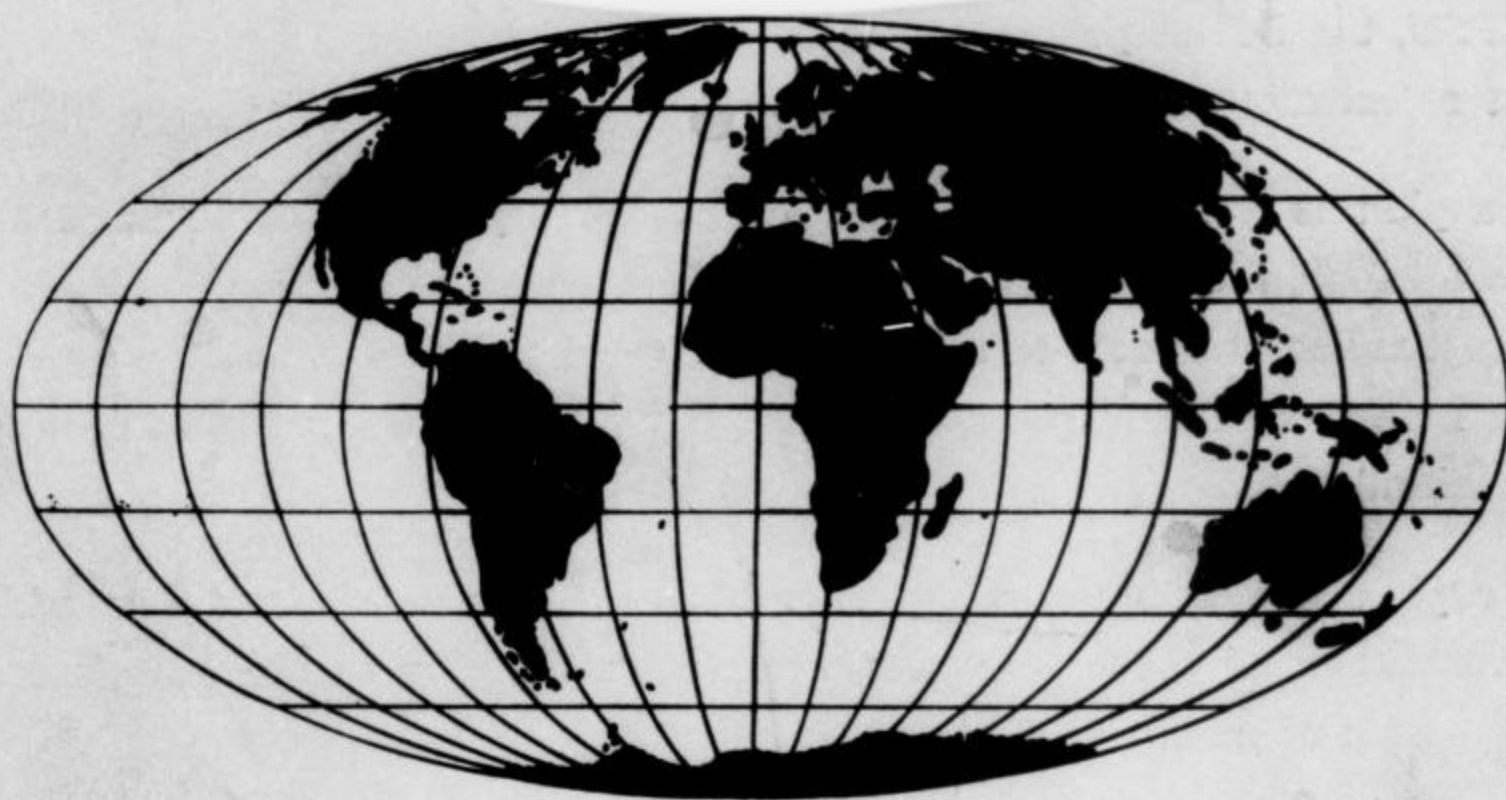


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

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**Unity of Action of the World
Communist Movement**

—Editorial

95th Anniversary of the Birth of Lenin

—Dolores Ibarruri

Central Committee of the CPSU

Dear Comrades,

The Editorial Board of *World Marxist Review*, filled with admiration of the exploit of the crew of the space ship "Voskhod-2," sends fraternal greetings to the CPSU, the Soviet people, the cosmonauts Belyayev and Leonov and to the Soviet scientists, technicians and workers.

This exploit is a further demonstration of the superiority of socialist science and technology, the ability of socialism to elevate man to the peaks of knowledge, and emphasizes prospects of economic and social progress which the application of the human mind and resources wholly to the cause of peace could open up for mankind.

This exploit has won the admiration of the whole world and has added to the enthusiasm of those who see in socialism the way to the complete social emancipation of man.

We wish you and the peoples of the Soviet Union further success in your endeavors.

With fraternal greetings,

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COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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Unity of action of the world communist movement

AMONG THE MASSES conscious action is taking the place of spontaneity. The rate of social progress now depends on how clearly the people, the makers of history, see the immediate tasks that have objectively matured, and the perspectives and ultimate goals of the struggle. Of course, the immediate tasks vary from country to country, as do the roads leading to the ultimate goals. But in all instances the compass of the various contingents of the working class is one and the same — the compass of Marxist-Leninist theory. This compass is in the hands of the Communist parties which express the general trend and unity of the liberatory process.

The Consultative Meeting of representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties of a number of countries, held in Moscow at the beginning of March, discussed the question of unity.

The meeting was dictated by the desire of the parties represented to exchange views on the necessity of strengthening unity between the parties, and the possibilities of achieving this. The discussion was marked by democracy, by the spirit of equality and respect for each other's opinion. The participants, guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, expressed the firm determination of their parties to do all in their power to consolidate the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and in conformity with the political line defined in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the parties. The results of the Consultative Meeting were set forth in the Communique and in the Statement on Vietnam.

The Communique noted the further consolidation of the positions of socialism, the new successes of the national-liberation and working-class movements, and the growth of the forces working for peace, democracy and social progress. It stressed, however, that

world reaction, headed by U.S. imperialism, was stepping up its probing in various areas of the world. There is the naked aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The participants in the meeting expressed their full solidarity with the people of Vietnam and with the fraternal Working People's Party of Vietnam; they issued a call to all Communist and Workers' parties, to all the socialist countries, and to all progressive and democratic movements to force U.S. imperialism to halt its aggression in South Vietnam and withdraw its armed forces from that country, and called for a peaceful settlement through negotiation. They expressed the conviction that the fraternal parties and socialist countries would fulfill their internationalist duty in upholding the vital interests of the Vietnamese people.

Taking into account the international situation the Communique stressed that "now, more than ever before, it is necessary for all Communist parties to show their sense of internationalist responsibility" and to unite for the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against the domination of monopoly capital, for active support to the liberation movement and in defense of the peoples who have been attacked by imperialism and for struggle for world peace based on respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all states.

The meeting called for joint action by all the fraternal parties in the struggle against the common enemy and for common aims. It stressed that the cohesion of all the revolutionary forces of our time — the socialist world system, the national-liberation movement and the international working class — was of decisive importance for the success of the struggle against imperialist reaction.

These three revolutionary forces are the natural allies, the components of a single

revolutionary world process, The struggle of the working class against capitalism is affected both by the successes and partial setbacks in the socialist countries. The national liberation movement would not have reached its present level were it not for the advances made by the people of the socialist world; it would not have reached this level without the unceasing struggle waged by labor against capital; it is also clear that labor's war against capitalism would have taken place in far more difficult conditions if imperialism had not been deprived of its colonial domains. And, lastly, progress in the socialist countries would have been beset by greater difficulties if the working people in the capitalist countries and the peoples fighting against colonialism had not struck telling blows at imperialism.

These interactions reveal an objective historical connection which cannot be disposed of at will, and which is seen in the day-to-day revolutionary activity of the working masses.

All the parties are agreed that the old antagonistic society which has outlived its day must be replaced by new social relations which will put an end to the exploitation of man by man, to all social and national oppression. The meeting, therefore, had every reason for voicing the conviction that "what unites the Communist parties far outweighs that which at present disunites them."

It would be unwise to close our eyes to the differences in the world Communist movement on theoretical and tactical issues. But, as the Communique rightly noted "even though there are differences over the political line and many important problems of theory and tactics, it is quite possible and necessary to work for united action in the struggle against imperialism, in the matter of ensuring all-round support for the liberation movement of the peoples, in the struggle for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of states — big and small — with differing social systems, and in the struggle for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class. Concerted action in the fight for these common goals is the most effective way of overcoming the existing differences."

The Marxist-Leninist parties head the struggle of the working people for their social liberation. They must therefore be able to foresee developments, to organize the working people and actively influence the social process with the object of accelerating it.

The striving towards unity is not only a subjective requirement of the Marxist-Leninist parties; it also expresses the objective requirements of our time, the objective laws of development of the revolutionary process.

Therefore, the difficulties notwithstanding, the unity trend is making headway. In this struggle the world Communist movement possesses the powerful weapon of proletarian internationalism which expresses in concentrated form the affinity of the national and international tasks of the working class. As Lenin noted "the interests of the working-class movement as a whole are higher than the interests of a separate section of the workers or of separate phases of the movement . . ."

Proletarian internationalism presupposes not only community of interests between individual national contingents of the working class, unity of aims and outlook of their vanguards — the Marxist-Leninist parties — but also solidarity and concerted action on the international arena.

The objective need to strengthen the world Communist movement engendered, during the almost half century of its history, different forms of unity, corresponding to the different stages of its development. One method that has emerged in recent times, a method most suited to present conditions, is that of periodic meetings of representatives of the parties, which enable them to exchange views on questions of mutual interest, to generalize the experience of the struggle, enrich Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and jointly work out the political line for the future. None of the parties doubt the value of the 1957 and 1960 meetings. Experience has proved the correctness of the political line charted by these meetings. Those who attended the March meeting in Moscow felt that "such meetings, held with observance of the principles of complete equality and independence of each Party, can effectively serve the cause of overcoming differences and uniting the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism." After discussing the desirability of holding another international meeting, they expressed the view that active and thorough preparations for a new international meeting, to be held at a suitable date, fully conform to the interests of the world Communist movement.

Taking into account the specific conditions of the present stage of the world movement, they also expressed the view that before discussing the question of a new international meeting, it would be advisable to hold a preliminary consultative meeting of the representatives of the parties that took part in the 1960 meeting.

It is important in this connection to create favorable conditions for the holding of such

a meeting. Bilateral and multilateral talks between representatives of the fraternal parties, conferences similar to the recent conferences of the fraternal parties of the Arab countries and the countries of Latin America, exchange of delegations, better exchange of information, joint discussion of urgent problems and other forms of contact between the Parties, which have stood the test of time and justified themselves—all are designed to promote favorable conditions preparatory to the holding of such a meeting. These preparations will enable the Marxist-Leninist parties to bring their viewpoints on the theoretical and political issues under discussion closer together.

Each Party, working in a big or small country, irrespective of its numerical strength or of its voting strength, is equal in relation to any other fraternal party and sovereign in defining its political line, strategy and tactics. It alone has the right to decide on the path of socialist changes best suited to the concrete conditions in its country. The prestige of every Party depends entirely on the objective success it has achieved in the liberation struggle, on its influence among the masses, the value of its experience, its attitude and concrete efforts in promoting international solidarity, on its creative contribution to Marxism-Leninism—the theoretical treasure-house of all the parties.

International meetings give the parties the

opportunity to become acquainted with each other's experience, to enrich Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort. This theory is profoundly international in its origin, character and purpose. Primarily a scientific theory, it draws on those elements of the national experience which are universal and lasting, and which repeat themselves historically.

Development of theory calls for a constant exchange of views between the fraternal parties on the crucial issues of our time. Discussion of the theoretical problems and political tasks confronting the world Communist movement should be conducted in a friendly spirit, in a manner promoting unity of the revolutionary movement. Unfriendly, abusive polemics can but aggravate the differences between the fraternal parties. Their discontinuation would help consolidate the world movement, would further unity of action.

The firmer the unity of the world Communist movement, the greater will be its influence and prestige in the emancipation movement of the working people of the world, the more will it influence the direction of the world revolutionary process, the more successful will be our common struggle against the forces of international reaction, the more secure will be the cause of world peace, the greater will be the achievements in building the socialist society and the closer the worldwide victory of communism.



Under the invincible banner of Lenin

DOLORES IBARRURI

IN APRIL THIS YEAR we are observing the anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the organizer and leader of the first victorious proletarian revolution and of the first socialist state in the world.

Lenin's name, associated with an historical epoch opening up boundless vistas, is inseparably

linked with man's advance towards a classless society, towards communism.

Lenin inspires the new generations in the capitalist countries to fight for the radical reconstruction of a society in which man's labor power is still a commodity.

Lenin lives on in the dreams and aspira-

tions of the young generations in the land of Soviets, in the labor of the workers and farmers, in the exploits of heroes, in the discoveries of scientists, in the achievements of the Soviet people and all other peoples of the socialist world.

Lenin's name is a challenge to fight injustice, it is a paean to freedom and hope in the most distant corners of the earth and it unites the will of men everywhere in struggle against colonial slavery, for a peaceful, just, democratic and socialist future.

Lenin guides and directs the revolutionary activity of all the Communist parties, the vanguard contingents of the working class. His behests constitute the golden treasury of the world Communist movement.

Faith to Marxism-Leninism multiplies the strength of Communists a hundredfold, makes them invincible.

In observing the 95th anniversary of the birth of Lenin we are paying tribute to a man who belongs to us, to all who are fighting for a better world, to the genius who gave flesh-and-blood embodiment to the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels. The best monument to Lenin is the affirmation of our loyalty to Marxism, our pledge staunchly and unfalteringly to carry on the fight for the unity of the Communist movement, for proletarian internationalism, for the triumph of the cause of democracy and socialism throughout the world.

If only Lenin had lived to see what the Soviet people have accomplished since October 1917, the realization of his prevision: the twilight of capitalism and the dawn of communism for all peoples!

The genius of Lenin immortalized the October Revolution of 1917. In those days the world of the moneybags trembled as the salvoes discharged by the *Aurora* at the Winter Palace, the refuge of the last bourgeois government of old Russia, heralded the birth of the new Russia. Those days live on in the memory and hearts of the millions of men and women in Europe and Asia, Africa and America who are building socialism and following the path charted by October—the path of Lenin.

No difficulties and no obstacles, nor the distance still separating us from the goal, can dismay us.

For we know that our world is on the move, though not in the direction in which the exploiting classes would steer it—the classes doomed by history, incapable of regeneration, unable to understand the inevitability of change in the world, and what is

most important, powerless to prevent that change.

The world is moving forward under the impact of revolutions that are shattering the old order and pregnant with the victory of the new. And although some misguided people—perhaps wishing to minimize the epoch-making significance of the October Revolution—deny it, the roots of these revolutions are nourished by the same sources as the October Revolution.

The rise of the socialist world and its development with Lenin as the lodestar, point to new ways of resolving the problems and contradictions which the old world can no longer solve in the old way.

This socialist reality, which our enemies have sought for decades to deny or to destroy by force, is today penetrating deep into the capitalist world, permeating the very air we breathe. Thinking people are beginning to see it as an imperative need, as an inevitable fact of historical development, and are moved to arraign themselves on the side of history where, as Engels said, the foundations of the future are being laid.

It is indicative of the present situation and the changes that have taken place that even in the Catholic camp, always one of the most conservative, concepts once regarded almost as dogma are changing and Marxism, increasingly, is recognized as a humanist ethic and the possibility of a dialogue with the Marxists envisaged.

Gone are the days when the jungle laws of capitalism were the only laws governing the world.

The principal role in solving vital problems which was formerly the exclusive prerogative of capitalism, today belongs to socialism, whose influence is making itself felt in all areas of contemporary life. This role is being played also by the powerful democratic organizations, by the Workers' and Communist parties in the capitalist countries; it likewise belongs to the national-liberation movement, which is winning victory after victory in the struggle against imperialism.

In the present-day world, which is witnessing the most deep-going changes in human history, the social, economic and political gains of the working class and the anti-monopoly forces inevitably weaken imperialism and thus pave the way to new victories for democracy.

We see evidence of this in the impressive actions of the working class and the other anti-imperialist forces in Latin America, we see it in France and Italy where the problems

of regeneration, extending and deepening democracy and curbing monopoly loom large in the struggle of the masses. We see it in Spain and in Portugal, where the opposition forces directed against the dictatorships of Franco and Salazar, and especially the militant actions of the working class, intellectuals and students, are sapping the fascist governments and paving the way for a rapid rise of democracy.

The latest and most striking testimony to the fact that the imperialists cannot have it all their own way is the heroic struggle waged by the people of South Vietnam, by their courageous guerrillas who are striking fear into the hearts of the North American troops armed with the most up-to-date weapons.

The entire civilized world has been shocked by the criminal intervention of the U.S. military in South Vietnam and their barbarous bombings of North Vietnam. The wave of solidarity with the Vietnamese people will rise higher and higher until the hand of the aggressors is stayed and the danger threatening world peace averted.

Many believe—and perhaps rightly—that if there had not been the differences in the world Communist movement, the U.S. imperialists would never have ventured on the hostilities in Vietnam and elsewhere. But those who are speculating on the differences, however serious they might appear, will be disappointed. When it is a matter of struggle against imperialism, against monopoly capital, the grounds always exist for understanding and solidarity.

The consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow in March, and also the recent statements by the parties which took part in it, demonstrated the desire of the overwhelming majority of the parties to redouble their efforts to prevent any aggravation of the differences in the world movement and to find ways of overcoming these differences.

The steps taken by the CPSU in this respect are particularly noteworthy.

There is no doubt that common sense and identity of interests will win the day and put an end to a situation which can benefit none but the enemies of peace, democracy and socialism.

Faced with the aggressiveness of imperialism, its perpetual violation of the rights of nations, its interference in the affairs of other countries, the democratic forces have but one logical course open to them: in order to bring about the democratic structural reforms now on the agenda in the capitalist world,

there must be mutual understanding between all proletarian and non-proletarian revolutionary organizations on the basis of national-democratic programs worked out by the progressive and democratic forces of each country.

In agreements of this kind, which may to a certain extent become unity pacts in the struggle for democracy and progress, discrimination and narrow-mindedness of any kind is ruled out.

To elucidate the point I should like to cite the example of Spain. Despite the efforts of those in the Franco government known as the "diehards," the possibility exists for reaching understanding and for establishing a common front of struggle against the political conservatism imposed by the dictatorship and for fundamental economic and political structural changes, a front which would unite Communists, Socialists of diverse trends, Nationalists — Basques and Catalonians — progressive Catholics, democratic bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces, trade unions and peasant organizations, students, intellectuals, patriotic servicemen, and even forces which yesterday were on the other side of the barricades but which today have broken, or are capable of breaking, with the dictatorship to help solve the political problem facing Spain.

Formerly any such alliance, compromise or understanding between such widely differing forces was inconceivable. Today it is possible because opposition to the dictatorship has become truly nationwide; because the nation as a whole has come to realize the need for change; because of the militancy and political consciousness of the working class, the vanguard of the struggle against the dictatorship, and lastly, because of the experience the national political forces have accumulated in the past decades.

A contributing factor on the international plane is the growth of the democratic movement and the influence exerted by the socialist camp, above all by the Soviet Union, in all areas of political, economic and social life.

And it is not by chance that the Communists are vigorously working for such alliances and agreements, for it is they who throughout these past twenty-five years have borne the brunt of the battle against the dictatorship, and they know full well that the greater the forces taking part in that struggle the easier it will be to win.

And when we Communists say that the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Spain can be accomplished without an armed

uprising, without civil war, this is not merely political speculation.

We see this as a realistic possibility, and we shall not reject it unless the reactionaries compel resort to other forms of struggle.

With full political, national and revolutionary responsibility, of which it has afforded ample evidence in these thirty years of arduous struggle and bitter sacrifice, the Communist Party of Spain proposes to begin a dialogue with all the forces of the opposition to explore paths and solutions without imposing our own views on anyone.

The latest statement issued by the Central Committee of the Party on March 9 declares: "We Communists believe that no group (whatever its past politics) should be excluded from this dialogue provided it recognizes that the existing situation can no longer be tolerated and is prepared to abide by the rules of free democratic intercourse. We take this open-minded attitude because we hold that no one should be deprived of the opportunity to contribute his share to building the future; this is, moreover, an essential condition to ensure that the future should not be won through violence and bloodshed. This attitude of ours is every bit as sincere as our determination to wage the fight until the dictatorship is overthrown, democracy established and all the complex problems confronting Spain solved; to fight in the ordinary constitutional way should this be possible, and by other means if our open-minded attitude is not reciprocated."

Nothing is more alien to Marxism-Leninism than revolutionary recklessness. Nothing is farther from the living and creative essence of Leninist ideas than dogmatism and hidebound thinking, for this ossifies ideas whereas life changes, flows on, advances its own laws that make it imperative to change views and formulas which though correct today may be outdated tomorrow and hence useless. Lenin taught us that "... Marxism positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle possible and in existence at the given moment only, recognizing as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, inevitably arise as the given social situation changes."*

The sum total of revolutionary experience, our own as well as that of others, shows that changes in political life in any country cannot be mechanically taken over by other countries. These changes can be affected only by taking into account the specific features

of economic development, the customs, traditions and way of life of the given country.

To lose sight of this and to attempt mechanically to apply someone else's experience is to go against the tide of history and violate the elementary principles of Leninism.

Ability to absorb the new, to understand it and to adapt policy to changes, sometimes imperceptible and sometimes, in revolutionary situations, extremely sharp and rapid—this is a feature of Marxist-Leninists. This lends them strength and prestige, it helps them to march in step with events, not to lag behind, it wins them the respect, support and confidence of the masses, and this, in turn, enables them to rally the masses to the struggle and lead them in the right direction at the right moment.

One of the features of Spanish life today is the militancy of the working-class, student and peasant youth.

After three years of war and 25 years of fascist dictatorship which cost Spain more than a million lives, after this fearful massacre aimed at stamping out the people's love of freedom, after all this the watchword "freedom" rings out in Spain, causing the Caudillo to tremble and shaking the dictatorship to its foundations. This battlecry is heard in factory, mill and mine; it is heard in the countryside and in the fishing villages, in college and university auditoriums, on the steps of churches and in refectories of religious seminaries. It is heard even where justice has been placed in the service of injustice.

The men who fought in the war for freedom and democracy are gradually disappearing from the scene. It was a bitter struggle, and the repressions that followed took a still heavier toll. But now a new generation has grown up, and it wants to close the gulf of hatred and bloodshed caused by Franco. This generation wants to make Spain a land of justice and progress, a land in which all Spaniards can live together.

Despite differences in outlook, this generation, brought face to face with reality, rejects the dictatorship and is fighting for a free, democratic system that would not be a simple return to the past but would answer the needs of the present.

The most remarkable, the most inspiring thing about the new generation of workers, peasants and students (but especially the workers) is that it is seeking the answers in the doctrine which has been anathema to the Franco regime and the main target of its propaganda for more than 25 years—the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

*V. I. Lenin. *Guerrilla Warfare*.

These young people go through life with their eyes and minds wide open, they observe, they analyze, they ask questions and they want to know the truth that is concealed behind the veil of Franco lies. This is a calamity for the Franco regime and its propaganda. The eyes of the youth are turned towards the Communist Party, towards the Soviet Union. In their search for an explanation of the social phenomena of their time they are looking to Marxist-Leninist theory. In this lies the hope of Spain, for the future of our country is in the hands of this generation.

We are well aware that not all the changes taking place in Spain are due exclusively to the activity of the Communists. To make any such claim would be childish, it would be a mistake, an erroneous assessment of the struggle, of the forces participating in it, of the role and significance of the factors which determine the inevitable downfall of the dictatorship and the need for a democratic change.

We believe in giving credit where credit is due. And we know how to assess the contributions, big and small, made by other forces in the common struggle.

The opposition to Franco embraces practically all the national forces not directly party to the dictatorship. To coordinate the activity of these forces so that their concerted will should hasten the changes that Spain needs and towards which the overwhelming majority of Spaniards are striving is urgently necessary.

Now that the dictatorship is obviously in the throes of crisis, and even its most faithful supporters cannot deny this, the responsibility of the Communists and all other opposition forces is all the greater.

Those who are working against the unity from which the opposition movement as a

whole derives its strength, those who juggle with specious arguments or take cover behind flimsy pretexts in order to prevent mutual understanding, help to prolong, if only for a time, an intolerable situation which it is imperative radically to change, and, what is more, take upon themselves a grave political responsibility before the nation and history.

In shaping the flexible, national, patriotic policy of our Party, we shall always bear in mind Lenin's counsel which is as valid today as it was yesterday for us and all other revolutionaries.

"The more powerful enemy," Lenin said, "can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort and *without fail*, most thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully using every, even the smallest 'rift' among the enemies, every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who fail to understand this, fail to understand even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific modern Socialism *in general*."*

The Communist Party of Spain has always been guided by Lenin's counsels.

And today, when, through strikes and demonstrations, the working class and the other sections of the people are taking the initiative in the democratic movement, when mention of Marxism in some quarters no longer entails excommunication and condemnation, it might be useful for all who are interested in the peaceful realization of the changes so urgently needed in Spain to remember the lessons Lenin's ideas contain for the peoples.

*V. I. Lenin. "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.

The technological revolution and economic cooperation among socialist countries

WOLFGANG BERGER

RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF the productive forces is the hallmark of our time. Science is becoming a productive force in the direct sense as the time lag between research and the application of its findings steadily diminishes. The structure of the material productive forces, too, is radically changing. One hardly needs to adduce proof to bear out these well-known facts.*

THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND THE ECONOMIC COMPETITION BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

The rapid growth of the productive forces in both the socialist and the industrial capitalist countries is exerting a *decisive influence on the economic competition between socialism and capitalism.*

Clearly, the fact that the considerable rise in the productivity of social labor has enabled the developed industrial countries to channel an increasing share of their accumulations to science, industrial research and development, specialized secondary or college training of personnel and associated expenditures is an important underlying factor.

There can hardly be any disagreement among Marxist-Leninists as to whether this rapid growth of the productive forces is an actual fact. But there are different views as regards its significance.

*See A. Kuzin and S. Shukhardin. "The Contemporary Scientific and Technological Revolution. *Kommunist*, No. 16, 1964; Erich Apel. "The Technological Revolution and Economic Efficiency." *Einheit*, No. 9/10, 1964; Hans Klotz and Klaus Rum. "Science As a Productive Force." *Einheit*, Nos. 2-3, 1963; Kurt Tessmann. "The Technological Revolution and Socialism." *Einheit*, No. 2, 1965.

We in the GDR regard it as a *technological revolution, a process advancing society's productive forces to a new qualitative level which in turn exerts a powerful impact on economic, political and social life generally.* This view coincides with the opinion of Marxists, both political leaders and theoreticians, in the capitalist countries, although the latter examine the problem from quite another angle. For instance, Tim Buck and William Kashtan, National Chairman and General Secretary respectively of the Communist Party of Canada, drawing on the realities of capitalist economy in Canada, have convincingly shown that the technological revolution is a new qualitative stage in the development of the productive forces.* The same view is held by the Communist Party of the USA** and by other fraternal parties. A conference on automation and technological progress sponsored in 1963 by the West German metal workers' trade union likewise pointed to the qualitative changes in West Germany's productive forces.***

In this article we do not propose to go into our view of the technological revolution in detail. Our object is rather to show how this revolution impinges on the economic competition between socialism and capitalism, how this influence is manifested and what

*William Kashtan. *Automation and the Working Class*, Toronto, 1964; *Einheit*, No. 3, 1965; *World Marxist Review*, No. 7, 1964.

