will make its pro-Common Market propaganda more effective.

THE EEC AND AUSTRIA

Although economic thinking in the country is well aware that entry into the Common Market would be more of a loss than a benefit, and that, given an appropriate economic policy, the economic would fare quite well without EEC association, the government is very actively preparing the treaty with the Community. The reasons, plainly, are political: the bourgeoisie's fear of the future, the inability, without external aid, to run the nationalized industry in a way suiting the interests of private capital.

Since this aim of the capitalists is alien to the growing national consciousness of the Austrians and to the idea of neutrality, which is striking deeper root, resort is had to purely economic arguments to present EEC entry as the sole possible alternative. Since this calls for a high volume of trade with the EEC countries, customs discrimination is blamed as the obstacle to growth of export.

But the activities of the EEC since 1958 have shown that, although customs discrimination does have a certain negative effect, it has not substantially affected the general trend of Austria's foreign trade even despite the obdurate maintenance of its one-sided orientation. Austria was able to expand its foreign trade as long as business activity in the EEC and above all in West Germany re-

mained high. (It should be noted that growth of export in other directions helped to maintain growth of foreign trade.) The thing is that the bulk of our exports to the EEC consists of raw materials and semi-manufactures which are only slightly taxed, if at all. Only one-third of the export—finished goods—suffers from EEC discrimination.

Serious difficulties arose after the last year's sharp economic deterioration in West Germany. This proves that Austria's foreign trade is sensitive not so much to customs duties as it is to market fluctuations.

This connection between export and the economic health of the EEC would have dire consequences in the event of Austria becoming a member of the Community. So far Austria is free to use other markets. Once she is "in," this opportunity will be lost. Besides, she will benefit in boom periods much less than the big industrial countries, and will be much harder hit during recessions. Account should also be taken of the negative political consequences, which I shall not discuss in this article.

People often — and quite justifiably — ask why, despite so obvious a state of things, the government is anxious to pursue its pro-Common Market policy which even not all ministers of this one-party government approve of. Many businessmen have grave doubts regarding entry into the EEC, and so have many farmers. The majority of the Socialist Party members are also against joining. But neither in the business world nor in the Socialist Party does this correlation of forces produce an alternative concept. Only doubts and warnings are voiced, the Communist Party remaining the sole organized force which challenges the government in this matter.

The outlook is far from clear, for an ever growing role has been played, especially of late, by a number of external factors.

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN AUSTRIA

As dangerous as state forms of economic union with the EEC is the concealed, or "cold" *Anschluss* caused by the influx of foreign capital. I mean not so much the domination of U.S. and French capital in the magnesite industry or Phillips and Unilever in the respective branches of the Austrian economy, as West German capital and the big oil monopolies which are mounting a general offensive against the Austrian nationalized oil industry.

After 1945 German capital in Austria suffered a telling blow. The Potsdam agreements dispossessed it of its enterprises, most of which were nationalized. To be sure, German im-

perialism did not become reconciled to this, and at the end of the 1950's, having regained strength, it launched a new invasion of Austria, using an "escalation" scheme. As distinct from the time of the First Republic, German capitalists began to secure footholds first in trade and not in heavy industry. The first phase was big capital penetration represented by mail-order firms and companies dealing in spare parts. Today they have a network of branches throughout Austria.

The second wave of West German capital poured in when West Germany enjoyed a boom and was short of manpower and when low wages in Austria promised superprofits. Many West German enterprises established spare-parts and assembly branches and consumer-goods factories.

In this they were facilitated by the fact that in conditions of all-round mechanization the Austrian rural communes had to revise their attitude to industry and, because of growing expenditure, to encourage local industrialization so as to bolster communal finance. Since the Austrian government and bourgeoisie proved completely unable to cope with this problem, the burgomasters of many communes travelled to West Germany to plead with the West German firms to set up branches in their communes, promising them all kinds of privileges. By 1964 more than a thousand West German enterprises had been established in Austria.

Today we can see the third phase of the export of West German capital to Austria. Now it is the turn of large-scale industry, with power-engineering and chemical companies in the foreground. Siemens intends, with the support of the Austrian government, to take three nationalized electro-technical plants. Telefunken has set up a branch. Chemical concerns give preference to mixed societies dominated by them. For instance, Hoechst has a 51 per cent share in the Trevira synthetic fibre plant now being built in Austria. Badische-Anilin und Sodafabrik, which, like Hoechst, is heir to the ill-famed I.G. Farben, is the chief builder of Austria's first petrochemical works.

In 1932 German capital made up 23 per cent of all capital in Austria and influenced another 20 per cent. In 1962 its share was 20 per cent. A considerable part of the West German capital is not shown in statistics because it penetrates through Austrian and Swiss intermediaries.

It will not be an exaggeration to say, therefore, that the "cold" *Anschluss* has already reached a dangerous stage and that accentuation of this trend in the event of entry into the EEC would signify the end of the econo-

mic and, hence, political independence of Austria.

The danger created by the penetration of West German capital is aggravated by the onslaught of the U.S. and British oil monopolies on Austria's nationalized oil industry. Already they control 80 per cent of the distribution system. True, under agreement they are to buy the bulk of the output of the nationalized refineries, but the term of this commitment expires in 1970. The need will arise to increase the import of oil via pipelines. Growing consumption of oil products will necessitate new refineries. So the Western monopolies are trying — again with the Austrian government's support — to impose upon the nationalized oil industry an agreement which, although providing for its formal participation in the construction of pipelines and the running of new refineries, will actually doom it to a miserable existence.

It may seem surprising that the Austrian government should not only tolerate, but encourage this development which quite obviously is inimical to Austria's interests. The explanation is that in nationalization the Austrian bourgeoisie sees an act directed against the very essence of capitalism, a constant threat to itself as a class.

THE NATIONALIZED INDUSTRY

In Austria the term "nationalized industry" is applied to the enterprises (mostly extractive and power industries) which in 1946-47, on the strength of two laws on nationalization, were made the property of the Austrian Republic. They account for 22 per cent of total industrial production and 24 per cent of export, and employ 120,000 people, or 18 per cent of the industrial labor force.

To this should be added industries which have always been state property—saltworks, tobacco factories and the state-owned transport—as well as enterprises belonging to the communes. In total, the state and the communes control almost half of Austria's economic potential and make more than 60 per cent of all capital investments.

It would be natural to expect this considerable state participation in economic life to be used to ensure stable development through planning, coordination and greater investment. But exactly the opposite is the case. Obedient to the will of the bourgeoisie, the government has been doing everything to weaken the nationalized sector.

For a long time the bourgeoisie hoped to achieve complete denationalization. For this it relied chiefly on sabotage, skillfully organized by the government. Representatives of private capital — enemies of nationalization

— were appointed to the top jobs in the nationalized enterprises. All kinds of obstacles were placed in the way of fusing these enterprises into a single economic sector.

But the greatest harm was done by undermining the nationalized enterprises financially. Many of them could operate only with the aid of costly bank credits and had to pay constantly growing sums in interest. Sometimes the interest for a number of years exceeded the sum intended for investment. As a result, these enterprises could finance neither their own investments nor their export — and no government aid was forthcoming. Some found themselves on the brink of collapse, and the government insisted that they be closed as "unprofitable," as a burden "on the population."

If the many years of economic discrimination and sabotage against the nationalized industry have not sapped its foundations, and if this important sector of the economy remains viable, this is due first and foremost to the labor of the wage and salaried workers and technicians, to the militant actions of the politically organized working class, which has successfully repelled many dangerous attacks.

The tactics of the offensive against the nationalized industry have changed since the formation of the People's Party government in March 1966. No longer in a position to blame the Socialist Party for difficulties in the nationalized sector (a tactic it used when the SPA was its coalition partner) the People's Party has obviously given up the idea of turning over the nationalized enterprises directly into private hands. Its aim now is to denationalize the smaller enterprises while preserving the basis of the nationalized industry, but, of course, subordinating it to private capital.

The central organ set up to manage the nationalized industry removes it from the sphere of direct responsibility of the minister and thus from that of direct control by parliament. The decisive say belongs to the Economic Union, an organization representing the capitalists. Symbolically enough, the Union has delegated to this organ the general director of the West German concern Kloeckner-Deutz. All vital problems of financing the nationalized industry and establishing new branches of production must be solved in cooperation with German capital. This, then, is an EEC policy practised long before Austria's entry into the Community.

THE CLASS STRUCTURE AND STATE-MONOPOLY TRENDS

The class structure of Austrian society has changed considerably compared with prewar.

The distinguishing feature is the numerical growth of the working class. Out of the 3.4 million people employed in industry, wage and salaried workers number 2.4 million, or more than 70 per cent.

At first glance, this numerical strength of the working class and the relative weakness of the bourgeoisie contradict the political situation characterized by the preponderance of bourgeois influence.

But it should be borne in mind that since 1945 the working class has been augmented by people coming not only from the native peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, but also the so-called *Volksdeutsche*, i.e., former German-speaking residents of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania. It would be simplifying things to characterize this as merely an influx of carriers of reactionary consciousness into the working class. For only a few years after 1945 these people began to display signs of proletarian consciousness which, however, could not develop because Communist influence was too weak, while the Socialist Party did not live up to its historical mission of a working-class party, as the main political spokesman of trade union consciousness.

The policy of social partnership, that is, of class reconciliation, was constantly reinforced in the twenty years of the Socialist Party's collaboration with the bourgeois party in government. This gave rise in the Socialist Party leadership to the illusion of sharing in state power and at the same time resulted in a profound decline in the ideological level of the main cadres of the working class who were thus unable to exert a positive influence on the newcomers. This enabled the big bourgeois party to set up its own factory and office workers' organization ideologically united with the People's Party through Catholicism and constituting an effective instrument of bourgeois influence on the working class.

It can be assumed also that the absence of a firmly established monopoly bourgeoisie in Austria prevented the development of typical features of state-monopoly capitalism. Instead of the influence usually exerted by a handful of concerns, we have in Austria highly disciplined organizations of industrial and merchant capital, such as the Federal Economic Chamber, the Board of Trade, the Economic Union, the Manufacturers' Association and the Farmers' Union (dominated by big landowners), which perform the functions of classical monopolies.

As regards influencing the working class, this organized system for carrying out the will of private capital operates every bit as efficiently as if Austria were a classical country of state-monopoly capitalism. The only difference lies in the method of resolving antagonisms among the bourgeoisie. Attempts are being made to take cognizance of the interests of all groups of the bourgeoisie and not only of monopoly capital.

Incidentally, this explains the existence in our country of extremely conservative forms of modern capitalism.

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However, the situation in Austria is not such that the laws of social development cannot come into their own. The shift to the Right that has been taking place for several years has caused an ever deepening differentiation which already now offers real possibilities for progressive actions on various issues.

The more pronounced orientation on West German capitalism is counteracted by the growth of national awareness and adherence to neutrality. In all fundamental economic matters the Right leaders of the two big parties can pursue their policy only by overcoming growing resistance in their ranks. They are challenged not only on the issue of relations with the EEC, but also and especially on the approach to the problems of the nationalized industry. The attempts of the government, aided by the Socialist Party leadership, to close some mines, to turn over the electrical industry to Siemens and to compel the oil industry to conclude the dangerous agreement on the pipeline are resisted so vigorously that the government is beginning to retreat. Characteristically, on all these issues the Communists, Socialists and Catholic workers have been acting jointly. The government has proved much more vulnerable than its positions would warrant to expect.

Thus we can see the beginnings of a struggle for working class participation in managing production and solving the structural problems of the economy. This confronts the Communists with a special task: not only to criticize and analyze the existing state of things, but first and foremost to work out constructive solutions and alternatives based on the awareness of their responsibility for the destinies of a democratic, independent and neutral Austria.

Present developments in Israel

M. VILNER

ISRAEL IS CONSTANTLY IN the world headlines. The Security Council discusses the consequences arising from the Israeli-Arab conflict much more frequently than it does any other problem. What is the background to this?

1. THE BALANCE OF POLITICAL FORCES

The general election held in Israel in November 1965 was won by the main government list, the so-called "alignment" list composed of the MAPAI and Ahdut Avoda parties, which represent the Zionist Right Social Democracy headed by Prime Minister Eshkol. This list succeeded in electing 45 members to the Knesset, and together with associated Arab lists is represented by 49 members. Altogether there are 120 members in the Knesset.

Electors voted for this list not so much from conviction but because they were against RAFI, the D. Ben Gurion list, which was favored by the military extremists. The Ben Gurion list won a mere ten seats. Yet, together with the twenty-six GAHAL members (Right bourgeois bloc) it is a fairly powerful Rightist opposition exerting considerable pressure and influencing government policy.

The pressure of the Right is strong because of the weakness of the Left opposition consisting of five members. The Left was weakened when MAPAM (Zionist Socialist Party) swung to the Right and, notwithstanding the opposition of many of its members, unconditionally entered the government coalition. The coalition government headed by Eshkol is composed of the alignment list, MAPAM, the National Religious Party and the Independent Liberal Party.

This political map of Israel finds its expression in the policy of the Government.

Nevertheless the balance of forces in Parliament does not reflect the aspirations of the masses. Many voters did not vote for the Eshkol ruling party to enable the government

to proceed with the anti-people and anti-national policy of his predecessors.

Although for a time the Eshkol government used a new tone in its public statements, it soon became clear that it was following the old pattern and even strengthening its contacts with the imperialist powers, particularly with the USA and West Germany. The ruling circles are ever ready to render the traditional services to the Western powers against the anti-imperialist movements in the Arab countries, to serve neo-colonialism in Africa and Asia and to join in the global slander campaign against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In consideration of these "good services" and other things, a stream of capital from the West, mainly from the USA and West Germany, is pouring into the country.

The capital received via the reparation treaty with the neo-Nazis in Bonn, and the American credits, the policy of leasing special privileged rights to foreign capital investments, while helping to expand the capitalist economy in Israel, especially in agriculture, light industry, defense industry and in building, have at the same time resulted in economic deficiencies that constitute a real danger. The economy resembles a great body standing on the legs of a chicken and liable to collapse at any moment.

This flow of foreign capital into Israel during the nineteen years of its existence, relatively greater than the flow of foreign capital into any other capitalist country, has not led to strengthening our economic independence. On the contrary, it has made the economy of Israel and its security increasingly dependent on foreign monopolies and on the imperialist powers.

Here are some examples.

In 1965 the deficit in the balance of payments amounted to 485 million dollars.* An-

*Official Government Statistics 1956.

nual deficits of half a billion dollars have become the accepted thing in recent years.

The sum of 809 million Israeli Liras,** 17.6 per cent of all the 1966/67 State Budget, is spent on payments for paying external and internal debts. About 40 per cent of the State Budget is allocated, as the Prime Minister himself declared, to overt and covert military expenditure. Expenditure for military purposes and payments on debts totals 57 per cent of the Budget.

This has led to a still greater dependence on foreign capital; it necessitates acceptance of new enslaving loans from abroad amounting to 623 million Liras; to this should be added the 500 million Liras in new internal loans. According to the 1966 budget, State loans will exceed the sum of six billion Liras, a colossal sum for a small country.

The 1966/67 budget is the most reactionary budget in the history of Israel. The development budget has been cut by 121 million Liras. Allocations for housing, too, have been severely cut, notwithstanding the growing need for more homes.

Finance Minister Saphir, actually admitted in his Knesset speech that the government policy had been unsuccessful and had no perspective. "The trend in the deficit of the balance of payments," he said, "is on the increase."

Thus Government policy is causing grave damage to the country. Economic dependence has reached a level which endangers the entire economy.

The machinery and raw materials needed by industry, the equipment needed by our agriculture, fuel supplies and even bread are almost entirely imported.

Instead of changing this policy the new government is continuing it, trying to solve its economic difficulties by a call to the working people to tighten their belts, by strengthening its contacts with the European Common Market, and especially with West Germany, to say nothing of the close tie-up with the U.S. monopolies. West German investments in Israel, which in 1965 were four times the 1964 figure are still rising.

The Government tries to justify the decline in the working people's standard of living by saying that the living standard in Israel is "very high"; they lump together different strata of the people and their standards of living. Official statistics, however, clarify the matter. We give here statistics which were published by the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor, which is headed by the ruling MAPAI party:

| | Monthly wages | Percentage of working People |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| up to 200 I.L. | | 18.6 |
| 201-300 | | 12.4 |
| 301-400 | | 12.0 |
| 401-500 | | 12.4 |
| 501-600 | | 14.8 |
| 601-700 | | 7.7 |
| 701-800 | | 4.2 |
| 801-900 | | 4.2 |
| 901 and upwards | | 13.7 |

As the table shows, 31 per cent of the working people receive less than 300 I.L. a month, 43 per cent receive less than 400, 55.4 per cent less than 500, and 70.2 per cent less than 600 a month. These wages are regarded in fact as being low in view of the high prices charged for consumer goods.

It is important to note that the above figures are gross incomes, i.e., before the deduction of income tax, national insurance, municipal taxes and Histadrut dues.

The Communists insist on the monthly gross income of I.L. 600 being free of income tax, considering this sum the minimum subsistence income for a family of four.

Moreover, unemployment is rising. The Finance Minister did not deny this in his Budget speech. He mentioned the figure of 100 thousand redundant workers out of a total of 900 thousand.

In September 1966 the official figure of unemployed reached 35,000; in reality it is higher.

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The policy of national discrimination against Arabs in Israel, who form 12 per cent of the population, continues notwithstanding the fact that wide circles of Israeli public opinion are against this policy. In the Arab areas a special rule has been established, according to which the freedom of movement and residence of Arabs in these areas is restricted. Expropriation of the land of the Arab peasantry also continues. Discrimination is clearly expressed in the State Budget. Here are a few examples.

The housing budget allocates only 2.5 per cent to house building in Arab villages. The health budget of 151 million I.L. allocates only 30 thousand I.L. for health services for the Arabs. According to official statistics about 55 per cent of the Arab population still lives in houses without electric light.

These facts reflect the official line of a short-sighted policy which runs counter to the national interests of the Israeli people.

**Three Israeli Liras=one dollar.

2. THE WORKING CLASS FIGHTING FOR ITS RIGHTS

The Israeli working class and the working people generally have displayed their diligence and initiative in a big way; they have demonstrated militancy in upholding their rights and interests against the onslaught of the capitalists. The year 1965 was a year of big class actions the importance of which goes far beyond the economic sphere. Workers in industry and in agriculture, brain workers and other strata learned how to consolidate their ranks in the struggles and overcome party and ideological differences.

An interesting fact is that while the leaders of the ruling parties vote in the Knesset with the Government for anti-labor laws and the budget, for raising taxes and prices, and for cutting social services, the rank and file members of their parties are organizing action in their work places against government policy and submit their demands to the private and government employers as well as to Histadrut and the Jewish Agency. The workers are organizing strikes on a large scale.

The Federation of Labor (Histadrut) is a big organization of great potential strength. But the Right leadership of the Histadrut acts as a rule as the helpmate of the government, and sees its task in retarding the struggle and in working for class peace.

This explains why most of the strikes are organized by the workers themselves at the point of production through their shop committees or through special action committees elected in the course of the concrete struggle.

Most of the strikes are described as "wild-cat strikes," since they take place against the will of the Histadrut leaders.

Here is the official table of strikes in Israel issued in 1966 by the Ministry of Labor:

| ALL STRIKES | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|---------|
| | 1964 | 1965 |
| No. of strikes | 132 | 275 |
| No. of strikers | 43,630 | 93,366 |
| Working days lost | 95,584 | 203,452 |
| STRIKES RECOGNIZED BY HISTADRUT | | |
| No. of strikes | 46 | 66 |
| No. of strikers | 8,358 | 8,033 |
| Working days lost | 29,636 | 23,139 |
| STRIKES NOT RECOGNIZED BY HISTADRUT | | |
| No. of strikes | 86 | 209 |
| No. of strikers | 35,272 | 85,333 |
| Working days lost | 65,948 | 180,313 |

This table shows first of all that in 1965 the working-class struggle gained in intensity. Second, the percentage of strikes not recognized by the Histadrut leadership is rising steadily (56 per cent in 1963, 65 per cent

in 1964, and 76 per cent in 1965). Nearly all the main strikes, in which most of the days were lost, were not recognized by the Histadrut leadership.

In 1965, 91.4 per cent of all strikers downed tools without the approval of the Histadrut leaders.

Another wave of strikes took place in 1966. The government retaliated with a Knesset motion for a law restricting the right to strike and curtailing other union rights.

However, the working class is fighting against the draft law.

It is clear that the antagonisms between the working people and the Right leadership of the Histadrut are deepening; this gives the perspective of changing the leadership of Histadrut and transforming that body into a militant class organization.

3. FOREIGN POLICY AND ISRAELI-ARAB RELATIONS

The home policy of the Government is, as we have seen, reactionary; its foreign policy is clearly pro-imperialist.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the infamous aggression against Egypt, Mr. Abba Eban, the Foreign Minister, in an interview with *Jerusalem Post* (28. 10. 1966) claimed that the Sinai campaign had yielded "beneficial results." "The Sinai war," he added, "never made a permanent harmful impact on our relations with the U.S., quite the opposite. The last years of the Eisenhower administration were very harmonious. They increased their aid and began to discuss Middle East affairs and world affairs with us, with an intimacy that has grown ever since."