**Political Affairs. "Automation and Social Change." New York, August 1964; *Einheit*, No. 3, 1965.

***Automation and Technological Progress in (West) Germany and USA. Frankfurt am Main, 1963.

steps we consider necessary in order to gear economic and technological cooperation, especially between the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, to the new requirements.

The technological revolution has been under way for quite some time, especially in the form of comprehensive automation of production processes and electronic data-processing in both the production and the managerial spheres. In the developed countries this has been in evidence on the scale of the entire economy for the past 5-8 years.

An examination of industrial growth rates in these years shows that the pace at which the socialist countries are out-stripping the imperialist powers has fallen off somewhat. This point was brought out by the Soviet economist, Pervushin, at a recent conference of Marxist economists in Prague. He noted that whereas in the fifties the growth of industrial output in the socialist countries was more than double that in the capitalist countries, in 1961-63 it was 50 per cent higher. In 1956-60 it amounted to 13 per cent in the socialist countries as against four per cent in the capitalist countries, but in 1962 the respective figures were eight and six. If we compare the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and the EEC, we will find that in the last ten years the industrial growth rate of the former was 50 per cent higher than in the latter. However, we cannot accept this state of affairs as satisfactory inasmuch as this average percentage conceals the fact that the growth rate in some of the socialist countries has been relatively low in recent years.

Needless to say, there is more to these figures than meets the eye. It would be wrong, of course, to ascribe the shifts in growth rates simply to the greater or lesser vigor displayed in carrying forward the technological revolution. But they nevertheless provide food for thought.

There are a number of facts to be borne in mind. For instance, it is patent that for the monopolies and concerns of the imperialist countries the most important result of the technological revolution is not so much the increase in industrial production as the substantial growth of profit. Take the USA. In that country corporation profits after taxes (actual volume of which for obvious reasons is concealed whenever possible) increased by 38 per cent in 1955-64. But if deductions for depreciation are included quite a different picture emerges. Depreciation doubled in this period, from \$15,700 million to \$31,200 mil-

lion, bringing growth of profit plus depreciation to 162 per cent.*

Growth of profits as a result of the technological revolution provides at the same time the financial wherewithal for accelerating this revolution through large-scale renewal of fixed capital, scrapping of obsolete plant and steady introduction of up-to-date machinery and equipment.

For instance, nearly \$1,800 million was invested in the U.S. steel industry in 1964, i.e., the equivalent of more than 20 per cent of the total value of plant, mostly in oxygen-blast furnaces, automation through introduction of electronic computing techniques. Eight of the biggest steel companies increased their investment rate by half in 1963. One of the steel tycoons declared that this, or an even higher, investment rate should be maintained for at least the next two years. This would mean renewal of three-quarters of the total plant of the U.S. steel industry in three years.**

Here we must draw attention to an economic fact of life which some writers are inclined to ignore when discussing the technological revolution: *accumulations sufficient for financing the huge investments needed to make full use of the latest achievements in science and technology are of decisive significance for the successful prosecution of this revolution. Moreover, it is essential to be able to translate the monetary form of accumulation into a material form fully conforming to the requirements.*

The capitalist concerns have a material stake in solving the complex tasks of the technological revolution; for them it is a way to surplus profits. Surplus profit—its substance and dynamics were analyzed by Marx—is obtained whenever a capitalist enterprise is able to reduce cost of production below that of its competitors by modernizing technology while price levels remain constant. Technologically better and more economical products with a use value greater than that of others of their kind on the market, as well as products that will cut costs at subsequent stages of the production process, likewise command a higher price bringing in an additional profit. This surplus profit is a powerful incentive for the capitalists to press on with the technological revolution.

Experience shows that the capitalist concerns are indeed promoting technological progress. Although this gives rise to serious social contradictions (analysis of which has been undertaken by comrades in the Com-

*Volkswirt, No. 3, 1965, p. 91.

**Industriekurier, November 4, 1964, p. 6.

munist parties of the USA, Canada, Britain and other countries), it cannot be said that the concerns as a rule place obstacles in the way of science and technology.

The influence of world socialism, too, tends to relegate the tendency to impede technical progress to the background. Engels, it will be recalled, pointed out that under capitalism technological progress will cease only when it stops producing an adequate profit, when, other conditions remaining unchanged, expenditure of constant capital exceeds that of variable capital. At present this limitation is felt only to a negligible extent. Inasmuch as a considerable part of the working class in the imperialist countries, thanks to a variety of favorable circumstances, one of which is the existence of the socialist world system, has won relatively high wages, the capitalists find a lush source of profit in technological progress and the redundancy it spells for the workers.

Hence Engels' thesis can, in a sense, be approached also from another angle: when the monopolies and capitalist concerns generally introduce the latest technology on a scale as wide as at present it can be taken for granted that their profits are soaring.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION TENDS TO INTERNATIONALIZE THE ECONOMY

In the conditions of the technological revolution the economic law of concentration of production asserts itself as never before. Under socialist relations of production, when concentration operates as an economic law of socialism, it makes for planned concentration of production in conformity with optimal technological and economic indices and often stimulates international division of labor and coordinated production.

To make full use of the advantages accruing from comprehensive automation of production processes it is often profitable and even necessary to organize production on a scale transcending the boundaries of separate socialist countries. It is likewise essential to international cooperation among their researchers, engineers, planners and designers. This applies particularly to the designing and manufacture of key types of equipment and machinery for the leading branches of the economy which we still have to import from the capitalist countries.

Hence, the technological revolution objectively tends to break down national economic barriers between the socialist countries and to stimulate broader economic, scientific and

technological cooperation among them. As regards the European members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, this tendency is given added impetus by the fact that countries of the size of Poland, the GDR, Rumania and others are not in a position to solve within their national boundaries all the problems of the technological revolution.

In Western Europe, too, technological progress tends to internationalize the economy. As a result of the establishment of the EEC and the EFTA the big West European monopolies have overcome, at least partly, the impediments raised by national frontiers to the expansion of production along the most up-to-date lines. In this way they have created for themselves conditions to some extent comparable to those in which their most formidable competitors, the U.S. concerns, operate. But at the same time they have also extended the area in which their interests clash with those of the American monopolies.

To sum up: the technological revolution is potentially a powerful source of growth of national income and accumulation in the socialist countries. But to tap this source much remains to be done. In order to gear research and development work to the requirements of the technological revolution, and to apply the latest achievements of science and technology, substantial funds must be channeled into production. And since this requires of each socialist country maximum mobilization of accumulations, it is objectively necessary to raise economic and technological cooperation between them to a qualitatively new plane so as to make the most rational use of the national accumulation funds.

The positions of the socialist countries in the economic competition with capitalism will be strengthened and the efficacy of their policy of peaceful coexistence enhanced to the extent they find joint solutions to these complex tasks. Although the large-scale capitalist enterprises gain from the technological revolution, the fact remains that technological progress has been, and will continue to be, a valuable ally of the world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism. It cannot but hasten the social eruption maturing in capitalist society. For one thing, it tends to expel from material production and other spheres of the economy growing numbers of working people, thereby depriving them of their livelihood.* On the other hand,

*In the USA and Canada this tendency is manifest in widespread unemployment. Unemployment is also beginning to be felt in other developed capitalist countries (see *Automation and Technological Progress in (West) Germany and USA*, pp. 99-100).

it holds out the promise not only of security but of a full-blooded creative life for all in the developed industrial countries, provided the social conditions are duly changed. Under capitalism the technological revolution opens up a grim prospect for the working people, whose lot may be compared in a way to the lot of the plebs in the slave society of ancient Rome at the time of its decline. Masses of workers are in danger of becoming a grey mass of no value to society, a mass deprived of any useful function and merely tolerated and kept in hand by the "bread and circuses" method. But the working class of the capitalist countries will not accept this perspective. Speaking of the capitalist system, Marx said in *Capital* that "a development of productive forces which would diminish the absolute number of laborers, i.e., enable the entire nation to accomplish its total production in a shorter time span, would cause a revolution, because it would put the bulk of the population out of the running." *This prospect is all the more certain to be avoided by the working class of the capitalist countries and replaced with the socialist perspective the more effectively the socialist countries jointly carry forward the technological revolution and solve the concomitant social problems in the interests of the working people.*

EXTENDING ECONOMIC COOPERATION* BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES: SOME URGENT PROBLEMS

Besides influencing the economic competition between socialism and capitalism, the technological revolution also affects the political balance in the world. Hence the importance of the socialist countries working together to carry it forward.

To ensure unimpeded progress, a way forward should be charted which would take into account the interests of each socialist country while guaranteeing the growth of the economic power and political influence of the entire socialist community, a way making it possible to curb the aggressive forces of imperialism and successfully to implement the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Coordinated Plans and Economic Cooperation

The member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid have agreed that the way to higher-level cooperation lies through extensive coordination of economic plans. The Nineteenth Session of the Council showed that some progress had been made in

this respect. It is clear, however, that coordination is by no means a simple matter. So far it can hardly be implemented in all its aspects. For one thing, important methodological problems have yet to be solved. Hence there is a danger that much time may be lost if we postpone an all-out integrated effort to make the most of the technological revolution until all the problems involved in coordinating plans are finally resolved.

To avoid this danger, economic, scientific and technological cooperation aimed at immediate as well as long-range objectives should be purposefully focussed on common key problems in the leading branches of the economy. Research and modernization, designing and building of new enterprises, and specialization and coordination are areas that lend themselves to this type of cooperation directed at joint promotion of the technological revolution. It could be practised in the power industry, petro-chemicals, rolled metal and electronics, and in basic research. The difficulties involved in plan coordination could be solved in the process of operations.

Such strictly organized joint work by interested socialist countries on the key tasks of the day would be the best way to carry out the technological revolution without loss of time in the leading branches of the economy.

As we see it, the developed socialist countries should place more emphasis than hitherto on supplying complete industrial plant conforming to up-to-date technological standards. The suppliers should offer their clients in the fraternal countries services at least equal to those offered by capitalist concerns with established reputations in this sphere. These include projects and designing, supervising installation, timely and adequate training of personnel (if necessary, in the enterprises of the supplier country), responsibility for launching production, guarantees to the buyer, including guarantees that the given installation will measure up to the technological and economic specifications by the end of trial operation, supply of spare parts without undue delay, as well as other services. We often do not pay enough attention to services which nowadays should automatically be included in the responsibilities of the supplier.

Economic Laws of Socialism

The creation of a solid foundation for extending economic cooperation between the socialist countries is another pressing problem. *Above all this is a matter of observing the economic laws of socialism, in particular the law of distribution according to labor*

*For the sake of convenience we shall include scientific and technological cooperation under this heading.

and the law of value, in the exchange of goods and services among the various countries as well as in assessing their contributions to joint undertakings. It is also a matter of direct cooperation between enterprises, amalgamations of enterprises and research institutions in these countries—cooperation unencumbered by bureaucratic limitations—in carrying out joint measures called for by plan.

Economic cooperation between the socialist countries will be most effective if they consistently order their mutual relations in conformity with the principles of cost accounting. It is also essential to observe unified principles of price formation and calculation of production costs.

A priority problem in this connection is the exchange of projects and specifications. According to a decision taken by the Council for Mutual Economic Aid in 1949, scientific, technological and other technical documentation is exchanged free of charge irrespective of its value. The main argument in favor of this is that it corresponds to the principles of socialist mutual aid. I believe, however, that there are weighty reasons why this practice should be discontinued and replaced by a new system which would better accord with the interests of the countries concerned.

The experience of the GDR might be instructive in this respect. The labor expended in industrial research and designing is included in cost of production (basic scientific research calls for a different approach). The old method of financing research from the state budget has been abolished by and large since it often led to an expenditure that was not justified by the results, and the work is done on the basis of contracts between research institutes and amalgamations of nationalized enterprises or individual enterprises. The contracts are not formal agreements but provide for payment in accordance with the end results. This adds to the moral commitment to work for technological progress a material stimulus impelling research organizations to do their best.

When the financing was done from the state budget, the results of research were made available to the enterprises free of charge. The latter, going by the old principle of not looking a gift horse in the mouth, accepted the findings irrespective of their actual value. Much money was spent with negligible benefit for the economy. Today the enterprises see to it that the researchers produce what is wanted and are paid according to the quality of the work done. This method provides an incentive for everyone concerned.

In our opinion the same approach would be useful also in the sphere of scientific and technological cooperation between the socialist countries. The present system of free exchange of documentation can hardly make for proper concentration of effort by all the Council countries on the technological revolution.

Exchange of technical documentation gratis makes for half measures. For instance, the recipient of technological specifications lagging behind the most up-to-date standards is tempted to compromise and accept them, whereas if they had to be paid for every effort would most likely be made to find the optimal solution. Projects and specifications would have to meet requirements or they would be sought elsewhere.

Projects and specifications that ensure technological progress can be far more valuable from the standpoint of advancing the economy of a country than imports of means of production or consumer goods which it is taken for granted must be paid for. Incidentally, all socialist countries now evince a readiness to pay capitalist enterprises for licences corresponding to the most up-to-date technological standards.

Moreover, projects and specifications obtained free of charge may entail investments which on closer examination prove to be uneconomical. For instance, new capacities may be built in one or another socialist country although the country providing the specifications may not be making full use of its capacities in the same industry. This would mean tying up investments which could be used for launching the manufacture of items that neither country produces in sufficient quantities and hence is compelled to import from the capitalist world.

Charging for scientific and technological documentation at prices approximating to the expenditure of labor involved would provide an incentive for enterprises and research institutions in all the socialist countries to make precise estimates and to search for optimal solutions. Needless to say, precise calculation of expenditure on joint research, designing and development projects is particularly important.

The suggested method would benefit all the socialist countries by giving a new impetus to their development. Direct fraternal aid is of course by no means excluded. Indeed, such aid should be developed. If one socialist country gives another technical documentation valued at, say, five million rubles, this should be regarded as so much value handed over. But that is only one aspect of the matter. An-

other is that the enterprise or amalgamation of publicly-owned enterprises in the country rendering the aid should be remunerated accordingly, while the enterprises at the receiving end should undertake corresponding financial commitments vis-a-vis the government agencies which make the aid available to them. Both sides will then be interested in jointly finding the most effective solutions.

As science becomes a direct productive force, labor in the sphere of research and designing becomes increasingly complex. This is the case also when it comes to the key problems of the leading branches of the economy. Solving such tasks necessitates faultless teamwork among scientists, other experts and workers engaged in many spheres, in a word, collective socialist labor.

Joint endeavor by researchers in the socialist countries calls for the creation of conditions conducive to teamwork. Bureaucratic encumbrances would but diminish the effectiveness of comprehensive international research and designing. International socialist cooperation in research and production requires close, direct, one might say, day-to-day contact between economically interconnected research institutes and enterprises in the various countries. Indirect contact alone through higher economic and other bodies would be detrimental. Therefore research institutions and enterprises should be empowered independently to initiate and organize research undertakings called for by plan and also to establish ties with one another with a view to specialization and coordination.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND DISCREPANCIES IN ECONOMIC LEVELS

If we concede that the technological revolution makes for closer economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the socialist countries, it is necessary to examine the implications of the substantial differences between their levels of economic development. Needless to say, things would be much simpler if no such discrepancies existed. But facts are facts, and we must take them into account.

As regards technological progress, are the interests of the countries engaged in socialist industrialization different from those of fraternal countries which already possess a developed industry? We do not think so. The former, naturally, seek to overcome the differences in levels of development as well as the corollary disparities in living standards. This is a legitimate striving.

Hence the task is jointly to find a form

of economic, scientific and technological cooperation which, on the one hand, would meet the requirements of the technological revolution and the economic competition with capitalism and, on the other, take realistic account of the existing possibilities and differences in economic levels. A form of cooperation should be worked out which would enable the socialist countries jointly to carry forward the technological revolution and at the same time substantially close the gap in development levels.

In those socialist countries at a lower economic level the solution would be to build, in the process of specialization, highly productive modern enterprises turning out goods measuring up to the top standards of science and technology. With international specialization channeled along these lines, the less developed countries will be able to accelerate industrialization on an advanced technological footing. In this respect the closest cooperation and fraternal aid of the industrialized socialist countries is essential. This international specialization should be carried out on the basis of equality, i.e., the countries at a lower level of development should be given an opportunity to produce up-to-date output enjoying a guaranteed market in the other socialist countries. Fraternal aid will consist in particular in providing these countries with the latest in technological documentation as well as with highly productive machinery for the newly-built plants, and also assistance in training skilled labor. When needed, experts necessary for launching new capacities could also be provided. In these circumstances available up-to-date technical documentation should be supplied free of charge, since all the countries concerned are interested in specialized international production at the highest possible technological level. Help through specialization to achieve a high technological level is one of the most important forms of aid to the less developed countries.

By lowering cost of production to a competitive level as far as world standards go, specialization of this kind will open new sources for increasing the national income and accumulations and raising the standard of living. And with the growth of accumulation funds it will be possible to carry international specialization further and to build new up-to-date capacities.

PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT FROM CAPITALIST CONCERNS

The technological revolution, then, demands intensive joint effort on the part of the so-

cialist countries. This is unquestionable, but it is also true that the rate of development can be speeded up by importing the machinery from the capitalist countries. Of course we can acquire machinery and other equipment as well as licences by buying them from capitalist concerns, and the socialist countries are doing this, as recent experience shows. Such imports can help us to introduce the latest technological achievements in one or another branch of the economy and, what is particularly important, give added impetus to our own research, saving effort in areas where the groundwork has already been laid in other countries. In the present conditions, however, such imports are possible only within certain limits.

The decisive thing is the approach to the problem. If we jointly carry forward the technological revolution in the socialist countries, the importing of up-to-date equipment from the capitalist countries, as was pointed out at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, should be regarded only as an auxiliary means to this end. The socialist countries will then in the near future be able in turn to sell capitalist buyers substantial quantities of equipment as well as licences. In this way, within certain limits, an international division of labor between the socialist countries and capitalist producers will take shape in the manufacture of means of production. This

division of labor would be based on a balanced correlation of strength which would rule out any dependence on the capitalist concerns. But if in our importing policy we lose sight of the main objective, the socialist countries would find themselves in a position of economic and technological dependence which the imperialists would undoubtedly use against us in the political sphere as well.

* * *

The decisive factor determining the balance of political forces between socialism and capitalism is the economic competition between the two social systems. And the technological revolution, as an objective process stimulated by the economic competition and making for a rapid growth of the productive forces, in turn exerts a powerful influence on the progress of this competition.

In the present conditions marked by a social struggle waged on a world scale, both social systems are stepping up technological progress to the maximum. The potential of the socialist production relations is greater than that of capitalist relations. To make full use of this advantage account should be taken of the economic laws which objectively tend towards the internationalization of the economy of the socialist countries. Economic, scientific and technological cooperation should be channeled along the optimal lines and the most rational use made of the national accumulation funds.

Where the people are masters of the land

WLADISLAW PILATOWSKI

Everything we have achieved shows that we have behind us the most remarkable force in the world—the force represented by the workers and peasants.

V. I. Lenin

IN MAY POLAND WILL celebrate the 20th anniversary of the liberation of the Wroclaw region from Hitler rule. This is a fitting occasion for reviewing the socio-economic changes effected in these 20 years.

The scale and profundity of the socialist changes will be better appreciated if we recall the picture presented by Lower Silesia in 1945 and what it was like—economically and otherwise—under capitalism and Nazism. A comparison of the region's past with its present conditions and the place it occupies in the economic, social and cultural life of Poland reveals the magnitude of our achievements, of the progress which could only have been made on the highroad of socio-economic reconstruction along socialist lines, the road Poland embarked on 20 years ago.

SCORCHED EARTH

At the end of the war Lower Silesia was in ruins. As they retreated under the hammer blows of the Soviet Army and the Polish First and Second armies which fought side by side with the Soviet troops, the Hitlerites carried out their monstrous plan designed to wreck the economy of the region to an extent which would not only rule out any immediate rehabilitation but would prevent the restoration of more or less normal conditions for a long time to come.

Here are a few facts. In the countryside

42,000 farmsteads had been razed to the ground and the cattle either slaughtered or carried off by the Nazis. In the Wroclaw and Opole regions 3.5 million mines were laid over 1,241,000 hectares of farmland. In some districts the minefields extended 40 kilometres in depth. Not only ploughing but even walking through the fields was fraught with deadly danger. In the meantime the revenge-seeking press accused the young Polish state of wasting good land by not tilling it. Demining took two years. Only after that could the peasants begin normal work.

The towns were heaps of debris. Seventy per cent of Wroclaw itself was demolished; entire districts of the city were wiped out, tens of thousands of homes and 400 industrial enterprises were destroyed. There was no city transport system, no waterworks, no sanitation. Other towns suffered even more.

The railways were paralyzed. Of 3,500 kilometers of line in Lower Silesia only 128 were fit for traffic. Only a few locomotives and railway cars were left, and all the main bridges and viaducts had been blown up. The metalworking industry was almost completely demolished and the power plants generated only 40 per cent of their pre-war output.

INITIAL DIFFICULTIES

In the West there were oracles who prophesied that it would take decades to reha-

bilitate the economy and heal the wounds of war. But in their prognostications they failed to take into account the *will and the energy* of the people. Our working people, led by their Marxist-Leninist party, correctly assessed the historical perspectives of the country. In the policy of the Party and its revolutionary program men of labor saw the promise of the realization of their aspirations. The program of socialist reconstruction gave direction to their endeavors and inspired them to heroic efforts to restore the economy of the country. Already in 1948 the number of industrial enterprises in the region was three times that of 1946, and the number of workers engaged in industry exceeded the number under capitalism.

The realization of the program of socialist construction was an epoch-making feat. Both economically and culturally Lower Silesia has made remarkable progress. The towns have been rehabilitated and hundreds of thousands of people have been provided with homes. The population of many of the towns is now greater (in some cases double) than the pre-war figure.

Deep-going changes have taken place in the structure of industry, with emphasis on branches manufacturing the means of production. And these changes are continuing as investments, substantial according to European standards, are being made in the mining and power industries of the Turoszow area. In the past 20 years investments in construction financed from the state budget have exceeded 50,000 million zloty (in comparable prices), not to speak of the investments made by the enterprises themselves, or of the thousands of millions put into other branches of the economy. We are planning to increase the output of brown coal to 22 million tons a year, and the capacity of the power plant we are building to two million kilowatts. This power plant already last year generated 30 per cent more electricity than did the entire power industry of Poland in 1938.

Geologists have discovered vast deposits of brown coal and copper, exceeding all the hitherto known deposits several hundred times over. Copper mines in the Legnica-Glogow area are scheduled to turn out one-twentieth of the world's copper output within the next five years.

The changes in the structure of Lower Silesian industry are evident also from the fact that the number of enterprises employing from 200 to 1,000 workers has increased from 162 in 1933 to 267 at present, and the number of plants with more than 1,000 employees from 16 to 91.

It should be borne in mind that 90 per cent of the machinery and other equipment in the metalworking and engineering industries has been installed since 1945. An electronic industry, too, is developing: on the initiative of the Regional Committee of the United Workers' Party, an initiative supported by the Central leadership, the up-to-date Elwro Works, the first in Poland to make computers, has been built.

Lower Silesia also offers a good example of developing economic and political cooperation with neighboring Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. These fraternal countries have supplied much of the equipment for the construction projects in Turowo and Lubin. German and Czechoslovak specialists also work here. This is an example of the benefit accruing from cooperation and mutual aid between socialist countries.

SECOND PLACE IN THE COUNTRY

A developed industry and ample mineral resources provide favorable conditions for the rapid growth of the economy of Lower Silesia and accord it an important place in Poland's economic structure.

In the first four years of the current five-year plan (1961-64), over-all industrial output in the region increased by 42 per cent and productivity of labor by 32 per cent (more than the average for the country). Although Lower Silesia accounts for only six per cent of the territory of Poland, its industrial output in 1964 was 10 per cent of the country's total. The region's contribution to the national income places it second in this respect, after Katowice region.

But the Lower Silesians have not only an industry to be proud of. The peasants and the state-owned farms (the latter cultivate 30 per cent of the arable land) have made good progress. In this respect, too, we are second in the country (after Opole).

In 1964 our average yield of the four staple grain crops was over two tons per hectare (pre-war 1.9 tons), sugar-beet 31 tons (pre-war 20.8 tons), potatoes 20.4 tons (pre-war 13.4 tons). Thus in agriculture, too, despite the appalling difficulties of the initial years, we have succeeded in surpassing the results obtained under capitalist rule.

Our achievements make it possible to pose bigger tasks for agriculture in the next five-year plan period (1966-70). It is planned to bring the average yield of the four main crops to 2.7 tons per hectare and to increase our herds of beef and dairy cattle to an average of 78 head to every 100 hectares of cultivated land. These are realistic tasks and

if conditions are favorable they may even be surpassed.

Mention should be made, if only in brief, of the work done by our Party to promote education, scientific research and culture generally. Whereas in 1946, when the population was slightly over 1,300,000, the regions elementary schools were attended by only eight per cent of the population, in 1964, with the population at 2,500,000, 500,000 children and 81,000 adults, or nearly 25 per cent of the total went to elementary school. Moreover, it should be mentioned that we have the biggest population growth in Poland. Nearly half of the people in Lower Silesia are under 20, and only six per cent over 60. In the past 20 years we have built 136 up-to-date schools with a teaching staff of nearly 20,500.

While tackling the complex problems of elementary education, we are working to build up facilities for secondary and vocational schools in both towns and villages. This is imperative since the young people born in 1949-53 are reaching the secondary-school age. In 1959 the secondary and vocational schools of the region had an enrollment of 67,580 and in 1964, 152,500.

Much has been done to promote science. Formerly Wroclaw had only two institutions of higher learning with a student body of 3,000. Now it has eight higher schools with 20,000 students. The number of researchers is now 3,000—as many as there were students before the war.

The people of Lower Silesia—the true masters of their towns and villages—will celebrate the anniversary of reunion with Poland with joy and pride, a sense of duty well done, aware that by their labor they are serving the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

PARTY GUIDANCE IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING

Our Party has played the decisive role in the socio-economic changes in Lower Silesia and in educating the new socialist man. The Party organizations at all levels in both the economic and cultural spheres became more active and the link between the Party and the masses grew stronger after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the fulfilment of the decision taken by our Central Committee in 1956 and by the Third Congress of our Party in 1959. Since then the influence of the Party has grown and the educational and organizational work of its local committees and branches has become more effective. This

was a result of the removal of obstacles which previously had tended to isolate the Party from the masses.

The Regional Party Committee is working to extend and deepen inner-Party democracy as well as socialist democracy generally. This is an area which demands a concrete approach—the creation of conditions ensuring the broad enlistment of the Party branches, individual members and non-Party activists, in a word, the broadest possible sections of the working people—in resolving socio-economic problems. *We attach much importance to enhancing the role of the public, to the participation of the masses in all aspects of our Party work, in the functioning of its committees, in state administration and in solving economic tasks.*

The more extensively and concretely the membership takes part in solving the problems of social and economic life, the fuller and more effective inner-Party democracy will be. It is my firm conviction that the enlistment of large numbers of spare-time activists in the Party work is a *concrete expression* of the very substance of inner-Party democracy. We consider this approach to democracy in Party life an essential condition for the successful realization of the tasks posed by the Fourth Congress.

Intensification of production by improving technology and organization at the factories will play a steadily growing role in the progress of our economy. To solve this problem all along the line, every member of the Party must display ingenuity, initiative and enterprise, ability to tap all reserves for increasing labor productivity. As we see it, the most effective way of doing this is through deepening democracy in public life.

The past stages in our development have been a school for the masses and for the Party. In the immediate post-war years it was essential to consolidate people's rule, to rehabilitate the factories, public utilities, transport services and agriculture. The decisive thing then was selfless enthusiasm. Party members set an example of self-sacrifice.

In the period when the foundations of socialist industry were being laid and large numbers of people who previously had nothing to do with machines entered the enterprises, the main concern of the working collectives at the factories and their Party branches was to carry out the tasks set by the central plan. While ensuring capital construction, the plan was also an effective instrument of guidance and industrial education for the masses. At that time the range of issues which confronted the people gen-

erally and the Party branches in particular was limited to vocational training, competition in reaching targets, instilling elementary efficiency, and combating the then rather widespread wastage of raw materials, tools, machines and working time.

At this time the shop production conferences took their place beside the Party and trade union organizations as a form of workers' participation in deciding production matters. Economic conferences sponsored by the Party which began to teach the workers the ABC of economic efficiency, became a sort of factory-scale super-structure to the production conferences.

The workers became increasingly aware of their responsibility for the way their factory was run. But at that time they were not in a position to influence the production plan. This contradiction was solved by establishing workers' self-management bodies with wide managerial powers. This opened new opportunities to stimulate the creative activity of the masses and the Party organizations. The advent of workers' self-management and the wider use of economic stimuli ushered in the stage of mass economic education. During this period we did much to put the factories on a sound footing as regards the labor force, wage funds, production quotas, supplies and capital construction. Special attention began to be paid to technological progress, exports and their economic effect. By using the factory funds and other measures providing material incentives, we linked the activities of the workers' self-management bodies and the working collectives more closely with problems of economic coordination in the economy as a whole, its requirements and its potential.

As an experiment we set up the Wroclaw Industrial Agency as a department of the Regional People's Council. The object was to help the enterprises make use of their reserves and to establish specialized enterprises serving them. The idea of setting up such an Agency arose from suggestions made by Party branches and district committees aimed at promoting specialization and coordination. It thus stemmed from the experience of local working collectives which had come to see the need for cooperation between enterprises situated in the same district but subordinated to different administrations and ministries. At the same time scientific and technological councils were set up at the enterprises. These enlisted researchers from higher schools and research institutions in solving the long-range problems of the plants.

The Regional Committee of the Party also established such a council.

The same approach as that of the workers to economic questions, and the same forms of mass participation as in the management of enterprises, are to be found in all other areas of public life. The people are increasingly concerned with detailed examination and competent solution of local tasks in the light of the possibilities and the requirements of the economy as a whole. A painstaking, one might say, a scientific, approach to the facts of economic life is accompanied by a striving towards thoroughly substantiated comprehensive programs of action. This is evident, in particular, in compiling local, district and regional economic plans.

The methods of Party work changed with the changing tasks. At the regional and district committees auxiliary commissions were set up to prepare materials for submission to the Party committees and to exercise control over fulfillment of decisions. There is a growing tendency to reduce the number of full-time functionaries and to enlist more part-time workers. The participation of activists in the work of the bureaus of Party committees takes many forms—through commissions set up for the various industries, for work among workers in particular trades and social groups, etc. As a rule more than 20 per cent of the membership carry out district committee assignments. This gives greater scope to the work of the Party committees and ensures constant contact with the population.

A new style of Party work has asserted itself. No longer is it enough to display self-sacrifice and readiness to carry out assignments. Every member of the Party is now expected to have a deep understanding of Party policy and to translate general directives into concrete tasks for his own Party branch, factory, villages, town or district, and to make his own contribution to the solution of these tasks. And this requires a thorough knowledge of the problems of the area in which he works. Moreover, it is necessary to find the methods and forms of public activity that will best ensure the fulfilment of tasks. The Party member must approach the solution of problems in a spirit of dedication, unflagging activity and a strong sense of responsibility to the people and the Party.

For a person who has dedicated himself to the service of society, any conflict between our ideal and the reality can only act as a stimulus to intensive work to realize the ideal. At times the goal may seem to be very remote, but this should not cause us to

slacken our pace. Looking back after the passage of years at the processes which asserted themselves in our life during the discussion preceding the Fourth Congress of the Party and subsequently in the course of the discussion of the new five-year plan, we can clearly see the profound change in the approach of the people generally and the Party membership in particular to state and economic issues.

OUR PERSPECTIVES

The Party's consistent policy of restoring the Leninist standards of Party life, extending inner-Party democracy and implementing the principles of socialist democracy in all spheres of life has helped to stimulate the social and production activity of the people generally, promoting workers' initiative and heightening the role and influence of the People's Councils, trade unions, workers' and peasants' self-management bodies and youth organizations. While encouraging independence of these organizations, the Party works to heighten their sense of civic responsibility for the state of affairs in their respective spheres of activity, for all-round progress in the Wroclaw region.

Space permits us to dwell on only a few of the most important problems connected with mobilizing all the forces of the working people and all resources and means for the fulfilment of the decisions of our Fourth Congress.

The main efforts of our regional Party organization, which numbers more than 120,000 members, as well as of the trade unions and the workers' management bodies, are directed at making more efficient use of plant and all our reserves, ensuring maximum efficiency of production and more rational utilization of the investments earmarked under the 1966-70 plan for industry in our region.

In this respect we have received substantial assistance from the working people generally who made over 30,000 suggestions in the course of the discussion of the draft of the new five-year plan. The bulk of these suggestions proved very valuable.

Nearly half of the suggestions are being carried out, and this promises the national economy a substantial saving of funds while making for bigger returns from production and more expedient use of investments under the coming five-year program.

A survey conducted by the Regional Committee with the assistance of experts shows that the labor force in Lower Silesia will increase roughly by 165,000 in 1966-70. To

provide jobs for this number, 16 major enterprises would have to be built. But the region can hardly expect to obtain the funds for this, and we have made this clear to the workers.

The public has responded by joining in a search for ways and means of tapping potential in order to provide for the expected increase in the labor force. For instance, the personnel and management of the Wroclaw Railway Car Works, one of the biggest plants in the city, have worked out, on the initiative of the Party organization, three variants of a long-range plan for expanding the plant. These variants were discussed by the Party branch and the workers' self-management board, together with the workers, specialists and representatives of the Ministry of Heavy Industry. An optimal variant was chosen which will make it possible with comparatively little investment to create nearly 3,000 new jobs and to double the annual output in terms of value.

The most important thing, however, is that in drawing up their plan the car builders thought not only of their own plant but sought to meet the requirements of the entire industry. They showed that the reserves at their plant could be tapped only through concentration and specialization of railway rolling stock production.

An equally serious approach to potential has been displayed by the workers in other enterprises. The Regional Committee and the regional planning board have made a study of the data submitted by the districts and have established that the problem can be solved only through concentration and specialization on the scale of the various industries.

The work done with the participation of Party members and non-Party people has enabled our Regional Committee and planning bodies to assess the existing reserves which can be drawn on in the course of the coming five-year plan period. Full utilization of these reserves and timely realization of the current and planned investments will make it possible within these five years to increase industrial output by more than half and provide over 100,000 new jobs.

These plans, however, call for an 11.4 per cent increase in investments over the current five-year plan. But taking into account both the expected returns and the needs of the economy, we are certain that this is a realistic program.

We have consulted with industrial amalgamations and a number of ministries and worked out a development program for most

of our heavy industry enterprises. This program calls for an 82 per cent increase in output. Basic here is the harnessing of all latent resources.

Mention should be also made of what we are doing to modernize our industry and to increase output for export.

To this end we are enlisting the efforts of the Party branches at all enterprises and the entire available research and engineering personnel. The regional Party organization has also drawn the attention of our specialists to the importance of improving quality, especially in the electrical engineering and metal-working industries. With this in view, we have been sponsoring technological conferences at plants with the participation of prominent specialists from research institutions, higher schools and designing offices. Such conferences help to draw up long-range modernization plans and to ensure that our output measures up to the best world standards.

Close cooperation between science and industry is also evident in the work done by researchers on technological projects for the enterprises.

Although we already have a good deal of experience in this sphere we still do not make full use of all our possibilities. For the past five months the scientific and economic commissions of one of our factory Party committees have been doing preparatory work for a meeting of the full committee. Assisted by research workers and representatives of the Ministry of Higher Education, they are generalizing the experience gained in applying science to industry and formulating the problems posed before science by the expansion of industry.

We are also planning to expand research facilities in Wroclaw and to increase the enrollment at some departments of the technological, economic and agricultural colleges.

The regional Party organization attaches importance to the technological program in the factories. Time-tables have been worked out for modernizing output, and technological and organizational measures towards this end have been outlined. Modernization necessitates an expansion of technological research and development facilities in the enterprises. This is being done mainly by making more rational use of the skilled engineering and technological personnel. Here, too, we have big reserves, for in many cases certified engineers are doing jobs which foremen or workers with a secondary technical education could cope with.

The regional Party committee is well aware

that solving all these questions will not only ensure an increase in output but also better quality and a radical reduction in the cost of production. All this will make for higher labor productivity. In this way we can ensure a continued growth of output for export, especially of machines and other industrial equipment. In the last four years we have made considerable progress in this respect. Output for export has increased by 83 per cent and goods bearing our trade mark are now exported to 75 countries.

A survey conducted together with people from the enterprises and foreign-trade personnel showed that the region's industry can substantially increase production for export. Many plants have already drawn up two-year plans to this end.

* * *

We have dealt with only some of the problems pertaining to our industrial development. But even this brief survey shows the prospects for all-round development in Lower Silesia.

An important role in carrying out the decisions of the Fourth Party Congress belongs to our youth. Through the Socialist Youth League and the League of Rural Youth our young men and women are joining in a socialist emulation movement and vying for the title of Socialist Labor Team. This is of particular importance in our region where young people constitute a large percentage of the labor force. It is up to them to carry on the work started by their fathers to rejuvenate this splendid land of our forebears.

The West German revenge-seekers are still dreaming of depriving us of these ancient Polish lands and restoring capitalist exploitation. Their scheming is encouraged by the non-recognition of Poland's Western frontiers by the capitalist West. The people of Poland are resolutely working to foil these revanchist plans, to check the resurgence of West German militarism and to win official recognition by the Western Powers of the Oder-Neisse line. They are waging this struggle not because they have any doubts about the impregnability of their Western frontier, but because they want to strengthen peace in Europe and to remove the threat emanating from the West German militarists, from the Bonn government with its territorial claims.

On this anniversary the Communists of Lower Silesia consider it a matter of honor to make the area a still better place to live in and thereby contribute a worthy share to building socialism in our country.

Mongolia's cultural progress

T. DAVAGSUREN

SOCIALISM PROVIDES every opportunity for the cultural development of the people. This can be seen in all the socialist countries. Mongolia is no exception, although the fact that our country proceeded to socialism direct from feudalism, without going through the capitalist stage of development, placed it in a distinctive position. Its people know from experience that the fundamental problems of a backward society can be solved only through socialism.

When our country embarked on a socialist cultural revolution, it had a monoculture economy based on nomadic, extensive stock-farming. Moreover, this economy had been dislocated and ruined by armed intervention and by the predatory rule of Chinese militarists and Russian whiteguards. We had no industry, no finance and credit system, no national currency. In other words, the foundation on which we had to build the new culture was anything but adequate.

Secondly, Mongolia had no system of public (secular) education, and illiteracy was virtually complete.

Thirdly, Lamaism, a religion preaching non-resistance to evil, humility and submission, exerted a very big influence on the people. In pre-revolutionary Mongolia, whose population barely exceeded 600,000, over 100,000 men, or 45 per cent of the male population, were lamas. Even Tibet, the center of Lamaism, had fewer lamas than Mongolia. Each family had its "preceptor," a lama, whose blessing had to be sought for any undertaking.

Lamaism was against people's rule and all it stood for, including cultural progress.

Fourthly, we hardly had people competent enough to begin cultural work.

Fifthly, the population was nomadic, without up-to-date means of communication or transport.

It seemed as if more than a century would be required to lift the country out of its appalling backwardness. But it was not long before the people, having taken the non-capitalist road of development, achieved great progress. This progress would have been impossible but for the guidance of our Marxist-Leninist Party, the heart and soul of the cultural revolution.

The problems facing the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the people were formidable. It was necessary to abolish illiteracy, introduce public education, train personnel, develop science and create socialist letters and arts.

The Party realized that it would take painstaking effort to bring about radical changes in outlook and culture. But the matter brooked no delay, for economic progress and the provision of the material base for a new society were unthinkable without education. The Party set a course for the simultaneous development of these processes.

Experience proved that course correct. During the democratic stage of the revolution (1921-40) we gradually established the first centers of culture and laid the groundwork for the cultural revolution. But it was not until the socialist stage (after 1940) that we were able to tackle the main problems of this revolution.

In view of the immensity of the subject, I will in this article deal mainly with achievements in public education.

ABOLISHING ILLITERACY

In doing away with the age-long cultural

backwardness, we had first of all to get rid of illiteracy. Before the revolution of 1921, those who could not read and write made up 99.3 per cent of the population. In 1927 their proportion was down to 95.6 per cent.

The Party and the people's government began to combat illiteracy immediately after the revolution. Along with the establishment of elementary schools for children, steps were taken to teach the adult population to read and write. The first literacy groups of adults were attached to the elementary schools. The People's Army played an important part in teaching young people to read and write—every troop unit had a literacy school.

Still, literacy made slow headway before 1941. There were several reasons for this. To begin with, we were short of people literate enough to teach others. After all, those who could read and write made up a meagre 5.8 per cent of the population as late as 1935. Secondly, the lamas did much harm by telling the people that education was bad for them. As for women, the lamas said that it would be a mortal sin for a woman to glance into a book, let alone to learn to read and write. Then the ancient Mongolian alphabet and system of writing in vertical lines complicated things and added to the difficulties.

A new alphabet was introduced in 1941. It hastened progress in literacy, which soared to 62.4 in 1950.

Our progress in this respect stands out against the background of the situation in some capitalist and underdeveloped countries. In Iran, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Turkey and South Africa, for example, the overwhelming majority of the population still cannot read and write.

INTRODUCING PUBLIC EDUCATION

The Party and the government first discussed the matter of building schools one month after the revolution. The first secular school, which laid the cornerstone of public education, was opened in September 1921. The Public Education Board, set up in the same year, was reorganized into the Ministry of Education three years later.

The first session of the Great People's Khural (Assembly) called in 1924, discussed public education and proclaimed that all working people were entitled to free secular education. But this right had to be guaranteed in practice. We had to train personnel and create a school network for a nomadic population.

In the early days we assigned teachers' jobs to people who could at least read and write, although they were few. For lack of qualified

teachers, we had to seek help from feudal officials who were reasonably loyal to the new political system. In 1922 the first group of thirty-six teachers were trained—they took a three-month course. Next year we opened a special school which in 1925 became a teacher training college, chiefly for elementary and secondary school teachers. By 1924 we had thirteen elementary schools, with an attendance totalling 500.

The feudal elements, bitterly opposed to education, tried to intimidate the people, saying that those who sent their children to school were rebelling against God. The religious sincerely believed it a sin to send their children to secular schools, and sent them to monasteries instead.

Here is an example illustrating the effect of Lamaist resistance. In 1937 there were some 10,000 young men under 17 in monasteries, while the total pupil enrolment for all schools was only 6,200.

Before 1940 there was one elementary school to several (sometimes as many as seven) districts, and many families refused to send their children to schools in other districts—tens or even hundreds of kilometers away—for eight or nine months. This despite the fact that the government offered to cover all expenses for lodging, food, clothing, textbooks and other necessities. Another handicap was that many of those who completed elementary school and wanted to go on to secondary school had to go to another region because some regions had no secondary schools at first.

Public education entered a new stage in the mid-thirties, when a uniform syllabus was introduced.

The Ninth Congress of the Party (1934) made a major contribution to education by adopting a specific program for improvements in the standard of instruction and the training of teachers, and for a more vigorous fight against Lamaism. In the late thirties the monastery schools were completely superseded. This quickened progress in education. By 1940 we had over 330 schools with 24,300 pupils, and the figures for the 1964-65 school year were 440 schools and 148,300 pupils. The number of teachers increased 5.5-fold during this period.

Universal compulsory education at elementary level was introduced in 1955, and universal seven-year education in the towns and regional centers in 1958. In the same year we opened night schools for adults which now have an enrolment of some 10,000.

Needless to say the steady expansion of

public education required substantial budgetary expenditure.

In 1924, when the last monarch of Mongolia died, the state confiscated his wealth and allotted one-third of it for education. In some places monasteries abandoned by the lamas were used as schools.

Budgetary allocations for cultural advancement and education are increasing from year to year, the share growing from 19.7 per cent in 1940 to 37.2 per cent in 1963. Expenditure on education amounts to one-fifth of the appropriations in the current budget.

Specialized secondary schools hold an important place in our country, which until 1942 had not a single higher school. They play a valuable role in training teachers, medical and veterinary personnel, accountants and other specialists.

In 1924 we had but two secondary schools. By 1940 we have seven technical schools, and today we have eighteen, with an enrolment of 10,000. We now have teacher, medical, financial, agricultural, civil engineering, railway, commercial, music and dance, and other specialized schools.

PROMOTING HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING A SOCIALIST INTELLIGENTSIA

The spread of education greatly helped our people to solve the difficult economic problems and to consolidate the material base of the new society. Economic progress, in turn, enabled them to spend more on cultural development and on higher education.

At the early stage of the revolution we could not afford higher educational institutions and therefore sent people to the Soviet Union to study. The Soviet Union rendered us invaluable aid in training specialists and in establishing higher schools in Mongolia. In 1928 a night school was opened in Ulan Ude, USSR, for the express purpose of training Mongolian students. Mongolian sections were set up at the Institute of Oriental Studies and the Communist University of Working People of the East, in Leningrad and Moscow respectively. Mongolians also studied in other Soviet educational establishments.

The first Mongolian institute of higher education, the Choibalsan State University, was founded with Soviet help in 1942, in the crucial period of the war against fascism. Today we have, in addition to the University, colleges teaching economics, agriculture, science, medicine and a higher Party school. The student body of 200 in 1942 has risen to 8,400 in the current year. Besides, we have upwards of 2,600 young men and women studying in other socialist countries. The total

number of our students today exceeds 11,000—a 55-fold increase in twenty-two years. There are 104 students in Mongolia to every 10,000 people. This is more than in such developed capitalist countries as Britain, France, Italy, Japan or West Germany. The following table shows the growth of the proportion of students per 10,000 head of population.

	In elementary schools	In secondary schools	In higher schools	Total
Year				
1924	8	1	-	9
1930	93	2	-	95
1940	330	18	-	348
1947	656	26	12	694
1960	1,213	92	73	1,378
1965	1,482	91	104	1,677

In the year 1963 alone our colleges graduated 13 geologists, 52 veterinary surgeons, 54 agronomists, 60 livestock experts, 186 economists, 573 secondary school teachers, and so on—a total of 1,130. In the same year 240 Mongolian students graduated in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. As a result, we acquired in one year 1,370 specialists with a college education. This is an impressive figure for Mongolia, whose population does not exceed 1,000,000.

We have over 1,400 vets, agronomists, livestock experts, engineers, economists and other specialists working in agriculture.

The number of scientific workers with a degree is growing steadily. In 1945 we had one candidate of science, while today we have about 200 candidates and doctors of science. In other words, the intellectuals now constitute an important section of our society.

BOOK-PUBLISHING AND CULTURAL EDUCATION ESTABLISHMENTS

The Party has done much to promote book-publishing. In 1921 we had only one tiny print-shop employing seven people and printing one newspaper (in a few hundred copies). Today we have large printing works in Ulan Bator and over twenty smaller units, and are printing 30 newspapers and 23 periodicals. Circulation last year was about 700,000 copies.

Political literature, above all Marxist-Leninist writings, is published on a large scale. As early as 1925 we began to publish Mongolian translations of works by Marx, Engels and Lenin. The first of these was the *Communist Manifesto*. Many works by the founders of Marxism-Leninism have appeared in Mongolian since then. To date we have translated thirty-five volumes of Lenin's *Collected Works*. We expect to complete the publication of all the volumes within the next two or three years. At present we are

translating Marx's *Capital*.

Reading is now a feature of life. Here is an example. More than twenty years ago a comrade taught one of his countrymen, a shepherd, to read and write. Recently he saw him again after twenty years, and this is what he writes: "Everything had changed in the old shepherd's yurt. A bookcase filled with books stood in the corner where he had once prayed to God. . . . I walked over to it and saw that old Bandi had surpassed all my expectations. Among the books on the shelves I saw Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, Balzac's *Old Goriot* and *Gobseck*, Stendhal's *The Red and the Black*, Hugo's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* and *Les Misérables*, books by Rolland, Shakespeare, Gorky, Tagore, Dickens, Chekhov, the poems of Burns, Schiller, Pushkin and Heine, and many other world classics. . .

"World classics and an ordinary Gobi shepherd. A paradox? No, because Gobi is no longer what it was twenty years ago. A description of the far-reaching changes that have come about there could fill a whole book.

" 'You know,' the old shepherd said to me, 'books help me to live. I can't imagine myself now without books. Sometimes I rob myself of sleep to finish an interesting book. I take books with me to the pasture. Books are my wealth. I'll hand them down to my children and grandchildren as my most precious heritage'."

Things like that are typical of present-day Mongolia.

There are more and more recreation centers, club-houses, libraries, reading-rooms, museums, cinemas and mobile film-projectors. Last year we had 20 houses of culture, 200 clubs, about 1,400 recreation centers, over 1,100 libraries, upwards of 700 reading-rooms, dozens of cinemas and about 500 mobile film-projectors.

Radio broadcasts are invaluable to us. Introduced in 1934, broadcasting is now an important part of our life. The country may be said to have become one big radio audience. Radio sets are common not only in every town and settlement but wherever the arats (livestock-breeders) are working.

Between 1959 and 1963 we carried out a cultural campaign which went a long way toward improving the cultural standard of the people, moulding their communist consciousness and combating survivals of the old society. During the last two years of the campaign more than 38,000 people received a four to ten-year education through independent studies, cultural schools or night schools. Many people took refresher courses in various fields of knowledge.

The resolution on the results of the cultural campaign which the CC MPRP passed last year pointed out that "it was necessary to go forward with the socialist cultural revolution and the mass movement for the introduction of cultural habits into labor, human relations and people's way of life, for systematic promotion of the cultural standard of the working people is an important condition for the successful completion of the construction of a socialist society."

* * *

The path travelled by our country in forty-odd years has been a difficult path. Describing the eve of the revolution of 1921, Comrade Tsedenbal said: "The twentieth century, a century of unprecedented progress, was marching across the planet, while Mongolia was still burdened with medievalism." Extreme economic and cultural backwardness, a constant threat from, and even armed aggression by, the imperialists, the widespread Lamaism, the frantic resistance of the overthrown feudal class which resorted to armed violence, were all factors adversely affecting the rate of the non-capitalist development of our country and complicating the task of economic and cultural reconstruction. Besides, Mongolia's development was hampered by the Left and Right deviations in the Party in the thirties, deviations which ignored socio-economic realities.

Nevertheless, the cultural progress made under people's rule is unquestionable. With the revolution our country took what in terms of history was a leap in political, economic and cultural development. Mongolia has developed into a socialist country with a fast-growing economy and culture.

The Mongolian People's Republic is successfully building socialism, of which the advancing cultural revolution is a component. We owe this to the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party, fraternal aid received from the Soviet Union, and cooperation with the other socialist countries. Our country was the first to realize the force and significance of socialist mutual aid and support. The beneficial effect of the help we received from the Soviet Union, the first country of victorious socialism, is evident in every walk of life in our country. The rise and consolidation of the socialist community of nations, for their part, benefit socialist and communist construction by increasing the opportunities of achieving the best results with the least outlay. This applies to the economic as well as the cultural sphere. Indeed, each socialist country can and does get help and support from the fraternal countries in every sphere of socialist construction.

Democratic Republic of Vietnam: experience of rural cooperation

(Scanning the newspaper **Nhan Dan**)

THE IMPLEMENTATION in 1958 of the agrarian reform in North Vietnam was followed by the formation of mutual labor groups and the growth of cooperation in agriculture. Mass-scale production cooperation in the countryside proceeds in strict conformity with the principles of voluntary participation, mutual advantage and democratic management. So far some 30,000 agricultural cooperatives have been formed in the Republic, uniting almost 90 per cent of the peasant households.

Nhan Dan, organ of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, pays close attention to the experience of rural cooperation and to the tasks of the new stage of the cooperative movement. The tasks are summed up by the paper as follows: a class line by the Party in keeping with the new stage, strengthening the cooperatives organizationally and economically, gradually elevating the cooperatives of the lower type into cooperatives of the higher type, greater mechanization with a view to abolishing the backwardness of agriculture, to securing greater output, more intensive farming and further strengthening of socialist production relations.

In a series of articles printed in the paper last November, Comrade Nguyen-chi-Thanh, member of the Political Bureau of the Party, stressed that the success of the cooperative movement depended on strengthening and developing the political alliance of the working class and the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class.

To ensure this political alliance, it was necessary to have a correct class line. This class line called for *firm reliance on the poor peasantry and the lower middle peasantry; close*

alliance with the middle peasants, restricting and abolishing economic exploitation by big farmers and re-educating them; actively combating the landlords and creating conditions which would enable them to change their attitude and outlook in the process of labor." This line represents creative application of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Democratic Vietnam. The success of the cooperative movement has fully borne out its correctness.

When the main mass of the peasants joined the cooperatives the situation in the countryside changed in the sense that "the rich farmers—the last exploiting force in the countryside—had been abolished as a class and, consequently, in the main the conditions giving rise to exploitation had been done away with. New production relations have been created. In the conditions of public ownership of the means of production a new class is being formed—the class of peasant cooperators. Collective ownership is gradually being consolidated and extended; the peasants are permeated more and more with the spirit of comradeship and socialist mutual aid. This is the most important feature of the present situation in the North Vietnam countryside."

The article points to another aspect. Although cooperation has been completed in the main, nearly half of the peasant families belong to cooperatives of the lower type in which many of the implements and other means of production, while used jointly, are not yet collectively-owned property; collective ownership, a recent development, is therefore weak, the young cooperatives are not yet strong enough. The last of the exploiters have only recently been abolished; while the land-

owner class has been overthrown, the members of this class have not been re-educated completely, nor have they become working peasants. The class of peasant cooperators, now taking shape, is not as yet a homogeneous class because of the differences in material conditions and in ideological outlook. Therefore the class line elaborated by the Party for the period of mass cooperation remains in force. However, the newspaper points out, "this line should be pursued flexibly, in keeping with the new spirit and the new situation. In other words, *the stress should be on uniting the poor and lower middle peasants with the middle (including well-off) peasants in the process of production.*"

The ultimate aim of the class line is "to abolish the distinctions between poor peasant, lower middle peasant and wealthy middle peasant, to ensure that all three form a new, homogeneous class of peasant cooperators."

This aim, the paper points out, will be reached stage by stage through the steady growth of the cooperative sector on the basis of continuous improvement of technology. Even then distinctions will remain, but they will be determined by the ability of each to work, by the quantity and quality of work done, and not by the former class status. In this respect an important role will be played by the ideological re-education of the peasants, gradual elimination of the backward views and their replacement by a socialist outlook.

Although the exploiting classes have in the main been abolished in the countryside, the newspaper goes on, and part of their members have been re-educated in the process of labor, we still have a small number of people—former members of the exploiting classes—who collaborate with reactionaries and plot against the revolution. Needless to say, the paper writes, "we are not overestimating the strength of the enemy, nor are we attaching too much significance to his schemes; still, we must not relax our revolutionary vigilance, slur over the class contradictions and forget about the class enemy."

In April 1963 *Nhan Dan* published a resolution of the Political Bureau of the Party on the mass movement in the countryside which, among other things, called for better management and technology. The resolution pointed out that the aim of the movement (to be accomplished in the three years 1963-65) is to enlist the peasant cooperators in the work of securing genuinely socialist management of the cooperatives on a nation wide scale, to combine the managerial reorganization with technological improvement and, on this foun-

dation, perfect the socialist production relations and further develop the productive forces in the countryside.