The truth is that this intimacy between our ruling circles and American imperialism is expressed in more than one sphere, whether related to Israel directly or indirectly. The performance of Foreign Minister Eban during the last session of the UN General Assembly, especially his virtual support for the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, is proof of this intimacy.

Moreover, characteristic of the attitude of the ruling circles to Vietnam was the letter of David Hacohen, Chairman of the Foreign and Security Knesset Committee, published in the semi-official daily *Davar* on May 24, 1966. In this letter Hacohen stated: "The defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam would be the beginning of the end of the independence of all the peoples of Southeast Asia, and the dead end of the independence and freedom of man all over the world."

Again symptomatic of this policy is the Government's closer relations with Bonn. Without

national dignity and responsibility, the ruling circles have strengthened relations with the heirs of Hitler in West Germany. At the same time Foreign Minister Eban found it appropriate to launch an attack on the Democratic Republic of Germany in the Knesset.

The pro-imperialist policy becomes even more dangerous when it serves organically the imperialist designs in the Near East, to which Israel belongs.

Thus the Eshkol Government persists in its obdurate rejection of any proposal to denuclearize the Near East. The Prime Minister found it necessary to declare to *Davar* on April 4, 1966, that the position of the Great Powers who oppose the spread of nuclear weapons "is not moral and not straightforward."

However, the Israeli Communists see one of their main tasks in mobilization of public opinion in support of denuclearizing our region.

While in the past the U.S. refrained from supplying Israel with arms directly, and chose to do so through West Germany and other NATO states, it changed its attitude shortly after the establishment of the new regime in Syria. With great publicity the U.S. provided the Eshkol Government with Sky Hawk bombers.

The Communists in the Knesset denounced this U.S. arms transaction and the U.S. intrigues against the anti-imperialist regime in Syria.

The danger of Israeli involvement in this imperialist intrigue against Syria gained momentum when the Prime Minister bluntly announced in the Knesset on October 16, 1966 that his Government would take military action against Syria on the basis of "self-defense." Only the three Communist members in the Knesset voted against this resolution and two members abstained.

Recognizing the danger facing the country and the people, the Israeli Communists have more than once pointed to the danger of direct military intervention in Syria on the part of Israel. They have stressed that the real interests of the Israeli people, the interest of Israel's future demand that Israel stand by the Arab people against imperialism, not with imperialism against the Arab people. Mass meetings were held throughout the country under the slogan "We don't want another Sinai."

At the same time the Communists denounced the terrorist activities of AL FATAH and the declarations against the right of Israel to an existence, declarations used by imperialism and Israeli reactionaries as pretexts for their aggressive designs.

The Israeli Communists refute the argument that the Soviet attitude to our regional questions runs counter to the interests of the people of Israel. The Soviet attitude serves the cause of peace in our region; and whatever serves this cause corresponds with the best national interests of the peoples of Israel and the Arab countries.

Davar of October 17, 1966 quoted Prime Minister Eshkol as saying: "The clear-cut stand of the Soviet Union behind the Government of Syria created a difficult political situation vis-à-vis any Israeli retaliatory action on the military plane."

Thus, it is an excellent service to the peoples concerned, among them the Israeli people, that the Soviet stand obstructs military aggression and saves peace.

In various circles an awareness that the old policy has failed is beginning to crystallize. At the beginning of 1966, after the general election, 20 members of the CC of MAPAM voted against continued participation by their party in the government coalition.

Throughout Israel effective solidarity demonstrations with the people of Vietnam were held. The Israeli Peace Committee, in which our Party is active in a united front with other political parties and public figures, is rallying mass support for funds to provide the people of Vietnam with medical aid.

Wide sectors of public opinion oppose the Government policy of closer relations with Hitler's heirs in Bonn, and in the mass activities against this policy the Communists were in the forefront.

* * *

We believe that the Arab-Israeli conflict can be solved peacefully in the interests of the peoples concerned. Imperialism and local reactionaries are interested in an Israeli-Arab war. The Palestine question and the Israeli-Arab dispute can be solved by eliminating imperialist intervention and by Israel's recognition of the national rights of the Palestine Arab people, and above all, of the right of the Arab refugees to choose between return to their homeland and compensation in accordance with the U.N. resolutions. This would pave the way for the recognition of Israel and its national rights by the Arab states.

The Communists in Israel are working to establish a united workers' front and a national democratic front in order to bring about a change in government policy, i.e., for a policy of peace, independence from imperialism, neutrality, friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, democracy, peoples' fraternity and social progress.

The Communists see in Jewish-Arab unity in their ranks the bright prospect of the future Israeli-Arab relations in the Near East, freed from imperialist intervention, from national oppression and class exploitation.

All the difficulties notwithstanding, we are convinced that in the course of time there will appear in Israel a new correlation of forces that will lead to a government of peace and national independence.

Strikes

THE FIRST THREE MONTHS of 1967 were marked by class actions by the international proletariat.

SPAIN. Practically throughout January and February there were strikes and demonstrations in different parts of the country. Notable among these was the demonstration of 100,000 workers in Madrid on January 27, and the strike declared by 20,000 miners of Asturias on February 1.

ITALY. A wave of strikes swept Italy during January and February. Tens of thousands of railwaymen struck work for higher wages and observance of trade union rights. The same demands were advanced by miners, maritime transport workers and civil servants and by 350,000 textile workers who declared a nationwide strike on March 15.

GREECE. On February 1, over 100,000 workers participated in a 24-hour general strike in Salonika, the second largest industrial city in Greece; the strikers demanded higher wages and democracy in the country. Three days later, 150,000 civil servants declared a 24-hour strike. On March 16, 180,000 building workers downed tools.

FRANCE. The greater part of the country was paralyzed by a general strike on February

1. The strikers demanded wage increases and shorter hours. On March 16, over 200,000 vine-growers demonstrated in the South of the country.

INDIA. January-February were marked by bitter strike actions by civil servants in a number of states.

ARGENTINA. Two hundred thousand railwaymen held a 3-hour strike on February 25. On March 1, the workers, undaunted by the government's threat of reprisals, declared a 24-hour general strike. One of the biggest in recent years, it was held in protest against the economic and social policy of the authorities.

URUGUAY. On February 1, 200,000 civil servants called a 48-hour strike, demanding salary increases. On February 25, life in the capital, Montevideo, was brought to a standstill by a general strike of 450,000 workers in support of the rights of the public health workers.

USA. On January 29, 4,000 tug-boat crews in New York port struck work, demanding higher wages and better conditions.

AUSTRALIA. The general strike of Australian airlines personnel which began on March 7, closed all airports in the country for several days.

SEKOU TOURE:

The Guinean revolution and the anti-imperialist struggle

During a visit to Guinea A. Sobolyev, P. Hentges and V. Shelepin of Problems of Peace and Socialism were granted an interview by Sékou Touré, President of Guinea and Secretary General of the Democratic Party of Guinea (DPG). After outlining the policy of the DPG, its class basis and its role in the life of the nation, President Sékou Touré, replying to questions, outlined his views on some contemporary problems. Below we print the text of the interview.

BEFORE ANSWERING your questions, I should like to tell you about some of the features of our life.

Under the colonial regime there was no national capitalism in Guinea. All proprietors were foreigners. Those Guineans who were classed as merchants were simply the instruments of colonial firms.

An analysis of the situation in the country shows that the entire people, all sections of the population, experience, in one way or another, capitalist exploitation and the backwardness imposed on the country by foreign rule. Consequently, we had to take measures that would enlist the support of all the people in building the nation.

Another lesson we drew from this analysis was the need for a genuinely people's party. Prior to the colonial era, there were societies in Africa possessing the characteristics of a nation, but colonial penetration, accompanied by the arbitrary rule of the invader, destroyed all possibility of the African nations developing, and created instead colonial states representing a conglomerate of different communities.

The policy of the colonialists was to divide and break up the people by exacerbating the religious, racial and economic differences that appeared. Far from establishing a homogeneous society colonialism did everything to disintegrate the societies which had withstood military invasion.

Thus, depersonalization was carried to the extreme in the political, as well as in the economic, administrative, cultural and even spiritual spheres. As a rule the Christian church, that is the Protestant, brought by Germans, British and Dutch, and the Catholic church, brought by French, Belgians, Portuguese and Spanish, participated jointly with the armed forces and, later, with the occupation powers in the colonization of the continent. In this respect religious leaders were the instruments of colonization. As regards Islam the occupation powers did everything to alienate its 'elite' and even succeeded in turning this 'elite' into obedient agents of colonialism. Thus, all spheres of life were invaded by the colonialists who used every means to ensure themselves a solid position which would enable them to exploit and oppress the people.

In the light of these facts it was evident to us that the new nation could be created only by the forces of the new state.

In the post-colonial Africa the state precedes the nation as a rule. When speaking of the state, what is implied, as often as not, is the machinery of state representing the nation, or the entire people. We believe that the nation should be the creation of all the people, that it should be defined not only by an economic, historical, geographical, administrative and social community of interests. It is our view that the real foundation of the nation must be a common consciousness which we must

develop; in other words, it is a question of freely choosing a set of postulates and aims common to the people constituting the nation, postulates and aims consciously accepted by the people whose job it will be to realize them, to convert them into reality. Hence, creating the nation is more the concern of a political party than of the state.

The state can, of course, by its structure, its economic, social and cultural activity, by the nature of its laws and rules, help to consolidate the nation, unite the population, and restore the country's image, that is to say, it can substantially contribute to consolidating the national community in the different spheres of its activity. But transformation of the old into the new man is an ideological, a political matter. It requires changing the outlook, creating a new spirit and educating each and all in this new spirit. This new reality is engendered by truly democratic practices which link the individual with society in building the new life. Thus, the nation can be defined as the resultant force of the struggle of the organized people who have become conscious not only of their status but also of the objectives of their struggle, realization of which will gradually change the conditions of their life and, at the same time, make for positive transformations in all spheres of society.

Hence our motto: to remain a party of the people, created by the people and for the people.

I should like to explain yet another concept characteristic of our specific attitude. World history shows that the working class is the truly progressive class in society, the truly revolutionary class, the class capable of making sacrifices and effecting dynamic social changes. And when most of the revolutionary regimes speak of the leading role of the working class, of the dictatorship of the working class, we think that they are right. As far as we are concerned, take into account in the first place our objective conditions.

While we know that peoples can have common aims, a common ideal, a common determination, that they can be guided by one and the same principles, we also know that no two peoples have ever lived in absolutely identical conditions. Community between peoples is based on their nature, on the nature of regimes, or on the social orientation characteristic of these regimes. A qualitative and quantitative assessment of reality enables us to detect important differences, despite similarity of orientation and similarity of regimes.

Thus we see, for example, that in the case of the European countries, whether we like it or not, industry was the principal factor influencing the development of civilization, and social reality had to adapt itself to this industrial progress. Social division, founded on real class antagonism, was associated with the capitalist system and with economic structures that were essentially industrial and the basic

historical purpose of which was to preserve private property and the basic social characteristic of which was individualism.

In our country the entire capitalist system was based on foreigners. At the time independence was won, all the banks, the insurance, mining, power, import-export and internal trade companies, all air, river, maritime, road and rail transport, and all public works, i.e., all enterprises using hired labor were foreign-owned and run by foreigners. Capitalism had not only identified itself with colonial rule; it had completely fused with the colonial system, becoming one of its aspects. While the colonial administrative apparatus weighed heavily on each person, whether man, woman or child, colonial capital, concealed behind the backs of the civil and military occupation authorities who were its instruments, rarely disclosed itself.

Upon gaining freedom we, without hesitation, nationalized all foreign enterprises, made the entire existing infra-structure the property of the state, and deprived private enterprise of all possibility of exploiting labor.

The fact that the working class remains the revolutionary class everywhere is due, we think, to the following two reasons:

The first is that capitalist exploitation, by using hired labor, creates ever expanding social production. The collective nature of labor increases, while the profits received from this labor are monopolized by the owners of the means of production; this enables the worker to better understand the system of exploitation of which he is a victim since he suffers directly from it. In other words, the mechanism of exploitation, despite its complexity, is perceptible to the worker and he becomes conscious of his alienation. This results in his determination to fight for his emancipation and to gain it. This is a perfectly logical social process which awakens consciousness, this, in turn, leading to revolutionary ideas and revolution itself as the way to fight frustration and alienation.

The second reason is the social concentration characteristic of the European countries. Industrialization resulted, first of all, in the creation of large cities, densely populated, where all material and spiritual exchange takes the money form. These circumstances make possible an understanding of the exploiter nature of the system; concentration of population facilitates the organization of struggle, the development of the class consciousness of the worker. These circumstances promote the struggle of the proletariat and make it the most organized and most militant class.

An analysis of the situation in our country shows that although the peasants cannot be said to be lacking in consciousness, still they failed fully to play the role that objectively belongs to them as an exploited class. This is explained by the fact that the structural organization of peasant labor did not promote a

concentration of labor, a rapid dissemination of ideological concepts, or provide possibilities for rapid mobilization such as exist in an urban environment. In this connection mention should be made of another deplorable feature of Africa—its retarded demographic growth, the outcome of the slave trade and colonial penetration. If Africa had not lost some 300 million persons as a result of the slave traffic it is quite possible that the continent's population today would approximate that of Asia.

Further, it should be noted that our intelligentsia were under the direct influence of capitalism. They were concentrated in industry and in the administration, while the peasantry were doomed to ignorance. And so a combination of circumstances enabled the proletariat to benefit from diverse factors which furthered the growth of consciousness, organization and struggle. The growth of the peasant's consciousness was retarded not because he was better off than the worker, but because of his ambiguous conditions of life. The peasantry constitute a heterogeneous class of small proprietors, cattle breeders and agriculturalists who to a considerable extent make their livelihood outside the sphere of commodity-money relations. The private property instinct, subordination to nature and not domination of it, moral and spiritual mystification — all these factors doomed the peasant to passivity. He was hardly conscious of the fact that he was being exploited. As a producer he was not directly aware of this exploitation; he was more conscious of it as the proprietor of his products to be sold through numerous middlemen subordinate to the colonial companies. Already as a consequence of this, the peasant's sense of alienation was vague and less acute. Whereas the worker possesses only his labor power, the peasant as a small producer is caught in the current of exploitation, the real and complex nature of which is obscure to him. Because of its complexity the mechanism of alienation separating the raw material from the finished product is beyond his comprehension.

Does it follow from this that a peasant people is inferior to a people predominantly industrial? Of course not. Are there superior or privileged peoples in the world? Again the answer is in the negative. No people is superior to other peoples. Peoples, like individuals, depend on the conditions in which they have been placed, on the nature and content of their education, on the degree of their organization, on the rational character of the economic, political, social and cultural structures which form and constitute their society.

We believe that the difference between the peasant and the worker lies in the degree of their consciousness. Because of the very nature of his activity the worker is more class conscious than the peasant. It is therefore our political duty to ensure that the one and the

other have the same ideological training, that all sections of the working people are spurred on by the same will to fight for a society free from all forms of exploitation and oppression. Therein lies the principal task of our Party, the underlying principle in our activity from the very first day of independence. This activity extended to the entire population and rested on it.

Class struggle can develop in society in the most diverse forms. For example, anybody recognizing the principles and Rules of the Party can join it, but it is only under certain conditions, in the absence of exploiter and private-property sentiment, that you can become a member of the Party's leading bodies. Thus, whereas anybody can, without distinction or discrimination, be a member of the Party, a record of at least three years' militant action and of undeviating observance of the principles of the Party is required before you can become a leading functionary. And even this possibility is strictly limited.

For leading posts in the Party are closed to people who exploit labor in their own interests, i.e., to merchants, industrialists and all who live on the labor of others, even if covertly, in other words to everybody, except workers, peasants and artisans.

This goes not only for the primary organizations. Only functionaries with at least two years' experience of work in the local committees can be elected to the leadership at section level. This is the procedure right up to the National Bureau, which is elected at party congresses. As regards the government, its members must come from the strata of wage and salary earners. There was a brief period when we were confronted with some deviations that threatened to distort the course of our development, but immediate measures were taken, the most important of which figure in the November 1964 law on reforms, to rectify the shortcomings observed in the organization of the Party and the state.

Thus, our dictatorship is the dictatorship of a militant people where the activity of the Party and the state is not influenced by differences of sex, race and social position. Dictatorship of the working class cannot be exercised in the objective conditions of Guinean society where wage workers still account for only five per cent of the population as against the 85 per cent of the peasantry. The difference in the position of the worker and the peasant is not, however, an insurmountable barrier to unity of action by them in building the nation's economy.

The will for progress, prompted by the consciousness of their exploitation and oppression, imparts to the working class a dynamic quality—a capacity for revolution. The same quality and capacity can be imparted, through constant ideological and educational work, to all classes and social sections experiencing social injustice and political and economic alien-

ation. In this connection it should be noted that the peasants in our country were an important force that made possible the success of our Democratic Party.

Another phenomenon characteristic of Africa is that the women of the continent were more brutally exploited and oppressed than the men; they were the most backward element in our society. An ideological and practical grounding, based on the need to uproot all the forms of alienation, all the forms of social humiliation imposed on women, turned the women of Guinea into a powerful motive force of the social revolution.

Hence the formula, "the party of the people, created by the people and for the people." Everybody participates in the struggle, but the Party can be directed at its different levels only by those who are enabled by the objective and subjective conditions consistently to embody the aspirations of the revolution.

In the face of the need to create a viable state, to put an end to tribal discord, regionalism and individualism, to develop a strong and prosperous nation made up of a united, conscious and solidly organized people, we cannot confine ourselves to a party engaging only in agitation and propaganda, in moulding public opinion. We stand for a progressive, democratic people's party. The DPG sees itself as a contingent of the world revolution and as such is concerned with educating and remoulding the people. The leaders of the Party are the conscious servants of the people whose creative activity along the highroad of progress they guide.

That is why we give full effect to the principle of the leading role of the Party in all spheres of activity: social, economic, political, administrative and military. The Party exercises the right to make decisions, the right to control at all levels. Parliament, the government and its various bodies are simply the instruments for giving effect to the Party's policy. We seek to promote but one cult—the cult of the people. Everything else is merely a means of executing the progressive will of the working masses, of which the Democratic Party is the expression.

Despite the objective conditions engendered by colonialism, we immediately upon achieving independence ensured the sovereignty of the people who in a democratic way set about to tackle the problem of Guinea's national institutions and the principles and methods of their functioning. In this way we charted, if not the quickest, at any rate the surest course to modern statehood and the development and consolidation of the nation. Hence our conviction that no matter what difficulties we may encounter, no matter what means of subversion and disorganization may be employed against us, Guinean society will never again tolerate any other regime than the one it has created today: a people's regime, a democratic regime, a regime of social progress.

After these preliminary remarks which might help you better to understand our life I shall answer any questions you may like to ask.

Q. What perspectives does the non-capitalist way open up for Guinea?

A. There are only two ways of development. There is the way based on the domination of private property, of private interests, i.e., on the domination of the interests of a group of proprietors who exploit the working people and live at the expense of their labor. This is the capitalist way. Whether capitalism is at the primary, secondary or higher stage, whether its structure is based on the family or on the village, is national or international, is a matter of quantitative indicators. The system itself is defined by its nature, by the antagonism it engenders between the owner of the means of production and the producer, between the purely financial objective of economic activity and the socio-humanistic objective which any economic activity should pursue.

The other way is the non-capitalist way. We are sometimes asked: does not the non-capitalist way lead to socialism? We reply that the non-capitalist way is the expression of socialist aspirations. Socialism is a definite stage of historical development which is followed by communism, but irrespective of whether the movement stops at this stage or continues, the fact is that all ways rejecting exploitation and oppression are non-capitalist. Socialism is one of the stages at which exploitation and oppression have been abolished. Communism is another stage. But both stages are identical in nature, both are based on the interests of the people, both call for the abolition of all forms of exploitation and alienation, for social justice, security and the advancement of man and society in conditions of complete harmony. In the light of this, we define our path not from the standpoint of the one or the other stage, or level of development, but from the standpoint of the continuous historical process.

The non-capitalist way is not the threshold to socialism or communism, for both socialism and communism are the non-capitalist way. The non-capitalist way is the way of complete and genuine democracy. That is how we see it, and, as you might have noticed, we rarely use the word "socialism," unlike those African governments which keep speaking about it but have as yet done nothing to create a democratic, people's and progressive social structure. On the contrary, these governments create the most favorable conditions for capitalism, such as it never had before. Their monetary system is a colonial one and, consequently, capitalist; so are the banks. The means of production continue to be in the hands of capitalists. However, some people, influenced by the aforementioned socialist declarations, tend to consider these regimes more advanced than the Guinean regime.