The cooperatives, according to the paper, should engage in diversified farming, gradually get away from single-crop rice growing, and grow more for the market. Pride of place should be given to crop-raising, specifically to food crops and industrial cultures.

The paper examined problems of labor in the cooperatives. The state of the labor force on the farms, according to Comrade Nguyen-chi-Thanh, is characterized by three main factors: surplus labor in the plains (from 30 to 40 per cent), irrational utilization of labor and low productivity.

Most cooperatives have everything needed to put more work into cultivation in order to obtain higher yields, into animal husbandry, to use the surplus labor for economic development in the hill country, in fishing and salt works, for building houses, industrial enterprises and communal premises.

But, the paper stresses, correct utilization of labor is not enough; what is also needed is sound organization of labor. The permanent production team, with its definite amount of land, draught animals and implements is recognized as the basic form of labor organization in the cooperatives. Attention is paid to increasing the share of each able-bodied cooperator in social labor. As the editorial in the issue of December 25, 1964, pointed out, a drive is under way to ensure that each cooperator works at least 250 days a year on the farm.

Special attention is being paid to irrigation and land improvement. "Irrigation and amelioration," writes Nguyen-chi-Thanh, "are of the utmost significance for our agriculture." Much has been done in this respect in the past ten years. The irrigated area has more than doubled, having reached the figure of 2,434,400 hectares. Over 90 per cent of the cooperatives in the plains and in the hill country have formed special land-improvement teams.

"At the same time," writes the paper, "the question of fertilizers must be solved." Much has already been done in this sphere. Along with government building of chemical fertilizer and insecticides plants, a movement is under way to collect, process and store organic fertilizers in the cooperatives themselves. As a result twice as much organic fertilizer was used in the fields in 1964 compared with 1955.

The necessary conditions for large-scale mechanization of farming are still wanting. "In our understanding," the paper writes, "agricultural mechanization is not confined

to tractors (today we use tractors on a very small scale)."

This way of posing the question is partly due to the structure of the fields which makes it difficult to use machines. Hence the stress on mechanizing such labor-consuming processes as watering the crops, draining off surplus water, primary processing of farm produce, etc. Thanks to government aid, the cooperatives are replacing hand pumps with mechanical ones, using electric motors for processing farm produce, building mechanical dryers, grain storage facilities, etc. As concerns tilling the soil, the emphasis is on modernizing the old agricultural implements. Thousands of cooperatives have appreciably increased yields as well as the total output. On December 15, 1964, the newspaper reported that last year the cooperatives in the Vinh-Tyong district (Vinh-Phuc province) gathered an average of three tons of rice per hectare, which was greatly in excess of the target fixed for the end of the first five-year plan (1965). In spite of the unfavorable weather conditions 5,000 cooperatives harvested in October 0.2-0.3 tons of rice more per hectare than in 1963; in the Hai-du'ong province, for instance, an average of 2.4 tons of rice per hectare was brought in from an area of 85,000 hectares, which also exceeded the five-year plan targets for both per hectare yields and total output. Since this is true not of a particular advanced cooperative but of entire districts and provinces, whose soil and climatic conditions differ only slightly from those in most other rice-growing parts of the country, the paper concludes that even today, when only the first steps have been made in building the material and technological base of agriculture, there is every possibility to raise the average annual per hectare yield of rice by 0.5 tons; this would make it possible to raise the annual rice crop to seven million tons, meet the country's food requirements in the main, and create favorable conditions for diversifying the rural economy and for the socialist industrialization of the country.

Reports in the newspaper show the importance of the socialist principle of distribution of income according to work done. The policy of distribution, the paper points out, is designed "to stimulate production and the spirit of unity in the cooperatives, to improve technique, to modernize implements, and ensure greater labor productivity."

In the cooperatives of the higher type income is distributed solely according to work done. In the lower-type farms, in which two forms of property—collective and private—still exist, part of the income is distributed

according to the amount of land, draught animals and farm implements contributed by the peasant to the cooperative. This part is steadily diminishing in measure with the growth of production and incomes and with the increasingly conscientious attitude of the cooperators.

Remuneration according to labor includes bonuses in cash and kind for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans, for production zeal and initiative; there is also a system of fines for non-conscientious and poor-quality performance. Incentives, then, combine the personal interest of the cooperator with the interest of the farm and the country as a whole.

The paper also notes the urgent need for more educational work among the cooperators. What is needed, it stresses, is "to combine the political education of the cooperators with material incentives. Whereas distribution according to labor is the lever of rising production activity, ideological and political education is its foundation."

The experience of the cooperation shows the importance of a correct relationship between the work done collectively in the cooperative and on the personal plots of the cooperators. The point is that today when the cooperatives are still weak economically and the earnings of their members are relatively low, the latter obtain only half of their real incomes from the cooperative and the remainder from their personal plots.

The paper stresses that the personal plot, while its role is auxiliary, is important for utilizing surplus labor in the peasant families, for increasing overall farm output, and also notes its negative features, criticizing both the trend (current in some cooperatives) to restrict the personal auxiliary economy, and the trend to let things drift, to develop the auxiliary plot to the detriment of the collective economy. "In order correctly to solve the relationship between the collective farming of the cooperatives and the personal plots of their members," writes the paper, "one should have a clear understanding of the role and significance of each, realize that the collective farming of the cooperative is the decisive thing." Hence the need "to concentrate on the collective economy, to make it more profitable and thus ensure a steady rise in the real incomes of the cooperators from the collective economy."

The socialist reconstruction in the countryside and the transition to cooperation have ensured the success of agriculture in the republic. In the decade since the victory in the war of resistance, gross output of agriculture

has risen by 51 per cent, head of cattle by 38 per cent, and hogs by 97 per cent.

According to data published in the paper on January 7, 1965, the development of agriculture during the past four years—the period of socialist reconstruction in the countryside—is characterized by the following figures (in percentages of 1960):

Development of Agriculture of the DRV

	1961	1962	1963	1964
Gross output	108.7	114.8	112.9	120.4
1. Output of crop-growing	112.0	114.9	110.7	118.8
including:				
food crops	114.2	112.7	106.8	116.0
industrial crops	113.8	136.4	141.1	147.5
2. Animal husbandry	95.5	113.0	116.9	129.3

The paper calls for greater utilization of the experience of the advanced cooperatives which average 5-6 tons of rice per hectare annually.

* * *

The success of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in building socialism has infuriated the imperialists and their henchmen. Losing out in the dirty war against the freedom fighters in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have resorted to naked aggression against the DRV. By extending the war to North Vietnam the imperialists aim at retarding the advance of the DRV to socialism. But the people are resolved to uphold their socialist gains, their independence, peace and freedom. In this they have the support and sympathy of the world Communist movement which expresses the will of working people everywhere.

D. MYSLEVETS



Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej

THE PEOPLE OF RUMANIA and working men and women all over the world have suffered a heavy loss in the death of Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, leader of the Rumanian Workers' Party and outstanding figure in the world Communist movement. Gheorghiu-Dej was a man who devoted his entire life to his people, to the building of socialism, the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

Gheorghiu-Dej traversed the arduous but glorious road of a Leninist revolutionary, a patriot of his country and an internationalist. Born into a worker's family in Barlad on November 8, 1901, he himself began to work at the age of eleven. At the age of eighteen he dedicated himself to the revolutionary movement. He took an active part in the strikes of 1919 and helped organize young workers in Moinesti.

In 1930 Gheorghiu-Dej joined the Communist Party, which at the time was underground, and soon became one of its leaders. In 1931, he carried on revolutionary work among railwaymen and in March 1932 he was elected secretary of their Central Committee of Action.

Gheorghiu-Dej was the organizer and leader of the railway and oil workers' struggles in 1933, the biggest strikes in Rumanian history. In the summer of that year a military tribunal sentenced him to twelve years' penal servitude.

While in prison Gheorghiu-Dej managed to maintain contact with the Party; he studied Marxism and helped and encouraged his fellow prisoners to do likewise. In 1934, while still in prison, he became a member of the Party's Central Committee.

In 1943 a military and political plan for an armed rising of the patriotic forces and the Army against the Antonesco dictatorship was drawn up under Gheorghiu-Dej's guidance. In August 1944 the Party arranged his escape from prison. The Soviet Union having smashed the main forces of the Hitler war machine, the anti-fascist forces in Rumania, led by the Com-

munist Party, overthrew the military fascist dictatorship.

Gheorghiu-Dej headed the people's fight for the new way of life. After the liberation, as leader of the Party, he led the struggle of the masses against reaction, for democratic reconstruction and agrarian reform and for working-class unity. He became a member of the government in November 1944 and March 1945.

In October 1945 Gheorghiu-Dej became general secretary of the Communist Party, and in February 1948 when the Communists and Left Social Democrats merged to form the Workers' Party of Rumania, he was elected general secretary of its Central Committee. From 1952 to 1955 he held the post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RPR, and from March 1961 until his death he was Chairman of the Council of State.

The people of Rumania secured the triumph of socialism in their country under the leadership of the Workers' Party and its Central Committee, headed by Gheorghiu-Dej, who played an outstanding part in solving the problems of socialist construction. The economic development of his country and raising the standard of living of its people always received his close attention.

Gheorghiu-Dej, a man of peace, regarded combating the forces of aggression and war and working for peaceful coexistence, for a world detente, as his internationalist duty.

Communists throughout the world knew Gheorghiu-Dej as a champion of the unity and solidarity of the socialist commonwealth, and of the world Communist movement. He took part in the 1960 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. He spared no effort to ensure unity of action of the Communists in all countries.

The Communists and working people of the world will always remember Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej as a true son of Rumania, as a fearless fighter for peace, democracy and socialism.

Filiberto Barrero

ON MARCH 2, FILIBERTO Barrero, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia and outstanding leader, died in Bogota.

Filiberto Barrero was born on November 7, 1904 in Ubata, Cundinamarca Department. He became an apprentice at an early age and upon learning the trade of shoemaker, joined the ranks of the Colombian working class. Soon he was taking part in the revolutionary actions of the nineteen-twenties—actions that shook the country.

A man of keen perception and motivated by the lofty ideals of the revolutionary, Barrero soon came to realize the need for a workers' party that would guide the emancipation struggle of the people. It was clear that freedom could be won only in struggle against feudalism which was strangling the country, against the ruthless capitalist exploitation, against the social and national enslavement of Colombians by U.S. imperialism. An organized vanguard of the working people was needed if the struggle was to be conducted successfully. And so in 1930 Barrero helped to found the Communist Party of Colombia.

From then on all his thoughts and activity were linked with the Communist Party, with the actions fought by the people under the Party's leadership. And he steadfastly kept to this path, undaunted by persecution and imprisonment, the constant danger to his life. No Party assignment was too small for him. The prestige he enjoyed was a source of pride and joy to him.

Barrero was a member of the Central Committee of the Party from its inception. He handled organizational and trade union matters, the Party's finances and publications, and worked in the Party press. He was always a staunch fighter for the Leninist line in the Party. He did much to build the Party, helped to organize the first trade union center in Colombia and was a member of its executive committee from 1936 to 1950. As its representative Barrero helped to form the Confederation of Labor of Latin America. Later, he represented the working people of Colombia at the founding congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions. He also attended numerous national and international conferences of the labor movement. Barrero also represented his people in parliament.

A son of the people who reached out to knowledge, who treasured the moral and spiritual riches of humanity, Barrero, who was also an impassioned orator, fought for world peace with all the energy at his command. Fully realizing that proletarian internationalism and a strong world Communist movement were essential to the cause of peace, Barrero firmly upheld unity and adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

His numerous writings and his example will always be a source of inspiration for Colombian Communists.

Our journal pays tribute to the memory of Comrade Filiberto Barrero and extends its deepest sympathy to the Communist Party of Colombia.

Policy of the military dictatorship in Brazil

LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

DEVELOPMENTS IN BRAZIL have confirmed the analysis made by the Communists regarding the character of the military coup of April 1964 and the real purpose and aims of those who seized power.*

The coup, which was engineered and directed by the North American imperialists, aimed at suppressing the struggle of the people and forestalling the reforms demanded by the country; these reforms would have put an end to the privileges of the powerful economic groups, to imperialist domination and the backward agrarian structure based on the latifundia. The coup also aimed at abolishing the progressive measures carried out under the Goulart government to promote Brazil's independent development. The military clique wants to turn the country into a military and political bailiwick of the United States. It pursues the financial and economic policy dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), a policy detrimental to the country's independent economic development.

The designs of the reactionaries are revealed in two official documents: in a speech by Castelo Branco on July 31, outlining the dictatorship's foreign policy, and in the so-called "economic program" for the next 2-3 years. An analysis of these documents will help the reader to get a better idea of U.S. imperialism's real aims in engineering the coup and what it still hopes to secure through the Castelo Branco government.

APOLOGISTS FOR NATIONAL BETRAYAL

In his July 31 speech Castelo Branco formulated the "foreign policy doctrine" of Brazil. The doctrine is a new variant of the foreign policy imposed by the State Department on other governments in Latin America. But none

*For an analysis of the reasons for the success of the April Coup see article by L. Romao, member of the CC of the Brazilian Communist Party, in issue No. 2 this year.—Ed.

of Washington's Latin American henchmen have upheld this policy as blatantly as Castelo Branco.

Brazil's foreign policy, he argues, cannot be independent since the "concept of independence is effective only in certain conditions." "In present conditions," he added, "when two opposite poles of powers with contrary political and ideological concepts face each other in the world, preservation of independence calls for a certain interdependence in the military, economic and political spheres." And without asking the opinion of the people, Castelo Branco has decided that our country should agree to be entirely dependent on the United States. "In its foreign policy Brazil cannot escape the main choice which is determined by our allegiance to the cultural and political traditions of the western democratic system" (here it should be noted that for Branco the "western democratic system" signifies essentially the United States). This "choice" determines the dictatorship's entire policy and serves as a justification for all kinds of concessions to U.S. imperialism.

This juggling with *interdependence* and *independence* is a trick, and one that has been exposed not only by the Communists. Commenting on Branco's speech, Santiago Dantas, ex-Foreign Minister, noted that the antithesis of independence was not interdependence but dependence. "The fact that an underdeveloped country like Brazil comes within the political and economic orbit of the United States, by no means testifies to a steady harmony of interests . . . it only engenders contradictions and antagonisms."

The primitive division of the world into two opposing camps inexorably heading towards war is an erroneous thesis. This subjective attitude denies the possibility of peaceful coexistence. It is true that the cold war continues and that as long as imperialism exists the danger of a third world war remains. But it is also true that there has been a relaxation in inter-

national tension, although the process is an uneven one. Every day furnishes facts showing that the peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist states is objectively essential for the development of human society in our time. Even the Caribbean crisis, the most dangerous incident in recent years, was resolved, through negotiation and mutual concessions. Later the Moscow partial-test ban treaty was signed. Similar agreements may lead to a further détente.

According to Branco, obligatory adherence to one of the camps serves our defense interests. But who is threatening us? If there are two "poles of power"—Washington and Moscow—which of the two threatens our country? Who, in particular, would lose by a policy of nationalization if the government of Brazil decided on such a policy? It is evident that for Castelo Branco it is not a question of a choice dictated by national interests. He voluntarily extends his hands to be handcuffed by U.S. imperialism.

It is ridiculous to describe as "alignment" that which in fact is craven subordination to a more powerful state. With rare exceptions, the capitalist world does not know of an alignment on an equality basis between countries whose levels of economic development are so widely different as those of Brazil and the United States.

In his attempts to justify this subordination Branco says: "In our activities we must not be guided by crafty Machiavelianism nor by a policy of extortion." But surely it is the inalienable right of every sovereign state to negotiate as an equal partner, which has nothing in common with "Machiavelianism" or a "policy of extortion," or deception. Realizing how provocative his statement is Branco hastens to tone it down: "It is necessary, of course, to distinguish between the basic aim—preservation of the Western system—and the specific interests of the Great Power." But how to make this distinction when the "Great Power" is interested in the ill-famed "alignment" and that its interests are the foundation on which the entire system rests? Anxious to win the patronage of the "Great Power" Branco has no choice but to support it and its specific interests, even when they run counter to the interests of Brazil.

Branco maintains that the neutral policy of many states which have recently won political independence reflects their "immature emotionalism, due to justified or unjustified resentment against the former colonialist countries." After declaring that this "immature emotionalism" and "resentment" are unknown to him, he then takes issue with nationalism. He sees its main danger for Brazil in that "in the recent past nationalism was so distorted that the choice was very nearly made in favor of the socialist system." He then goes on to attack what he calls "étatisme" (that is, the role played by the state in the economy.—*Ed.*) and "natio-

nalization." "The demands to expand the state sector and for nationalization had their repercussions in foreign policy and caused certain friction. The annulment of contracts with the owners of public utilities, the policy of private monopoly in the mining industry and discouraging foreign capital investments are cases in point." But all this happened in the past. Now "Brazil will pursue a policy of free enterprise and the reasonable admission of foreign capital." In short he publicly proclaims a foreign policy that meets the interests of imperialist capital. "Neutrality," Castelo Branco concludes, "is not the Brazilian choice." In other words, since we have chosen to be subordinate to Washington, we cannot be neutral. . . .

The head of the dictatorial regime makes it clear that his government will get the much desired American "aid" only by submitting completely to Washington's diktat. "Diplomacy," he declared, "should serve as an instrument for obtaining resources for our socio-economic development and for strengthening the national might." He hopes to receive these resources through "new investments" and "financing on a big scale and on more flexible terms," and through "international cooperation in foreign trade with the object of stabilizing prices for our exports and creating a financing mechanism that would compensate for the fall in prices of our exports and secure us new markets." But practice has shown that only under very strong pressure does U.S. imperialism make certain limited concessions to the economic interests of the Latin American countries. By declining to negotiate and voluntarily lending himself to the machinations of the State Department, Branco can at best win its applause, but certainly not its assistance in promoting the independent development of the economy.

Referring to the colonial question, Branco appears to support the struggle of the peoples against the brutality of colonialism, particularly Portuguese colonialism, but hastens to make a reservation which completely negates that impression. "Any realistic policy of decolonization," he says, "cannot fail to recognize Portugal's specific problems." And he calls on the Salazar dictatorship and the peoples of Africa to form some kind of Afro-Portuguese-Brazilian community.

Such is the dictatorship's foreign policy in its true colors, a policy of national betrayal and complete subordination to the U.S. monopolies. The national interests call for an entirely different kind of policy, one based on the principles of peace and friendly relations with all peoples, self-determination for the nations and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The development of the national economy urgently calls for expanding trade with all countries and especially with the socialist countries, which are ready to trade with us on mutually advantageous terms and where consumer demand is outpacing the capitalist world. But how can Brazil expand its trade

with these countries when the foreign policy proclaimed by Branco is based on the "decisive choice," which is clearly anti-Soviet and anti-socialist in character? This policy runs counter to the fundamental interests of the nation and, inevitably, will encounter the growing resistance of the people.

COMPLETE ABANDONMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT ECONOMIC POLICY

The dictatorship's economic and financial policy, as formulated by the Minister of Economic Planning, Roberto Campos, is, in essence, confined to measures to curb inflation along the lines dictated by the International Monetary Fund.

"The government's aim," Campos declared, "is to overcome as soon as possible the economic stagnation of 1963, to achieve in the next two years an annual six per cent growth of production (i.e., to regain the 1947-61 level) and subsequently to create conditions for a seven per cent annual growth. By the eighties when annual income per capita will have risen to \$650 we will have emerged from the category of underdeveloped countries."

In the guise of combating inflation the government intends to carry out the drastic measures imposed by the North American financial tycoons. Aware that the overwhelming majority of the people want progress, national liberation and economic independence, the government conceals its designs by talk about overcoming the economic stagnation and the backwardness of the country.

One has only to enumerate the "basic measures" through which the government hopes to increase the rate of growth of the national income to see the real aims of the program.

The measures are:

"(a) tax exemptions on reinvestment of profit and investments in new private enterprises;

"(b) incentives for private accumulation and obligatory capitalization of profits in the service industries;

"(c) encouragement of foreign capital in the form of loans, licences and foreign aid;

"(d) improvement of government finances and liquidation of the deficit of the state enterprises and enterprises with mixed capital."

It is evident that these measures are designed to grant foreign capital new benefits, to restrict government spending and to create "stimuli" for ploughing back profits, although what the Brazilian capitalists want is a home market for their goods.

The program, which says nothing about the structural deficiencies giving rise to the inflation (a fact conceded by the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America), claims that "chronic inflationary processes are the result of the fact that the policy of distribution is out of step with reality." Without offering any explanation or concrete data the author of the program declares that the inflation is due to

excessive government spending and high wages—an explanation that suits the interests of the International Monetary Fund.

Turning the problem upside down and giving as the *reasons* for inflation what are in fact the inevitable *result* of a process that has deep structural roots, the Minister of Planning propounds the economic and social consequences of the inflation and points in particular to the sufferings which it brings to the middle classes, "the main victim of the unjust wages policy." Juggling with this argument, Roberto Campos outlines the "principal measures for curbing inflation," which are a repetition of the demands made by the IMF to the governments dominated by the U.S. monopolies. He proposes in particular:

1. To halt the growth of the budget deficit by sharply reducing government spending and substantially increasing taxes.

2. To freeze wages. The following explanation is given in justification of this measure: "The guiding principle should be that real wages can be increased only as a result of economic growth. Only by securing wage earners a share in the national product can anti-inflationary measures be prevented from spelling deprivations for the less well-to-do classes." But the proportion of the national product which should go to wages is not specified. It is indicative that another section of the program questions whether the share of wages in the national product is not too high. And this at a time when the standard of living of the working people is notoriously low.

3. To cut credits to national enterprises on the grounds that "the total amount of credits should be revised in accordance with the growth of the national product and current prices."

Needless to say these measures will make it easier for the imperialist monopolies to exploit our people and will seriously affect the national industry. The government is the largest consumer of the national product, consequently the budgetary cut-backs will paralyze public construction, lead to increased unemployment and shrinkage of the market. This, coupled with the measures to reduce credits, increase taxes and freeze wages will hardly stimulate new capital investments. Although the higher taxes will at first add something to the national purse they will eventually kill the hen that lays the golden egg.

The author of the program maintains that the anti-inflation measures are designed to put the economy on its feet and increase investments. He admits, it is true, that the industrial sector "is not capable of absorbing labor power to the extent desired." But this, he says, is due not to the technological backwardness of our industry but rather to the "too extensive replacement of labor power by machinery." In his opinion this is explained by the "unrealistic approach to the interest rate on long-term credits, the privileges granted in the past de-

acades to importers of industrial plant, and the over-bold interference of the state in fixing wages for unskilled workers." Roberto Campos thinks the technological level of industry and the standard of living are too high. "The policy in the sphere of wages, the exchange rate and credits should be a sufficiently realistic one so as to prevent fluctuation of the various production factors creating undue stimuli for replacing labor power by fixed capital." In this way an attempt is made to justify the technological backwardness of the national industry.

Another "discovery" made by the Minister of Planning is that civic building should be encouraged because it is a "big consumer of unskilled labor" and it "will make it possible for the less well-to-do classes to buy their own homes." And so, on the one hand he proposes freezing wages and on the other holds forth about working people buying their own houses. This demagoguery, however, underestimates the level of consciousness of the Brazilian worker. Equally ridiculous is the assertion that civic building is a technically backward branch of industry designed to absorb unskilled labor.

Speaking of the so-called "incomes policy," the Minister admitted that beginning with 1959 the wage curve which until then had been upward, began to turn downward. This contradicts his previous statement about uncontrolled wages increases being the root cause of inflation. The national income, Campos insists, should be distributed through the "co-ordinated actions" of the government with the help of "tax and financial levers, by freezing wages, raising taxes and restricting credits to enterprises so as to reduce to the minimum the emission of paper money." However, according to the government's "financial program," "emissions in 1964 and 1965 will be 596,000 million and 415,000 million cruzeiros respectively."

In the sphere of wages it is proposed to pursue a policy of "economy." "It will take at least another 12 months before wages will be regulated," the program states. "Unsystematic regulation of wages must not be allowed, for this can only cause an irreversible inflationary process." Hence stringent rules regulating revision of wages have been drawn up for enterprises under the direct control of the federal government.

The dictatorship's tax policy is frankly designed to shift the burden onto the shoulders of the working people. It provides for indirect tax increases, in the first place on consumer goods (30 per cent increase), and a tax on wages, even the lowest. Direct taxes on profits, however, will be reduced in the name of stimulating accumulation. "In our tax policy we are applying two kinds of incentives to encourage thrift: one is tax exemptions for savings; the other is taxation of consumer goods in order to curb excessive consumption." In other words, let the poor who have no savings at all pay

indirect taxes, "taxes on consumer goods," on a par with the rich.

The authors of the program are also worried about the country's foreign trade. As an incentive to expanding it they propose devaluating the cruzeiro in relation to the dollar. In the program this is called "preserving a realistic exchange rate," which is "automatically adjusted" depending on the extent of inflation. This means, in effect, progressive devaluation of the cruzeiro as the cost price of exported goods grows. The need for a "fair exchange rate" is the excuse given for this policy of devaluation which aims at increasing the price paid in cruzeiros for U.S. wheat, oil and paper imports on the grounds that "subsidies" for these exports will be stopped.

A special section of the program is devoted to an apology for foreign capital investments. The program argues that accelerating the rate of capital accumulation in an underdeveloped country spells "great hardships for the population." But this is not the case when it is a matter of foreign investments. On the contrary, it is claimed, the continuous inflow of investments is highly advantageous for the underdeveloped country. Hence "the inflow of foreign capital in the shape of credits and investments should be stimulated thus preventing a currency shortage from retarding our growth. Nothing is said of course about the harm caused to the underdeveloped country by the steady *outflow* of profits which keep multiplying as they are reinvested, about the deformation of the national economy as a result of foreign capital domination, etc.

With a view to stimulating the inflow of capital the program proposes annulling the main points of the law restricting export of profits. "The new legislation," Campos declares, "leads to the hope that Brazil will again be able to compete with other developing countries . . . in attracting foreign capital."

The logical outcome of this policy is the proposal to return to "private capital certain state enterprises which do not play an innovatory role in the development of industry and do not exercise a regulating influence on cost and prices." It is evident that denationalization will result in the profitable state-owned enterprises falling into the hands of the imperialist monopolies interested in buying up paying concerns, while the state will be left with the unprofitable, technically backward enterprises.

Such in general outline is the "economic program of the government." It may be successful to some extent, that is, if the regime wins the confidence of the U.S. financiers and persuades them to increase their investments. But the intensified exploitation of the country by U.S. imperialism is bound to encounter the growing resistance of the working people—the first victims of this exploitation—the national bourgeoisie whose interests will be directly affected, and of all who want progress and who realize the need for deep-going reforms without which

there can be no question of an independent national economy.

REACTION ALL ALONG THE FRONT

The military overthrew Joao Goulart on the pretext of combating "Communism." In a secret statement made on March 20, Branco, then Army Chief of Staff, declared that the demand for the convocation of a constituent assembly and the activities of the General Confederation of Working People were a threat to the existing order and that "the armed forces intended to guarantee constitutional power." He called for a military coup and the establishment of a dictatorship in the name of the Constitution and to fight "against revolution, against the public disorders organized by the Confederation." After the coup all the high sounding words about defending the Constitution were discarded. The composition of the National Congress was forcibly changed and many of the deputies were arrested. The so-called "Institutional Act" imposed on Parliament by the dictatorship gave the latter unlimited powers to amend the Constitution. Police repressions became the order of the day, and the anti-national character of the dictatorship became increasingly evident.

The government's economic policy is leading to higher prices and sending up the cost of living. Although a part of the bourgeoisie is benefiting from the intensified exploitation of the working people, some circles are uneasy about the aggravation of social problems and the contraction of the home market. Several important enterprises have gone bankrupt recently and in some cases the owners committed suicide. The government is cutting the salaries of civil servants and blocking wage increases for other categories. It has passed a law restricting the right to strike and has annulled the rights won through collective bargaining by railwaymen, dockers, seamen and employees of the airlines and the Petrobras companies. Trade union elections have been postponed indefinitely. The National Student Union has been outlawed, and the Ministry of Education is trying to prevent students electing their committees in colleges and universities. The National Congress has extended Branco's presidential powers up to 1967 and introduced the so-called "absolute majority" principle which gives this crippled and discredited congress the right to withhold presidential powers from candidates who have received a relative majority as a result of a direct popular vote. Measures have also been taken to extend the term of office of the governors of states and to postpone all projected elections indefinitely.

As dissatisfaction with the dictatorship grows its anti-national and reactionary nature is revealed all the more, as is its inability to resolve the problems facing the country; it is introducing one reactionary measure after an-

other, prohibiting the people from expressing their will freely.

Fearing the rising wrath of the people, the putschists, not content with the existing repressive legislation, are building up the armed forces and increasing military appropriations.

The reactionary foreign policy mentioned earlier found expression in the breaking off of relations with the government of socialist Cuba, under pressure of the State Department, in the servile attitude adopted by the Brazilian delegation at the OAS session where it acted as the docile tool of the U.S. government and, finally, in the haste with which the Branco government supported U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The press recently reported the construction on Brazilian territory of U.S. launching pads for intercontinental rockets, a sign that Washington is making new encroachments on the national sovereignty, thus jeopardizing the nation's security.

THE MASSES ARE TAKING ACTION

The tyranny of the reactionary forces has opened the floodgates of popular dissatisfaction. New perspectives and better opportunities are opening up for struggle by the patriotic and democratic forces. Recent actions by the working people speak of their determination not to put up with the existing order of things. This is a guarantee that the reactionaries will not be able to consolidate the political and social regress brought about by the events of the past year, that the policy aimed at making Brazil still more dependent on U.S. imperialism, at preserving the backwardness and poverty, is doomed to failure.

The *trade union assemblies* of metal and textile workers, bank and airline employees, held recently in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and other cities reflected this dissatisfaction, the protest against the government juntas which have arbitrarily replaced the elected bodies of the trade unions, and the determination of the masses to fight against the wage freeze. Significant successes have been won in the fight for wage increases. Agricultural workers, too, have organized militant actions against the landlords and police repressions.

Students have demonstrated against the police interference in university affairs, against the persecution of teachers and students. They use every possible occasion such as elections to academic bodies, meetings honoring faculty members, etc., to voice their opposition to the dictatorship.

More and more *intellectuals* are, the difficulties notwithstanding, expressing their opposition to the dictatorship and thereby helping broad segments of the population to become enlightened. Statements by MPs, political parties, Church dignitaries and a large part of the press show that there is growing criticism of the dictatorship's policy.

Even the *national bourgeoisie* are beginning

to be worried about the government's economic and financial policy (the devaluation of the cruzeiro, unfavorable credit terms, aggravation of social problems, growth of unemployment and growing danger to the national industry).

The Branco government has not been able to secure mass support, although some of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, especially in Rio de Janeiro, hailed the coup. The social base of the dictatorship is narrowing; even the groups which supported the coup out of fear of working-class actions are beginning to be disappointed with the new regime.

Contradictions are growing among the putschists themselves. While Branco and his ministers, in an attempt to hoodwink the people, parade as advocates of reforms and a constitutional system, the "ultra-rights" who arrogantly call themselves the "tough-line men" openly call for dissolution of the National Congress, for military interference in the affairs of the states, for the liquidation of the trade union and student organizations, and for control over the opposition newspapers. The "reforms" (agrarian and others) proposed by Branco are simply pseudo-reforms within the framework of the Alliance for Progress, and his "democracy" is a subterfuge to mask the dictatorship behind a "constitutional facade." Little wonder, therefore, that the government turns a blind eye to the arbitrary actions of the "tough-line" putschists, and covers up their crimes. When, under strong mass pressure, it orders an "investigation" into the abuses it does so only to conceal the real facts. In Pernambuco, Sergipe, Ceara, Rio de Janeiro and in Gojas, the "ultras" attacked the local governments, sometimes with the direct help of the Federal government, at other times ignoring its appeals for "moderation." For his part Lacerda, governor of Guanabara, has expressed his resentment in connection with the difficulties put in the way of his nomination for the presidency.

Thus the political instability of the Branco government is increasing; there are new factors in the situation which could be made use of by the democratic forces in their struggle against the dictatorship.

The Communists have taken a firm and irreconcilable stand towards the dictatorship. Since the coup the basic contradiction between the nation and imperialism has intensified, finding direct political expression in the antagonism between the patriot forces and those who have

betrayed the national interest. The need to fight for structural reforms and against imperialist domination and latifundism, for a national and democratic government that will launch and successfully complete this struggle, faces the Brazilian people with renewed force. While intensifying their work among the masses the Communists are, at the same time, working to establish contact with all trends, forces and political parties prepared to fight against the dictatorship and for the restoration of democratic liberties on the basis of a minimum program conforming to the present situation. Broad movements in defense of political prisoners and their families and in defense of Constitutional rights and guarantees have been organized. A front has been formed uniting several parties, including parties of the Right, which is demanding the restoration of democratic law, and that elections be held on the dates specified by law.

The most important thing at present is to realize that irrespective of the forms the struggle against the dictatorship may take, the mass actions and the unity of all democrats will always be the decisive guarantee of success. The Communists, therefore, are concentrating on defending and strengthening the mass organizations, on using all legal possibilities, on combating illusions regarding the dictatorship and passivity and indifference to the struggle. At the same time the Communists are warning the people against taking hasty action and explaining that the dictatorship cannot be overthrown by individual groups or persons isolated from the masses, or as a result of desperate actions by plotters or adventurists.

* * *

In organizing the military coup of April 1, 1964 the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries at home hoped to halt the democratic process in our country. They were able to strike a heavy blow at the democratic and patriotic forces. But what at first appeared to be a retreat is becoming a new starting point for the revolutionary struggle of the people. The revolutionary forces are again rallying the vast majority of the nation to fight for the victory of the national liberation revolution. Complete independence will pave the way to social progress which will enable Brazil to take its place among the nations aspiring to peace and happiness on earth.

The revolutionary movement in Guatemala: its achievements and prospects

A. TZUL

THE SITUATION IN GUATEMALA has two important features.

First, on March 30, 1963, a military coup resulted in a "colonels' regime" representing the interests of a sizeable group of extreme reactionaries. This regime has the backing of the big commercial and industrial bourgeoisie who are tied up with U.S. investments of recent years and who uphold foreign capitalist interests. It is backed also by the big landowners and by the reactionary political grouping which emerged at the time of the foreign intervention in 1954; the latter goes by the name "National Liberation Movement," although it has always been an instrument of national oppression used by the U.S. neo-colonialists. Last but not least, the regime is actively backed by the U.S. imperialists.

Second, in March 1963 the people rose against the counter-revolution. Guerrilla units came into being in the northeast and in other areas.

The Rights were almost unanimous in hailing the coup. The ousted camarilla of ex-dictator Ydigoras Fuentes was the only group that did not rejoice. The purpose of the coup was to forestall a democratic victory in the December 1963 elections. The reactionary groups, each of whose leaders aspires to the Presidency, hoped that the usurper government would not last and that the colonels would be forced to hold elections.

The one-time unity of the reactionaries is gone. Still, thinking that they are stronger than the disunited democratic forces which have no legal political organization, they are against any further postponement of elections. Their slogan "Back to constitutional order" is a weapon which the "civil" reactionaries are using in their fight for power.

What do they mean by "constitutional order" and how do they envision its return?

The Constituent Assembly summoned by the colonels is drafting a Constitution along the lines of the reactionary Constitution of 1956, abolished by the coup. Those of the reactionaries who have openly taken a stand against the regime insist on the early adoption of the Constitution and the speedy election of President and Congress. They have even managed to patch up their differences and to achieve a degree of understanding enabling them to act in a united front against the military. The military camarilla for its part is resolved that the future President shall be their man. And quite a few of the brasshats have aspirations in this direction. However, since they have so far been unable to agree among themselves, those in power are against the elections being held immediately. But the ambitions of the "gorillas" affect the interests of the political groups which, while being one of the props of the regime, want their leader to become the Presidential nominee with the support of the Army.

In this unseemly fight for power, the "Constituent Assembly" plays the role of puppet. Guatemalans say that the Assembly does what an army is expected to do—it obeys without questioning.

Such is the general alignment of the reactionary forces.

The probability of the Presidential election being held this year has led to the mushrooming of more reactionary parties—all of them ready to back the candidate with the greatest chance of being elected. As a result, there is an undercurrent of conflict between various Rightist forces, as well as between them and the top military, who are themselves rent by antagonisms. Little wonder that one hears in

government quarters talk about the inevitability of more coups. The discharge of some top army officers and the transfer of others last October revealed that the government was threatened with an ouster.

The complexity of the situation raises obstacles to united democratic and revolutionary action. Hence the differences over the appraisal of the situation and over the solution which the progressive and patriotic forces should propose. The RDU (Revolutionary-Democratic Union), for example, which may be described as a Center party, has joined in the campaign for a return to "constitutional order," although the servile "Constituent Assembly" has raised the age limit for the Presidential nomination, and thus prevents Villagran Kramer, leader of the RDU, from running for President. Its leaders say they have no illusions about the coming elections and are looking "further ahead." But it should be obvious to anyone that their position plays into the hands of the reactionaries in power. For to agree to elections now, in view of the reactionary legislation which excludes the participation of the parties known for their democratic sentiment (to say nothing of the banned Party of Labor), would be simply legalizing the military coup and strengthening the dictatorial regime.

This stand of the RDU clashes with the sentiment of large sections of the population, particularly the peasants. Hatred for reaction is gaining ground among these sections, impelling them to attempt to overthrow the reactionary regime and establish a democratic government. But this is a rather slow process, because our revolutionary organizations are weak as yet and do not know how to take political advantage of popular sentiment.

The complexity of the situation is also due to the fact that conditions vary from area to area and that resistance to the dictatorship varies accordingly as to forms and methods. In the northeast there is a virtual armed fight going on, which the people are beginning to call a revolutionary war. The government retaliates with the utmost cruelty. Clearly it would be pointless to speak of legal forms of struggle in that area, for all democratic actions are suppressed. In the capital legal and illegal forms intertwine, and the repressive measures taken here, while drastic, are nothing compared to the atrocities perpetrated in the rural areas. In the south, where there is a strong trend for radical measures and where resistance groups are also carrying on an armed fight, opportunities for legal forms still exist in some areas. In the west, and more particularly in Quetzaltenango, the Republic's second biggest city, legal methods predominate. In short, our Party and the other democratic forces have to act with the greatest flexibility, using every means at their command to promote the revolutionary struggle—forming legal organizations wherever possible and organizing a broad movement of the masses.

The military government, torn by internal antagonisms and unable to crush the armed resistance and the struggle of the working people, recently abolished constitutional guarantees in order to step up repression. But more and more people, resenting the lack of democratic liberties, are going over from passive discontent to open condemnation of the ruthless methods used by the government. For instance, the recently held National Congress of Lawyers publicly condemned the government, declaring that the regime was unlawful and that the decrees passed by the colonels were arbitrary and unconstitutional. The press now publishes items which for a long time were forbidden. They include news about the guerrilla operations, statements by people opposed to the regime, etc. On October 20, 1964—the anniversary of the revolution of 1944—the Association of University Students held a demonstration in the capital. The demonstration culminated in a meeting in Central Park, at which speakers denounced the dictatorship.

The armed struggle is spreading, even though its impact on the political development of the country is not decisive as yet. Its progress could have been greater had there been no anti-communist bias against our Party in the discussions going on within the movement. The unfriendly tenor of the discussions makes a calm dialogue difficult. The point at issue is the character of the Guatemalan revolution and its immediate aims. We Communists maintain that the present revolutionary struggle bears a national-democratic character and that all who aim at freeing the country from the rule of the semi-feudal oligarchy and the U.S. imperialists should join in it. We believe that the national bourgeoisie, the radical small bourgeoisie, and the middle classes generally can and should play a progressive role and contribute to the liberation struggle of our people. Those comrades who think differently and have evidently fallen for Trotskyist provocation hold that our revolution must be a socialist revolution, and that the regime to be established immediately after its victory must be a workers' and peasants' government, that is, one debarring all other social strata from the revolutionary bloc. In line with this, they call on the workers everywhere to seize the factories and on the peasants to take over the landed estates and set up "organs of state power." Since the political struggle in Guatemala has not yet attained a stage at which these appeals can be carried into practice, they are utopian and, worse still, objectively provocative. If those who hold such views prevailed on the revolutionaries to take this road, the outcome would be sad, reaction has ample opportunities for retaliation. These people have also taken advantage of the polemic in the world Communist movement to aggravate differences in our country and to attack our Party.

We are certain that these difficulties will be overcome, that by carrying on patient explana-

tory work we will forge solid revolutionary unity. We wish to note that the Communists unanimously rejected the slander levelled at the Party and its leadership.

This is not to say, however, that the Communists have not made mistakes. We are the first to admit and point out our mistakes. Indeed, it would only be fair to say that in the heat of self-criticism we have somewhat exaggerated them. We are aware of the weaknesses and shortcomings of our work. Our Central Committee will at its coming meetings discuss the work of the Party, the activity of its leading committees, their style of work, and so on. We want to create in the Party an atmosphere of free exchange of views, a method which is indispensable for solid unity. The October meeting of the CC discussed the differences in the world Communist movement. It was also attended by comrades who disagreed with the CC on certain points. The resolution, adopted unanimously, was the result of free discussion, of a comradely and frank statement and comparison of points of view.

The spirit of that meeting should prevail throughout the Party. This is essential if the principle of collective solution of political problems is to strike firm root in the Party. The entire Party must be convinced of the correctness of the political line charted by its leading committees, as well as of the practical steps taken by them, for it will then put them into effect with greater enthusiasm. It is particularly important to introduce these methods now that the situation is favorable to the growth of the revolutionary movement and hence to the growth of the Party.

The masses, above all the peasants, are

insisting on more flexible, dynamic and efficient leadership capable of promptly finding practical solutions to the problems of the day. The masses are becoming more active against reaction and its coercive machinery. More and more often they resort to methods once thought to be out of the question—they are learning to use arms, upholding their rights in organized fashion, etc. It would be logical to suppose that as the struggle progresses the people will strive harder to put an end to the reactionary regime—a tendency which our comrades in one of the areas described as a call to “declare an all-out war” against reaction. Unfortunately, the revolutionary process varies in strength from one part of the country to another. This should be made clear to those comrades who are becoming impatient, insisting on immediate armed action all over the country. Hence the importance of the Party being able to solve its problems correctly, to show the masses how to handle the particular problem in the given circumstances. We must not offer cut-and-dried solutions, but must always take account of realities.

In view of the political situation in the country it is essential that all Communists, all revolutionaries, democrats and patriots have a clear understanding of developments and show a firm resolve to fight in unity. In addition to courage and daring, they must use flexible tactics and display their political maturity in tackling the problems. They must act in keeping with revolutionary principles, subordinating the interests and aspirations of the people, to the nation's desire to achieve democracy, independence, social progress, and well-being. In other words, they must show unqualified devotion to the revolution.

The Italian Communist Party and the struggle for peace and unity of the international communist movement

MARCO SIMONETTI

THE U.S. AGGRESSION in North Vietnam confronted the Italian Communists, and not only them, in a dramatic way with the necessity of waging a broader and more powerful struggle for a detente, a policy of peaceful coexistence and, consequently, for a radical change in Italy's foreign policy.

The actual timing of the aggression in North Vietnam (it coincided with the visit of Prime Minister Kosygin) and the pretext used by Washington and its Saigon puppets, show that it was planned in advance. The demand for peaceful negotiations can triumph only if a powerful worldwide movement is launched in which whole countries and governments, the USA included, will participate and which will compel the Americans to desist from the aggression and withdraw their troops from Indochina, and make it clear that the application of the Geneva agreements is the only possible solution.

Whereas the USSR, China and the other socialist countries have from the outset taken a firm and responsible stand and are working for a negotiated settlement, a stand in which they are being joined by other governments, the Italian government, in which the Italian Socialist Party is represented, continues to maintain a passive attitude of subordination to U.S. imperialism.

The protest demonstrations against the aggressors and the pressure brought to bear on the Italian government are an expression of the working people's demand for an independent and peace-loving policy in the national interest. For this demand to become a reality and for the struggle to be effective it is necessary first of all to have a clear and realistic understanding of the situation.

The long-standing and serious tension in Southeast Asia and, particularly, the events in

Vietnam, cannot be regarded as events of a purely local character isolated from the general world situation. On the contrary, they are an acute manifestation of the general worsening of the situation. The symptoms of this worsening can be found not only in Asia but also in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and in Europe. In other words, we are confronted here not with isolated negative events in the generally positive process of detente, but with stagnation and a crisis in the policy of detente which can be overcome only by a general renewal of mass action.

The policy of detente and peaceful coexistence, initiated and pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, has achieved important success in recent years. This includes the signing of the Moscow partial test-ban treaty. This was a useful and positive step even though tests have been carried out in the atmosphere by countries which did not sign the treaty. The resistance of some NATO countries, under mass pressure and for other reasons, and also the warning issued by the Warsaw Treaty countries, delayed the formation in 1964 of a multilateral nuclear force and, consequently, prevented a particularly critical international situation arising in Europe. On the other hand, the United States has not given up its intentions of integrating West Germany into NATO's nuclear strategy, and no progress has been made with the problems remaining from the Second World War. The Bonn government for its part is demanding access to nuclear weapons; it still refuses to recognize the German Democratic Republic and the Oder-Neisse frontier. Although this revenge-seeking policy is opposed by many countries, the plans to arm West Germany with nuclear weapons have not been shelved. Hence, the German problem remains the No. 1 problem for peace in Europe

and relaxation of international tension. Lastly, throughout this period no headway whatever has been made in the disarmament talks, and the United Nations Organization is experiencing a profound crisis. Although the Italian Communists share Indonesia's motives for opposing the creation of Malaysia, we do not think that the former's withdrawal from the United Nations is the best solution, nor do we endorse the idea now being debated of forming two opposing international organizations. What is needed is that the United Nations should regain its universal character as envisaged in the San Francisco Charter. The world organization retained its universal character until the United States compromised it by its refusal to recognize the Chinese People's Republic (with the Italian government following in its wake), and until the UN itself became involved in actions of an imperialist and neo-colonialist nature.

Thus, the present international situation is one of unclarity and uncertainty and is fraught with dangers. The working class, the nations now gaining national independence, and broad movements of the people are pressing for peace and for deep-going changes in international relations. But despite this, the process of detente has slowed down to a standstill, and there have been signs of a grave worsening of the international situation in recent months. Hence the need for a broad rallying of the peace forces, the need for a search for the more general causes responsible for the stagnation in the process of detente in order to overcome this critical phase. In our opinion the reasons for the stagnation are as follows:

1. The maintenance and even growth of the aggressive tendencies of the principal imperialist powers, the U.S. in the first place, anxious to regain their positions of domination and exploitation. They want to check the movement of the peoples for national liberation which is steadily weakening the positions of imperialism in the face of its main opponent—the socialist camp. As we see it, this is the chief reason.

2. The contrasts and elements of a split that have appeared in the socialist camp, in the "Third World" and in some non-aligned countries. The differences and the polemics have hampered the struggle waged against imperialism in Africa and Asia, have rendered less effective the talks with the capitalist countries to achieve a further relaxation of international tension. The countries of the "Third World" have adopted different attitudes on this question. For instance, Algeria, the UAR and Mali have taken a more progressive political and social stand than have India and some of the Latin American and African countries whose policies have undergone a certain involution.

On the other hand, the contradictions in the imperialist camp in both the political and economic spheres have become more acute. The Gaullist government in France, remaining authoritarian and reactionary in character, and pursuing imperialist and, consequently, danger-

ous aims, is nevertheless resisting the more aggressive tendencies of the U.S. (evidence of this is France's recognition of People's China, its stand on Southeast Asia and the German frontier question.) Although they hamper the carrying out of some of the imperialist plans, such as those to set up a multilateral nuclear force and to achieve European political integration, these contradictions do not by themselves restrain the aggressive policy of the imperialists, nor do they automatically strengthen peace. It is our opinion, therefore, that the peace forces must revive the initiative, an initiative adequate to the complexity of the process underway.

The Italian Communists consider it their duty to make their contribution toward this. The struggle for peace is in the center of attention of the world Communist movement. The further success of this struggle demands, in our opinion: 1) that its aims be more concretely defined; 2) that organizational means be thoroughly revised with a view to finding new and more elastic forms ensuring contact and united action with all active forces ready to promote the cause of peace. In this sense, contact with the forces of the Catholic world acquires particular importance in Italy.

"But the basic problem," as Comrade Berlinguer stated in his report to the Central Committee meeting on February 18-19, "is to raise to a new and higher level the entire strategy based on peaceful coexistence and to establish closer organic ties between the struggle for peace and the liberation struggle of the peoples and oppressed classes. To do this two tendencies, both dangerous, must be overcome. The first, widespread mainly in the democratic movement in the West, holds that detente and peace depend solely on negotiations and understanding between the USSR and the USA. The second tendency is manifested by those who see in the establishment of blocs of a continental type a substitute for the unity of the progressive and peace-loving forces."

We, on the contrary, take the view that united action by the socialist forces, the national liberation movement and the working-class movement of the capitalist countries is a necessary condition for the defeat of imperialism. But there is also the problem of the role and place of these countries and continents, hitherto outside the orbit of world politics and civilization, in shaping the destiny of mankind. In order to solve this problem it is necessary, while continuing the discussion on theoretical questions relating to the strategy of coexistence, and bearing in mind the possibility of broad alliances, to develop the struggle for immediate and common aims. These include the carrying out by all countries of the United Nations' resolution concerning the ending of colonialism, and the decisions of the World Conference on Commerce held in Geneva last year, with regard to the relationship between the developed and underdeveloped countries.

In this situation the foreign policy of the Center-Left government was marked by inertia, lack of initiative and the traditional subordination to U.S. policy. Even the Socialist Party, despite its tradition, despite pressure from below and the concrete proposal of the Socialist Youth Federation to denounce the U.S. aggression against North Vietnam, failed to take a clear stand in the grave international crisis, to do something to influence the government's foreign policy. It was the secretary of the Socialist Party, incidentally, who criticized the imagined "pessimism" of Togliatti concerning the deterioration of the international situation, expressed in his Yalta Memorandum. But Togliatti foresaw the course of events: "The events in Vietnam and in Cyprus," he wrote, "show—especially if the shift to the Right continues on the international arena—that we might unexpectedly find ourselves face to face with very acute crises and dangers, and then the entire Communist movement, all the workers' and socialist forces of Europe and the world will have to deploy their forces." Fortunately not all Socialists think like their leaders, and there is the possibility that a large part of the Socialist comrades can be persuaded to take a more consistent stand in the struggle for peace. Some headway has been made in this sphere but much remains to be done.

The struggle of the Italian Communists for a shift to the Left will not be effective unless it is accompanied by actions to compel the government to change its foreign policy.

The broad, united movement of the working class and democratic and peace-loving forces of Italy and, we assume, of Europe as well, should develop along the lines of:

a) *vigorous resistance to each and every plan to equip West Germany with nuclear weapons, provision of reliable guarantees against the nuclear rearming of Germany, and in pursuit of this, efforts to create a nuclear-free zone in Europe which would include both parts of Germany;*

b) *a struggle against the process of monopoly concentration which the interested powers want to achieve through the economic and political integration of Little Europe within the Common Market. The working-class movement of the six countries concerned should reject the policy which is aimed at the maximum economic and political integration of Little Europe. For this would add to the power of the monopolies and strengthen authoritarian tendencies, would have serious consequences for the working class and would imperil the existence of democratic institutions. We must insist that the workers and democratic organizations be represented in the European organizations in order to uphold the interests of the working classes, to counteract the current reactionary trend and to promote a policy of broader economic cooperation between all the European countries as an alternative to the Little Europe of the monopolies;*

c) *a struggle against all forms of colonialism, all imperialist encroachments on the freedom and independence of peoples. We must therefore strengthen our contacts with the progressive forces in the newly-emergent countries, and continue to press for recognition of the Chinese People's Republic by the Italian government.*

These problems, we believe, are not purely Italian problems. They face all the working-class and democratic movements of Europe. Hence the demand for the restoration of united action by the European Left. There has of late been a certain upsurge of the working-class and democratic movement at the trade union and political levels.

"In order to impart to this upsurge the necessary scope and effectiveness, we should coordinate the actions of the workers, trade unions and democratic forces of the various European countries, overcoming the lag that has existed in this respect until now. For this reason we again propose a conference of the Communist parties of Western Europe which would enable us jointly to analyze the situation, compare political experience and the experience of struggle of the parties, and reach agreed conclusions both on the immediate problems concerning our initiative and practical activity and on the more general problems of strategy." (From E. Berlinguer's report to the Central Committee meeting of February 18-19, 1965.)

There is also no denying that the seriousness of the international situation again shows the need for unity of the world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, for a dialogue that would create the conditions making for a higher level of unity. In pursuing the policy outlined by Comrade Togliatti in his Yalta Memorandum, the Central Committee of our Party again reaffirms that "the efforts aimed at strengthening and preserving all the elements of unity and solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and for peace should be accompanied by continuation and development of discussions, the establishment of broader contacts and the holding of more and more regional conferences.

"If we are to advance along this path we must more fully take into account the new, broad and diverse character not only of the Communist movement of today but of the entire revolutionary movement which includes besides the old parties of the Comintern and the new parties that have arisen in the past few decades, also other revolutionary forces now developing in the struggle against imperialism and for changes in the direction of socialism. This means not only recognizing the need for new diversity in the Communist movement that would put an end to patterns and practices now outdated, and which would be based on the principle of unity in diversity and autonomy. It means, moreover, awareness that the Communist movement itself should not be regarded as an exclusive movement, rigidly

walled off, like a church, from other revolutionary movements. The efforts to consolidate the Communist movement should, therefore, be part of the common effort to lay the foundation for world unity of all revolutionary movements, this time aiming at broader and closer ties with all these forces." (Ibid.)

The direct contacts, talks and exchanges of experience between the delegations of the Italian Communist Party and the National Liberation Front in Algeria, and later the meeting of our Party delegation with the Arab Socialist Union in the UAR, show how fruitful such contacts are. Not always understood is the importance of these contacts which are becoming more regular and which reflect an important aspect of the formula "unity in diversity." Incidentally, it is becoming increasingly clear that a return to monolithic unity is no longer possible. Unity of the Communist and workers' parties can be achieved on certain basic issues, first and foremost on the question of elaborating and pursuing a common line of struggle for peace and against imperialism. But this does not preclude differences and polemics on other issues. We have not lost sight of our principled and political differences with the Chinese comrades on the basic issues, and we know, having learned it from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, that the way to unity is traversed by overcoming erroneous theses and attitudes. But we are equally convinced that differences can be overcome not through general or mythical appeals for unity, or through a dogmatic confrontation of formulations, but solely through the development of joint initiative and a practical struggle and on this basis a patient search for a new type of unity that would correspond to the objective conditions in which the parties are working, in keeping with the changes in the political pattern of the world. This is the only possible form of unity,

and the alternative to this unity is not a return to the old type of unity but a further deepening of the split.