Can the economic, political, social and cul-

tural characteristics of these regimes be compared with the achievements of the Guinean revolution? We do not believe in playing with words. We judge reality not by phraseology and definitions, but by its inherent characteristics. Ours is a full and true democracy, as any discussion or research will confirm. But our desire to advance is boundless, and we say that the most important thing for us is the nature of society's structure, and the underlying principles of its practical activity. The fact that the supreme power of the people is exercised in a progressive direction speaks for itself. It is precisely this that is important for us, since we want democracy not just for the sake of democracy. We have said so time and again. For us democracy is not the ultimate goal but merely a means of progress. It must therefore be in harmony with the demands of progress.

The view is current that socialism is exclusively for the industrially developed countries, whereas the non-capitalist way is for the underdeveloped countries. In our view, socialism is determined not by the level of technological development but rather by the nature of the regime, of the organization of the economy and of society, by the leading role of the people who are the object and subject of harmonious and balanced development, by the nature of political, economic and cultural relations and, lastly, by a socialist way of thinking.

Thus, the non-capitalist way reflects our choice which is that we shall never again tolerate any system of exploitation and oppression, any superiority of one person or group of persons over the working masses who should have the right and possibility, and in our country have this right and the possibility, to define the means and methods of labor, and also the right and the possibility to distribute the fruits of this labor.

Q. How would you describe Guinea's economic relations with foreign capital?

A. First of all I should like to say that it is the Guinean people themselves who are putting Guinea's economic development into effect, and that we are greatly helped in this by the aid rendered by friendly countries which have placed the needed technical and financial means at our disposal. Irrespective of whether this aid is gratis or has to be reimbursed, its fruits will be the property of the Guinean people.

The mining industry is the only sector where we still allow the intervention of foreign capital. This is the case with the big alumina company situated at Fria which produces some 520,000 tons of alumina a year, and also with the new mining enterprise at Boke which plans to mine from seven to 10 million tons of bauxite a year.

Foreign capital in Guinea is invested in the exploitation of bauxite. As for the rest of the mining, commercial, banking, transport, public works and insurance companies, and the other

branches of the economy, they are the property of the Guinean people.

The Boke enterprise is organized as a mixed society; Guinea provides the mineral deposits and holds 49 per cent of the company's shares; foreign capital provides the financial means needed to build a port and railway, and for the technical installations required to exploit the deposits, and holds 51 per cent of the shares. Administrative management is carried out by Guineans, technical staff is mixed. Sixty-five per cent of the profits go to Guinea, 35 per cent to foreign capital. Practically all the structures connected with the enterprise—port, railway and highway—will belong to the Guinean people.

Guinea's dominant role is evident from the aforesaid; private investments enable us more rapidly to exploit the mineral deposits in the Boke region on conditions that do not in the least prejudice the non-capitalist way chosen by the nation. What is more, not a single branch of the economy is controlled by private capital. In short, the entire economy is controlled by the Guinean state.

Q. Mr. President, what would you say is the place of the African revolution in the world revolutionary process?

A. To begin with, it should be said that the world has known several phases of development. The earliest of them, characterized by scant progress in science and technology, condemned every society to an isolated life. All the societies of antiquity, bowing to the exigencies of history, the need of self-preservation and development or the need to change their way of life, created civilizations by their own genius. Indeed, no society has ever created a language or a civilization for another. Every society had, therefore, to use its creative genius for its own advancement. To be sure, their concept of nature and their ability to control and transform it for their own benefit were not the same everywhere, due to the variety of natural conditions.

Thus, civilizations and cultures developed more or less dynamically, according to the economic realities by which they were conditioned. Progress in science and technology, by bringing societies closer, fostered a universal civilization characterized by a considerable intermixing of ideas and trends of thought. It would be fair to say that the present phase is the forerunner of a new, fraternal and democratic society based on solidarity which, however, will have to respect the character and the lawful interests of each of its components. Now as in the past, there are two opposing forces: social progress and exploitation; and the outcome of the conflict between them will condition the future of the revolution.

The international revolutionary movement has always been there. It is part of history. In this global sense, the revolutionary movement has existed ever since the birth of society. In other words, revolution is bound up with social

antagonisms. But it was not organized on a world scale. If you will, the revolutionary actions which took place in different societies historically speaking contributed severally to the universal mainstream of revolution. The international organization of the proletariat accelerated the internationalization of the revolutionary movement. This process was also speeded up by the rise of the socialist world, which, being the proponent of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of the world, irreversibly imparted a universal character to the revolution. Hence we can say that the socialist world is both the proof and the promoter of the universal character of the revolution.

Another important element of the revolution is the fight of the peoples against imperialism and, in this fight, an immense role is played by the liberation movements. It can be affirmed that Africa found itself directly committed to the fight against imperialism ever since it set out to resist the colonial penetration and ranged itself thereby with the revolutionary camp from the very beginning. The development of the liberation movements, the growing anti-imperialist and anti-colonial consciousness and, as a corollary, the socialist options increasingly inspiring the working people of Africa constitute an important contribution to the world revolution. Africa, we maintain, is taking part in the world revolution by fighting for its freedom and independence, for the establishment of modern states that will be economically, socially, militarily and culturally independent of imperialism. As for its contribution to the world revolution, this should be gauged by the importance of the victory Africa will achieve over imperialism, colonialism and capitalism.

Whether or not the various forces of the world revolution know and recognize one another as such, and whether or not they help and actively identify themselves with one another, it is certain that they have identical characteristics and that the progress of one revolutionary country or organization necessarily has repercussions on the balance of world forces, just as the retrogression of a revolutionary country or organization also affects the balance. We believe that the situation has become so aggravated that there can no longer be a question of local victory. It is collectively that the revolutionary camp will succeed or fail.

Revolutionary Africa should know that its action is necessarily and closely linked with that of all the anti-imperialist forces and that it should fully identify itself with each of these forces, seeing the gains or reverses of each of them as its own.

Q. This year the world revolutionary forces will be celebrating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. How do you view the impact of this revolution and the subsequent development of the socialist countries on the

fortunes of the African peoples, in particular the Guineans?

A. I think the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution should be regarded as a celebration of the revolutionary forces of the world, a celebration of every people and all men and women striving for social justice, freedom and progress.

The revolutionary action in October 1917 did not give birth to the revolution—it was the materialization of the revolution. It did not give birth to the people's hope of freedom and independence; it was an embodiment of that hope. What that revolution accomplished first and foremost was that it made a breach in the imperialist system which at the time dominated the world. It also deepened the longing of the peoples for freedom and independence.

The progress made by the Soviet Union since October 1917 shows that a people consciously waging an organized struggle can overthrow any system of exploitation and oppression. The Soviet state has proved that power can and should be wielded by the people. The achievements registered by the Soviet people in the past five decades are the proof that they have been following the right path. This is why the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution is the concern of both the Soviet people and the democratic forces of the world.

The October Revolution has had a decisive impact on contemporary history. The area of freedom has expanded and grown stronger since October 1917. More, the fight against imperialism has gained in intensity as the peoples of the world became confident of their ability to destroy imperialism. As far as we are concerned, we take this opportunity to salute all Soviet revolutionaries, to whom credit is due for that first victory, a victory we consider genuinely international and which every working-class organization and all socially conscious men on earth have hailed as their own ever since the socialist system came into being.

Q. Would you say that the experience gained by the socialist countries in solving the problems of socialist construction can be helpful in solving the problems presently facing the Guinean revolution?

A. It is hard to answer that question in the precise terms that I would like to. It hardly needs saying that regimes can be identified by their character, and that every country and every nation has its own peculiarities. Socialism is determined by its concept of social life and by economic practices based on the harmonious and balanced economic, social and cultural development of society. There is a set of postulates and fundamental principles which must be fully respected by anyone advocating socialism. There is nothing national about socialism, it is not confined to any one nation, race or continent. It is as impersonal and inalienable as science. However, its principles and practices apply to people who, hav-

ing common values, creative genius and a will for social progress, are, nevertheless, part of different geographical, historical and economic milieus. The standard of economic, social and cultural development necessarily varies from country to country.

Socialism is a process of the qualitative remaking of society and man. The purpose of this remaking is to meet the material and moral requirements of society and man as fully as possible and to establish the inner equilibrium of the individual and the collective-equilibrium of society. Hence it is a humane and social purpose. Now while correctly applying these just principles and remaining loyal to the method, one should always take reality into account. In other words, what at a given stage can be accomplished in specific conditions can be a factor for social progress in case and for social retrogression in another.

We can say, therefore, that in carrying out a measure in any area, we try to familiarize ourselves with the experience of every socialist country so as to have an adequate knowledge of the methods used by each of them and of the principles they have applied in solving this or that problem. However, the application of their methods and practices in any situation is preceded by an objective analysis of our own conditions. There may be methods that we can use in common with the socialist countries and methods that are dictated by the specific conditions prevailing in our country. In other words, there is no common way, but a loyal common will, common options and common objectives, even though the measures each country carries out are necessarily conditioned by certain peculiarities.

Q. What do you think should be the response of the world revolutionary forces to the increasingly aggressive policy of the imperialists, particularly in the case of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam?

A. I must say that our concept of that may differ from that of many of our friends.

We say that imperialism is determined by its nature. A just or unjust cause is determined by its nature. In our view, there is neither a small nor a big imperialism. There is imperialism, and imperialism is all that encroaches on freedom and social justice. What is taking place in Vietnam is exactly of the same nature as that which is taking place in many other countries. Our neighbor, so-called Portuguese Guinea, is bombed from morning till night and its people are denied the natural right to shape their own destiny. There is Rhodesia and South Africa where fascism reigns. When the Nazis seized power in Germany the anti-fascist camp mobilized the progressive forces of the world and the fight against fascism became a reality. Similar fascist practices are current today in Rhodesia and South Africa, with violations of equality and legality all the more crying since a nation has been stripped of the right to rule on its own soil.

The world democratic press exposes imperialist violence. But there should be more specific and effective action against these encroachments on human dignity.

Let us take a look at what is going on in the world. On every continent the imperialists are at war with the people. Everywhere the imperialists are attacking, while the democratic forces are on the defensive. The imperialists have the initiative at the moment. This is a painful reality for us. We think the situation calls for an analysis of developments. It demands that the democratic forces should show a more dynamic logic by promptly and concertedly resisting every manifestation of imperialism.

In Southeast Asia a fight is going on for the independence of a people opposed to imperialism, which wants to maintain the division of Vietnam and thus to keep its military bases there. In Latin America, too, the people are battling against imperialism.

The same kind of struggle is under way in Africa. Now whether one uses the atom bomb, napalm, the gun or the dagger to kill people, the crime is one and the same.

What I am trying to say is that our concept differs from that of many progressive parties. We consider that the imperialists are attacking, while the democratic forces are on the defensive. This is what should draw our attention and determine our action. We said as much in our New Year's message and at the recent meeting of the National Council of the Revolution (equivalent to the enlarged plenary meeting of the leading committee of the Party —*Ed.*), held in Labe over January 27-31.

Q. Mr. President, you consider that the imperialists are attacking while the democratic forces are on the defensive. If so, what do you think the various contingents of the revolutionary movement could and should do to halt the imperialist offensive?

A. I will put my answer in a nutshell. There is the world revolutionary camp. Its vanguard is the socialist community, which has a political, economic, military, technological and cultural potential that could help to accelerate the world revolutionary movement.

Secondly, there are the workers in the non-socialist countries and the democratic forces in the capitalist nations, as well as the colonial peoples. These contingents are waging an open fight against one enemy, imperialism. The democratic forces in the capitalist countries are fighting against imperialism to wrest political power from it for the people. The peoples still under colonial rule are also fighting the imperialists to regain the sovereignty of which they have been robbed. These two struggles complement each other.

Hence, to resume the offensive in the interest of the revolution, it is necessary to study the conditions of struggle. The purpose of the study should be to ascertain the optimum conditions. We all know that the success of an

weakened it. This is a fact. Time was when imperialism did not show the arrogance it flaunts now. It is manifestly taking advantage of the differences existing in the socialist camp.

2. The socialist camp is the vanguard of the revolution but it is not the only revolutionary force. This vanguard owes it to itself to use every trump of the world revolution. And everywhere the effort should be made to achieve the unity of all the forces fighting against imperialism and colonialism.

Each phase of history has its imperatives. The basic contradiction stands out at the given moment. Every anti-imperialist movement counts on support from the socialist community. Let the socialist camp be a genuine collective body, and let the collective relations inside it and its collective relations with all the democratic forces become richer and closer. The current trend is such that any country may find itself threatened by imperialist aggression. This is why cautious comment in passing is not enough when a coup inspired by the imperialists occurs in a friendly country. What we all need is effective collective relations between the socialist camp and all the democratic forces.

3. Apart from the meetings of the socialist countries or of the Communist parties, it would be expedient to set up an organization uniting all the democratic and anti-imperialist movements of the world. If the socialist countries pioneered a world meeting of the democratic and anti-imperialist movements, the resulting contacts between the progressive forces would be bound to generate a new social consciousness, an awareness of the immense force that the anti-imperialist camp is, which today deserves to be inspired, helped and supported by the socialist countries. Many other means could also be used, but we rather favor a very flexible organization that would take into account the specific, and at times very dissimilar, conditions in which the various movements making up the anti-imperialist camp operate.

undertaking hinges on three conditions. First, the line decided on should be correct historically and ideologically. Secondly, it is essential to organize the struggle in such a way as will make it possible to use the entire potential dynamism of the forces set in motion, and to release and stimulate their initiative and inventiveness. Thirdly, it is essential that all organizational levels of those representing the collective body and its interests should remain loyal to the goal, that is, to the revolution.

I will not concern myself with the issue of the line. The line of the socialist community is correct. So is that of the proletariat fighting in the capitalist countries. The struggle of the colonial peoples is determined by their desire for independence, which is likewise correct. Nor will I go into the third condition—loyalty—because I think all who are fighting have demonstrated their loyalty to the program of the fight before they became exponents of the people's will, and that most of them will remain loyal to this cause.

Much depends on the structure and nature of the organization. Imperialist organization has a solid basis. In spite of slight differences of interest between various imperialist countries, the whole world knows there is real solidarity in the imperialist camp. In what way can the revolutionary camp use—through proper organization—all the trump cards it has, taking into account the prime fact that all the peoples of the world want freedom and social progress? The revolutionary camp, let it be said, commands greater social strength and has stronger motives and greater possibilities of mobilization than the imperialist camp. While the sole means used by the imperialists is brute force, the revolutionary camp has historical, social and political truth to support it.

Organization should be readjusted with due regard to this revolutionary potential.

1. The socialist camp should do everything for its unity. The present differences have

The revolutionary forces of Colombia and their perspectives

ALBERTO GOMEZ

THE UPSWING in guerrilla struggle in Latin America ushered in by the victory of the Cuban revolution has made a closer examination of the problems involved an urgent necessity. If in analyzing the problems of revolutionary armed struggle we once turned mainly to the experiences of other continents (this is not to say that their example no longer plays an important role), today the Latin American revolutionaries have accumulated experience of their own in this type of struggle which, besides having ensured victory in Cuba, is gaining momentum in other countries of the continent. Profound assimilation of the Cuban experience (especially at the stage of the armed insurrection and conquest of power) and its comparison with the experience we have gained in our specific national conditions should help us to carry our own revolution to victory, to the winning of power.

We propose to dwell on the development of the armed action movement in Colombia, on the still limited experience of this movement which is as yet weaker than the enemy it faces, and on the tasks facing it, and to give an idea of its growth.

In doing so we by no means suggest that our experience should be regarded as a pattern to be followed everywhere.

Any social phenomenon should be examined in its entirety, in the process of its rise and development. Further, it is essential to view it in the light of the current phase of the history of the country in question. For if things were to be examined through a prism of ready-made answers and these answers did not agree with the real facts of life, the investigator would be bound to sacrifice faithful depiction of the reality to his a priori schema.

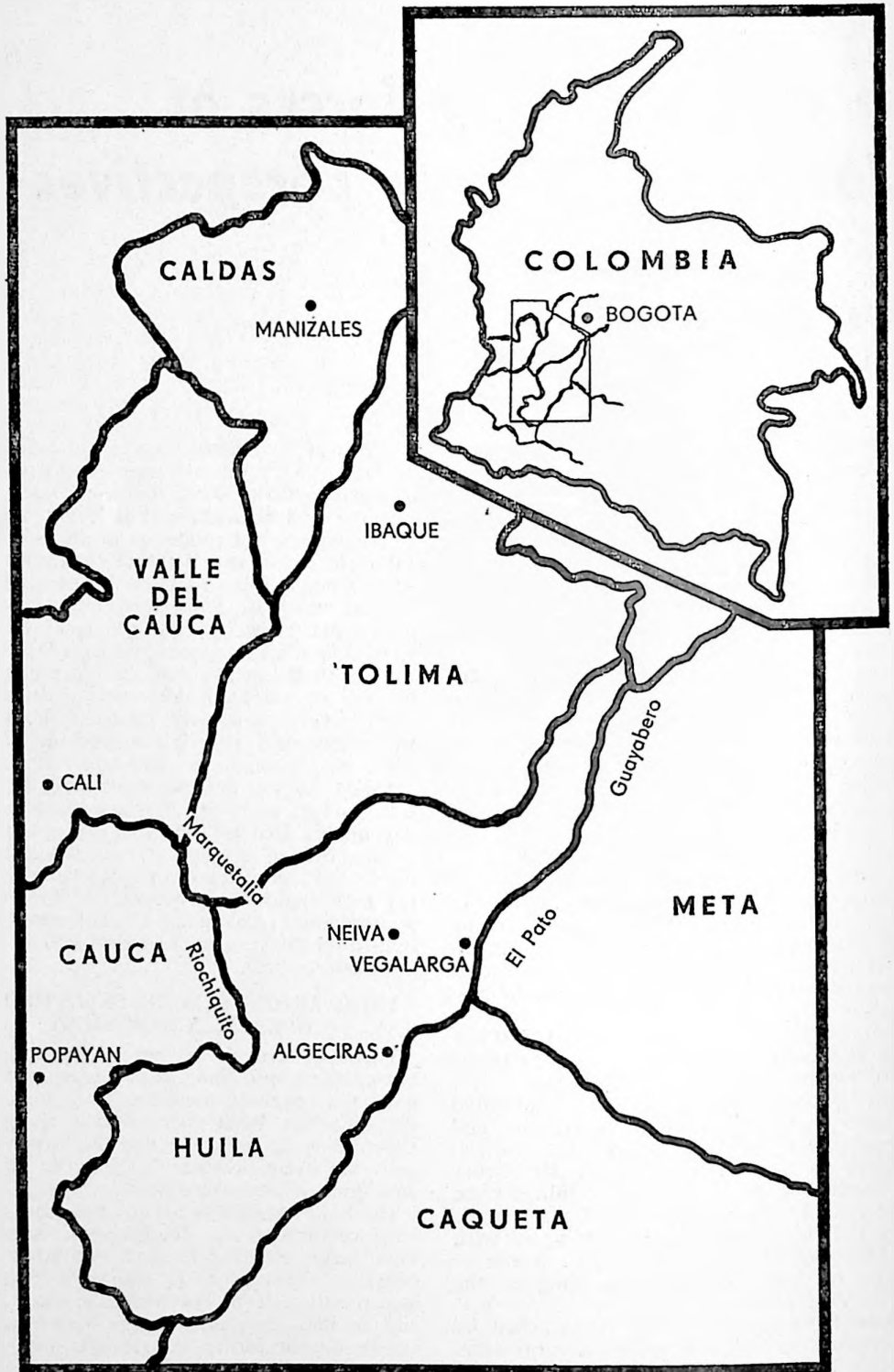
The popular armed struggle is governed by laws common to all national-liberation wars which cannot be disregarded at any stage of the struggle. But besides this each such war, every guerrilla movement inevitably bears the

imprint of the country in which it takes place. It would be a mistake mechanically to apply the experience of other countries. Many tragic examples have taught us this lesson. We must not equate social processes of the same type taking place in two different countries, necessary though it is to utilize the experience of one to accelerate the other. For instance, the experience gained by the people of China in their liberation war cannot be regarded as identical with the struggle of the Algerian people, or the experience of Venezuela equated with that of Guatemala, even though in both cases the enemy—U.S. imperialism—and the strategic aims are the same. It is obvious that guerrilla struggle cannot develop in exactly the same way in two countries if the processes engendering this struggle differ. In one case it may be a matter of a group of revolutionaries taking to the mountains determined from the outset to overthrow the existing regime, and in another (as in Colombia) of the gradual development of the peasant movement into an armed political struggle.

FROM ARMED SELF-DEFENSE TO THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT

Forms of struggle are not invented, they are not conjured into being by people unacquainted with the concrete situation. They stem from this situation. What is required of the revolutionaries is the ability to find the forms which are objectively necessary and to direct their development along revolutionary channels.

The policy known as mass self-defense is not an invention of the Colombian Communists. This form of struggle was evolved by the peasants themselves. By supporting it and incorporating it in its own line—not as an aim in itself but as a means of advance towards higher forms of struggle—our Party showed that it had its finger on the pulse of Colombian life and took cognizance of all of its aspects.



Departments in which the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia operate

Mass self-defense is deeply rooted in the social struggles of our peasantry. As a movement it first emerged nearly twenty years ago. Originally the peasants' response to the official policy of violence (La Violencia) which has been the country's scourge since 1948, it started as a spontaneous movement without any clear-cut political aims, essentially amounting to a manifestation of inter-party strife between the Liberals and the Conservatives. But in 1949 the Communist Party issued a call to the masses to reply with their own organized violence to the violence unleashed by the reactionaries. The slogan found a response among the peasant masses. The peasants themselves gave it practical embodiment in the guerrilla movement. This movement, features of which were the heroism of the guerrilla fighters and the primitive weapons they had at their disposal, soon had nationwide repercussions.

La Violencia caused large numbers of peasants to migrate from the villages to the towns and from one part of the country to another. Displacement of population has always been a feature of the guerrilla struggle. But the fact that our rebel movement enjoys such support from the peasants shows that the guerrillas have never lost touch with their social environment.

In the early fifties more than 1,000 peasant families from other areas gathered in the district of El Davis, Tolima Department, in the Central Cordillera. The adults were organized in the Party, the young people in the Communist Youth organization, the children in the so-called Sucre Battalion, and the women in their own committee. This was the first closely-knit armed group to embark on guerrilla action. Soon the entire southern part of Tolima Department was gripped by guerrilla warfare. Many outstanding fighters, such as Manuel Marulanda, Ciro Trujillo, Isauro Yosa, Alfonso Castaneda (Richard), Jacobo Prias Alape (Charro Negro) and Isaias Pardo, got their baptism of fire in El Davis. This was the first major center of guerrilla struggle in Latin America led by the party of the proletariat. The present guerrilla movement is carrying on the traditions of these fighters.

However, the first stage of the armed peasant movement (1949-53) also had features which retarded the all-round development of the struggle. The movement had neither a united military-political leadership nor a clear-cut program aimed at winning power. It was rather a conglomeration of groups which had considerable manpower resources but were politically disunited. Joint planning of the struggle was out of the question. The Liberals, Conservatives and Communists each led their own movements, pursuing, moreover, entirely different aims. For the liberal bourgeoisie the guerrilla movement was a means of stepping up inter-party struggle which fostered the illusion that only a military take-over could solve the problems at issue. The Conservatives mainly sought to use their combat detachments to

maintain the dictatorship. The Communists worked to unite the diverse groups, and in the Boyaca Department they managed to convene a conference of guerrillas but were not able to achieve their aims on a national scale.

The year 1953 was one of painful experiences. More than 5,000 guerrilla followers of the Liberal Party who had been operating in the eastern plains surrendered to the dictatorship of Rojas Pinilla. Later other Liberal detachments followed suit. The Communists, although fewer in number and forced to retreat to Southern Tolima, continued the struggle. Charro Negro, Isauro Yosa and Manuel Marulanda launched operations in the zone that later came to be called Marquetalia. Ciro Trujillo moved into the Cauca department, an area inhabited by Indians with traditions of peasant struggle. The latter zone was later named Riochiquito.

The Communist Party led the guerrilla war at its second stage (1954-57). For more than six months positional warfare was waged in Villarica and Conday against numerically superior troops of the enemy. Bitter fighting went on for every metre of terrain. When further resistance became impossible, many of the peasants moved south, to the Tolima and Huila departments. Subsequently the guerrillas were redeployed in Meta and Caqueta departments. The march was effected by mobile groups which fought the enemy through 1955-57. A column under the command of Alfonso Castaneda moved into the El Pato and Guayabero districts.

Owing to the treachery of the Liberal leaders most guerrilla groups had laid down arms by this time and as a result contact had been lost between the revolutionary forces in the countryside and those in the towns. Moreover, the new government, which had demagogically proclaimed the slogan "Peace, Justice and Freedom" and announced an amnesty for all who had borne arms, succeeded in sowing illusions among the masses. In these circumstances the guerrillas who had not laid down arms could not carry on in the old way without risking being isolated from the masses and hence doomed to certain defeat. Because of this the detachments in the mountain areas of Marquetalia, Riochiquito, El Pato, Guayabero and other places which the army had not been able to overrun entered upon a new phase of the struggle. Their armed core was once again turned into a self-defense organization to protect these areas where hundreds of peasant families and former guerrillas fleeing from government reprisals had taken refuge. The new settlers, without any aid from the state, cleared the mountain slopes and jungles, planted crops and set to raising livestock. In time these zones became major suppliers of produce for nearby markets. This was the situation of the peasant rebels when a new political climate set in with the fall of the dictatorship in May 1957.

The Communist Party was the only revolu-

tionary force that remained in the thick of the struggle throughout these difficult years. However, as distinct from a number of other countries, in Columbia no consistently unitarian and relatively stable Left movement capable of ensuring a genuinely democratic outcome of the struggle against the dictatorship could be built up. Owing to this the imperialists and the Colombian bourgeoisie succeeded, even though the peasant guerrilla detachments had not been defeated on the field of battle, in finding a solution which, while essentially changing nothing, on the face of it offered a way out of the crisis.

* * *

The Camargo government (1958-62) pursued a dual policy towards the guerrilla areas. On the one hand, measures were taken towards what was called rehabilitation of the "zones affected by the violence." The key elements of this policy were infiltration of the peasant areas by means of credits for promoting production and housing, and lavish dispensation of promises. Rehabilitation was selective and aimed at winning the political support of sections of the peasantry, especially the ex-guerrillas and their leaders, or at least neutralizing them. On the other hand, districts whose population continued to regard the government with distrust were denied economic aid. The local organizations in these areas were persecuted as before and many of their leaders, especially ex-guerrillas, were murdered. Beginning with 1960 this dual policy became the basis of the "military-civilian action." (For this and other aspects of the political and military preparation of the army for operations against the revolutionary peasants see the article by R. Lopez in the February issue of this journal.)

The government saw a threat in the existence of the self-defense zones. It realized that they were not a sign of relative equilibrium in the class balance, but a manifestation of class struggle. Consequently, a plan of aggression against these zones began to be elaborated in 1957. It envisaged five stages: civilian action, economic blockade, military action, unification of the zone, and its "return to the orbit of national life." In 1960-63 the government began to carry out this plan. An offensive was first launched against the numerous armed bands which the army itself had previously used to terrorize the villages but which by this time had broken away from its political control.

At the same time the troops easily dealt with groups of young patriots who, influenced by romantic idealism, had taken to arms ignoring the actual conditions in which they had to operate. In Marquetalia, however—and this is an indicative fact—the resistance offered by the self defense detachments (backed by a nationwide protest movement against the aggression) repulsed an expeditionary corps of 7,000 men in early 1962 and compelled the enemy to give up the operation.

To the setback suffered by government forces in Marquetalia and the general strengthening

of the Communist-led peasant self-defense movements the reactionaries retaliated with the cry that these areas were "states within the state," "independent republics," which it was imperative to destroy. The events following the launching in May 1964 of a military offensive against these "independent republics," an offensive which opened with the second attack on Marquetalia, once again showed the real nature and significance of the peasant self-defense movements.

Life in the self-defense zones was in no way idyllic. The inhabitants, mostly peasants who had moved there to escape the terror, had no illusion about "class peace," nor had they any faith in the good will of any government. They knew the perils of life under constant attack by the landlords and the army. But they chose this life because they knew that in our country the democratic peasant movement had no chances of developing unless it relied on its own armed organizations. Hence, the people in the self-defense zones were always on their guard. Military training was carried on systematically. There was a high sense of discipline which proved equal to every test. The peasant movement, while not seeking to initiate hostilities, replied without hesitation to every provocation engineered and every crime committed by the reactionaries in these districts. It is not by chance that in the most gruelling years of *La Violencia*, when the peasants were hounded over more than one-third of the country's territory, the government forces could not penetrate into the districts controlled by the Communist-led self-defense detachments. On the contrary, the conditions ripened in these areas for an armed class movement with the object not of upholding narrow partisan, parochial interests but of serving the exploited masses and fighting for the social revolution.

Moreover, the self-defense movements do not confine themselves either to the bounds of their particular zones or to simply defending the peasants' right to the land. They are primarily revolutionary political organizations resolutely opposed to the landlord-capitalist system, and their influence extends to large areas. Their aim is to win over the masses, to enlist them in the class struggle, and to channel their energies to the overthrow of oligarchic rule. Where it not for this their adversaries would never have labeled them "independent republics." Although besides the peasant movements led by the Communists and other revolutionary groups there are many other peasant organizations, the reactionaries are leaving these alone for they present no danger to the existing system.

There are a number of questions which are frequently asked: Why didn't the peasants embark on guerrilla struggle after 1957? Why did the preparatory stage last so long? Why did they wait for the government to resort to armed aggression before taking guerrilla action? Did the Communists not regard the self-

defense zones only as a propaganda expedient and seek to avoid a direct clash with the government?

A review of the experience of our country supplies the answers to these questions. We Colombian Communists never expected the peasant masses to take to arms on orders issued from the towns. Our peasants had to learn by their own experience. They had seen for themselves what war means. And they joined the armed struggle only when they realized it was the only way out, when this struggle was imposed upon them by a class enemy resorting to violence to save himself.

It should be borne in mind that the acquisition of land and even active endeavor to acquire landed property exert an "appeasing" influence on peasants. The peasant listens rather than talks, he is distrustful and exceptionally observant. When he finally becomes convinced of the need for one or another solution, he becomes a dynamo of energy and willingly leaves his family and plot of land and throws himself wholly into the struggle. The Communists could not artificially spark off armed struggle, as some leftist groups insisted we should in the early sixties. We waited for the proper moment, when the Party's call to reply with guerrilla action to the aggression launched against the peasant zones had found a response among the masses, and when this moment came guerrilla detachments with a large radius of action sprang up in the Central and Eastern Cordilleras. The peasants realized the need to transform the self-defense zones into guerrilla territory and hence fully supported these detachments.

We never expected the self-defense zones to be impregnable from the military standpoint. On the contrary, the possibility was foreseen that they might fall into enemy hands. At the same time, however, we regarded them as a base for a future movement, centers of a popular armed movement which today are stronger than ever owing to the very logic of events.

MARQUETALIA: A TRIAL OF STRENGTH

The test of a policy is practice. Marquetalia was a test which proved the correctness of our policy. The army threw the full weight of modern weaponry and its experience in anti-guerrilla warfare against it. But Marquetalia, too, had prepared for guerrilla warfare. It was not simply a matter of resort to arms on the spur of the moment, for the leaders of the area were well acquainted with past experience, had made a study of the success scored by the enemy, and from the outset were guided by a clear-cut concept of guerrilla war.

Before the aggression Marquetalia itself had not been a zone of military action. But the work done earlier by its leaders in *peripheral areas* had laid the groundwork for the subsequent operations. And this groundwork is an important factor today as well.

The peasant population of Marquetalia was not left to the mercy of fate either before or after the invasion. At no time, however, was it proposed to have women and children accompany the guerrilla detachments or to burden these detachments with the peasants' livestock and personal belongings. The evacuation of the families was planned in advance so as to leave in the zone only those able to bear arms. The families were taken to neighboring areas where they play an important role in rallying support for the fighting men.

The mobile guerrilla units extended their radius of action, sending out their representatives in advance to persuade the peasants not to abandon their plots. Despite the efforts made by the government to win over the people in these peripheral zones, the latter are continuing to give strong support to their fellow-peasants in the guerrilla units. The correct policy pursued by the revolutionary movement has borne fruit.

In conformity with the overall policy of preparing for guerrilla action (a policy subsequently pursued in other zones as well) intensive work was done to build up stocks of supplies for the future detachments. Large stores of provisions were cached in the mountains. Six months after the beginning of hostilities the supply service was taken over by specially organized zones.

A plan of hostilities was worked out in advance. The army found itself facing detachments subdivided into groups operating both inside and outside the traps laid by the troops. The guerrillas engaged the government forces the moment they entered the zone. Although the army eventually occupied Marquetalia, it encountered minefields and ambushes everywhere, suffering telling losses under constant harassment. The guerrillas soon moved into mountainous and jungle country. The government forces now lost contact with them, while the guerrillas had the enemy's every move under observation. Although the army occupied the central part of Marquetalia, it could not cordon off the entire 5,000 sq. km. area, and the initiative in the choice of the battlefield passed over to the guerrillas.

On July 20, 1964, at the height of the fighting, a guerrilla assembly was held which put forward an agrarian program envisaging the winning of power by the people in the process of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution. And on September 30 the first conference of guerrillas and self-defense detachments of the South established the Guerrilla Bloc of the South consisting of six detachments. Summing up the experience of Marquetalia, the conference declared with a sense of gratification that "five months after the first stage of the offensive against Marquetalia the mobile guerrilla units achieved complete victory over the government's anti-guerrilla tactics."

The conference declared further that "the revolutionary armed action movement, which has adopted tactics based on mobile guerrilla oper-

ations, is an invincible movement capable of standing up to the far superior forces of the enemy, witness the situation in Marquetalia where the peasant detachments are fighting 16,000 government troops."

MARQUETALIA acquired symbolic significance. It inspired a broad solidarity campaign throughout the country. Gaining a military-political victory over the government, Marquetalia not only ushered in a new stage in the guerrilla movement but stimulated the emergence of new guerrilla detachments. Its experience in the conduct of warfare (the fact that 200 enemy officers and men were killed or wounded in the course of a few months is indicative) was taken over by other zones, which began preparing for action and to strike at the enemy even before they were subjected to attack (El Pato, Guayabero and South Tolima). Reorganizing the self-defense movement into a guerrilla movement, these areas are now working to expand and consolidate the guerrilla detachments.

NEW PHASE IN THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT

The present stage of guerrilla struggle is now in its third year. This has been a period of training, study of the enemy, and assessment of our own forces and fighting capacity. In this time we have solved some extremely difficult problems of the kind that any armed movement is bound to encounter at the organizational and deployment stage. Our solutions stem from the concrete reality, from the pressures of the moment, but they are also geared to the long-range aims of the guerrilla movement as the decisive force in the fight to win power.

The present revolutionary armed movement led by the Communist Party has passed through three phases. The first was marked by mobile operations by detachments subdivided into groups within a limited radius of action. Each detachment had its own military political command which directed operations in its own zone. There was no centralized military-political guidance of the various detachments, and this naturally complicated general planning of operations. The second phase began with the establishment of the Guerrilla Bloc of the South, which included the movements in Marquetalia, Riochiquito, El Pato, Guayabero and Southwest Tolima, and the September 26 Movement. This resulted in 1965 in an upswing in guerrilla activity in a number of departments. Although the army at this time occupied El Pato, Riochiquito and Guayabero, the guerrillas carried out some major operations, such as the capture of the town of Inza.

Early in 1965 a new guerrilla movement sprang up in the department of Santander in the North — the Army of National Liberation led by student youth. The next phase of the struggle was ushered in with the establishment of the FARC* at the Second Conference of the

Guerrilla Bloc of the South in April 1966.

The conference attached much importance to the study of the tactics and strategy of the enemy (primarily questions relating to "preventive" war, "military-civilian action," and encirclement and airborne operations). A study of the experience of the enemy and the evolution of his tactics, in a word, of his concept of counter-revolutionary war, is essential in order to counter it with a tactics and strategy of revolutionary war according with the Colombian conditions. The conference also discussed the policy of the guerrilla movement towards the masses and to Party building in the zones of hostilities.

The meeting drew up rules for FARC, set up a military-political headquarters and elaborated a unified organizational structure. The decisions of the conference can be summed up as follows: (1) founding of FARC; (2) establishment of a general guerrilla headquarters; (3) elaboration of the inner structure of FARC and its rules; (4) adoption of a program for FARC; (5) elaboration of an operational plan including the following points: (a) military action in the former self-defense zones by the six existing fronts; (b) penetration into new zones to set up bases for operations; (c) establishment of new guerrilla blocs; (d) creating an extensive area of guerrilla action; (e) combining self-defense with guerrilla action; (f) organizing self-defense detachments where the situation is not yet ripe for guerrilla action, and (g) coordinating action in the countryside and in the towns.

Proceeding from the strategic aim of the Communist Party—the conquest of power — the conference charted the perspectives of the guerrilla movement, which is destined to become the core of a people's army, the principal instrument for achieving this strategic aim.

THE BALANCE SHEET

The Colombian army operates on three fronts: military, political and ideological. It has trained its staff officers in anti-guerrilla tactics, placed these experts in the leading positions and charged them with stamping out the guerrilla movement. But regardless of the lavish expenditure of manpower and public funds, they have failed to achieve their aim.

In 1964-65 the army mounted four major operations, against Marquetalia, El Pato, Riochiquito and Guayabero, in which 16,000, 5,000, 12,000 and 5,000 troops respectively took part. In August last year thousands of troops were deployed to encircle and mop up sections of El Pato and some parts of Huila Department. For weeks on end villages were bombed and strafed, crops destroyed, and hundreds of peasants arrested. A curfew was proclaimed in 21 southern municipalities.

At present the government has thrown 25,000 troops against FARC. The operations are directed personally by President Restrepo, who has visited the areas of hostilities to bolster

*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia.—Ed.

up the morale of the troops. It is quite likely that the punitive forces will be increased and the scale of the repression expanded. But while conducting military operations, the army continues to use the "reformist" devices of what is called "military-civilian action."

The guerrilla movement on its part works in the following three directions:

(a) *Military activity*, which is a basic function of our detachments in the zones of hostilities, is aimed at wearing out the enemy by means of ambushes, attacks on roads and taking hostages. This keeps the enemy in a constant state of tension and prevents him from concentrating forces in any particular spot. The object is to win the support of the peasants generally, who see in each action of this kind an expression of their own protest against the existing regime. Peasants who have been driven from their land, forcibly evacuated to other parts of the country, or compelled to move to the towns see in the guerrilla detachments their leader and champion, a force that deals blows at those responsible for their plight. Needless to say, the guerrillas seek to extend their radius of action and to carry operations to zones where the conditions are favorable for them.

The operations conducted in 1966 yielded good results. We hit hard at the army in Colombia and Baraya (Huila), Vegalarga, El Pato, South Tolima (in the Central Cordillera), and in the areas of Planadas and Gaitania. The guerrillas display a high degree of mobility, vanishing into the hills after each blow. The governor of Huila Department wrote in *El Espacio* on August 23 last year that the situation was "extremely serious; the entry of the army only causes the guerrilla forces to disperse," and added: "Huila, especially the area of the Eastern Cordillera, has become a Sierra Maestra where international Communism is preparing its forces to expand operations on Colombian territory." And on September 2 the same newspaper wrote: "In June, July, August and September this year 26 encounters took place between FARC and the Colombian army."*

Some capitalist papers printed together with this report a photograph of a cemetery on the grounds of the Tenerife Battalion barracks where 137 soldiers are buried. According to the press, these account for only 30 per cent of the soldiers and officers killed in Marquetalia, El Pato, Guayabero and Riochiquito, the bodies of the rest having been turned over to their families. In other words, some 500 soldiers and officers have been killed since May 1964. According to data released by the Ministry of Defense, in 1966 alone the army lost 210 men

*This year has been marked by a further intensification of guerrilla action. In particular, guerrillas belonging to FARC wiped out on March 3 a unit of the Sixth Brigade of the Colombian Army near Algeciras. Government troops lost 16 killed and 6 wounded. This operation, comparable to the FARC action near Vegalarga at the end of last year, is one of the most serious defeats for the anti-guerrilla forces since the beginning of the guerrilla movement.—Ed.

—116 dead and 94 seriously wounded. The dead included 5 officers, 15 sergeants, 50 privates and 46 police agents.

(b) The *political activity* of the guerrilla movement is aimed at extending its sphere of influence and thereby paving the way to increasing its radius of action. This work is carried on in areas where military action would not be well received from the outset by a substantial part of the local peasantry. Colombia, and especially its rural areas, is subdivided not only administratively but also according to political allegiances. There are traditionally Liberal Conservative, Rojista* and Communist zones. Within the spheres of influence of the bourgeoisie parties and the oligarchy there are districts where the peasants are armed in support of the army. The guerrillas avoid encounters with these peasants and concentrate on neutralizing them. This work is highly important in order to deprive the army of armed peasant support.

Consequently, we are striving to build in these zones organizations corresponding to the present phase of the struggle in order to neutralize traditional hostility toward our movement. There are, of course, no ready-made formulas to go by. How to go about it must be decided on the spot.

The guerrilla detachments are organizers of the masses. Whenever they enter a zone where the conditions are ripe for organizing the peasants, they set to work at once, proceeding from simple forms of organization to the more complex. First committees are set up to carry on the struggle for immediate economic demands (building of schools, roads, etc.). As our influence grows problems of a political and military order are posed — such as organization of self-defense or armed groups, and building contacts between the peasant youth and the guerrilla detachments.