While thoroughly studying the problems facing the international Communist movement the Italian Communists should also study and know the complex problems of the socialist countries, and in the first place of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, and the latter's work to implement the line of the 20th Congress. Our Party is keenly interested in everything taking place in the socialist countries, and attaches the utmost importance to "the way in which the socialist countries are solving their vital problems, from the problem of foreign policy and initiative in relation to the liberation movement and the newly emergent countries to the problem of economic development; from the problem of economic coordination, division of labor and political relations between the socialist countries to the problem of culture and the development of socialist democracy, which is of utmost importance for us. It is necessary to know these problems better and to debate them critically not only in order to understand them better and to explain to the masses the processes underway in the socialist countries and the perspective of socialist development in the world. Knowledge of these problems is essential to a more profound study of our own problems so as to be able to develop our theoretical work and carry forward our struggle for our way of advance the essence of which is to find the link between democracy and socialism, between the national way and international strategy." (Ibid.)

Thus, by firmly basing itself on knowledge of the dynamics of the revolutionary movement in all its variety, internationalism is growing in the Communist parties and, consequently, in the working class, and, as a result, is becoming much more effective.

Alliance of science and democracy

M. MAMARDASHVILI, I. FROLOV

Science today and tomorrow • The socio-economic consequences of the transformation of science into a direct social productive force • The role of the scientist in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

What are the lessons to be drawn from Man's evolution in the immediate past, whither is he bound, what are the main determinants of his future? In my view they are SCIENCE and DEMOCRACY.

K. A. Timiryazev

WHEN THE FAMOUS Russian scientist and humanist wrote these words at the beginning of the century he not only anticipated the future role of science but also its affinity with social progress, with the most progressive forms of social life. Today this interdependence is greater than ever. Many aspects of modern life derive from the discoveries of science, from its intervention in the material and spiritual foundations of society. On the other hand, one of the factors making for the rapid progress of science since the turn of the century is the impact of the new elements in the life of society engendered by the growth of large-scale industry and the emergence of the preconditions for the socialist reconstruction of society. Science has recast many traditional areas of production, and some modern industries were actually born in the laboratory (the nuclear industry, radio-electronics, etc.). Intensive scientific research and the industrial application of its results have substantially changed the means of transport and communication, the mode of life and the very thinking of contemporary man. The findings of science exert a profound influence on the structure of society, and their application is one of the most powerful political factors of our time.

The Communists cannot ignore the new role of science in social life and the accompanying socio-political trends which are making themselves felt more and more.* The fact that science is becoming a productive force in the direct sense radically affects the social status of the scientist, and the unprecedented numerical growth of scientific and technical personnel confronts the Communists in the capitalist countries with new problems connected with the building of class alliances in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. *The issue is one of winning over the growing numbers of intellectuals, of convincing them that the perspective for which the Communists are working corresponds to their vital interests, that this perspective envisages removal of the obstacles presently impeding a fuller development of science and the harnessing of its full potential, that socialism offers the most favorable conditions for scientific endeavor and for the utilization of its results for man's benefit.*

*In this article we shall examine trends in the developed capitalist countries, without going into the status and progress of science under socialism. This subject was discussed in an interview with the Soviet scientists V. A. Trapeznikov, V. S. Nemchinov and S. G. Strumilin in *World Marxist Review*, No. 4, 1963.

I

Only 25 years ago science functioned parallel, so to say, to the production sphere—not to speak of the sphere of politics—without attracting much attention on the part of the public. Although the lack of public interest in itself is not a criterion of the actual link between science and the life of society, it is a fact that this link manifested itself only sporadically and, even if the natural sciences produced some momentous achievements which revolutionized production, research was still regarded by many as an occupation worthy of admiration but of little practical value. Scientific endeavor was still seen in the traditional light, as the ivory tower labors of solitary savants divorced from life and beyond the comprehension of all but the initiated.

Things changed radically after the first nuclear device was exploded in Los Alamos, and Hiroshima affirmed the initial notoriety this gave to science. It appeared that even the most abstract sciences, such as nuclear physics, have a direct bearing on politics. The sensation hunting bourgeois press turned science from a modest hard-working plodder of little interest to the man in the street into an all-powerful demon.

The formerly unsuspected direct influence exerted by science on the affairs of men is evidenced not only by the fact that the military use of science has become a life-and-death issue for humanity; it impinges on the public not only through nuclear explosions. This direct influence makes itself felt also in the constructive labors and the everyday life of the people in the industrially developed countries. Without essaying any deeper analysis of the question, it is clear that, once science has ceased to be an abstract and intellectual realm and has become an element of national policy financed, organized and planned on a steadily growing scale by governments, something radically new has taken place in the world.

The scientific and technological revolution has enabled man within a comparatively brief space of time to make a gigantic leap forward in mastery of the secrets of nature and their utilization; the theory of relativity, quantum

mechanics, nuclear physics, polymer chemistry, cybernetics and molecular biology—all these areas basic to modern science have emerged since the beginning of the century, with the biggest advance being registered in recent decades. It is estimated that at least half of the total of modern scientific knowledge has been acquired in the last 15 years. Of the scientists who have made major contributions to the history of science, 90 per cent are our contemporaries. It is estimated that within the next 10 years the total volume of scientific information and discoveries will exceed the total achieved throughout the thousands of years since the birth of science. On the average two new journals are founded every day. In 1960 alone well over a million technical articles were published in 60,000 journals. Robert Oppenheimer has calculated that if the journal *Physical Review* continues to grow at the rate it did between 1945 and 1960, the total weight of back numbers a century from now will be greater than that of the earth. In the past 15 years the number of articles on chemistry has quadrupled and the increase in biological publications is still greater.

Scientific and technological progress is steadily gaining momentum. For one thing, the time lag between discovery and practical application is steadily diminishing and on an ever-growing scale science is paving the way to material production within the production sphere itself, reconstructing and organizing it on the theoretical groundwork of the principles and laws of nature. No longer is it a matter of scientific findings being introduced from without into an empirically evolved production set-up.

Moreover, the returns from investments in industrial research are greater than those accruing from investments in the other areas of production. According to *World Science Review*, U.S. industry in the past 25 years obtained a return of \$20 to \$50 for each dollar put into research. *Paint Industry Magazine* sets the figure as high as \$60. According to other data, every \$30,000 spent on research brings in an additional \$35,000 a year.

By and large it can be said that the impact of science on production has become a new motive force of history.

The following U.S. statistical data afford an idea of the new status of science: in 1941 expenditure on science was \$900 million and in 1957, \$8,200 million—a ninefold increase in 16 years. In the 1960-61 fiscal year the total spent on research and development amounted to \$14,000 million, or nearly \$70 per capita. In 1963-64 the figure was set at \$78.40 per capita (3.6 per cent of the national income). Over the period from 1940 to 1963 these expenditures increased 33-fold, exceeding the rate of growth of the gross national product 5.8-fold. According to D. Price, expenditure on science increased between 1950 and 1960 at an annual rate of 15 per cent (as compared with a 3.5 per cent growth of national income), and, if the rate is maintained, will amount to 10 percent of the national income by 1973 as compared with 2-3 per cent at present. On the whole, expenditure on science has doubled every five and a half years. If we compare this with the increase in the number of researchers, it will be seen that the cost of science equals the square of the number of scientists. The number of research workers is doubled every 10-12 years.

It is interesting that this process embraces also the social sciences; this is a reflection of a tendency, stemming from the social character of labor, for the natural sciences and social sciences to interpenetrate and unite—a tendency which is becoming an inherent attribute of both. The broader the *social, production* application of the findings of the natural sciences (in spheres such as use of nuclear energy, remaking climate and reclaiming deserts, space exploration, comprehensive automation, etc.), the more essential is sociological knowledge of the conditions and consequences of such application, and the greater the dependence of natural science as a productive force on such knowledge. Economists, sociologists, psychologists, etc., now join in research projects, and the character of their work and the criteria of the scientific veracity of its results must increasingly approximate to the exactness of knowledge in the natural sciences.*

These facts and trends obvious to any observer of contemporary development in themselves indicate that science is now a pressing sociopolitical problem, the solution of which in one or another way cannot but affect large numbers of people and, in class society, the divergent interests of the different classes. A closer examination reveals symptoms indicative of a deeper long-term process of social change embracing both science and society in its relation to science.

We see in the enhanced social role played by science a manifestation of one of those social changes which make socialist solutions imperative. We see in modern science an element of the new society which the socialist revolution is destined to release from the integuments of the old society, and to which the working-class, by its struggle, will give free rein.

II

What are the new deep-seated phenomena and processes which objectively have brought the aims of science and scientists closer to the aims arising from the socialist ideals born in the class struggle of the proletariat?

In Marxist theory this process is usually defined as the *transformation of science into a social productive force in the direct sense*. But, in examining its socio-economic essence and consequences, Marxism shows that this transformation is by no means the result of the immanent development of scientific knowledge but merely an *aspect and a manifestation of the growing socialization of production and human endeavor generally*, a process in which cooperative effort and the social nature of

labor become a powerful productive force embracing also scientific knowledge as a form of social labor used in a new way by the whole of society.

The new role of science is an expression of the social potential of modern production. It was therefore not by chance that Marx saw in the changing social role of science one of the aspects of the revolutionary reconstruction of society, which includes the abolition of private property, the overcoming of the contradictions of production based on the law of surplus value, establishment of collective control over the production process on the scale of society as a whole, transition to polytechnical education generally, erasing the distinction between manual and mental labor, turning free time, above all the time available for acquiring knowledge, into the basic measure of public wealth, etc.

The prime manifestation of the growing social potential of modern production is the *reconstruction of the overall structure of labor in material production, of the structure of this sphere as a whole*. This trend was noted in his time by Marx who pointed out that as the socialization of production proceeds the materialized power of knowledge will exert a growing influence on the labor process. "The implements of labor, in the form of machinery," he wrote in *Capital*, "necessitate the substitution of natural forces for human force, and the conscious application of science, instead of rule of thumb."

The most obvious result of the twentieth-century scientific and technological revolution and, in particular, of such a typical aspect of this revolution as comprehensive mechanization and automation of production, management and accounting, is the diminishing share of living labor in the production of goods and the growing role of scientific and technological achievements and their application. Long before the revolutionary changes characteristic of the present stage of scientific and technological progress, Marx, in his *Wages, Price and Profit*, noted that the productive powers of labor depended "upon the progressive improvement of the *Social Powers of Labor*, such as are derived from production on a grand scale, concentration of capital and combination of labor, subdivision of labor, machinery, improved methods, application of chemical and other natural agencies, shortening of time and space by means of communication and transport, and every other contrivance by which science presses the natural agencies into the service of labor, and by which the social or cooperative character of labor is developed." This implies a change in the nature and structure of living labor itself. If the tendency is for material production to give man domination over the forces of nature through the agency of science, then his labor role boils down to providing the general conditions for production as well as for control and supervision of the production process. Labor of this kind acquires a scientific content which no longer resides in the machine

*As we know, a powerful current flowed from natural science to social science not only at the time of Petty but also in the epoch of Marx," Lenin wrote. "And this current is no less, if not more, powerful in the twentieth century." Underlying this unity of the sciences today is not only their intrinsic, logical requirements but also an imperative need stemming from the transformation of science into a social productive force.

alone but becomes the personal possession of the worker, an attribute of the fully developed human personality.

At the present stage the new technology not only requires more predominantly mental labor but actually increases the numbers of mental workers in the production process. *Intellectuals now play a bigger role in all spheres of social life, as do scientists and technicians among the intellectuals generally.* Outwardly this is evident in the rising numbers of brain workers. In 1958 they numbered nearly seven million in the USA (roughly the same as the number of clerical workers). The biggest increase was shown by researchers, engineers and draughtsmen, of whom there are now more than 2.5 million, divided just about equally, according to data cited by Victor Perlo, between engineers and researchers, on the one hand, and their technical assistants and draughtsmen, on the other. In particular, the volume of research and experimental and designing work is increasing more rapidly than production proper. For instance, the ratio between the two in the system of U.S. General Electric changed from 10:90 in the early fifties to 60:40 in 1961. The new industries with the biggest future generally require more technicians and researchers than manual workers. Projecting this trend into the future, many scientists (John Bernal, for instance) believe that within the next hundred years 20 per cent of the adult population will be scientists. (Academician N. Semyonov places the percentage at 50.)

But the increase in the volume of scientific and engineering labor (and respectively the growth in the number of researchers and technicians) is not the only new feature. Another is the growing tendency for blue-collar labor, i.e., labor in direct contact with the object and instruments of labor in mass production, to change. Production equipped with automation and telemechanics, electronics and cybernetics, places higher demands on the worker which compel him to close the gap between himself and the researcher or the engineer. A growing share of the worker's energy is spent in the form of mental effort preparatory to mass production or extending beyond its immediate sphere. *The trend is for science to combine with the living labor of the worker, engendering a new type of producer of material values endowed with the qualities of the worker, engineer and researcher.* Creative questing comes to the fore in his labor inasmuch as routine repetition of mass production operations is increasingly shifted onto the machine.

On the other hand, *scientific work, too, has undergone profound modifications. In the course of the technological revolution the labor of the mass of researchers changes its social form, approximating to the labor of the production worker.* While remaining intellectual endeavor devoted to the search for knowledge, scientific labor becomes production labor both as regards form and the conditions in which it is performed. It is keyed to production, a

"built-in" component of production, equipped with instruments of research comparable to large-scale industry and performed collectively by large numbers of people observing a definite division of functions. The labor of the researcher becomes crystallized in material production. In this invasion of production forms into the experimental equipment and organization of science which imparts to it the attributes of socialized production one can discern the following motive forces.

First, *the labor of the scientist and science itself are industrialized* (in connection with the changes in experimental facilities). All the findings constituting the fundamental and most revolutionary content of twentieth century scientific discoveries, and primarily those in the basic areas of theory, have been obtained by means of complex and costly machines and devices, such as nuclear reactors, giant accelerators, space rockets and artificial satellites, electronic computers, aerodynamic and hydrodynamic installations, super-precise recording devices and communication systems, etc. The time is long past when the individual scientist could build on his own money and by his own efforts a laboratory, or create the instruments needed to mount experiments. If many theoretical scientists still work with pencil and paper, the facts of nature they correlate are obtained by physical instruments comparable to modern industrial plant. Science has advanced so much that the frontiers of the unknown are already too distant to permit of direct observation or observation with the aid of the low-powered experimental equipment of yesterday.

Second, *the place of the individual researcher in the overall scientific set-up is not what it used to be; research has become a matter of teamwork.* Modern large-scale experimental installations bring together large numbers of researchers, engineers, technicians, laboratory assistants and skilled workers, and presuppose cooperation and a complex division of labor among all these specialties. Modern scientific discoveries in general, not to speak of the latest forms of industrial experimentation, are made not by the scientist working on his own but through the organized effort of large groups coordinating the individual efforts of their members within the framework of a common task. A new type of scientist has appeared—the group scientist.

Third, many contemporary research projects can be undertaken (in the sense of both human and material resources) only by *drawing on public funds, only by the conscious mobilization of the resources of society as a whole according to plan.*

These deep-going processes connected with the transformation of science into a direct productive force take place in definite socio-economic contexts. The fact is that science functions in the order of a social institution dependent on the system of socio-economic relations. Hence to ascertain the conditions, forms and consequences of the function of science in so-

Judging the value of a science by its immediate returns has caused basic theoretical research in the USA to lag considerably behind applied researches and engineering projects.

In 1955 U.S. appropriations for applied and theoretical researches showed the following ratios:

private industry	97:3
state institutions	90:10
universities	50:50

Federation allocations for theoretical research amount to barely 1.5 per cent of the total appropriations for science. Most of this goes to universities which, as the above table shows, are the principal centers of theoretical research. Yet the share of the universities in the total research conducted in the country is only nine per cent. In 1959 Federal allocations for the universities amounted to \$500 million, or two-thirds of the total expended by institutions of higher learning on science. These figures, however, do not give a true picture of the support given to theoretical research, since much depends on the bias of the contracts concluded with colleges and universities. According to Allen Waterman, head of the U.S. National Science Foundation, \$4 out of every \$5 allocated by the government to colleges and universities go for applied rather than theoretical investigations.

ciety it is not enough to take into account only the processes intrinsic in modern industrial production or the potential of science itself. The modification of the "society-science" equation and the very use of science under capitalism is an *inherently antagonistic process as regards both its content and social consequences*.

Just as capital generally subordinates to its interests developed social combinations of labor, so it capitalizes on the progress of the social form of mental labor. In the conditions of capitalism the scientific revolution and the new social use of knowledge are engulfed by the sphere of *wage labor* exploited by the capitalists, which has extended to sections of the so-called middle strata (and not only the scientists). The intellectuals, Lenin wrote, "occupy a special position among the other classes, attaching themselves partly to the bourgeoisie by their connections, their outlook, etc., and partly to the wage workers, as capitalism increasingly deprives the intellectual of his independent position, converting him into a hired worker, and threatens to lower his living standard." This is what is happening to the scientific intelligentsia as ever new spheres of human endeavor are drawn into the vortex of production for profit, as mental labor is performed and organized within the framework of the capitalist-wage worker relationship. The influx of researchers into industry, the rapid development in industry of designing offices, experimental centers, research laboratories and institutes, etc., and the extension of monopoly financing of research signify the metamorphosis of researchers and the technical intelligentsia generally into a component of the "collective laborer" producing profit for the capitalists, for the monopolies (a component, however, more or less remote from the manipulation of the material product of labor). They thus augment the army of wage labor.* The produc-

tion of knowledge becomes a branch of capitalist enterprise, a "discovery industry" where specialized firms supply the monopolies with scientific discoveries and licences and where the rank-and-file researchers constitute the bulk of the hired labor force.**

The clearly discernible general tendency is, then, for increasing numbers of researchers to cease to be self-employed professionals selling their labor or possessing incomes of their own and to become hired workers without their own means of production or private sources of income and earning their livelihood solely by selling their labor power. The fact that this labor power is expended in the form of creative mental labor does not change the socio-economic substance of the matter, inasmuch as this labor is productive labor, constitutes an essential condition of modern production, and is organized along capitalist lines for extracting profit, i.e., is *exploited*.

Hence the status of large sections of researchers and other technical intellectuals concentrated in the research institutes and laboratories of private firms and monopolies *approximates to that of the working class as regards the conditions and nature of their labor as well as their living standard* (which in the case of the rank-and-file researchers differs little from the highly-paid skilled workers). Moreover, it should be borne in mind that as scientific activity becomes a mass occupation the monopoly position enjoyed by some professions on the labor market is abolished and the opportunities are diminishing for individual scientists to set a high monopoly price on their labor power.

Needless to say, this process of the socio-economic coming together of the working class and scientific workers, like all laws of social development, asserts itself only as a *trend* that can be traced through a maze of diverging, intermediary or simply out-dated forms and

*The following figures are indicative: in 1921 some 9,000 people were engaged in industrial research and development in the USA, 60,000 in 1940, 554,000 in 1953, and 728,000 in 1957.

**According to U.S. statistics, this industry has outstripped the automobile and chemical industries for sales.

deviations, shifts in the demarcation lines between different categories of workers, etc. Above all it should be remembered that science is still far from having become the dominant productive force even in the developed industrial countries, and that it has not yet reached very many branches of production and the economy generally. Strictly speaking, we are dealing with an ideal still to be attained. Moreover, society still has a long way to go before the existing technological applications of science permeate every pore of production proper; so far its impact has been felt primarily in the non-productive, military branches of the economy.

On the other hand, the social status of the scientists engaged in production is highly contradictory and heterogeneous. Many top scientists have retained their independence, acting from time to time as consultants to capitalist firms or state-monopoly organizations, and in addition to the process of approximation of the conditions of large numbers of intellectuals and wage workers, there is also an increase in the number of researchers directly linked with the bourgeoisie, who are part of it, serve it and strive to consolidate its power. The scientific and technological intelligentsia, then, is still highly differentiated and some of its sections are still remote from the conditions of the wage workers (and especially from their ideology and political beliefs, organizations, etc.). A considerable part of this intelligentsia is walled off from the working class primarily by its connections, background, way of life as well as by outlook and ideology. The policy of the bourgeoisie towards scientific workers too fosters this state of affairs. In view of the role played by science in technological progress, and to perpetuate their domination, the monopoly capitalists seek to divide the intellectuals and, by means of salary differentials and diverse privileges, prevent them from drawing closer to the working class.

But no tactical devices employed by the capitalists can hold in check the contradictions engendered by the capitalist system which are gripping science as well. By bringing scientific work within the sphere of wage labor and making knowledge a commodity, capitalism tends to transfer to science the contradictions inherent in capitalist material production, primarily the contradiction between the social nature of the labor involved and the private form of appropriation of its fruits. This contradiction is evident, for example, in the relationship between the individual scientist and the fruits of his labor and its conditions, which is analogous to the relationship of alienation between the worker and the product and conditions of his labor. The product of scientific work, i.e., the content of cognition and discovery, is alienated from its producers, used to augment the private profit of the monopolies, locked up in safes, squandered, distorted to meet the pragmatic criteria of business, or used to create military instruments of destruc-

tion. The scientist himself is transformed into a "detail" laborer and sight is lost of the development and application of science as an integral whole. Where private property dominates, the profit motive it engenders impedes considered organization of long-range theoretical research which does not promise an immediate cash return.

This cannot but give rise among scientists to a sense of alienation, insecurity and spiritual isolation. The growth of state-monopoly capitalism also erodes the democratic forms of scientific endeavor, violating the intrinsic needs and logic of creative science which presuppose freedom and democracy, an atmosphere of disinterested search for truth. Under these circumstances the growth of public forms of guidance of scientific effort and division of labor within teams of researchers leads to the suppression of the creative freedom and individuality of the scientist, to rigid bureaucratic tutelage and *diktat*, attempts to reduce the researcher to a servant of purely pragmatic interests, all of which cannot but create an antagonism between free research and practical requirements, between individual initiative and the methods employed in organizing collective work, between the intrinsic requirements of "pure" theoretical thought and the practical application of science. State-monopoly capitalism makes use of some modern forms of scientific cooperation and centralization of research, but at the same time it turns them against the scientists themselves, against their creative individuality, narrowing down the opportunities for genuine search for the truth.

This impels a considerable part of the intelligentsia to support demands for radical social change which objectively (and often subjectively) coincide in content with the demands of the working class in the developed capitalist countries.

The bridging of the gulf between a substantial part of the researchers and technicians and the working class is, as we have seen, a dual process—it is reciprocated by the working class, some sections of which are close to the technical intelligentsia as regards the nature of their labor. *The unity of science and labor is crystallizing in modern industrial society as a basic feature of the present stage of the development of its productive forces.*

But the capitalist form of appropriation works against this crystallizing unity, tending to make the process anarchic and uneven, involving millions of human tragedies. While the labor of some workers changes and acquires a scientific content, capitalism at the same time condemns vast numbers of workers to primitive, routine forms of labor, downgrades their skills, checks their educational and cultural progress, chains them to deadeningly monotonous types of labor or, through automation, dooms them to unemployment. At the same time the discrepancy between the supreme achievements of science and their application in industry, on the one hand, and the degree

of mastery of these achievements by the mass of the working people, on the other, is increasing.

In this way capitalism not only constantly engenders and reproduces contradictions between the workers, on the one hand, and the engineers, technicians and scientists, on the other, but *saps the foundations of science as a social force which cannot advance and find practical application without a mass base*. We have said that the continued progress of social production based on science necessitates a big increase in the numbers engaged in research or capable of assimilating and applying the results of this research. By greatly increasing the productivity of labor, automation makes it possible to reduce working time, thereby freeing more time, say, for education, for ensuring the scientific and general education of the subject of social production (this is important not only from the standpoint of production but also from that of science inasmuch as it augments the human resources from which science can draw). Capitalism is powerless to solve on a broad scale the problem of mass scientific, polytechnical education of the working people and their development as individuals. For this reason, too, it comes into sharp conflict with the logic of development of contemporary industry and science, with the interests of the majority of mankind, with man's requirements today and tomorrow.

Under capitalism science is compelled to defend its intrinsically democratic nature and to evolve higher forms of democratic self-administration and control over its social application and resources. *Democratic science—this is what the Communists offer the scientists as an alternative to the capitalist exploitation of the fruits of science.*

III

The evolution of science into a complex social institution and the immense social significance of its application could not but impel scientists towards organized social activity, create the *objective conditions* for such activity. The scientists' sense of moral responsibility for their work and its social consequences has grown, and so has their activity impinging on the status of science generally and the social system which is its setting. Hence the urgency of the need for the Communists to put forward a program of action capable of winning over the scientific and technical intelligentsia, taking into account its growing influence in society and the identity of its interests with the interests of the revolutionary working class.

One of the main issues on which the scientists find a common ground with the general democratic struggle of the working class is, unquestionably, the preservation and strengthening of peace, prevention of a nuclear war in which mankind might well perish. Precisely because modern engines of war owe their destructive powers largely to science, the role of the scien-

tists in solving this problem is now greater than ever. *In the nuclear age no world policy can be realistic and effective if it is not based on science and does not take into account both its potential and its recommendations.*

It was the scientists who showed that world war can no longer serve as a means of resolving political issues. Away back in 1955 a group of Nobel Prize winners issued a statement declaring that "all nations should voluntarily agree to reject force as the ultimate instrument of international policy. For if they are not prepared to do so they will cease to exist." This conclusion is borne out by factual findings, precise calculations, documented proof.

The statistics provided by scientists showing what the consequences of a nuclear war would be are far from being designed merely to frighten people; their purpose is to convince all—not only the public the world over, but also those who bear the responsibility for foreign-policy acts fraught with the danger of irreparable consequences—that *world war must be ruled out*. Lenin foresaw the danger already in 1918, when, according to Nadezhda Krupskaya's memoirs, he expressed the view that "modern technology tends to make war increasingly destructive. And the time would come, he thought, when war would be so destructive as to be impossible."

This view finds a wide response in our day, particularly among scientists, even those who are remote from Marxism and hold no brief for communism but who nevertheless are guided by the universal principles of humanism and justice which constitute the moral fibre of true science. This issue was forcefully put by L. Pauling in his book *No More War*:

"The time has now come for war to be abandoned. . . . I believe in morality, in justice, in humanitarianism. We must recognize now that the power to destroy the world by the use of nuclear weapons is a power that cannot be used—we cannot accept the idea of such monstrous immorality."

But moral condemnation of war is not enough. Scientists are becoming increasingly aware of this. They are joining the struggle against war-makers. The Communists respond by advancing a program of struggle for peace which stimulates these trends and charts the perspective of their realization. *Clear-cut and unequivocal advocacy of this program is one way of working for the realization of the anti-militarist, humanist aspirations of the men of science and technology. It opens another avenue for their active and growing participation in the common movement for peace, democracy and social progress.*

This is all the more important because of the heterogeneity of the scientific and technological intelligentsia. We refer not only to the purely socio-economic differences, but also to the different attitudes towards such issues as the military use of science and the scientists' place in the fight for peace. As we know, some scientists in the capitalist countries are still passive, unwilling to take part in movements with a poli-

tical tinge, while others actively support the aggressive schemes of the military (recall, for instance, Edward Teller, the "father of the H-bomb").

The Communists can best carry out their task in the struggle for peace by differentiating their program of action according to the various sections of the intellectuals, basing themselves on the progressive scientists, working to win over the wavering, helping the bystanders overcome their passivity and exposing those who have betrayed science and trampled on the principles of humanism which constitute its very essence.

The truth about the nuclear weapon should not be concealed from the peoples. In this respect the Communists are in full agreement with the progressive scientists and in their activities, on both the strategic and tactical plane, draw on the conclusions of contemporary science. They condemn the irresponsible, reckless attempts at nuclear blackmail.