The underlying principles of our mass work are:

(1) respect for the property of the peasants — provisions are paid for unless they are voluntarily donated;

(2) defense of the peasants' interests; respect for women and for religious beliefs; help in solving the delicate problem of boundaries between plots, as well as family problems, all of which eventually establishes the guerrillas as peasant counsellors.

A correct approach to the local population is of decisive importance. The guerrillas should set an example as champions of the peasants' interests. The peasant may allow his sons to join a combat group, but he will closely watch the behavior of every guerrilla. For he cannot forget the misdeeds of earlier detachments. He also remembers the roving bands which plundered their homes and raped their women, and the army patrols that left their farmsteads stripped clean as if invaded by locusts. In view

*The Rojists form a reactionary movement which is now in the opposition; it is headed by Rojas Pinilla, the former dictator.

of this the statutes of FARC stipulate that the guerrillas must always be exemplary in their behavior.

Each new guerrilla combat operation is added proof to the peasants that the enemy is vulnerable; it stimulates the growth of their consciousness and their active opposition to the regime. And each political operation strengthens the guerrillas' foothold in the old zones and helps to extend their influence;

(c) In some zones a serious *ideological* struggle is under way between two concepts — anti-communism as the ideological basis of preventive war and the ideas of communism, the proponents of which are the guerrilla leaders adhering to Marxist-Leninist positions. Our propaganda is winning over many of our former opponents. The guerrilla movement carries on work even in the enemy ranks to persuade the soldiers—who, after all, are workingmen in uniform — to turn their weapons against their real enemy. A distinction is drawn between the ordinary soldier and the special anti-guerrilla trooper in order to neutralize those who otherwise might become our enemies.

THE WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

It is now more imperative than ever for all groups and sections objectively interested in the overthrow of the present regime to find their place in the revolutionary process. Our point of departure is the class criterion set forth in our program, which declares that the Colombian revolution will be led by the working class in close alliance with the peasantry, and in unity with the students, intellectuals and salaried workers. All sections of the working population have a contribution to make to the revolutionary struggle, and the magnitude of the contributions will be determined in the process of this struggle.

We proceed from the reality, not from preconceived notions. Our guide is the Marxist-Leninist precept concerning the need to build the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The absence of this alliance in the past enabled the reactionaries to paralyze popular actions in the earlier phase of the armed struggle (1949-53 and 1954-57). One of the shortcomings in the past was the weakness of the revolutionary movement in the cities. The ruling classes took advantage of this, and when the military dictatorship of Rojas Pinilla fell on May 10, 1957, the fruits of the popular struggle were reaped by the bourgeoisie, which put a "national front" government in the saddle.

But it would be an act of sheer desperation if because of this we were to anathematize the towns and surrender them to the class enemy. It should be borne in mind, first, that 52 per cent of the population live in towns (moreover, there are 17 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants each). Second, there is the example of the spontaneous uprising of the urban masses which began on April 9, 1948, when the Liberal leader Jorge Eliecer Gaitan

was murdered. Some towns were in the hands of the workers for several days. And we know how important a role the mobilization of the urban masses played on May 10, 1957, when the dictatorship was overthrown. In recent years there have been numerous strikes of workers and students, and major actions have been undertaken by teachers and clerical workers. Hence the importance we attach to work in the towns. This work is a component of our policy of combining diverse forms of struggle.

The guerrilla movement is well aware that it *alone* cannot carry out the revolution. Guerrillas know from experience what it means to act in isolation. A victorious revolution calls for the unity of the people, and there already are signs that this unity is growing. Every action by workers, students or teachers helps the guerrilla movement. As the headquarters of FARC have declared on repeated occasions, every action taken by the working people is inseparably linked with the struggle waged by the guerrillas.

THE LEADING ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT

No claimants to political leadership of any movement can expect to succeed unless they throw themselves into the thick of the struggle. No group can really take the lead merely by declaring itself to be the vanguard. We Communists have always made it clear that we do not consider ourselves to be the only revolutionaries. On the contrary, we have always extended a fraternal hand to all those outside our ranks also fighting against imperialism.

Colombia is the scene of a life-and-death struggle. In the center of this struggle is the guerrilla movement headed by FARC and its headquarters. The united military-political leadership of FARC follows the line of the Communist Party as set forth in the decisions of its central bodies. To meet the requirements of the revolutionary process in our country, the Tenth Congress of our Party centralized the leadership of armed action in the rural localities. The leading positions in the headquarters of FARC are held by such tried and tested fighters as Manuel Marulanda Velez, Ciro Trujillo, Jacobo Arenas and Isauro Yosa, all members of the Central Committee of our Party. Our combat planning, based on the decisions of the inaugural conference of FARC, takes cognizance of both the concrete situation and the general situation in our country. It is not by chance that 48 per cent of the delegates to the Tenth Congress were peasants, some of whom have been waging armed struggle since 1950. It can be said that the revolutionary armed struggle in our country is largely the result of the work done by the Communists.

Playing its part in the thick of the armed struggle, forging ahead from success to success — and committing inevitable mistakes as well — our Party has consistently charted the basic course of this struggle. It evolved the

tactics of mass self-defense which led on to guerrilla action. We created the FARC, which first emerged at the time of the aggression against Marquetalia and crystallized thanks to the experience accumulated by the Guerrilla Bloc of the South. FARC is destined to develop into a people's army and play a decisive role in winning power for the people.

The Party and the guerrilla detachments are at one, they interweave and are interdependent. By strengthening the Party we strengthen the guerrilla movement. And when the guerrilla detachments gain in influence, so does the Party. All Party organizations throughout the Cordillera help the armed units solve the problems confronting them. Every Communist in the zone of hostilities is a guerrilla behind the enemy's lines. Whenever a detachment moves into a new locality, provided the conditions are ripe, it lays the groundwork for a new Party organization. Conversely, in areas where guerrilla action has not yet begun but the political base exists, the Party paves the way for the guerrillas to move in. Every zonal, municipal or district committee in the theatre of hostilities works to strengthen the guerrilla movement. Party organizations are as necessary to the guerrillas as the air they breathe; they are a pre-condition of successful operations. *The "secret" of the indivisible unity of the Communist Party and the guerrilla detachments is that the Party and its leadership are in the center of the armed struggle.*

Some Lefts at one time insisted on beginning armed action everywhere. But when it actually began and the peasants were in greater need than ever of support and concrete aid, these people were not available. Their exhortations

were not matched by deeds. Some of them now consort with the bourgeoisie. Others unconditionally support all the economic and repressive measures of the government, repudiating the very demands they once put forward. This happened because politics can rest only on realities, not on myths. The merits of each are measured by his concrete participation in the revolutionary process.

One hardly finds anyone today who believes that because the guerrilla movement is headed by Communists it will lose popular support. Experience has shown that the guerrilla movement led by our Party has extended its radius of action and penetrated into zones where Liberal and Conservative influences used to predominate, and also into areas where there formerly were neither self-defense organizations nor any sign of Communist influence. The guerrilla movement is developing into a factor uniting the democratic forces. By working to build a united front of all groups carrying on the armed revolutionary struggle, FARC is helping to translate into reality the Party's call for a patriotic national-liberation front. Only such a policy can ensure the victory of the revolutionary movement.

The Tenth Congress of our Party pointed out that a specific type of revolutionary way *combining all forms of struggle* is opening up before Colombia, and stressed that in the overall context of this way *popular armed action will develop into the main form of struggle against imperialism, to win power.* FARC is paving the way to a people's army. We Communists are working to realize this perspective. We are fighting for an independent, sovereign Colombia based on socialism.

The social responsibility of the intellectual under capitalism

W. HOLLITSCHER

IN CONTEMPORARY society the intelligentsia bears a growing responsibility not only for its contribution to social life but also for the uses to which the contribution is put. And while it is time that each brain worker is personally answerable for the quality of his particular work, he nevertheless shares with society a certain responsibility for its applications.

So far only relatively few intellectuals — though the numbers and social weight of this stratum are steadily growing — have a say in deciding whether the results of mental labor are to be used in the interests of man or to his detriment, perhaps even to destroy him. But even here the say is not a matter of the individual scientist, and we say this not for the purpose of minimizing the role of the intellectuals but in order to see their responsibility to society in the proper perspective. Because of the social character of the results of mental labor, its significance is a matter that concerns the whole of society.

This is often disputed in the capitalist countries, for many bourgeois ideologists still regard mental labor as a kind of private enterprise enjoying “freedom” tantamount to complete absence of responsibility. Yet the everyday life of capitalist society disproves this concept which is advanced in order to blind the intelligentsia to its obligations.

APPROXIMATION OF THE CONDITIONS OF MENTAL AND MANUAL LABOR

The fact is that simultaneously with the growth in the numbers of intellectuals the technical conditions in which many of them work—this applies chiefly to engineers, architects, technicians, draughtsmen, laboratory

assistants and others not holding executive positions, and also to almost all clerical workers engaged in predominantly mental labor — are, increasingly, approximating to the working conditions and exploitation of the proletariat.

These people find themselves working under one roof gathering and processing information, and for purposes of intensification of labor find themselves subjected to the same pressures as those experienced by workers on the factory floor. This is far from being a matter of the proletariat being elevated to a “middle-class” status, but of large numbers of intellectuals and all other white-collar workers merging more and more with the proletariat. This applies both to industry and to the steadily growing services sphere.

It may be said that downgrading the role of manual workers and of the majority of the mental workers is a universal feature of monopoly capitalism. In many countries this impels various categories of intellectuals to join trade unions as well as the political working-class movement (many clerical workers’ trade unions are growing extremely rapidly), thereby facilitating the performance by this movement of its leading role.

In this way intellectuals linked with the working-class movement, as well as those who, impelled by the realization of their contradictory status, have a critical attitude to the existing capitalist relationships, influence and enrich the progressive movement as a whole.

But for all that the army of intellectual labor is still by and large replenished in the old way. As a rule preference is given, in violation of democracy, to young people from the bourgeois milieu. In Austria, for instance, only

six per cent of the student body in higher educational establishments come from the biggest social class—the working class; 30 per cent have parents with an independent income and 27 per cent come from the upper strata of officialdom.

Such an intelligentsia with primarily bourgeois leanings is hardly likely at the outset to have any *inborn* sense of responsibility for upholding the interests of the working class, the most progressive class in society.

In many countries most college graduates who come from the privileged classes have jobs waiting for them in the administration and in industry, and in the big imperialist countries they usually find a place in war industry or in a governmental apparatus readied for aggressive action, which, incidentally, largely finances research as well. In this way the ruling class sees to it that the intelligentsia is not free to serve the cause of justice and progress, seeks to make it directly or indirectly dependent on the forces of reaction and war. Yet we find many intellectuals waging a courageous struggle against such dependence.

Moreover, the public is deliberately kept in the dark as regards the role of mental labor, the significance of which in the overall system of social division of labor in most developed capitalist countries is growing.

Outstanding scientists and artists in the capitalist countries are either lauded by press, radio and television if their ideology suits the powers that be, or caricatured and ridiculed if they voice independent political opinions. The support given by the working-class movement to the progressive intelligentsia as to a friend, and often as to a comrade-in-arms, greatly helps to safeguard the interests of intellectuals generally, not to speak of the part played by workers' solidarity in giving new heart to the progressives among them.

To be able to play a part in society corresponding to its particular interests, the intelligentsia needs the support of the working-class movement, while the working-class movement needs the help of the intelligentsia, in solving the tasks confronting the nations and all of humanity.

Isolated, left to themselves, intellectuals are unable to realize those of their basic professional and vital interests and freedoms which run counter to the wishes of the ruling classes. Inasmuch as the intelligentsia is replenished from different classes and therefore in itself is not a class, it can bring its social weight to bear only as an ally of the major classes in society. On the other hand, without the help of the intelligentsia the working class and the working peasants would find it more difficult

to carry out their class and national tasks. Hence the importance of winning over the intellectuals.

CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL PROGRESS

In the era of the decline of capitalism the intelligentsia cannot lay claim to being the brain, heart and conscience of the nation, as some presumptuously assume. But what is indisputable is the value of its specialized knowledge, its experience and its ability to find effective expression for its knowledge and skill. Moreover, its finest members have selflessly and wholeheartedly dedicated their knowledge and talent to the cause of peace and progress.

When intellectuals place their knowledge and conscience, their mental powers and their hearts in the service of peace and social progress, the contribution they can make, in alliance with all other working people, can be very great indeed. The specific features of this contribution stem from the basic social attributes of the intelligentsia as a stratum engaged primarily in mental labor. The results of its *creative endeavors* are primarily discoveries and inventions based on these discoveries, works in diverse genres (literature, art, the cinema, music) and, finally, social and ethical concepts relating to the political, economic and all other spheres of public and private life.

The intellectual dedicates his labor to the production and, in the quantitative respect, primarily to the reproduction as well as the dissemination of intellectual output ranging from original works to products of formal mental labor executed with a sense of responsibility. Needless to say, this work is at times associated to one or another extent with physical labor.

The research done and discoveries made by scientists and the inventions of technicians have long had an independent "production potential" and, as Marx put it, have become a "direct productive force." Science now is finding larger application, especially in industry and agriculture, and, reflected in the consciousness of the producers, is strikingly in evidence in the means of production.

Not the least of the consequences of this is the qualitatively new responsibility resting on the scientist. For his knowledge may be transmuted into either a powerful productive force or into a terrifying destructive force. The productive forces may be utilized in the interests of the masses, or they may be placed at the service of those who merely seek to enrich themselves; they can bring either freedom or slavery, serve either as a means of

achieving universal happiness or as a means of exploitation and destruction of man by man.

If the scientist is not aware of this responsibility, which includes the *enlightenment* of society as regards the possibilities for either civilized use of his knowledge or its misuse, the danger exists under capitalism that the masses may turn against science and the scientists instead of turning against the exploiters and aggressors. Frederick Joliot-Curie feared this, and Bertolt Brecht said through his Galileo that every cry of joy uttered by a scientist rejoicing over a new discovery might well be followed by a cry of horror from the public at the thought of the discovery being misused. Selfless acquisition of new knowledge and its fearless dissemination are, then the scientist's responsibility.

Needless to say, the scientist, like the layman, is not always infallible. Clearly he is entitled to expound what he sincerely believes to be the truth, and to expect that he be given a hearing.

Socialism steadfastly elevates the prestige of intellectual labor, as can be seen from the status secured by law for mental workers in all the key institutions of social life in the socialist countries. In societies based on exploitation, however, the labor of the intelligentsia proceeds in extremely contradictory conditions where the steady perfecting of production is accompanied by the shackling of the producers of material values. As a result, the latter are divorced from mental labor, and mental workers are denied access to the direct sources of production. This circumstance is reflected in the thinking of many workers and intellectuals in the capitalist countries.

The bourgeoisie seeks to intimidate intellectuals by claiming that socialism, by abolishing educational privilege, would doom them to mental degradation and worsen their material position. The fact is, however, that capitalism proletarianizes the intelligentsia. Even during prolonged booms in the economy the dependence mentioned above tend to *downgrade* mental workers, and this acts upon those with questioning minds as a ferment giving rise first to protest and, eventually, to revolutionary sentiment. Having become revolutionary-minded allies of the working class, such intellectuals know that, far from having any reason to fear socialism, they have much to gain from it. They have no reason to lament the loss of educational privilege.

Under socialism the growth of the productive forces, the intellectual forces included,

encounters no barriers associated with the social system. On the contrary, society experiences a growing need not only for labor creating original works, but also for labor reproducing existing spiritual values. For, as Lenin pointed out, the liberation of all the productive forces of society presupposes, among other things, "all-round development and all-round training" of people.

Today this is strikingly evident in the fact that one-quarter of all the scientists in the world live and work in the USSR. Moreover, the USSR has roughly four times as many students as Britain, France, Italy and West Germany put together. And United Nations statistics show that no other country has as many doctors, in both absolute and relative terms, as the Soviet Union.

In the final analysis the future cannot but belong to the system which alone is able comprehensively to apply and develop the principles of science in all areas of social life. Marx made it clear—and an examination of the facts bears out his thesis — why capitalism is unable to do this even when it is challenged to competition with socialism.

AUSTRIAN REALITY UNEMBELLISHED

Austria is a case in point. Although Austrian intellectuals have behind them a long record of outstanding work in many areas of science, engineering and the arts, a survey made by the scientific and economic department of the Vienna Chamber of Labor shows that the development of talent in this country in the very heart of Europe has been retarded and deformed by conditions similar to those found in underdeveloped countries (*Research and Development in Austria*. Austrian Trade Union Federation Publishers, Vienna, 1965, p. 144). The example of Austria, where utilization of existing opportunities takes historically conditioned, but by no means historically necessary, extreme forms, throws vivid light on what is the rule under capitalism.

If "research and development" signify "efforts to gain new scientific and technological knowledge" (research) and "its utilization to create new and better materials, instruments, production processes and products" (development), then Austria "spends" for this purpose roughly three-tenths of one per cent of the gross national product, or slightly more than is typical of the economically underdeveloped countries.

To train its students in keeping with present-day requirements, Austria would need, according to *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of August 13, 1965, roughly three times as many professors and four times as many assistant professors

and lecturers as there are today. Moreover, it would have to spend about two per cent of the national income on research.

The fact that "a large number of Austrian researchers work abroad creating spiritual and material values which benefit their own country at best belatedly and indirectly, and mostly on payment of high licence fees although Austria has borne the original cost of training these people" (*Ibid.*, p. 46), adds up not to export of capital but to a frittering away of intellectual capital.

Small wonder that other countries, primarily the big capitalist countries, and especially the USA, take advantage of these conditions typical of underdeveloped countries to increase their own research potential and to enrich their own capitalists by systematically recruiting professionally trained Austrians. For productivity of scientific labor and hence the temptation to exploit it are very great indeed. It is well known that the growth of output achieved thanks to the efforts of a scientist as a rule exceeds his salary many times over.

In Austria, exploitation of the labor of the scientist sometimes takes the form of direct "colonization": researchers and research staffs employed in the country are "owned" by foreign firms—a glaring example of export of foreign capital for investment in cheaper mental labor power in an underdeveloped country.

Under these circumstances it is understandable why during the past decade the number of researchers has not increased, as a comparison of the 1951 and 1964 censuses shows, and the number of engineers, technicians and architects with a higher education has even decreased. Can there be any clearer proof of the Austrian bourgeoisie's hostility to science?

Underlying this hostility, as has been shown above all by W. Frank and E. Broda, are the contradictions of the past combined with the general contradictions of capitalism. The industry of the Austro-Hungarian empire was concentrated in Bohemia and Moravia, while the territory of present-day Austria was mainly the administrative and cultural centre, with (owing to the privileged position of the German-speaking population) a high concentration of service industries catering for officialdom (including the "purveyors to the Imperial Household").

The spread of petty-bourgeois concepts was a logical result of this. The early development of the Austrian commercial bourgeoisie led to relatively moderate industrial activity, for bankers generally are not great patrons of technology.

Added to this as a legacy of 1848 was the renunciation by the bourgeoisie of political leadership in the Hapsburg state in favor of the aristocrats, who were active as patrons of the arts but not as promoters of science. The traditional neglect of scientific institutions in favor of art is a baneful legacy of the past which still makes itself felt.

Subsequently the spirit of national surrender to the German bourgeoisie was added to this. The Pan-Germanism fostered by the Austrian bourgeoisie (after the liberation of Austria in 1945 the trend was curbed to a considerable extent but not overcome completely) has been, and still is, one of the causes of the "starvation diet" on which science has had to subsist in Austria.

In sharp contrast to these reprehensible trends there is the growing national consciousness of the Austrian public, including intellectuals. The concept of the essence and specific features of the Austrian nation elaborated by the Communist Party of Austria as early as 1936 (when no one else had taken up the question) provided a basis for enhancing the nation's economic and cultural distinctiveness, especially since the signing of the State Treaty and the proclamation of neutrality. However, the coalition of the conservative People's Party and the reformist Socialist Party, which ruled the country for nearly twenty years until it was replaced by the present conservative government, pursued a policy that led only too often—owing to the "proportionate" distribution of privileges among the intellectual following of these parties in the economy (including the nationalized sector), the arts, science, the administrative machinery, education, public health, the cinema, radio, television and journalism—to ideological corruption and to a conspiracy of mediocrity against competence. The rebellion against this was often timid and, because the actual reasons for the evil were not known, rarely sustained.

All this throws light on the reasons for the totally unjustifiable anti-intellectual sentiment manifested among some sections of the workers. Stemming from backwardness of outlook, this sentiment finds expression in an inclination to dismiss the intellectuals off-hand instead of seeking to win them over and according due recognition to those who by their work for peace and progress have proved themselves worthy to be recognized as loyal allies of the revolutionary proletariat.

These negative attitudes are fed, to my mind, by the fact that unwarranted political conclusions are occasionally drawn from the growing importance of the technological intelligentsia in modern production, manage-

ment and communications. Some intellectuals contend that in the relations between the working class and the intelligentsia it is not the proletariat that plays the vanguard role, but the core of "intellectuals, technologists and highly skilled workers" (the term "intellectuals" apparently applying primarily to men of letters).