The Communists believe that the peace forces are strong enough to foil the aggressive plans of the imperialists not only by virtue of moral conviction and the justice and humanity of their cause, but also by virtue of the *growing strength of the socialist countries and their unity and solidarity in face of the imperialist threat.*

The worldwide movement of the peoples for peace the aims of which coincide with the aims of the active peace policy of the socialist commonwealth, needs the support of all scientists. The question now is not only one of moral responsibility for the results of the application of science, but also of action directly influencing world politics. That many scientists are aware of their role in the fight for peace can be seen, for instance, from the declaration of scientific workers adopted at the World Peace Assembly held in Helsinki in 1955 which stated: "The scientists hold the destiny of the nations in their hands; they must prevent nuclear war." And indeed, their prestige and knowledge are of exceptional significance from the standpoint of the weight they carry with the public generally, and their authoritative opinion is increasingly influencing statesmen as well. The contribution made by scientists towards the partial nuclear test-ban achieved through the Moscow treaty is common knowledge.

The scientists' peace efforts are growing and

taking on new forms. The once scattered and uncoordinated actions of separate groups have crystallized into powerful movements. The world peace movement has been joined, for instance, by the World Federation of Scientific Workers founded in 1946 and uniting some 200,000 members in 20 countries. This organization (its first president was Frederic Joliot-Curie, and since 1957 it has been headed by the British Nobel Prize physicist C. F. Powell) was one of the sponsors of the Pugwash movement, whose initiators also included such famous scientists as Joliot-Curie, Einstein, Russell, Yukawa, Born, Infeld and Moeller. Signature campaigns for peace appeals and petitions too have found a wide response among progressive men of science.

These movements often transcend their initial aims. Scientists are fully aware, for instance, that the arms drive not only increases the danger of world war but seriously impedes progress generally, retarding the advance of science and diverting human and material resources away from creative endeavor. It is estimated that the world now spends more than \$120,000 million annually for military purposes. Yet United Nations figures show that the allocation of a mere 17 per cent of this sum (\$20,000 million) for additional investment in the underdeveloped countries could accelerate their economic progress to a point where poverty could largely be abolished in these countries. Moreover, this would speed up the advance of those areas of modern science with the most direct bearing on production and the standard of living. More and more scientists in the capitalist countries are coming to realize that only by solving the *social* problems of science can its creative powers be fully released and placed at the service of society. *The alliance of science and democracy is an indispensable condition of progress towards a life truly worthy of man. It is imperative also for resolving the social problems of science itself.*

The inner logic of their endeavors tends to alert scientists to this truth. They are bound to pose social issues and their struggle becomes part of the general struggle for the democratic and socialist reconstruction of society. But the process is a highly complex one. Although large numbers of scientists and technicians belong to the working class by virtue of their social and material status, they are still separated from

Although allocations for science are steadily growing, there is a crying disproportion between appropriations for peaceful areas (primarily theoretical) and appropriations for military research. Suffice it to say that in the USA 70 to 80 per cent of all theoretical research is financed and encouraged only if it has a direct or indirect military significance. Ninety per cent of the funds for applied research come from the three services. The share in the national product of spending on military research and development projects increased in the past 20 years 50 times over, showing a 306-fold absolute growth. From the 1939-40 to the 1963-64 fiscal year, total U.S. spending on research and development of military significance grew from about \$26 million to \$9,163 million, or 352.6-fold in current prices and nearly 180-fold in fixed prices. The rate of increase in this type of spending exceeded the rate of increase of U.S. direct military expenditures 37.6-fold (in current prices).

it by traditional barriers and prejudices; they are infected by individualism, passivity and political indifference. Their anti-capitalist organization is still at the embryonic stage, retarded both by a bourgeois-liberal outlook and by the artifices practised by the monopoly capitalists in order to retain them as an instrument of their power—artifices camouflaged by diverse technocratic and elite theories designed to capitalize on the connections, background and bourgeois way of life of many scientists. The Communists, however, are fully aware that the present distinctions between scientists and the working class are the product of the historically-conditioned antagonism between manual and mental labor stemming from the privileged position accorded by the bourgeoisie to mental workers. This distinction is the greater the more firmly the bourgeoisie is in the saddle, and it diminishes with the growth of the influence of the working class. The unity of all industrial wage workers (and these include the majority of the researchers and technicians) championed by the Communists is founded on the objective interrelation of science and society which makes for the growth of socialist consciousness among intellectuals and their transformation into a mass socialist force.

The hold of the bourgeoisie on the scientific and technological intelligentsia is weakened by the inability of capitalism to ensure the full flowering of science and to meet its intrinsic requirements, by the incompatibility of modern science with the capitalist production relations. The advance of science inevitably necessitates the radical reorganization of the conditions of production and the economy as a whole; it necessitates a change not only in the conditions of the worker but in the sum total of the conditions of this existence; it is a matter of all-round development of the human personality, of planning production and organization of labor on the scale of the entire economy, of raising the educational and cultural standards of the working people, etc. These demands, challenging the very foundations of the capitalist system, enter into the historically changing aggregate of demands which are the mainspring of the work-

ers' revolutionary activity.

From the standpoint of the political consciousness of the intelligentsia, the fact that capitalism squanders human energy and funds on war preparations and is incapable of using scientific and technological achievements for the good of all, thereby increasingly demonstrating its hostility to culture and progress, is extremely important. Many scientists are awakening to the need for social change and embracing socialist ideals also because as humanists they cannot accept capitalism which is based on the crude power of money and self-interest, because of their democratic, anti-imperialist convictions and their experience of the complex and agonizing social and psychological problems and conflicts engendered by the bourgeois system.

The Communists seek to give concrete embodiment in their programs to the motives for radical social reconstruction objectively characteristic of the scientific and technological intelligentsia — professional pride and self-respect, gravitation towards rational and precise organization of activity, the democratic spirit of science, the desire for creative endeavor and freedom of research, the right to dispose of one's own discoveries and inventions, etc., in a word, all those demands, sentiments and principles which are constantly violated by capitalism and negated by its contradictions and injustices, its anarchy and irrationality. The Communists search for suitable forms of joint struggle for the democratic rights of the working people at the enterprises, for democratic education and culture, public control over the application and promotion of science, social regulation and guidance of production, and control over the national economy as a whole by democratic institutions. *Only by joining this common struggle can the scientist uphold his creative individuality. And, in turn, the struggle to affirm the creative individuality of the scientist and to ensure modern science conditions for development corresponding to its intrinsic requirements cannot but intertwine with the struggle against the monopolies and for the democratic development of society.*

Wilson's views on British socialism

JOHN GIBBONS

DURING THE EARLY PART of 1964 Harold Wilson travelled up and down Britain to take a good look at the social and economic results of thirteen years of Tory rule and to submit to the electors the Labor Party's views on the state of the country and what they intended to do about it.

The tour inaugurated Labor's election campaign which in October culminated in Mr. Wilson succeeding Sir Alex Douglas Home as the tenant of Number 10 Downing Street.

The things that Mr. Wilson saw during his travels supplied him with ammunition for the electoral fight against the Conservatives, and his angry denunciation of the things seen coupled with his promise of urgent measures first to alleviate the distress and ultimately to abolish it, help to explain Labor's victory in the general election.

In the city of Edinburgh, for example, Wilson saw housing conditions which he described as "an affront to a civilized nation." In Liverpool he found "forty thousand families on the waiting list for houses," and families were still living "in 80,000 scheduled slums." In London and in other cities Wilson found "a growing army of the homeless, in all thousands of families divided, desperate and condemned . . . to live in ancient Poor Law institutions that should have been blown up years ago."

If the housing crisis was bad Wilson found the hospital accommodation worse. "Nearly half our hospitals," he said, "survive as ancient monuments." Referring specifically to the city of Birmingham, he quoted from a survey about "hospitals which should have been blown up, slum property, appalling fire risks, overcrowding, barrack-like buildings, and degrading conditions for patients and staff." And in the years of Tory government, Wilson comments, "we have built precisely five new hospitals."

Sixty per cent of the homes for aged people are "over 100 years old, some of them go back 200 years." And "the accommodation into which

we put our old people should outrage the nation's conscience."

As with the aged, so it is with the young. Children go to schools which likewise qualify for the description of "ancient monuments."

Mr. Wilson rounded off his pre-election survey, "a drab and dingy" picture, he called it, with a forthright condemnation of the state of affairs in which some "six or seven million" of his fellow countrymen and women "live close to, many below, the poverty line."

Strictly speaking, there is not much that is startlingly new in Wilson's picture of massive poverty and slum buildings in Britain. What is striking, however, is that, after all the brave propaganda about the "Welfare State" and the "Affluent Society," the poverty, far from diminishing, seems to be growing and becoming more widespread.

It should be said that Britain, the oldest capitalist country, is not an exception in this matter. For in the newer and much more modern capitalism of the United States, President Johnson, having scrapped the dubious propaganda about people's capitalism, has now officially declared war on poverty in his country.

But the difference between President Johnson's foray against American poverty and Prime Minister Wilson's drive against its British variant is that, while the American statesman's cure for the malady caused by capitalism is capitalism in still larger doses, his British colleague's remedy is what he describes as British socialism.

MARX DISOWNED

Perhaps the fullest exposition of Mr. Wilson's views on the subject is contained in his book *The Relevance of British Socialism*. Since his book was, as we are told in the introduction, written expressly for an American readership, it may be that the particular zeal with which it denies any ideological kinship with Marx was designed to allay the fears of the emperors of

finance and industry in Wall Street and their guardian angels in the Pentagon, to assure them that there would be no need to switch the Seventh Fleet from, say, the Gulf of Tonkin to the Thames estuary in order to roll back British socialism from the venerable halls of Westminster.

While Wilson may disclaim kinship with Marx, no one who has looked at his "drab and dingy" picture of Britain in 1964 will miss the points of unmistakable resemblance to the picture drawn by Engels in his famous *The Condition of the Working Class in England* in 1844.

After disowning Marx as an apostle of the "cult of violence," Wilson stands forth as the man of non-violence. "The cult of violence inspired by the French and Russian revolutions," he writes, "has made no appeal to the British Labor Movement which has been concerned not to destroy but to construct, not to level down but to level up."

This, obviously is Mr. Wilson again going out of his way to tell American anti-socialists that only continental Frenchmen and Russians revel in revolutions, whereas the island British have always eschewed violent revolution in any shape or form.

To the thoughtful reader it will sound odd why the author chose to mention the violence of the French revolution of 1789 while omitting any mention of the English revolution of a century earlier. After all it was the Cromwells, and the Wilsons, who in seventeenth century England, when all the efforts at non-violence had failed, acted pretty violently and brought the monarch of the day to the scaffold in Whitehall one hundred years before the guillotine severed royal heads in Paris.

And supposing the forefathers of Mr. Wilson's American readers, men of British descent, had not risen in revolt against the colonial laws of George the Third, how long would they have had to wait for freedom? Washington and his colleagues, too, tried every peaceful avenue, but in the end they had to use force to win freedom. In other words they had to "destroy" colonial oppression before they were "free" to "construct."

And in any case, since history is invoked, why are the French and Russian revolutions lumped together when the first of these, eminently progressive for its time, cleared the way to the unfettered development of capitalism and capitalist exploitation, whereas the Russian revolution, coming a century or more later, abolished the domination of capitalism in one-sixth of the world, ended the exploitation of man by man and paved the way to the building of that new socialist society of which Mr. Wilson dreams.

Had the author been a little bit fairer to the Marxists, and had he kept closer to historical truth, he could have reminded his readers that Marx taught that Britain, because of her long-established and highly developed democratic institutions was a country in which the advance

to socialism possibly could take place without violence. And he could have added that present-day Marxists in Britain, for example the Communist Party, have a program which proclaims that socialism can be achieved without violence, through Parliament, a program which sets forth concretely and convincingly how the two parties of the labor movement, united, could rally the majority of the population for the advance to socialism. Any resort to violence, the Communists add, will depend not so much on the forces of socialism as on the degree and nature of the resistance offered to a genuinely socialist Parliament and the rule of law by the anti-socialist minority of monopoly capitalism.

THE "GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE" THEORY

When the Labor Party appeared on the political arena at the beginning of the century, it was in large measure a response to the need felt by the organized workers for independent working-class representation in Parliament. Men and women of the middle classes also played a part in founding the new party, and down the years they have provided it with most of its writers and professional politicians.

The rise of the Labor Party so impressed Lenin that, writing in 1908, he described it as the first step in the direction of a class-conscious socialist policy in Britain.

As time went on, a Right-wing developed in the Party and soon began to dominate its councils. In the main, in the early days the Rights came from the ranks of the professional politicians like Ramsay MacDonald, and from the professional trade union leaders like Thomas and Henderson. For the MacDonalds, purely parliamentary activity was everything, supporting industrial action anathema; the purely trade union leaders, on the other hand, reluctant even to give their blessing to strikes, viewed any supporting political action with downright hostility. Needless to say, this officially accepted division of labor in the British working class movement has not been to its benefit.

Separation of the Party leadership from the mass of the membership finds clearest expression in the Parliamentary Labor Party. This body, formed by all the Labor Members of Parliament, cannot, in Mr. Wilson's words, be dictated to, either by the annual conference of the Party or by the National Executive Committee. When a Labor Government is in power, Mr. Wilson continues, it is well understood that no conference decision can be regarded as binding upon it. The reason for this, we are told, is that a Labor Government is answerable through Parliament to the whole country; it acts in the interests of the whole country.

Now if this theory applies to a Labor Government then it holds good also for a Conservative Government. But Mr. Wilson would be the last man to say that Home's Conservative Govern-

ment, for example, was a government of the people for the people.

The Government of the people theory, clearly, is at variance with the hard facts of life. The reality of the past thirteen years was a Tory Government acting as the parliamentary instrument of Big Business, of monopoly capitalism. And the entire machinery of state, of the real economic and political power, known nowadays as the Establishment, is jealously controlled by the chosen few, chosen not so much by God as by Mammon. Worship at the shrine of Mammon, however, does not prevent the men of the Establishment from invoking some kind of Divine Right to have immutable and undivided rule over the destinies of Britain and her people.

Seen against this background, the Tory defeat in the October general election was a resounding victory for the broad labor movement. The defeat rankles, so much so that Sir Alex Douglas Home, in an effort to hearten his despondent followers, far from giving Labor a chance, has vowed "to fight to bring down this government at the earliest moment."

In contrast to this implacable Tory hostility, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, John Gollan, has declared that the Communists will help the Labor Government to remain in office and to win victories for the people against the monopolists and landlords. And pledging wholehearted support of any progressive measures taken by the Government, Gollan went on, any criticism by us will aim at strengthening the Government and winning more support for it among the people.

SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM

Science harnessed to socialism is Mr Wilson's solution to the economic difficulties experienced by Britain. When asked (he tells us) what, above all, he associated with socialism in this modern age, he answered: "If there was some word I would use to identify modern socialism it was science." Now no one will deny the importance of science for socialism.

For the experience of all the socialist countries, especially the experience of the Soviet Union, the oldest of them, is proof of the benefits of science. One would like to add, however, that a scientific and, dare we say, Marxist approach to the class realities of the existing monopoly-capitalist society in Britain could be a useful guide for the advance towards the Wilson dream of a New Britain. At any rate all the experience of life under capitalism tends to the view that science alone will hardly suffice.

No one will argue, for example, that the United States suffers from any great dearth of scientific personnel and research institutes. The success of its recent Moon probes and of its space program generally, to take just one aspect, is the proof of American progress in science. The United States has possibly twenty times more scientists than Great Britain, but

it also has on its hands a much bigger war against poverty, and it has a hard core of some five million unemployed that no postwar boom so far has appreciably diminished, but to which each of the successive recessions has added.

Science alone, then, all its blessings notwithstanding, has not proved to be the answer to what has been aptly described as "private opulence and public squalor" in the United States. Under capitalism science instead of being a blessing can be a curse. Indeed, it has been so described by George Meany, American trade union leader; automation, according to Meany, "is a real curse to this country that could bring us to a national catastrophe."

And if science, far from solving the socio-economic problems of the working people in the United States is, on the contrary, as Meany tells us, accentuating them, what grounds has Mr. Wilson for hoping that it can clear the way for his brave new world in a Britain where the big capitalist monopolies are now digging in in an attempt to halt not only any advance to socialism but implementation of the Government's program of reforms?

Even now at this early stage in the life of the Wilson Government this program, which won considerable support among the people, is threatened by the combined pressure of the monopolies at home and the international bankers abroad; it is endangered, too, by the exceedingly costly continuity in foreign policy the motto of which seems to be: Fulton and cold war forever.

The Marxists, whom Mr. Wilson professes to despise, never had any illusions about the legacy of economic and political ills that the Labor Government would inherit from its Tory predecessor. They fully appreciated the difficulties with which the new Government would be confronted and, equally with Mr. Wilson, they are keenly conscious of the relevance of socialism to a Britain where all the objective conditions have long been ripe for the socialist reconstruction of society.

THE "EAST OF SUEZ" POLICEMAN

The Marxists applauded when the Labor Government, reversing the policy of the Tories, announced an increase in pensions for the six million old-age pensioners; when it took measures to safeguard tenants against the property owners, to abolish the prescription charges, and when it ended the earnings limitation for widows drawing pensions.

But the fear is now growing among Labor supporters and well-wishers that the program for modernizing industry, increasing output, expanding exports, reforming the educational system, building more schools, abolishing the slums and ending the housing crisis, for building hospitals and restoring a free health service will be, in considerable measure, sacrificed to pay for the commitments of an intensified cold war policy.

Before coming into this cold-war foreign-

policy inheritance of his Tory predecessor, Mr. Wilson had argued strongly for peaceful co-existence and peaceful cooperation between West and East and, even more, for a socialist foreign policy. Instead of putting weapons and methods of destruction first, "the most important thing," he said in one of his speeches, "is to put foreign policy, *particularly a socialist foreign policy* first." (The italics are mine—J.G.)

In the climate caused by the nuclear "balance of terror" this profession of a socialist foreign policy for Britain reassured not only the broad labor movement but also large numbers in other sections of the public. One can say without any hesitation that the repeated declarations of peaceful intent influenced many non-Labor supporters to vote this time for the Labor Party.

Now, however, barely six months after the voting, instead of the "socialist foreign policy" there is continuity of Fulton, of which the officially declared support of the U.S. colonial war in Vietnam is the most disquieting aspect. That is to say, a professedly socialist Government in London, pledged to carry out a socialist foreign policy, gives more and political support to a monopoly-capitalist Government in Washington and its ruthless bombing raids on socialist North Vietnam.

The Washington ally has created not a few Lidices in Vietnam by the bombing raids of February and March.

And if Mr. Wilson hasn't condemned the Lidice-makers in Vietnam with the same indignation as many Labor Party members, part of the explanation may be his role of "policeman" envisaged "East of Suez" for Britain "in the remaining years of this century." As Prime Minister and, by implication, as Lord High Constable of the police force "East of Suez," he, the advocate of "a socialist foreign policy," wants to be able to send troops "wherever they may be needed from Brunei to British Guiana, from Kuwait to Hong Kong."

In all this Mr. Wilson, despite his love affair with science and modernization, seems to be looking backward with nostalgia to the days of gunboat diplomacy, to the not-so-distant past when the shortsighted Tory hatchet men used to boast: "By the sword we won India and by the sword we shall hold India."

But it isn't just a matter of nostalgia. The "East of Suez" formula is a modernized translation of the now discredited term imperialism. "East of Suez" signifies Arabian and Middle East oil, and oil signifies Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum—the two giants of British monopoly capitalism. "East of Suez" signifies Malaysian tin and rubber; and oil, tin and rubber are big dollar earners. And while we can appreciate this as being highly relevant to British monopoly capitalism, it is harder to see what it has to do with British socialism.

Surely the last thing the British labor movement had in mind when they voted in a Labor Government was that its Prime Minister should

proclaim the role of policeman for the protection of capitalist monopolies! Fifty thousand British troops, squadrons of bombers and fighter planes and considerable naval forces are concentrated in the Malaysia area to safeguard £400 million of monopoly capital and, presumably, to join with the Pentagon in combating the national-liberation movement everywhere East of Suez. Yet the *Relevance of British Socialism* is explicit in rejecting "the economic exploitation of one country by another."

Before his election in October Mr. Wilson had been all against a West German finger on the nuclear trigger. But by December, after a visit to Washington, much to the astonishment and chagrin of Labor supporters, policy had switched from unrelenting opposition to the Multilateral Nuclear Force to wholehearted support of its transmutation into the Atlantic Nuclear Force. As explained by Defense Minister Healey, ANF would give the West Germans everything that Wilson had sworn they would not get: "participation in ownership, management and control of a new strategic NATO nuclear force on terms of absolute equality with all other participants."

In the light of this irrelevancy to disarmament and peace, to say nothing of socialism, readers of Mr. Wilson's book were hardly surprised when they learned from their newspapers that his Government's Defense Estimates of £2,100 million were the highest in Britain's history. The news came as a shock to Labor supporters and the public generally. After all the denunciations of the Tory squandermania on armaments when Labor was in opposition, the people had been conditioned to expect a big cutback in military expenditure. Record military expenditure synchronizes with the equally record inherited balance of payments deficit of £800 million.

SOCIALISM AND COMMON OWNERSHIP

In his *Relevance of British Socialism* Mr. Wilson, while he looks longingly at the monopoly capitalism of the United States, hardly spares a page for the Socialist part of the world whose experience, positive and negative, undoubtedly is of some relevance to the advance to socialism elsewhere.

True, to show how Britain, the pioneer in industrialization, is now being outpaced by later arrivals, he notes that the Soviet Union is training ten to eleven times more scientists, engineers and technologists than Britain, that it is increasing its production two and a half times faster than Britain.

But surely the relevant thing is that the socialist countries have realized in the spirit and in the letter the famous Clause IV of the Labor Party's Constitution concerning "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." And it is from this socio-economic base that their advantages flow; on it they have erected a machinery of state which in all its ramifications reflects the active role

of the working population, not of an Establishment of private wealth and privilege.

Two brief news items, one culled from a London journal, the other from a Moscow paper, will illustrate the inherited difficulties of the Labor Government and the advantages of socialism in the Soviet Union.

The opening sentence of an article in the London *New Statesman* (Feb. 5) reads: "Last week 47 families applied to the London County Council for shelter because they were homeless, or about to become homeless." And further: "There are this week in the care of the LCC over 1,300 homeless families." The item in *Pravda* (Feb. 17) reads: "Since the time of the 1963 local elections 800,000 Muscovites have moved into new accommodation. . . . By the end of the current year another 3,650,000 square meters of dwelling space will have been occupied in Moscow together with 44 new schools, 119 kindergartens, 16 hospitals and 25 clinics."

The moral of this brief modern tale of two cities is socialism in all its urgent relevance to the needs of the people.

This is not to say that Moscow hasn't got its problems. These it has, but one big problem that it has solved, solution of which has facilitated its housing and city development generally, is the problem of land ownership. Unlike London, land and building sites in Moscow are under public ownership, thus ruling out all speculation in building land and making possible exceedingly low rents for householders.

WILL THE HOPES BE REALIZED?

Reading Mr. Wilson one gets the impression that all the time he has one ear tuned to Washington's reaction to everything he has to say. For example, the text of a speech delivered last March at Bridgeport University, USA, described the revolution in Cuba as a "disaster."

One can imagine the restless shade of George the Third in its nocturnal wanderings up and down Whitehall stopping Mr. Wilson on his way home to Downing Street from a midnight session of the House of Commons and saying: My dear Prime Minister, how funny that, apropos the revolt of colonies in the Americas, you, a socialist, should be using in the 1960's exactly the same words I used in the 1770's.

If the *Relevance of British Socialism* opens with Wilson taking a tilt at Marx, towards the end, evidently to make absolutely sure that by now all Washington's fears of British socialism will have been allayed, the somewhat rash claim is made that the first postwar Labor Government "eliminated Communism as an effective political force in Britain."

For a dedicated modernizer Mr. Wilson here is treading ancient ground. For the history of the past hundred and fifty years is studded with the names of "eliminators" of Communism, beginning with Metternich and his Holy

Alliance all the way through to Mussolini and Hitler and their inglorious anti-Comintern pact. Modern history, then, is a record not of the elimination of Communism, but rather of the elimination of its would-be eliminators.

But in the anti-Communist breast too, hope springs eternal. And so the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO) fathered, Mr. Wilson tells us, by Ernest Bevin, Foreign Minister of the first postwar Labor Government, was designed for the specific purpose of "containing Communism," of "rolling it back." Yet NATO has proved powerless to prevent Communism spreading outward from Europe and Asia to the American continent.

Presumably what Wilson means in the context of Britain is that the Welfare State, which he likewise credits to the previous Labor Government, brought with it blessings in such abundance that there was no need now for a militant class party such as the Communist Party. But it is precisely here that Mr. Wilson flounders in a maze of contradictions.

If the first postwar Labor Government really did all the things claimed for it, what caused these suddenly to evaporate into Wilson's "drab and dingy picture" of 1964? And further, why, having done so, did it fail to retain the confidence of the electorate, why, to use Mr. Wilson's term, was it "eliminated" in 1951 by the Tories? After all, did not Mr. Wilson himself and the late Aneurin Bevan resign in anger from the Attlee Government shortly before its "elimination" by the Tories?

The Communist Party called for unity with the Lefts in the Labor Party, for joint mass struggle against the Right-wing policy of wage-freeze, cold war, rebuilding West German militarism and against the vast armaments program that was swallowing up the means needed for the promised reforms.

And now, as before, the Communist Party is at its post, supporting the Labor Government in its progressive measures, and criticizing and opposing measures which hurt the people and the cause of socialism.

Hopes are high, now that the Labor Party has returned to the corridors of office after thirteen years of wandering in the cheerless corridors of the Opposition, that the elimination suffered in 1951 will not be repeated, that the Tories will be prevented from staging a comeback. Will these hopes, it is relevant to ask, be realized?

What can be affirmed right now at this early stage is that, supporting Washington in its colonial war in Vietnam, acting the policeman "East of Suez," sacrificing urgently needed reforms to meet the needs of the record military expenditure, and the infatuation with another wage freeze in the guise of incomes policy, have no relevance whatever to socialism, British or non-British.

Lenin's works — the greatest possession of the masses

On April 22 the world Communist movement, all working people and progressives observe the 95th anniversary of Lenin's birth. The materials below show the scale of the circulation of Lenin's works and testify to the international significance of Lenin's ideas. Lenin's works enable the working people to obtain a clear understanding of the laws of history and inspire them with confidence in the triumph of communism. The steady growth of the number of Lenin readers is a reflection of the triumphant march of Leninism throughout the world.

Lenin's complete works

THE DECISION TO publish the Complete Works of V. I. Lenin was taken by the Central Committee of the CPSU on January 8, 1957, after the Twentieth Congress of the Party. The Works will comprise Lenin's entire literary output: works published in previous editions, in the Lenin miscellanea (in which many of the Lenin documents appeared for the first time), in the press, minutes of Party congresses and conferences, as well as hitherto unpublished works and documents. A feature of the new edition is that it includes not only completed works but also the preliminary materials for them — plans, theses, sketches, variants, etc., which reveal the laboratory of Lenin's creative thought, the process of writing, and complement the works.

The complete edition will consist of 55 volumes. Volumes 1-34 include works written between 1893 and October 1917, volumes 34-45 — works written after the October Revolution, and the remaining ten volumes will be letters (Volume 55 will include Lenin's correspondence with his relatives). Volume 54 will have a sec-

tion for supplementary documents, i.e., documents discovered after the publication of the volumes in which they should have appeared according to the time of writing. Volumes 1-51 have already come off the press, and the remainder will appear in the next few months.