But nothing has changed in the reasons which prompted the classics of Marxism-Leninism to see in the working class—by virtue of the conditions of its material and, hence, its spiritual life, its wage labor, its position in production and its resultant ability to stand united, its militancy and will to win — the center, the leader which unites and organizes all other classes and strata prepared to fight capitalism.

To confuse the growing importance of the intellectuals in the technological sphere and the labor process generally with their political role—a role which is often commendable but at times falls far short of the requirements of the day — merely obscures the tasks facing both the intellectuals and the working class. This confusion breeds arrogance on the one hand and, as a reaction to it, ill-will on the other.

An examination of Austrian reality reveals the following picture. The number of brain workers with a higher education is roughly 85,000 out of a total labor force of 3,400,000. In this relatively small group—its numbers have dwindled since the previous census—the arch-conservative Austrian Cartel Association, founded in 1933 and re-established in 1947, plays the role of the principal center selecting intellectuals for the top jobs.

The Cartel Association is a ruling class organization with only a few thousand members. Yet the monopoly of this class on spiritual "leadership" in the Austrian state and society is unquestionable, a fact directly related to the material basis on which it rests.

The influence of the Socialist University Union, which was founded in 1946 and has been led by reformists ever since, is much less although the Union does not fall short of the Cartel Association numerically. But until recently, throughout the years of the coalition government, it was used for extending "proportional" protection to the Socialist intellectuals it favored. It has been estimated that 10 per cent of its membership earn as much as the other 90 per cent. In academic elections, the Union of Socialist Students carries some 15 per cent of the vote, far less than the "black" and "brown" (frankly Pan-Germanist) student organizations.

Such is the unadorned reality of today.

FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR DANGER

This situation does not decrease but increases the moral and political responsibility of the intellectuals. Above all they are called upon to play a due role in the fight for peace, which is inseparable from the revolutionary and liberation tasks of our time. The specific nature of this role derives from their competence to pass judgment on the issues and their ability effectively to bring their knowledge to bear. The point is that the new, monstrous character of the nuclear war threatening mankind is particularly obvious to intellectuals who have had a scientific and technological training. Experts realize that a nuclear war and nuclear pollution would endanger the further existence of civilization and of human life. In Austria, too, pressure must be exerted on the government, which, despite its neutrality pledge, joins in actions for peace only rarely and reluctantly, and the demand made that it support every sincere peace initiative.

Thanks to the changed world balance of forces, prevention of world war is today, for the first time in history, not only a humane hope but a realistic objective that can be achieved through determined action. Together with the working-class movement, intellectuals are, increasingly, coming to see the true nature of imperialism, to realize that the danger of war originates in imperialism, and not in man's alleged defeat by natural forces, which he is fully in a position to subdue.

In view of the veritable vassalage of large sections of the Austrian bourgeoisie to Federal Germany, more and more intellectuals are awakening to the danger of revanchism emanating from that country. To combat this danger, it is imperative to demand that the Austrian government recognize the German Democratic Republic and its peace policy.

The longing for peace and the anti-fascism of broad sections of the population make these objectives attainable through struggle against the economic and political fetters which the bourgeoisie is trying to strengthen through association with the EEC. Inasmuch as a sizable part of the Catholic intellectuals has the same aspirations, a base exists for building up a movement embracing broad sections of the population. The dialogues under way in many places between Marxists and non-Marxists help to promote cooperation in action through a critical comparison and confrontation of views.

The last two congresses of the Communist Party envisaged the possibility of a peaceful

transition to socialism in Austria and charted a course accordingly. And since far-reaching democratization of public life, involving radical structural reforms as preparatory stages, is a prerequisite for such transition, this places a big responsibility on the intellectuals, by virtue of their competence, in numerous spheres of endeavor.

The working class, working peasantry, office employees and small handicraftsmen will be able to elaborate, unerringly and promptly, democratic economic, social, cultural and political concepts and engage in polemics against the existing evils and misconceptions only if they are given full and unconditional assistance by the numerous intellectuals convinced of the need for such reforms.

Passive submission to the influence of the commercialized pop culture with its stock-in-trade of shallow entertainment and trash is

fraught with grave ideological danger to the working people. But no less a danger would threaten the intellectuals if they were to act in isolation from the masses and without their support in opposing the purveyors of this "culture" through the press, cinema, radio, television and theatre. New democratic concepts cannot be *invented*, they must be *found* in the course of the joint struggle of the working class and the intelligentsia.

The politically most progressive intellectuals—those who cooperate with the revolutionary workers' movement or have joined it—know on the emancipation of *what* class the full realization of man's cultural aspirations hinges. They are aware that realization of the aims of the working class is a precondition for human progress, even for the existence of man, and that, consequently, every gain in this struggle is also their gain.

Problems of the popular front

AN INTERNATIONAL scientific conference on the thirtieth anniversary of the Popular Front and the work of Maurice Thorez was held at the end of 1966 in Paris. The conference, sponsored by the Maurice Thorez Institute—a Marxist center for the study of the history of the working-class movement and social thought—was attended by 35 representatives from 18 Communist and Workers' parties in Europe and Latin America. A somewhat greater number of French Communists took part in the meeting. Non-Communists—participants in the events of the time and historians—were also present. The absence of delegates from the German Democratic Republic was deeply regretted, and the conference registered a firm protest against the French government's refusal to grant them visas.

Both by the composition of its participants and by the spirit which permeated its proceedings, the conference was a demonstration of proletarian internationalism. All present shared the deep conviction that unity must be the sacred precept of the international Communist movement in the fight against imperialism and imperialist aggression, for averting another world war, for peace among the nations. The conference extended warm greetings to a visiting youth delegation from North Vietnam, when its members attended one of the sessions.

The opening session took place in the new premises of the Maurice Thorez Institute. The first speaker was Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, who took for his subject: "The social forces in 1936 and today, and the contribution made by Maurice Thorez to their analysis."

The discussion was transferred to the grand hall of the Ivry municipality—the historic hall in which on June 23, 1934, the national conference of the Communist Party issued the call: "Above all, action! Above all, unity of action!" A month later, a united action agreement was signed by the Communist and Socialist parties.

Papers were read by Georges Cogniot, Henri Krasucki, Jacques Duclos and Victor Joannès on: "The united front of the working class—the founding of the Popular Front," "Problems of trade union unity at the time of the Popular Front and their significance," "The Popular Front—an expression of the alliance between the industrial working class, peasantry and urban middle classes," "The record of the Pop-

ular Front, its difficulties and its lessons." Jacques Chambaz and Claude Willard spoke on: "The Popular Front as envisaged by Maurice Thorez," "Intellectuals and the Popular Front." These contributions illustrated various aspects of the work done at the time in France to build a united working-class front, the Popular Front, and to unite the nation against the Hitler menace.

Manuel Azcarate, representing the Communist Party of Spain, delivered a paper on "Some aspects of the international repercussions of the Popular Front," which emphasized the lessons of the Popular Front in Spain and broadly developed the inner connection between the experience of the Popular Front in France and that of the international working-class movement. P. N. Pospelov, Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow, read a paper on "The decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in the light of the experience of the Popular Front in France and the role of Georgi Dimitrov."

Pospelov quoted from a speech made by Georgi Dimitrov in July 1934 at a meeting of the Comintern commission charged with preparing material for the second point of the agenda of the Seventh Congress. The documents cited by Pospelov made it clear that a year before the Seventh Congress Dimitrov had posed the question of the need for a change in the tactics and strategy of the Comintern. Active work in the Comintern leadership was also carried out by Comrade Manuilsky, the representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Speakers stressed the contribution made by the Comintern to the advance of the social movement at the time of the Popular Front. Homage was paid to Dimitrov, and the significance of the initiative displayed by Maurice Thorez in formulating the new tactics and strategy was illustrated, as was the role of the French Communist Party which, inspired by Thorez, assumed, in effect, the leadership of the movement for building a broad Popular Front. "The Popular Front, and its work," said Pospelov, "are inseparable from the name of Maurice Thorez."

The discussion, in which 20 speakers from France and 26 from the fraternal parties took part, was both lively and interesting. Different

viewpoints were expressed on some of the issues. Fruitful contributions were made, among others, by Emilio Sereni of the Italian Communist Party, Pierre Cot, former Minister in the Popular Front government, Louis Saillant, trade unionist, Jean Zyromski, former leader of the left wing of the French Socialist Party and now a Communist, and historians from the socialist countries.

The materials of the conference, which will be published in book form by the Maurice Thorez Institute, should take their place as authoritative sources for all who are interested in the history of the Popular Front movement and its profound consequences. They contain documents not only on France, Spain and Chile but also on Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Finland and other countries. Press comment in Paris was that the serious approach, originality and profundity of the conference made an impression on journalists, regardless of their outlook.

The gathering was a point of departure for further questing both in the sphere of examining documents and collecting source materials relating to the history of the Popular Front.

The conference, in particular, decided to form an international commission under the chairmanship of Jacques Duclos charged with the task of writing the history of the Popular Front. The commission hopes that in this way it will be able to enrich the Marxist-Leninist heritage. The Popular Front, which in its day was a new form of the battle against finance capital, a new way of bringing nearer the dictatorship of the proletariat, is important not only from the standpoint of examining the past but also for solving the tasks of the present and the future.

The participants in the conference showed the perspective for action opened by the Popular Front, the living link between its day and the present time, the time when state-monopoly capitalism is accentuating its oppression of the vast majority of the nation.

During the Second World War the idea of unity of all the anti-fascist forces, of rallying all the popular and national forces, was incarnated in the powerful Resistance Movement which developed in some thirty countries of Europe and Asia. In France, one of the classical countries of the Popular Front, the working class played a prominent role in organizing the Resistance and in liberating the country, and it is not without reason that the people called the Communist Party *le Parti des Fusillés*. The Communist Party linked the fight for national independence with the movement for democratic renovation in France. The same can be said about the Italian and other peoples who rose against the Hitler invaders and their accomplices.

Despite the objective limitations which the historical reality of the time imposed on the Popular Front, it brought about an alignment of forces highly favorable for the working class and the general advance of humanity, for the struggle against fascism and for the victory

over Nazism in the Second World War. The initiative of the Popular Front fully answered the democratic and national needs of the different countries. At the same time the Communist parties, in a number of countries, had won their way to a place in the center of the political struggle and political life, and since then no one can afford to ignore them, their attitude and their work.

In the postwar the ideas of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern received new development in the documents adopted by the international meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960. The idea of a broad anti-monopoly coalition is akin to the idea of the Popular Front, and this has been brilliantly confirmed by experience. The underlying principle and the source of the Communist policy of today is the policy that asserted itself in 1934-36. Waldeck Rochet stressed the significance of the strategy of alliance of all non-monopoly sections for curbing the power of the oligarchy. "That which became apparent in 1936," he said, "is perfectly evident today: true political democracy must necessarily be combined with measures of economic democracy. . . . New democracy cannot but be a live and concrete democracy, deeply rooted among the masses."

Profound changes with far-reaching consequences for the world have taken place in the past thirty years. But the basic lessons of the Popular Front have not lost their significance: the decisive role of the masses and their mobilization for securing peace, bread and freedom; the democratic function of the working class and its national mission; the paramount significance of the unity of its ranks; the need to rally around it all classes and sections which are its potential allies; the close link between the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism.

Proceeding from these considerations, the conference deepened its historical research in the direction of the problems of our time and of those pertaining to the future of the peoples. It did not confine its study to Europe or to the developed capitalist countries. In their papers Comrades Ferrari (Argentina—see *World Marxist Review*, No. 1, 1967) and Contreras-Labarca (Chile) elucidated the fight of the Latin American peoples against the open and concealed intervention by imperialism, against the puppet governments and the oligarchy, for the return to the people of the national resources, for safeguarding their sovereignty and independence, and for social progress.

Hence the conference, as comrades Pospelov and Sereni pointed out, by turning to the future in the light of the experience of the past demonstrated the historical optimism characteristic of revolutionaries. Although the conference, naturally, did not regard the development of the Popular Front movement as a triumphant procession without shortcomings and errors, and although many of the participants in the events that took place thirty years ago subjected them to critical analysis,

the conference nevertheless pointed to the correctness of the basic line originally defined in 1934-35 and which is successfully prosecuted today.

"Let us imagine," said Comrade Manuel Azcarate, "that the Socialist parties of different countries will try to do what we have done — fearlessly examine their attitude in the years of the growing fascist danger. What a heavy task that would be for them!

"Let us imagine the same being done by the Catholic forces, their seriously examining, without subterfuge, their policy during the years they collaborated with fascism, or directly aided and abetted its establishment in a number of countries. . . .

"Only we Communists can proudly look the past straight in the eye."

The explanation for this, it was emphasized,

lies in the possession of a theoretical weapon of exceptional value — Marxism-Leninism. Thanks to Marxism-Leninism the Communists are in a position to approach political life in a new way, thanks to it they can engage in creative search and display bold initiative. They did this thirty years ago and they do it every time the situation changes.

The visiting delegations were of the opinion that this creative search had taken place also at this conference, and that the aims set by its sponsors had been realized. The conference, they said, was a significant gathering. It would enable the working-class and democratic movement to attain fresh success and would facilitate the search for new and higher forms of unity and action of the masses.

Georges COGNIOT

Emigration and the Communists

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE on matters relating to emigration, sponsored by the Italian Communist Party and held in Rome on January 7 and 8, was attended by some 3,000 delegates, among them men and women from those countries to which Italian workers are forced to emigrate — Switzerland, France, West Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The conference was preceded by discussions at local level. A contributory factor to the success of the pre-conference discussion in the Party organizations was the presence of emigrants who had come home to spend Christmas holidays with their families.

Over a thousand assemblies and mass rallies were held on the premises of Party sections and elsewhere. Zonal and province conferences took place in Lecce (Alessano), Bari (Ruvo di Puglia), Foggia, Cosenza, Reggio di Calabria, Catanzaro (Petilia Policastro), Avellino, Salerno, Aquila, Sassari (Mara), Forli, Massa Carrara (Villafranca), Pesaro e Urbino, Udine (Tolmezzo), Treviso and elsewhere. In Foggia in the course of numerous mass rallies over 30,000 people signed a petition to the government, demanding that urgent steps be taken against unemployment and also that the emigration be checked and halted. In Benevento students, on the initiative of the unity committees, sent thousands of protest postcards to President Saragat urging that new industrial enterprises be built and new jobs created so as to put an end to the outflow of young men and women in search of work. A demonstration of repre-

sentatives of Sicily was held in Caltanissetta. Sponsored by Communist mayors and other Lefts, numerous demonstrations, meetings and rallies of emigrant workers took place in areas of wholesale emigration in the south of Italy.

Similar meetings were held in some of the communes of the provinces of Forli, Novara and Turin. The preparation for the conference, including the holding of meetings in Switzerland, France, Belgium, West Germany and other countries, was indicative of the high level of political and ideological maturity and the broad mobilization of forces. Another feature of the preparation was its unitarian character. This was evidenced by the participation in it, especially at the local levels, of the Left political forces — the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity and the United Socialist Party.

Representatives of the Communist parties of France, Belgium, West Germany, Luxembourg and the Swiss Party of Labor took part in the conference. The opening speech was made by Comrade Napoleone Colajanni, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and the summing-up speech was made by Comrade Georgio Amendola. Altogether 26 comrades spoke in the discussion, among them the Party leaders, Comrades Gerardo Chiaromonte and Carlo Galuzzi, the painter Ernesto Treccani, the writer and painter Carlo Levi.

Particularly significant for their political and ideological argumentation and the sharpness of criticism were the speeches made by Italian workers employed in the big engineering works,

iron and steel industry and mines in West Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland and Luxembourg. Interesting contributions were also made by the mayors of the communes of Melissa, Lucera and S. Giovanni in Fiore. The latter commune was represented by relatives of the Italian workers who perished in the catastrophe in Mattmark (Switzerland).

The conference examined the tasks for which it had been convened, namely, to focus the attention of the public on the scale and grave nature of the wholesale emigration, and to stress the need to step up the struggle for a fundamental change in the policy pursued by the successive governments, including the Center Left government. Although attention centered, understandably, on the problem of emigration, the latter was closely linked with the basic and urgent problems of Italian society, beginning with those of jobs and the worsening agrarian problem and ending with the need for a democratic programming of the country's economic development.

In his speech Comrade Colajanni declared that the five-year plan currently being discussed in the Chamber of Deputies "envisages a fall in emigration by 300,000 in 1966-70, and migration from the South to the North of the country by 330,000. "However," he went on, "one has only to consider the guidelines of the economic policy and other aspects of this plan, to see that these targets, serious though they are in themselves, are unattainable. Nothing is said about agrarian reform. There are no indications as to the region of the country to which investments designed for development of the productive forces are to be channeled. For all practical purposes, it is still maintained that the South will as hitherto be used as a source of manpower for the development of the North, as a source of agricultural products and raw materials. According to the plan, the distribution of jobs between the North and the South in 1970 would be the same as in 1965. The outlook for emigration depends on the unrealistic figure of 650,000 new jobs in the non-agricultural sector of the South. It is absolutely impossible to create so many new jobs on the bases of the plan of investments proposed for the given region. The indices of the plan are, therefore, simply an attempt to conceal the true state of affairs."

Georgio Amendola in summing up said that Italy, whose economic and technological progress is lauded to the heavens by the apologists of neo-capitalism, is the only Common Market country which exports people and earns billions on the labor and privations of the emigrants. This kind of commerce provides Italy with enough means to secure an active balance of payments. The 5,000,000 million liras obtained from the emigrants in the past ten years has been the basis of the currency and credit system on which the capitalist development of our country has been built. Italy is the only Common Market country which engages in this export of people, in trading in live chattels. This fact should remind those who would like

to forget it, of this feature of the belated development of Italian capitalism and of the methods used in building a united state in the last century.

Although the conference mainly discussed the emigration as the national problem for Italy and the link between internal migration and the emigration abroad, on the one hand, and the country's economic, political and social development, on the other, it also paid attention to problems encountered by the emigrant workers and the role they should play in countries of emigration so as to be able to make their contribution to the fight of the working class for democracy, peace and socialism. This applies particularly to the West European countries, in which there are today roughly 2.2 million Italian workers. How successfully the emigrants will be able to integrate themselves with the working-class and democratic movement in countries in which they work is, the conference stressed, an important matter. This problem was forcefully presented in speeches made by comrades now working abroad and in the closing speech by Comrade Amendola.

Amendola recalled that during the years of fascism "our Party avoided the fate of many illegal or emigrant parties and did not turn it into a tiny sect of carbonari. This was so because we found great political strength and sustenance in the emigration of Italian working people to Europe. . . .

"Today as before, the best way to rebuff the lawlessness of the employers and police persecution, to overcome the desperate nostalgia for the homeland, not to feel lonely in a foreign clime, is to take part in the trade union and political struggle of the working class of the host country. This is the road which we have always shown to emigrant workers: do not become isolated but fight together with the workers in France, West Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, South America, Canada, Australia. Wherever the Italian worker goes, he should be a vanguard fighter against the common enemy which is always the same—capitalism with its exploitation of man. Yesterday when a comrade working in West Germany said that he had been elected to the factory committee at his place of work, I had a feeling of pride and elation. In this same West Germany where the Communist Party has been driven underground, in which the same forces that financed fascism thirty years ago are now nourishing revanchism, in a country in which the alliance of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats is again creating the political conditions enabling neo-nazism to emerge on to the scene, to raise its head as was the case in the last elections, in the same West Germany in which an end has yet to be put to racism and xenophobia, those foul fruits of nazism, Italian Communists are elected to committees by the working people. This is an element of international solidarity and fraternity. That is how in this part of Europe dominated by the monopoly forces which have formed the Common Market and are running it in their own interests, conditions

are being restored that are conducive to the joint struggle of the European working people. This struggle restores the glorious tradition of European Resistance . . . in the battle for a Europe united against the international alliance of the monopolies. . . .

"When we learned about the participation of our emigrants in the big strikes in Belgium, in the miners' walkout in France or in militant actions against the war in Algeria, when we learned that Italian workers, expressing the will of their comrades who had emigrated to France, took part in a big demonstration in Paris against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, we saw in this struggle the foundations and premises of that United Europe which is the condition of genuine unity of the European peoples."

Comrade Amendola concluded by extending fraternal greetings to the representatives of the Communists of France, Switzerland, Belgium, West Germany and Luxembourg, thanking them for what they have done and are doing in the spirit of proletarian internationalism to uproot xenophobia and reaffirm the international brotherhood of the working people in the fight against the common enemy—capitalism. Amendola stressed that the general task the conference must formulate should be to strengthen the ties of Communist emigrants with the fraternal parties and with our Party because our comrades become stronger and more militant in the course of the struggle, become capable of uniting and rallying the masses of emigrant workers for the defense of their interests and for the fight for peace and socialism.

The conference attracted the attention of the press. The comments revealed the disquiet of the government and capitalist circles over the political influence and presence of the Communists among the emigrant workers. *Corriere della Sera*, for instance, expressed discontent over the lapse in government policy in the sphere of emigration, especially as regards aid and grants to the emigrants.

The press acknowledged the timeliness and importance of the Communist initiative. "The moment may prove favorable for the Communist initiative," we read in *Corriere della Sera*, "because hard times are approaching for our emigrants abroad: in Germany unemployment among German workers is expected to grow (the figure of one million unemployed by spring has been mentioned), while unemployment exists in France and Britain. Switzerland, in which 500,000 Italians, i.e., one-fourth of the total Swiss labor force, are employed, is cutting the number of Italian immigrants by five per cent. In other words, in the next few years the problem will arise of bringing our emigrants back and incorporating them in the life of the country." The paper concludes, in this connection, that "in its overall policy the government should not renounce a timely solution of these new (not to mention, old) aspects of the problem of our emigration, unless the Communists are to be conceded a field for maneuver."

The conference also found considerable response among the political parties, especially in the Christian Democratic and the United Socialist parties, which have been forced to adopt a more serious approach to the problem. As regards the Communist Party, for it the conference was the culminating point (as is clear from these brief notes) of a great deal of political and organizational work. However, this conference must undoubtedly also be the point of departure for the development of a mass struggle against unemployment, for a new line in national policy, for full employment. It should be the starting point for action by the Communist emigrants with a view to securing more active participation by Italian working people in the economic and political struggle which is unfolding in various countries of emigration of Western Europe.

Alvo FONTANI

The Communists of Bolivia in the fight for unity of the popular forces

FROM THE MOMENT of its inception the Communist Party of Bolivia elaborated its political line, based itself organizationally on Leninist principles and strove for the role of vanguard in the revolution. Its Second Congress held in March 1964 was another step in this direction. The Congress showed that the Party was able to define the revolutionary path of struggle. Correctly assessing the present stage of the revolution, the Party worked out a program reflecting the fundamental aspirations of the country's revolutionary forces.

The draft program, adopted by the Second Congress, now being amplified and supplemented, has yet to be finalized. It outlines the Party's strategic aim as being "the formation of an anti-imperialist people's government and the realization of an anti-imperialist people's revolution," proclaims a correct unitary policy which aims to "achieve unity of the anti-imperialist forces" and, developing the mass struggle, to advance towards the establishment of a powerful anti-imperialist people's front. We envisage this front as an alliance of workers and peasants, supported by the urban middle sections and by a part of the national bourgeoisie.

Unity of the working class is the cornerstone of this alliance, for "the working class is the most militant and consistent force, the force under whose leadership the revolutionary process, sorely needed by the country, is bound to develop."

The purpose of the anti-imperialist people's front, which could take the most diverse forms, is, as the Party declared, to "channel the movement for the masses fighting imperialism into one broad stream." The point here is of a policy that will "include in this stream workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and other progressive circles and also their parties."

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In the fight to achieve unity the Communist Party strives to overcome the cut and dried concepts about the united front. This is not an easy matter, for the enemies of the working class are doing everything to isolate the Party, and the more they try to deprive the Party of allies the more energetically the Party has to try to win allies. However, in the event of a situation

arising in which the balance would be tilted against the working class, the reactionaries would be quick to take advantage of this and organize alliances serving their interests. Hence, working-class policy with respect to alliance with other forces should, while being a broad one, be based on principle, as the Party rightly points out.

On the eve of the 1964 coup the situation was characterized by a reactionary offensive launched by the military and civil groups which had been ousted by the 1952 revolution, and this made it difficult for the Party to realize its unitary policy.

The opportunist policy pursued at the time by some leaders and groups that had broken away from the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, the ruling party, disoriented large numbers of people. These leaders and groups, aware of the importance of the Communist Party, sought to enlist its support. At the same time,



they entered into a compact with the parties of the Right, hoping thereby to get the support of the U.S. imperialists. Quick to appreciate the advantages of this approach, the Rights responded. The Communist Party, however, flatly refused to enter into any such compact.

Some trade union leaders, however, fell into the trap. They argued that realization of the Party's united front policy would require much time; why wait, they said, "for a worker-peasant alliance" when "power is within reach"; we can count on the support of the urban petty bourgeoisie. This was a euphemism, for what they actually had in mind was support by the reactionaries.

The Party was attacked from within and without by those who wanted to draw the working class into unprincipled alliances. The complicated political situation at the time disoriented many. Tactical differences arose.

Here it is pertinent to mention the service rendered to the reactionaries by those who in their reckless, dogmatic, nationalist and sectarian activities adhered to the standpoint of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party.

The facts show that the compact with the reactionaries provided the military with a political cover for the coup which brought to power the military junta headed by General Barrientos, agent of U.S. imperialism. The Party proved right when it warned that it would be the working people and their gains, and also the democratic parties that would suffer most as a consequence of the coup.

* * *

The Communists did not lose heart. They were confident that the popular forces would be equal to the situation and before long free themselves from the influence of those who had again betrayed their hopes. The essential thing was to take the necessary steps in the right direction.

Thanks to the efforts of the Party headway was made in rebuilding the organizations of the working people and in the fight for democratic rights. These efforts, supported by broad sections of the population, made possible the holding of meetings and trade union congresses, demonstrations and strikes that challenged the anti-labor measures of the government. The stand taken by the miners' union symbolized the heroic resistance of the people.

Although the government chooses to ignore the principal trade unions, the working masses, standing up for their rights, are forcing the authorities to take cognizance of their organizations.

The unity movement developed in the struggle against the splitting maneuvers of the government, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor, the clerical trade unions and in the fight against the adventurist groups.

After the bloody reprisals of May and September 1965, the "leftism" of Trotskyites and other splitters jeopardized the process of unity in the lower trade union organizations. It was imperative resolutely to combat those who

advocated the slogan of "clandestine unions," who encouraged the attempts of the Generals to destroy unions. On the face of it, it would seem that this ultra-Left slogan had originated in answer to the reprisals against the miners' union. In reality it was directed against the unions generally. Union leaders—both Communist and members of the Left National Revolutionary Party—rallied to support the Miners' Federation and, together with workers, gave battle at branch meetings and meetings at national level, and in the press. The Trotskyites and neo-Trotskyites were defeated.

Work to achieve unity in the countryside, to reorganize the peasant movement on a new basis, on a basis of independence, is proceeding much more slowly and with greater difficulty. This is due to the fact that the more important rural areas are controlled by the bureaucracy and the military, to the illusions harbored by the peasantry that their gains which are threatened by the ex-latifundists will be preserved, to the demagoguery of the military around the so-called "civil action" plan.

* * *

The most important instrument for achieving unity at present is the National Liberation Front. Speaking of the Front, the Party noted that its purpose is to "unite and organize the revolutionary sections most active in the fight against U.S. imperialism." The Front arose as a result of the congress held in the mining center Siglo XX in April 1964 on the initiative of the trade unionists. The congress was a national forum attended by representatives of the mass organizations, of the miners, workers and peasants, and also by representatives of the universities, intellectuals and housewives. Mass organizations of the peasants were also represented.

Clearly, the establishment of the Front should not be regarded as the culmination of the unity process, but as an important step in this direction. The Front does not as yet represent an alliance of parties. Still it has been joined by rank-and-file members of different political organizations and by some of their officials. The significance of the Front, which is open to all who favor unity and who are opposed to imperialism and its agents, is that it offers the people an alternative. The Communist Party, naturally, gives it every support.

* * *

The lack of coordination between the Left and democratic forces is explained to some extent by the maneuvering for hegemony, by the pressure exerted by imperialism and reactionary groups on definite forces, and also by the vacillations of some leaders acting behind the back of the people.

Opportunist vacillations manifested themselves prior to the 1966 general election, staged, it should be said, with a view to legalizing the Barrientos military government. Some of the parties and democratic sections could, if they

had so wished, have helped regroup forces and unite the people in the fight against reaction. Instead, motivated by opportunist considerations, they allowed themselves to be drawn into a senseless campaign to abstain from voting.

The Front realized that the enemies of the people should not be given a free hand, that most people would participate in the elections and that this participation would make it possible to utilize all legal channels, to establish closer contact with the masses and to reorganize the trade unions; it also considered it necessary to expose the adventurist designs underlying the policy of non-participation. Considering that the "gorillas" had entered the election campaign more than a year in advance and had brutally suppressed the popular forces, the Front was not over-optimistic about its chances of success.

Continuing the fight against the dictatorship, the Front denounced the government's policy of repressions and violence against the working people, demanded annulment of all anti-labor laws, of the fascist-like State Security Act, exposed the corruption in the government and the counter-revolutionary nature of the government's policy in the mining and oil industries, on the railways and in the universities.

The election results confirmed the soundness of the Party's position, that the Front is a real force in the political life of the country. The number of votes polled by the Front came as a surprise to those who had assumed that the Communist Party was isolated and had been practically destroyed as a result of persecution and splitting activities.

Also the reactionaries who had taken it for granted that the military had settled accounts with the working people soon realized their mistake. The bourgeois nationalist circles realized that the people now had a new alternative of struggle. The alliance of Trotskyites and pro-Chinese elements suffered a fiasco.

Despite the repressions that preceded the elections and despite the fact that they were rigged and that all kinds of restrictions were imposed on the popular forces, the Front won a resounding victory. If we compare the results obtained by the Party in 1962, when it entered the elections alone, with those obtained by the Front we see a more than 61 per cent increase in the total number of votes polled. The aggregate vote obtained in the three electoral districts of La Paz, Potosi and Cochamamba alone (24,861), exceeded the total number received by the Party in 1962. The number of votes cast for the Front in Potosi increased by 107 per cent compared with the number received by the Party in 1962.

* * *

The vanguard role of the Party manifested itself particularly clearly when the class conflict became most acute. The provocations against the working people, the attempts to deprive

them of elementary rights and gains spurred them to action. The party of the working class had to resist the reprisals, preserve its organization and restore this where it had been destroyed. At the same time the course of events dictated the need to reorganize the unions, to enlist the help of union leaders belonging to other parties who had not renounced the struggle and who were also persecuted. The Party recognized the urgency of rousing the working people to action, and allied itself with all who were ready to follow this path. Gradually it emerged to the forefront of the struggle, putting an end to the situation when for years the Party had been weak, despite the existence of a powerful trade union movement.

While the Party is relatively small, its contacts with the miners and factory workers, its clear political line and organizational structure have enabled it to exercise considerable influence at crucial moments of the class struggle. It was able to counter the offensive of the reactionaries thanks to its vigorous ideological, political and organizational activity. The Seventh Party Conference (1965) characterized the period preceding the struggle against factionalism as follows: "Organizational weakness, weakness in assimilating and defending principles, a certain indifference and tolerance of activity that has nothing in common with defense of the Party—such are the factors responsible at first for factional and later for splitting activities."

The sectarian, petty-bourgeois trend which became the most serious deviation in the Party was overcome. The Party purged its ranks so as to have a united leadership which identified itself ideologically, politically and organizationally with the decisions of the Second Congress, with the Declaration and Statement of the 1957 and 1960 Meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Our organizational policy can be summarized as building the Party on a principled basis in the heart of the working class and the peasantry.

The Party has always relied on the miners, on their profound revolutionary spirit. The miners represent a staunch and influential social group which has become the main obstacle to the imperialists and their agents in prosecuting their nefarious counter-revolutionary and neo-colonialist designs.

The Party has set itself the task of overcoming the consequences of anarcho-syndicalism and petty-bourgeois nationalist reformism, and at the same time of striking a crushing blow at Trotskyism and destroying its positions in the mass movement. The big difficulty is that the various opportunist and even reactionary clerical trends represent themselves as ultra-revolutionary.

As it builds its ranks the Party is charting new plans, is concentrating its forces on achieving the aims set, overcoming the difficulties encountered and rectifying whatever subjective mistakes are made. All this is creat-

ing the prerequisites for combining the work of creating Party organizations among the main contingents of the working class with a correct mass policy, a correct policy of alliances.

* * *

Because of the complex political situation we were not able to carry out all the points in the plan elaborated after the Second Congress, and specifically those dealing with the need to focus attention on the countryside. At the same time, our work to reorganize the Party organizations among the miners showed that the very existence of the Party depends on its ability to solve the urgent problems of the masses.

The reprisals of May and September 1965 destroyed our organizations in many places. Thousands of workers were victimized, union leaders were deported or thrown into the concentration camps situated in the jungles in the eastern part of the country. The working class was deprived of all its information media (press and radio).

However, Party organizations gradually began to make their appearance again, and also trade unions, the branches began to hold meeting, unitary demands were advanced, demonstrations were held against the occupation of the mines by the military and protest strikes declared against anti-labor laws. The repressive measures of the military government were denounced and resisted.

After correctly assessing the scale and importance of the work accomplished, the Party decided that it would use every opportunity to extend its work among the masses. At the same time, it has no illusions that the enemy will renounce the brutal measures employed to maintain the regime of exploitation and foreign dependence. The Party knows from experience that simply to proclaim one's readiness to use

all forms of struggle—peaceful and non-peaceful—is not enough. We have to be prepared when the time arrives to assume revolutionary responsibility.

The Party is trying to follow the precepts of Lenin and to acquire the ability to determine "the main political center of gravity" in the education and organization of the working class, whether in the trade unions, in legal activity or in armed insurrection. We want to draw lessons from the revolutionary experience of other peoples as well as from the experience of our own struggle. The Party is inspired by the thought that our people have on more than one occasion proved that they are capable of smashing, with arms in hand, their bitter enemies. But we fully realize that this is not enough, that what is needed is a real revolutionary vanguard capable of preventing the people being deprived of their gains.

It is in this situation that the Communist Party of Bolivia is preparing for its Third Congress to be held in the middle of this year. The agenda will include the following items: discussion of the Central Committee report; adoption of the Program of the CPB; amendments to the Rules; election of the Central Committee and the Control and Cadres Committee.

The regional committees in La Paz and Oruro and also the miners' committee in Huanuni have already held their conferences. It is interesting to note that 46 per cent of the delegates attending the conference in Oruro were miners.

The foundation is being laid for turning the Communist Party of Bolivia into a party capable of leading the revolutionary struggle of the people. New perspectives are opening up before them in their fight against imperialism and reaction.

Ramiro OTERO

Party bulletins and newspapers in the enterprises

THE IMPORTANCE OF ideological struggle is steadily growing in the present conditions of class struggle, especially in a country like France. In this battle of ideas, the monopoly capitalists in power have at their disposal a wide range of propaganda media—the press, radio, television, cinema, and other channels. The propagandists of Big Business particularly step up their drive on the eve of elections.

In the circumstances the French Communist Party attaches much importance to educational work, using all the means at its disposal in order ideologically to train its members and at the same time to arouse the masses to the need to take action, and to win their support at the polls. Needless to say, this propaganda is primarily beamed to the working class and particular attention is devoted to work in the enterprises. Party sections and branches in the enterprises not only distribute the general propaganda material issued by the Party but also their own materials, among which the most important place is occupied by the papers published by enterprise branches, Party committees and sections.

Let us cite a few figures to throw light on the scale of this activity. In 1965 the branches and sections put out 5,269 mimeographed and 657 printed papers, a total of 5,926. Roughly one-third of the publications put out by duplicator are issued by our factory branches.

The printed papers include 195 put out by branches (mostly in the enterprises), 230 by Party committees in the factories, and 232 by the sections, some of them in the factories.

The circulation of all the papers put out by duplicator is over 3,332,000, and of the printed papers, over 1,554,000, a total of more than 4,887,000.

In 1965 over 10,260,000 copies of mimeographed and more than 6,034,000 copies of printed papers—totalling more than 16,295,000—were put out.

Publishing activity in the branches is always stimulated by election campaigns. This was the case during the municipal and presidential elections, and also during the recent parliamentary election when the branch papers did much to popularize the Party's program, its candidates, and its proposals for a common program of the working-class and democratic forces and common tactics of the Left. It is im-

perative, however, to make still more effective use of our branch papers.

Speaking at the Sixteenth Congress of our Party, Waldeck Rochet defined the role of these papers as follows: "Papers put out by the branches, particularly in the enterprises, are an important means of establishing contact with the masses of non-Party people who do not read our daily press, answering their questions, stimulating and elucidating their struggle in the light of their concrete conditions, acquainting them with the solutions offered by the Party, making them feel that the Party is standing by them, that it is among them. Lastly, these papers help the Party branches put their life and activities on a broader footing."

The branch paper makes it possible to pinpoint every concrete fact, every manifestation of capitalist exploitation, and in this light to bring home to its readers the general policy of the Party. It is a vehicle for popularizing concrete slogans capable of setting the masses in motion, a weapon levelled against the immediate enemy of its readers, a channel through which to counter the propaganda in the factory papers put out by the employers.

The branch papers do not seek to take the place of the trade unions and their publications in the factories. On the contrary, they support the latter, but do not confine themselves to purely economic issues, for to do so would only foster the illusion that the unions can solve all problems and amount to negating the vanguard role of the Party. They seek to show the working people what can be achieved through economic struggle while underscoring the need to fight for political changes and genuine, lasting satisfaction of their demands.

The factory branch papers acquaint the public with the Party's election program and candidates, popularize the activities of the Communist deputies, urge Socialist workers and other democrats to support our efforts towards the elaboration of a common program of the working-class and democratic forces and a common tactic for all the Left forces in the electoral arena.

A paper will fully live up to its role in the enterprises only if it constantly engages in a political and ideological struggle aimed at heightening the political consciousness of the working people so as to help them more effectively to fight the class enemy.

FOR BETTER BRANCH PAPERS

Being close to the masses, the branch paper has every possibility of being concrete, lively and positive in content. As Lenin said, negative slogans divorced from definite positive solutions dull people's consciousness rather than heighten it.

Branch papers as a rule carry five or six articles, each dealing with one or two points. Sometimes it is found necessary to carry longer articles, though generally speaking long treatises seeking to cover all the issues at once should be avoided. Few people are likely to read them, and those who do gain little from them. It is always possible in a paper put out regularly to return to problems requiring more detailed treatment.

Our aim is to have more contributions from the workers themselves. Every issue of *l'Acier*, published by the Lorraine-Escaut section of the Party in Meurthe-et-Moselle department, for instance, carries numerous reports from the shops confirming the argumentation advanced in articles dealing with the broader aspects of Party policy. Papers that do this are read with interest by the workers, many of whom become regular correspondents on their own initiative.

6,000 PAPERS — 15,000 CONTRIBUTORS

The branch papers are an important bridge to the working people. They promote the mass movement, contribute to building an alliance of the democratic forces, and help the politically most alert workers to find their way to the Party. In many cases papers published by Party sections have helped to establish branches in enterprises which had none before. Periodicals of this type awaken the workers to their strength, showing them that they are not helpless in the face of capitalist exploitation and monopoly rule.

The branch paper is an important aspect of Party life and activity in the enterprises and localities. It is a barometer of the political life of the branch. Around it political discussions are held as to the kind of articles to be published, all of which develops a critical, thoughtful approach and helps to educate the members. Some 15,000 people write for our branch papers. For them this work is an excellent schooling.

The three main problems encountered by this grassroots press are editing, circulation and financing. Although each branch should charge some member with responsibility for its paper, all the work should not be left to him. The branch as a whole should take a hand, and in particular the branch bureau should ensure regular publication.

The bureau should submit its proposals as regards the content of the paper to general membership meetings. Editorial responsibilities should be shared so as to enlist as many comrades as possible in the work, either as editors

or as correspondents. Strict control should be established over prompt fulfilment of assignments.

As regards papers published by higher Party committees or sections, here the editorial boards should include representatives of the branches, since it is these that are in direct contact with the masses. For example, the editorial board of *La Voix du Mineur*, published in Boulogny, includes, besides the responsible editor, the secretary of the section, representatives of the Party branches, the mayor of the town, and comrades working in the trade union. A paper is not a "thing in itself" but a means used by the Party to ensure success in the fight for the interests of the working class and the people generally.

The more correspondents and editors our papers have the better will they reflect the policy of the Party through articles written in a wide variety of styles.

Our papers are produced in three ways: by letterpress or offset printing, or by duplicator.

The Bouches-du-Rhône Federation has substantially cut the cost of branch papers put out by the offset process by supplying them with two ready-made inside pages. The branch editors take care of only the first and fourth pages. This makes it possible for the branches to put out attractive four-page papers at reasonable cost. This helps to multiply the number of such local publications, of which the Federation puts out a good 100.

Most branch papers are turned out by duplicator. Experience shows that this simple method can be used to put out attractive, well made-up papers which it is a pleasure to read, especially if cuts made with electronic engraving equipment are used, though this involves considerable expenditure.

In general it should be noted that the appearance of our papers has improved. Editors are paying more attention to this aspect. However, not all Party organizations have equal means to draw on. The main thing is to make the best use of all possibilities. Worst of all is to do nothing.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

Although the fact that the branch papers are distributed free of charge simplifies circulation, it also gives rise to some problems. Often a great deal of selfless work is required to ensure proper distribution, especially in the factories. For instance, distribution of the paper *l'Étincelle* put out for the 4,000 metal workers of the Sidélor plant in Villerupt, Meurthe-et-Moselle department, begins on the 9th of each month at 7.30 p.m. and continues in the different shifts until 3.30 p.m. the following day. The first shift begins at 4 a.m. and the last at 10 p.m. In this period ten groups of workers pass through the two main gates. To hand out the paper some fifteen people are needed. Steps are now being taken to ensure that workers who come by bus get their copies although dis-

tribution of papers on the way is not allowed.

The cost of the papers put out by the branches and sections amounted to some 150 million old francs in 1965. This gives an idea of the magnitude of the problem of financing them. The problem presents itself most sharply in the case of the printed papers. But whether a paper is put out in a printing establishment or by duplicator, enlisting the financial support of the reader is a matter of political importance. It should be made clear to him that the paper is put out in his interests and that it cannot exist without his support. Wherever the question has been posed thus the results have not been slow in coming. Printed papers are getting substantial support from the public. *La Voix du Mineur*, for instance, collects donations from the miners on their way home. It also carries two advertisements of local tradesmen in each issue.

In order to obtain donations from readers, they should be kept posted on the financial standing of our papers, the sums collected at factory gates, and the initiative displayed to keep the papers going. Financial stability is a precondition of the regular publication of the branch and section papers, regardless of size.

"The fight to keep our branch papers going is one of the most important aspects of the life and activity of the Party in the enterprises," Georges Marchais wrote in an article in *France Nouvelle*.

Thanks to the growing number of papers put out by the branches and sections, Party propaganda in the enterprises is steadily becoming more effective. This is an important component of the struggle waged by the working class for better conditions, for democracy, social progress and peace.

Lucien MATHEY

Party news in brief

THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE for the European Security Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties met in *Warsaw* on February 22-26. The meeting was attended by representatives of the following parties: Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, British Communist Party, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (West Berlin), Communist Party of Greece, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Italian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Spanish Communist Party, Swiss Party of Labor.

The Committee, whose work proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, drafted and discussed the documents to be submitted to the forthcoming meeting of Communist and Workers' parties in Europe. Also discussed were organizational matters connected with the meeting, which is scheduled for *Karlovy Vary* (Czechoslovakia) over April 24-27.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. February 8-9, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia discussed politico-educational work to consolidate the unity of socialist society, and work among the youth. The meeting adopted a resolution on celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

Another meeting of the Central Committee held over March 23-24, examined measures to improve managerial methods in agriculture and public catering. Also discussed were the statute and functions of the national committees (local self-government bodies) and the drafting of an electoral law.

BULGARIA. The Central Committee of the Communist Party met on March 23, to discuss some major guidelines for the country's development.

HUNGARY. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party met on February 15 to discuss international issues and the internal tasks of the Party. It considered in particular the stand to be taken by Communists who will attend the congress of agricultural producer cooperatives. The meeting adopted a resolution on celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

ITALY. In early February the leadership of the Italian Communist Party discussed the political situation in the country and the Party's policy, the fight for peace and freedom in Vietnam and the tasks of the ICP in the fight for unity of the international Communist movement. These questions were included in the agenda of the joint plenary meeting (February 21-24) of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

AUSTRALIA. February 10-12 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia discussed the home and international situation

and Party work among the youth. The meeting decided to hold the Twenty-First Congress of the Party in June this year.

MEXICO. A meeting of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party held on February 11-12 decided to hold the Fifteenth Congress of the Party on June 16-20.

AUSTRIA. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria met in the first part of February to discuss internal policy and the tasks of the Communists.

JAPAN. February 16-18. A meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan discussed questions connected with its election campaign.

COLOMBIA. February 23-25 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia discussed the Party's attitude to various aspects of government policy, unity of the international Communist movement and the international situation. The meeting adopted a number of documents, including one on unity of the international Communist movement, which states that the Party supports the proposal advanced by many fraternal parties to hold an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties as soon as possible.

SYRIA. At an enlarged meeting in February the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party discussed the political situation in the country and the situation in the international Communist movement. The meeting supported the view of many fraternal parties that an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties be held. It called on all Communists and progressives in Syria to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

FINLAND. March 4-5 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland discussed the ideological work of the Party and the political situation in the country.

INDIA. March 6-8 the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India discussed the results of the parliamentary elections.

USA. At a four-day meeting in the first half of March, the National Executive of the Communist Party of the United States discussed the international situation and internal policy, trade union work, work among the youth, and Party organization.

Letters from victims of American crimes

Letters written by America's victims in South Vietnam, a moving record of human sorrow, can be said to have been written in blood. They bear out the official evidence of the NLF (National Liberation Front of South Vietnam) and DRV committees investigating the crimes of the U.S. imperialists.

The following letters were made available to this journal by the NLF. The illustrations are taken from the periodicals *Phunu Giai Phong*, published by the Women's Association for the Liberation of South Vietnam, *Co Giai Phong*, journal of the fighting people of the Kienphong area in South Vietnam, and *Vietnam*.

BARBARIANS*

I, the undersigned Truong Thi Den, 40 years old, am a member of a fisherman's family in the village of Ngoc-Dien, Long-Dien-Tay Commune, Gia-Rai District.

I am writing to you to expose the barbarous crime committed by the American imperialists who dropped bombs and toxic chemicals on our village. My father, Truong Van Thong, 67 including my family.

On January 19, 1966, at about 10 a.m., U.S. jet planes and planes spraying toxic chemicals flew along the Ho-Phong-Ca-Mau Highway. They swung around, dived, and dropped bombs on our village. My father, Truong Van Thong, 67 years old, had no time to run for cover and was killed by a bomb splinter. Some of the planes dropped bombs while others sprayed black and yellow chemicals smelling strongly of scorched crab shell. All who had taken refuge in the shelters felt they were choking. My two children and I pushed aside the shield closing our shelter so that we could breathe a little more freely. The planes soon came back and dropped bombs, including bombs charged with napalm and poison gas, on those who tried to come out of the shelters or to help the wounded. One napalm bomb fell near our shelter, causing burns to my children and me.

All I could think of at that moment was how to save my children. In spite of the fire I took

*A Letter addressed to the NLF Committee of Gia-Rai District, Ca-Mau Province (forwarded through the NLF Committee of Long-Dien-Tay Commune).



them out and told them to run fast. Fifteen-year-old Tran Van Thang managed to put out his blazing clothes. He had slight burns on his hands and cheeks. But his ten-year-old brother, Tran Van Tho, who did not realize what was going on and was blinded by the fire and smoke and dazed by the roar of the planes overhead, was screaming with pain. His body and head and half of his face were scorched by napalm. Both his hands had burned to the bone and he had only two fingers left on his

left hand. I myself, unable to move because of wounds and burns, stayed where I was. The pain was terrible and all I was waiting for was death.

My husband and neighbors came to my aid just when I was about to faint. A bomb splinter had shot away my husband's eye when, hearing our son's screams, he leaned out of a nearby shelter. I stayed alive by a miracle.

The whole of the left side of my face is scorched. I have burns all over my hands and legs.

All the members of my family were wounded with the exception of my twelve-year-old son, Tran Van Phuoc, who was away from home that day. I have lost all my fingers. I cannot even hold a bowl to eat or drink.

It is all I can do to go down into the shelter during an air raid.

My suffering and my wounds arouse in all of us the deepest hatred for the Americans and their accomplices. They want to force our family and other people out of our homes and our village and to put us in prison camps described as "strategic villages." They are trying to smear our revolution while advertising their so-called "aid to the victims of communism." We will never fall for their treacherous devices. After all, it was they who used bombs and toxic chemicals against our village.

We are determined to live in order to fight them to the finish. Although my children and I have become cripples we will stay on our native soil in spite of all the suffering.

We will never allow the aggressors and traitors to scare us into slavery. We are sure we will live to see our armed forces and our people throw the Americans out of South Vietnam.

I am deeply grateful to the Front Committee for its care of us, for the aid it has given to our family, most of whom are now cripples. I earnestly ask the Front Committee to tell the world about the crimes committed by the American imperialists and their puppets against our village and our family. I want the world to know their savage and cowardly nature.

Truong THI DEN

MURDERERS*

I, the undersigned Doan Thi Xua, aged 50, live in the village of Ben-Suc, Ben-Cat Commune, Thanh-Tuyen District. I am one of the few surviving passengers of the *Thuan-Phong*, a boat sunk by the American aggressors in Saigon River.

To supply the Committee with proof of American crimes, I will tell you about the barbarity committed against the passengers of the boat.

On January 8, 1966, at 8 a.m., the *Thuan-*

*A letter addressed to the Committee Investigating the war crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists and their agents in South Vietnam.

Phong, carrying 250 passengers, sailed with the authorization of the puppet police from Thu-Dau-Mot to Dau-Tieng. When, at 10 o'clock, it drew near the landing-stage of the old market of An-Tay Commune, two American jet helicopters came in sight. They flew low over the boat, swung round and fired two rockets at the boat's stern and another at the side. After that they machine-gunned the boat, killing and wounding many passengers. The pilot was killed too, and a sailor was wounded in the arm. The children screamed for help.

As the boat went down the Americans again opened fire on it. There came another rocket. Those passengers who had escaped the bullets tried to get into the water. Some tried to swim to the bank but the Americans, thirsting for more blood, went on machine-gunning them and firing rockets at them. Many were killed amidstream where they had clung to bits of wreckage. Some were killed on the bank.

Over 200 people lost their lives. Some families were wiped out almost completely. Many of the bereaved went out of their minds.

Among the killed there were mothers with infants and children who were torn to bits by rocket splinters before the eyes of their mothers.

I was thrown into the water by the blast and carried away by the current. I managed to get hold of a floating log until I was rescued. Thanks to the help of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the people of An-Tay Commune I was back home five days later.

The massacre I have described made us all feel deep hatred for the Americans. I beg the Committee to tell the whole world about this crime. I am willing to testify at any time the Committee may find it necessary.

Doan THI XUA

IT CANNOT BE FORGOTTEN*

I, Nguyen Thi Xe, 35 years old, live in the village of Truong-Phu, Truong-Xuan Commune, O-Mon District, Can-Tho Province. My family is one of the many thousands of victims of the American imperialists. We were going about our daily work and were happy all of us—my husband, our five children and I.

But on March 6, 1966, at 3 p.m., a group of American planes coming from the direction of Can-Tho dropped napalm bombs on our village. Our five children and I got severe burns. My eldest boy, 14 years old, became a living torch. He took his five-months-old brother in his arms and ran to his father, screaming, "Daddy, come, come, quickly! The fire's burning me!"

My husband ran up and took the child. As he did so the unhappy child's skin literally

*A letter addressed to the NLF Committee of O-Mon District, Can-Tho Province (forwarded through the NLF Committee of Truong-Xuan Commune).



peeled off. Meanwhile the bullets kept showering us.

Hoping to help our eldest son, my husband shouted to him to jump into the river. The next moment he heard a piercing cry from the water, "It's very hot, dad! I'm dying!"

My nine-year-old daughter managed to swim to the other bank of the river.

This time my husband was the only one who wasn't injured. My children and I were badly burned. The baby, five months old, died at once. Nine-year-old Nguyen Thi Le Hoa, who was in flames and threw himself into the water, died an hour later. And four hours after that it was the turn of our eldest son, Nguyen Van Hieu, who was taken to the hospital in Tac-Ca-Di. Our three-year-old daughter, Nguyen Thi Tham, died two days after she was taken to hospital in Can-Tho. Our third daughter, twelve-year-old Nguyen Tho Ho, died in the same hospital at the close of the third day. Both girls were buried in Can-Tho.

I had severe burns on my face, hands and feet. Besides, two-thirds of my back was burned. I lay in various hospitals and finally, thanks to the Liberation Front, was taken to the field hospital in O-Mon District. I recovered but have been completely disabled ever since. I cannot work. All our property—a boat and household belongings—was destroyed by fire.

Then, thirty-nine days later, the Americans killed my husband, Nguyen Van Xuan, in our native village. They were cruel enough to open the graves of my three children, hoping to find in them something hidden by the peasants. When they found nothing except the bodies they desecrated the graves.

That was how the Americans and their flunkies killed my husband and my five children, aged from five months to 14 years. The scars on my face have healed, but when there's a wind blowing I feel as if it was hurling sand in my face. My hands are so maimed I cannot eat without help. I suffer terribly, both morally and physically.

My family is just one of thousands of victims of the American invaders. I ask the Liberation Front to forward my complaint to the Investigating Committee. If necessary, I am ready to testify in exposing these crimes.

I am no more than a cripple now. But American imperialism has become my deadly enemy. I pledge to prove my confidence in the leadership of the National Liberation Front by carrying out its policy and its measures to the best of my ability in order to expel the American invaders from South Vietnam and to free our country.

Long live unity against the American aggressors!

Nguyen THI XE

Freedom to Colombian patriots!

GILBERTO VIEIRA, General Secretary of the Communist Party, several members of the Central Committees of the Party and of the Communist Youth League, trade union leaders, former MP's, professional people, university lecturers, journalists and even some members of the government parties are among the more than three hundred Communists and members of other opposition groups arrested in towns throughout Colombia on March 10. The police searched their homes and raided the offices of the Communist Party and the Colombian Working People's Federation. A hunt for "subversives" was launched throughout the country.

The authorities justify their arbitrary actions by the spread of the guerrilla struggle as a result of which government troops have suffered heavy losses. Not satisfied with the powers it has enjoyed under the state of siege since May 1965, the Restrepo government has proclaimed a "state of emergency," abolishing the last vestige of freedom of the press. Simultaneously it has launched the biggest anti-guerrilla operations since the offensive against the peasant regions in May 1964.

The arrested Communists, charged with organizing terror and violence and "complicity" in "intrigues plotted abroad," are to be sent to concentration camps to await trial by court-martial.

Even openly dictatorial governments have not dared to engage in a campaign of reprisals as that now being conducted by the "representative democracy" regime of Restrepo. The action against the most effective opposition groups testifies to the weakness of the government in face of the mounting discontent of the people.

The latest dictatorial act of Restrepo is yet another concession to the militarist groups of the ruling oligarchy, a move designed to secure, at the forthcoming Punta del Este conference of the presidents of the American states, additional "aid" from the United States, and a maneuver to sabotage the attempts to establish trade with the socialist countries, specifically with the Soviet Union.

The arrest of the Communist leaders has been condemned by all opposition groups who are demanding the release of all prisoners and respect for elementary rights. The deputies belonging to the Liberal Revolutionary Movement and the National Popular Alliance have made the issue the subject of debates in Congress. The National Committee of Trade Union Unity and the National University Federation, have denounced the unlawful actions of the government and urged the people to unite for successful resistance to its policy. The Association of Democratic Lawyers has offered its services to press for the release of the political prisoners.

"A new situation has emerged which demands that new commitments be made, especially by the revolutionary vanguard," writes Alvaro Vasquez, Secretary of our CC. "The obvious aim of the police action is to destroy the Central Committee of our Party, to deprive our organization of its backbone and thus paralyze it. But the reactionaries will never succeed in this."

The blow struck at our Party makes it imperative for all revolutionaries and democrats to step up the fight against the arbitrary rule.

Alvaro DELGADO

Breaking the fetters

The memoirs of Bob Stewart

DICKENS HAD BEEN in his grave a mere seven years and Marx was still working in London when on 16 February 1877 a boy, the tenth child of a worker's family of twelve, was born in a village near Dundee, a city in eastern Scotland famous for its manufacture of jute.

The boy, Bob Stewart, now at ninety the grand old man of the British Communist Party, like most working-class children of those days was destined to experience the "joys" of child labor which lived on long after Dicken's exposure of them had shocked the conscience of his reading public.

Coincident with Bob's ninetieth birthday there appeared in London his book of memoirs under the title *Breaking the Fetters** the opening chapter of which tells how the Dundee jute capitalists forged the first fetters for a ten-year-old boy.

Like most working-class families in Scotland the Stewart family of father, mother and twelve children huddled in two tiny rooms in a squalid slum tenement. And although much is heard in Britain nowadays about the Welfare State yet the memoirs tell us that when in 1962 at the age of eighty-five Bob Stewart revisited the scene of his childhood the same slum tenements were still there.

At the age of ten Bob became a "half-timer" in a jute mill, and at thirteen, school-days over, he became a "full-timer" working from 6 a.m. until 6 p.m.

From the jute mills he graduated after six years to apprentice joiner, and in the last year of his five-year apprenticeship he took his first step towards "breaking the fetters" by joining a trade union.

Shortly after joining the ranks of Britain's skilled craftsmen Bob, working in a shipyard as a joiner, helped to build the *Discovery*, the ship which took Captain Scott to the Antarctic in an early attempt to reach the South Pole.

The reader of these memoirs will discover that the "Brain Drain," the subject of so much comment in Britain today, was a painful matter as early as 1900. Skilled workers, then as now unable to find jobs at home, were forced to seek their fortunes in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South

Africa. Our author chose the latter country. And if he failed to dig up gold or diamonds in the streets he found plenty of fetters, and a racialism which so disgusted him that after a brief stay he was only too glad to get back to Scotland, none the richer but a bit the wiser.

In the pre-1914 phase of British capitalism alcohol was the opium of the people. Wages were low, the slums ubiquitous and strong drink cheap. For a few coppers men could drink themselves into a drunken stupor and escape for the time being from the inane cruelty of their lives. Many revolted against the drunkenness, against the Saturday night brawling and above all against the hardships involved for the families. They joined the Temperance Societies and campaigned vigorously against the evils of alcohol, and it was as an active member of one of these societies that the author had his first experience of lecturing and writing.

By the time the First World War broke on the scene the author had reached the conviction that trade unionism and temperance campaigning were not enough, that the root of the evils lay in the social system of exploitation. For him, as for the Russian Bolsheviks, this was war between rival imperialist groupings, and in his view no socialist worthy of the name could have anything to do with it.

Active opposition to the war brought him before Military Tribunals on no fewer than four occasions, with the result that the fetters were tightened and for most of the war years he was entombed behind prison walls. Still in prison in 1919, months after the war had ended, it took the threat of a hunger strike to secure his release.

The world into which in 1919 Bob Stewart emerged from his prison cell was a world which had been changed irrevocably by the October Revolution of 1917. Instinctively the British ruling class, sensing a grave danger to their class rule, reacted to the revolution with unconcealed hostility and, ultimately, with armed intervention.

With their class instinct the workers, too, sensed that the October Revolution had deposed the class of exploiters and had brought their class to power. They on their part rallied to the defense of the Revolution and actively opposed the intervention.

This, then, was the political climate in the

**Breaking the Fetters*. The Memoirs of Bob Stewart. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1967. 200 pp.

postwar days in Britain when men of the Left began to draw together with a view to founding a Communist Party. The story of the numerous preliminary conferences which preceded the founding congress in August 1920 makes fascinating reading.

With the founding of the Party, the author's whole life became bound up with it. He was the Party's first parliamentary candidate in 1921, and in 1922 he was the driving force of a famous election contest in Dundee when his Comrade William Gallacher fought against the Tory candidate in the person of Winston Churchill. True, Gallacher was defeated, but two opponents of the calibre of Gallacher and Churchill made it a memorable battle.

In January 1924 when Lenin died the author, then the representative of the British Communist Party to the Comintern, was one of the guard of honor in the House of the Trade Unions where the body of the revolutionary leader lay in state.

The mid-nineteen twenties, stormy years in British working-class history, culminated in the General Strike of May 1926. As a precautionary measure the ruling class, though alarmed, in 1925 fabricated charges against twelve leading members of the Party who, understandably, were "found guilty," sent to jail and kept out of the way before, during and after the General Strike. In this situation the Party chose Bob Stewart to function as acting general secretary.

It was in this capacity that he again entered the lists against Churchill. The strike had stopped the printing of all newspapers. So the Government printed an anti-strike news sheet

under Churchill's editorship. The Communist Party, under Stewart's leadership, printed and circulated its own bulletins for which purpose 'babies' prams were most useful. ". . . Many a policeman," we read in the memoirs "was passed by a smiling mum with a chirpy baby in the pram sitting atop several quire of our news bulletins."

For long a worker in the Comintern and in the Party's international department Bob Stewart, himself a sterling internationalist, is known to Communists in all five continents. Communists passing through London knew that upon meeting Bob they could be sure of help and hospitality.

In his eventful life in the British and international working-class movement, encompassing an active participation of more than seventy years, the greatest single influence was the October Revolution in Russia. Here is how he sums up his first visit (1923) to the first country to break the fetters: "Looking back on the Russia of my first visit, how right I was to be immensely proud of entering a country . . . in which capitalism had been overthrown! How right I was in my judgement that this land of socialism would transform the lives of the people and in doing so set an example to the workers of the world!"

Breaking the Fetters is a book to be commended and especially to young people. For it is the record of a ninety-year-old incorruptible veteran, a record of struggles in the noblest cause of all — the cause of breaking the fetters and ending the exploitation of man by man.

John GIBBONS

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