All in all the new edition will contain some 9,000 papers, essays, articles and documents. About half of these were not included in the previous editions, and some 1,100 works are published for the first time. Among the latter there are over 60 articles, reports to congresses and speeches, some 30 draft resolutions and decisions of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of People's Commissars written by Lenin. About 900 letters, notes and telegrams will appear for the first time.

We should like to dwell here on works published for the first time in the new edition. Needless to say, it is impossible not only to characterize all the new Lenin documents but even to enumerate them. We shall, therefore, dwell on only some of the works, those containing important ideas on building socialism

and communism, the foreign policy of the Soviet government, the international working-class and Communist movement.

Of special interest are the recently found (published in Volume 36) chapters of the first draft of Lenin's "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" (part of Chapter IV, Chapters V-IX and the beginning of Chapter X). These chapters contain a thorough theoretical analysis of the development of the October Revolution, show its law-governed character and the decisive significance of economic tasks and economic management at the time of the transition from capitalism to socialism. A number of other problems are elucidated.

Several hitherto unpublished works are devoted to Lenin's elaboration of the New Economic Policy: his speeches at the Tenth All-Russian Conference of the RCP(B) during the debate on the New Economic Policy (Vol. 43), a letter, printed in full, to the People's Commissar of Justice, D.I. Kursky, written on February 20, 1922, on the tasks of the People's Commissariat of Justice under the New Economic Policy (Vol. 44), a letter "To the Russian Colony in North America" (Vol. 45) and others. These materials reveal, in particular, Lenin's ideas on state capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the possibility and conditions of using state capitalism in the interests of socialist construction.

Much of the new material examines problems of the foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government. For the first time the Works contain the interviews granted by Lenin to correspondents of foreign newspapers—*Daily News* and *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* (Vol. 36), *The World* (Vol. 40), etc., in which he stresses the Soviet foreign policy of peace and the need for economic cooperation between the Republic of Soviets and the capitalist countries. In one of the interviews Lenin said: "I do not see why a socialist state like ours should not have unlimited business relations with the capitalist countries" (Vol. 40, p. 152).

Volumes 44, 45 and 54 contain documents, also published for the first time, on the Genoa Conference — the first international meeting in which the Soviet state took part: "Brief to the Deputy Chairman and the members of the Genoa Delegation," "Brief of the C.C., RCP(B), for the Delegation to the Genoa Conference," "Draft of the Central Committee Resolution on the Tasks of the Soviet Delegation in Genoa," "Amendments and Notes to the Draft Statement of the Soviet Delegation to the Genoa Conference," and a number of telegrams sent to G. V. Chicherin in Genoa. In these documents Lenin defined in detail the tasks of the Soviet representatives to the Genoa Conference and the attitude they should adopt there. They substantially complement the materials previously published on this question, elucidate the role of the Central Committee and of Lenin personally in preparing for the Conference, and contain basic conclusions and ideas on the

essence, strategy and tactics of the foreign policy of the socialist state, on the methods of Soviet diplomacy.

The program with which the Soviet delegation went to Genoa was founded on Lenin's idea about the possibility and necessity of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Lenin categorically declared that the words, "our historical concept . . . presupposes the inevitability of new world wars," be deleted from the draft statement of the Soviet delegation (Vol. 45, p. 63). Deeming it necessary to support those in the capitalist countries who stood for peace and business relations with Soviet Russia, Lenin pointed out that not only trade but also political agreement with the "pacifist part of the bourgeois camp" should be sought.

In several of the newly printed documents, especially in the concluding speech on the report on concessions at a meeting of Moscow activists on December 6, 1920, and in his interventions at the Eighth Congress of the Soviets (Vol. 42), Lenin stressed that peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation of the Soviet state with the capitalist countries, far from retarding, furthered the world liberation movement since the existence of the Soviet Republic and its economic success "are a potent force and factor of revolution" (Vol. 42, p. 120).

Some of the documents deal with the founding of the Communist International and with the strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement.

In 1964 the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow received from the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam a series of materials, including minutes of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences and the speeches made by Lenin. The latter, printed in Volume 54, show how Lenin upheld the position taken by the Bolshevik Party during the First World War, contain his criticism of the social-chauvinists and his calls for unity of the internationalists, for forming a Third International.

Volume 50 includes a letter to Chicherin, written in December 1918, in which Lenin outlines the ideological platform and the organizational base for the new, Communist International, and lists the parties and groups which could take part in the founding conference. We invite to our conference, wrote Lenin, only those who are decisively for parting company with the social-chauvinists, for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, who are "in principle for 'Soviet power' and against limiting our work to bourgeois parliamentarianism, against subordination to it, who agree that the type of Soviet power is higher and closer to socialism" (Vol. 50, p. 228).

The new documents reveal the uncompromising struggle waged by Lenin against Right opportunism, reformism and revisionism and, at the same time, against "Leftism," adventurism, dogmatism and sectarianism in the international Communist movement.

Of special interest are Lenin's notes on the draft theses on the tactics of the Communist International published in Vol. 52. He attacks "phrase-mongering and Left posturing," and shows the inconsistency of the proposal made by the Lefts to replace the formulation, "winning the majority of the working class for (communism)," which determines the tasks of the Communist parties, with a formulation, "winning over the *socially-decisive parts* of the working class." "The cornerstone of the tactics of the Communist International," he writes, "should be this: unswervingly and systematically to win over the majority of the working class, primarily *in the OLD trade unions*. We then shall win for sure with any turn of events. For even a fool can 'win' a brief victory given an exceedingly happy turn of events." Lenin resolutely opposed the "theory of the offensive" advocated at that time by the "Lefts," the essence of which was that the Party should always be on the offensive, whether or not there are the necessary objective prerequisites for revolutionary action and whether or not it has the backing of the masses. What is needed, Lenin stressed, is "*more thorough preparation, more careful preparation of the revolution*"; it is necessary "*to learn to apply the Marxist tactics*" (Vol. 44, pp. 441, 445).

United front tactics and united action by the working class, Lenin taught, are vital to winning the masses. Published for the first time is the draft resolution of the Political Bureau of the RCP(B), written by Lenin, on the united front tactics, which approved "a number of proposals made by the parties of the Communist International for joint action with the workers affiliated to the Second International" (Vol. 44, p. 262). The Works also include Lenin's proposal for the draft resolution of the Eleventh Congress of the Party on the report of the RCP(B) delegation to the Comintern. "The purpose and meaning of the united front tactics," Lenin wrote, "is to draw ever bigger masses of workers into the struggle against capital, not hesitating to make repeated suggestions to wage this struggle in common even to the leaders of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals" (Vol. 45, p. 131).

A number of documents deal with the preparations for the conference of the three Internationals—the Second, the so-called Two-and-a-half, and the Communist Internationals—which was held in April 1922 in Berlin. Vol. 44 contains a letter from Lenin concerning the draft resolution of the first enlarged meeting of the Comintern Executive on the participation in the conference of the three Internationals. Volume 45 includes "A Letter to Members of the Political Bureau of the C.C., RCP(B), with Suggestions for the Brief of the Executive Committee of the C.I. for its Delegation at the Conference of the Three Internationals" and "Notes and Suggestions for the Draft Resolution of the Comintern Executive in Connection with the Ending of the Conference of the Three Internationals."

Noting that the workers "want and demand unity of action on practical issues that are most urgent and close to their interests," Lenin considered the participation of the Comintern in the conference to be highly important. In the interests of reaching agreement it was essential, he pointed out, to discuss the least controversial issues—"issues directly affecting practical joint action by the working masses." Proposing to delete from the draft resolution of the Comintern Executive "the paragraph in which the leaders of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals are referred to as accomplices of the world bourgeoisie," Lenin wrote, "it is absolutely unreasonable to risk a frustration of the practical cause of the utmost importance" merely for the pleasure of once again calling the reformists names. It was essential, he maintained, to impart "a more explanatory character" to the criticism of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals, to explain to the Socialist workers, painstakingly and thoroughly, without repelling them with sharp words, the fallacy of reformist ideology and policy (Vol. 44, pp. 377-378, 404-405; Vol. 45, pp. 41-42, 149-150).

As regards the Socialists adhering to the revolutionary positions, Lenin called for closest unity with them. Volume 54 contains a letter to Constantine Lazzari, secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, in which Lenin expressed confidence that the prestige and enthusiasm of Lazzari, "the veteran and devoted revolutionary, will serve the great aim which we have set ourselves — the firm and sincere unity of all true revolutionaries."

Volume 30 includes Lenin's notes on an article by Zinoviev on maximalism; Zinoviev's idea that the winning of the democratic demands contained in the minimum program would be tantamount to the transition to socialism, is sharply criticized as being basically incorrect (Vol. 30, pp. 385-388). At the same time Lenin resolutely opposed the "Imperialist Economists" — the Bukharin-Pyatakov group — who rejected the need to fight for democracy under monopoly capitalism. Vol. 49, which contains letters written by Lenin during the first world war, also has a number of new letters which give an idea of the struggle waged by Lenin against this Left sectarian group.

Lenin always saw the fight for democracy as an integral part of the fight for socialism, and pointed to the ever-growing significance of the democratic tasks in the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolutions. "In practice," he wrote, "it is *quite likely* that from any serious struggle for the *main* demands of the minimum program there will *emerge* a struggle for socialism — at any rate this is what we are striving for" (Vol. 30, p. 386).

Volume 54 contains Lenin's objections to Zinoviev's points about the articles "The Junius Pamphlet" and "Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up." Lenin stressed the inevitability of national-liberation wars in the epoch of imperialism, their highly progressive significance and the need for decisive support of these

wars by the working class. But the point at issue was support for truly revolutionary, truly national-liberation movements. In his article "On the Declaration of the Polish Social Democrats at the Zimmerwald Conference" Lenin, pointing out that not every national movement deserves support, wrote: "This is indisputable both because any democratic demand is subordinate to the general interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and is not an aim in itself, and because in the epoch of imperialist rivalries for domination of the nations overt and covert alliances are possible between the bourgeoisie of an oppressed country and one of the oppressor countries" (Vol. 30, p. 369).

Mention should also be made of the newly-published "Notes on the Report by A. Sultan-Zade on the Prospects of the Social Revolution in the East" for the Second Congress of the Comintern. In the notes Lenin wrote as follows about the situation in the Eastern countries:

"1) Disintegration of the propertied exploiting classes

"2) bulk of the population are *peasants suffering from medieval exploitation*

"3) *SMALL* handicraftsmen—in industry

"4) conclusion: *adapt* both the government institutions and the Communist Party (its composition, its special tasks) to the level of the *peasant* countries of the colonial East.

"That is the crux of the matter. Of this we should think and *seek CONCRETE* answers" (Vol. 41, p. 457).

It will be recalled that Lenin advanced the thesis that after liberation from imperialist oppression and the establishment of the power of the working people the formerly colonial countries in which patriarchal and feudal relations prevail can gradually pass over to socialism with the help of the victorious proletariat of the advanced countries, by-passing the capitalist stage of development. Volume 44 includes a transcript of Lenin's talk with a delegation from Mongolia, in which Lenin spoke about the possibility and conditions of the non-capitalist way for Mongolia.

The Complete Works contain newly printed documents on the Fourth Congress of the Communist International — the last Congress attended by Lenin. These materials show how Lenin guided the activities of the Bureau of the RCP(B) delegation, and took an active part in elaborating the Congress decisions.

Readers will be interested to find in Volume 54 Lenin's letter to the Bureau members of the RCP(B) delegation of November 25, 1922, on the draft resolution "An Outline of the Agrarian Program of Action." Lenin thought that the draft contained "practically nothing new compared with the resolution of the Second Congress of the Comintern on the agrarian question"; moreover, on a number of points it differs from the Second Congress resolution, including a difference "weakening what was said there concerning support for the peasant movement, and capable of giving rise to discord

between the poor peasantry and the rural proletariat." These differences and inaccuracies, he suggested, should be removed, and "the new resolution should be in the nature of a commentary" on the agrarian theses of the Second Congress.

Among the materials of Lenin's Secretariat there is the type-written text of Proposals for the Program of the Communist International worked out by the Bureau of the RCP(B) delegation to the Fourth Congress on November 20, 1922. Now, as a result of research, it has been established that the essential points in these Proposals, notably points 4 and 5, were dictated almost word for word by Lenin.

The Proposals speak about formulating the theses on the struggle for "transient or practical demands" in the programs of the Communist parties and in the Program of the Comintern, which is of tremendous significance today in connection with the posing, in the world Communist movement, of the place and role of democratic demands and reforms in the struggle against monopoly capitalism and for socialism. Points 4 and 5 read:

"4. The theoretical base for all transient and partial demands of this kind should be definitely indicated in the general program; moreover, the Fourth Congress declares that the Comintern denounces with equal vigor both the attempts to represent the partial demands in the program as opportunism and any attempts to slur over the main revolutionary task and replace it with partial demands.

"5. The general program should give a clear expression to the principal historical types of transient demands of the national parties depending on the basic difference in economic set-up between, say, Britain and India, and so on."

Lastly, attention should be paid to the new documents in volumes 53 and 54 in which Lenin speaks of the need for an Information Institute to collect and process the materials, from both literary works and periodicals, on imperialism and the international working-class movement.

The new edition includes many new works and materials shedding light on Lenin's elaboration of the standards of Party life, his tireless fight against opportunists of all shades, for enhancing the leading role of the Party in the revolutionary struggle and in socialist construction. Among these mention could be made of the "Draft Resolution of the Geneva Group of Bolsheviks" (Vol. 9), Lenin's report, interventions and concluding speech at the Second Conference of the RSDLP (Vol. 14), the resolution of the Cracow meeting of the C.C., RSDLP, attended by Party functionaries, "On the Reorganization and Work of the Editorial Board of *Pravda*" (Vol. 22), "Resolution on the Decision of the Socialist Bureau" (Vol. 24), "Speech on the Current Tasks of Party Building" at the Ninth All-Russian Conference of the RCP(B) (Vol. 41), a letter by Lenin,

Plekhanov and Varsky to the Board of the Social Democratic Party of Germany on September 2, 1910 (Vol. 47).

In these and in other materials Lenin vigorously upheld Party unity, waged an uncompromising struggle against the splitting activity of the Mensheviks, Trotskyites, "Left Communists" and other oppositionists, and demanded that no factionalism be permitted, that the Party line be pursued without deviations. In the report to the Fourth Congress of Latvian Social Democracy, published for the first time in Russian (in the past it had been printed only in the Latvian press), Lenin denounced the splitters who held that the demands for unity, for the subordination of the minority to the majority were "Asiatic" methods. "I do not know how it is in Asia,"

he said, "but in Europe those who do not recognize the majority are called splitters. The splitters are the minority which does not comply with the decisions of the majority" (Vol. 24, p. 288).

Each volume has a preface and detailed reference material: notes, chronology of the life and work of Lenin, index of literary works and sources quoted and mentioned by Lenin, a names index with brief biographical notes about the persons mentioned in Lenin's works, and other materials. This will help readers to get a deeper understanding of Lenin's writings.

The publication of the Complete Works of Lenin is a major event for the CPSU and for the entire international Communist movement.

V. ZEVIN

FACTS AND FIGURES

Publication and distribution of Lenin's works*

IN THE THIRTY YEARS beginning with the early works up to 1893 and up to the last works of 1923, Lenin wrote numerous books and pamphlets, hundreds of articles and letters and delivered many reports and speeches at congresses, conferences and meetings.

Lenin's works, which are of the greatest theoretical and political significance, have been translated from the Russian into many foreign languages. His works have appeared in all European and many Eastern languages, and hold first place in the world among translated works. Much has been done in the USSR in the 47 years of Soviet power (1917-1964) to publish Lenin's literary legacy and to popularize his works. Four editions of Lenin's Works have appeared: the first with a circulation of 2,662,000 copies, the second and the identical third editions with a circulation of 20,343,000 copies, and the fourth with a circulation of 42,360,000 copies, including editions in the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh,

Georgian, Azerbaijan, Armenian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tadjik, Turkmenian, Estonian, Finnish, Tatar, English and French (jointly with *Editions Sociales*, Paris) languages. Publication of the Complete Works is nearing completion. Thirty-six Lenin miscellanea have been published, as well as selected works and collections of writings on the main problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. Large numbers of separate works have been published in mass editions.

In the USSR Lenin's works have been printed in 95 languages—64 languages of the peoples of the USSR and 31 foreign languages. Between 1917 and 1964 a total of 8,617 books (including Collected Works) were published with a circulation of 323,261,000 copies, of which 2,504 books with a circulation of 243,888,000 were in Russian, 4,775 with a circulation of 59,193,000 in the languages of other peoples of the USSR, and 1,338 books with a circulation of 20,180,000 in foreign languages.

Publication of Lenin's works had become a feature of the activity of the Communist parties in all countries already before the Second World War.

The scale of publication became especially

*This survey, based on materials prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the C.C., CPSU, does not claim to be exhaustive in view of the absence of complete data on all publications of Lenin's works, especially in the capitalist countries.

great after the war with the emergence of the socialist world system.

In Albania 68 works by Lenin in 533,000 copies were published after the liberation and up to 1960. Lenin's Works are being translated from the Fourth Russian Edition.

In Bulgaria 159 editions of Lenin's works with a circulation of 2,391,000 copies have been printed during the years of people's rule. Works translated from the Fourth Russian Edition have been published in an edition of 690,300.

In Hungary after the expulsion of Hitler's army and the consolidation of the people's democratic government, Lenin's works have been published regularly and in large editions. The fourth Russian Edition has been translated. Today work is under way to translate the Complete Works; seven volumes have already come off the press. Total circulation in Hungary is in excess of four million. In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam 106 works with a total of 509,844 copies were published between 1955 and 1962. The Fourth Russian Edition is being translated.

In the German Democratic Republic Lenin's works total 8,110,000 copies. Two and three-volume editions of Selected Works were published in 660,000 copies. Translations from the Fourth Russian Edition total 1,950,000 copies.

In China during 10 years following the proclamation of the People's Republic (October 1949-August 1959) 215 works by Lenin, not counting symposiums, were printed in editions totalling 6,940,000 copies. Works translated from the Fourth Russian Edition have also come out.

In the Korean People's Democratic Republic a series of Lenin works was printed between 1945-49. Publication and circulation of his works continued also during the years of the liberation struggle (1950-53) against the U.S. imperialists. The Fourth Russian Edition has been translated, each volume ranging between 12,000 and 50,000 copies.

In Cuba works by the founders of Marxism-Leninism are published by the Editora Politica Publishing House. Lenin's works have come out both separately—"The State and Revolution," "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder" (in two editions), "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "Socialism and War," "A Letter to American Workers"—and in symposiums.

In Mongolia the total editions of the printed Lenin works amount to 1,520,000 copies. Fifteen volumes of Works translated from the Fourth Russian Edition have appeared in editions of 20,000 copies each.

In Poland during the years of people's rule Lenin's Selected Works, dozens of separate works and symposiums have been published in editions totalling seven million. Translations from the Fourth Russian Edition have appeared in 2,370,000 copies.

In Rumania 126 works by Lenin appeared between 1944 and 1962 in 5,552,000 copies.

Works translated from the Fourth Russian Edition have been published. Translation of the Complete Works is under way.

In Czechoslovakia Lenin's Works translated from the Fourth Russian Edition into the Czech and Slovak languages have been published in editions of 1,565,000 and 600,000 copies respectively. The total of Lenin works published between 1945 and 1964 amounted to 5,100,000 copies in Czech, and 1,500,000 in Slovak.

In Yugoslavia Lenin's works have been printed in several languages. Between 1945 and 1959 182 works (167 separately and 15 in symposiums) appeared in a total of 2,158,200 copies. In 1963 a 10-volume edition of works by Marx, Engels and Lenin appeared in Serbian, of which volumes I, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X contain works by Lenin.

* * *

Lenin's works are published on a big scale in the capitalist countries.

The Communist and Workers' parties pay special attention to publishing both separate volumes and Collected Works. The latter appear in translation from the Fourth Russian Edition in Italian, French, English, Spanish, Greek and Japanese.

A six-volume edition of Lenin's Selected Works (12 books) translated from the Russian edition was widely distributed. It was published in Britain, the USA, Holland, Japan, Denmark and Sweden.

A four-volume edition came out in Argentina, Canada, Mexico and Switzerland.

A three-volume edition of Selected Works was published in French in 1926-29 and later translated into English. It has been printed also in Denmark and Brazil.

A two-volume edition of Lenin's Selected Works has been the most popular in the post-war. In 1947 and 1953 it appeared in London, in 1947 in New York, in 1951 in Athens, in 1946-47 in Milan, in 1952 in Oslo, in 1948-49 in Brussels, in 1951 and 1957 in Tokyo, etc.

Separate volumes occupy first place for the scale of publication and circulation. By publishing these works the Communist parties and progressive publishing houses in the capitalist countries are able to respond promptly to the urgent problems of our time.

Up to 1960 Lenin's classical work "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" had been printed 116 times in 20 languages in 27 countries. "'Left-Wing' Communism" had 106 reprints in 22 languages in 26 countries, and "The State and Revolution"—148 in 26 languages in 28 countries.

The Japanese translation of "The State and Revolution" was done by Sen Katayama, outstanding leader of the international Communist movement. In 1920, evading arrest by the U.S. police, Sen Katayama left New York for Atlantic City where he translated the Lenin book. The translation was printed in 1924.

After the war the editions of separate vol-

umes of Lenin increased substantially. Thus, in Austria "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" appeared in 1950 in an edition of 20,000, "Materialism and Empirio-criticism" in 3,000, and "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder" in 5,000.

In Italy Lenin's works were printed in a total of 420,207 copies in 1945-59.

Data showing the circulation of Lenin's works in the Afro-Asian countries are highly indicative. Published in Arabic are: "The State and Revolution" in Syria; "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" in Egypt; "Karl Marx and Frederick Engels," "The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions under the New Economic Policy," "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," "Socialism and War" and "Marx and Marxism" in the Lebanon.

In Burma 47 works by Lenin were printed in 1955-59.

The Pamburuan Publishing House in Indonesia has printed 25 Lenin works in editions of 10,000 copies each.

In Turkey Lenin's essay "Karl Marx" appeared in 1936, also his article "The National

Pride of the Great Russians" translated by Nazim Hikmet. Also published in Turkish are "What Is to Be Done?" and "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky."

In India Lenin's "What Is to Be Done?" was published in English, Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada, Hindi and Bengali; "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back"—in English and Bengali; "The Collapse of the Second International"—in English; "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism"—in English, Malayalam, Urdu and Bengali; "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder"—in Bengali, Hindi and English. All in all, more than 80 editions of Lenin works had appeared in India up to 1960.

In Japan Lenin's works were printed in 402,200 copies in 1945-60.

Outside the Soviet Union, Lenin's works have been published in 78 cities of the world.

The Communists are proud that Lenin's writings are read all over the world, published in all languages, and winning more and more readers. Lenin's immortal words resound throughout the world, calling on the people to fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

Unity of the working-class and democratic movement

4. THE CATHOLIC MOVEMENT IN THE WEST AND THE COMMUNISTS

THE SUBJECT OF RELATIONS between Communists and Catholics in the capitalist countries was discussed in detail by a number of speakers. *L. Gruppi* (Italy) said that in Italy the Catholic world was a contradictory one. On the one hand, it had to maintain its conservative and reactionary attitude and a certain integrity of its ideology and, on the other, to adapt itself to the changes in the modern world and to the tasks engendered by the crisis of capitalism and colonialism. This was the problem that confronted Pope John XXIII who towards the end of his life took some momentous decisions. This is evident from the way certain issues are treated in his "Pacem In Terris." The encyclical examines the question of peace and disarmament from positions that are close to those of progressives. It condemns colonialism, and it stresses the things that make for mutual understanding between men on earth.

However, the attempts to modernize the Church in conformity with the demands of our time but without in any way impinging on its ideological positions, are not lessening the contradictions in the Catholic world. Just the reverse is the case.

No less contradictory is the attitude of the Christian Democratic Party. On the one hand, it is connected with the monopolies and, on the other, being a mass party, it has to consider the interests of the workers, peasants and middle sections. Besides the Christian Democratic Party there are the various Catholic unions together with which the General Confederation of Labor is waging a joint struggle, on the basis of a drive for the renewal of national labor agreements, in defense of working-class interests; organizations such as the Christian

Association of Italian Workers which in some areas, in Modena, for example, take a far more progressive stand than the Christian Democrats. Our problem is how to help those democratic forces in the Catholic world who are still under the influence of the conservative wing of the Christian Democratic Party, the majority in the party, to become politically active.

In what sense do we raise the question of unity with the Catholics? We raise it not only from the viewpoint of unity of the working people sharing the same class interests, irrespective of whether they are Socialists, Communists or Catholics. We raise the question of an alliance with the Catholic movement as such, that is, with its various organizations. We think it is possible, on the basis of a definite program, to establish a political alliance which would include the greater part of Catholics who are in agreement with us.

At the same time we have in mind a dialogue with Catholics in a socialist society in which a multi-party system will be possible and which will be built on the principles of autonomy for different organizations at different stages (autonomy for trade unions, the municipalities, regional councils, etc.). The Catholic concept of pluralism is based on class conciliation. We, of course, reject this concept, just as we do the bourgeois concept of the state which also declares for pluralism. But ours would not be the powerful movement it is today if it did not lend an ear to the demands heard from the other side — from the side of the different political, social and cultural movements of our time. We want to draw on all that is positive and valuable in these demands, to find the rational kernel under the mystical wrapping which must be torn asunder.

The resolutions of the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party noted that religious belief

Conclusion. See Nos. 1-2 of our journal for this year.

is not necessarily an obstacle to participating in the struggle for democracy and socialism. It depends on the concrete political situation. Take the role played by Islam, for example. The religious belief of the Algerian working people did not prevent them from taking an active part in the revolutionary struggle. In a society such as ours believers are conscious that capitalism is hostile to their moral concepts. They are conscious of the alienation of the individual in capitalist society. Some of them think that the integrity of the individual can be restored by reverting to the reactionary concepts of the Middle Ages, others, again, believe that this unity can be restored only under a socialist system. The latter are in the minority as yet, still they constitute a significant trend.

On certain points regarding the alienation of man now being debated in Italy our views coincide with those of the Catholics who, like us, want to find what constitutes the quintessence of man which capitalism is destroying. Of course, we differ widely in our approach to the question. To us it is clear that capitalism is the root cause of alienation and that religion is an expression of this alienation. On this score, too, we differ with the Catholics. The task, consequently, is to release the positive, humanist content of the believers' consciousness from the wrapping of mysticism and mystification, which prevents the masses from taking action, induces docility and class conciliation, and to use this positive content to stimulate the struggle for democracy and socialism.

In Spain the Catholic working-class movement today exerts a greater influence than ever before, said S. Alvarez (Spain). At first this movement, which took shape in the early years of the present century, had influence mainly in the countryside. Today the situation has changed. Such organizations as the Workers' Brotherhood of Catholic Action and the Catholic Working Youth, in effect working-class organizations, are steadily acquiring a class character. Their influence in the working class has increased, especially in the last ten years. This is one of the new factors, one of the changes that have taken place in the working-class movement in Spain.

As I see it, continued S. Alvarez, the enhanced influence of the working-class movement is explained by the loss of prestige by the fascist-sponsored corporate trade unions; the growing actions by the working class and the people generally, in the course of which overt or covert alliances are established between Catholics and Communists; the possibility of acting under cover of legality, taking into account the privileges enjoyed by the Church, etc. At any rate, the Catholic movement carries more weight in Spain's working class than does Social Democracy.

We are of the opinion that the present Catholic movement differs radically from the movement of the pre-Civil War period. It is common knowledge that the Church in Spain was, and still is to a considerable extent, the

spokesman of the Franco regime. However, a significant evolution has taken place in this respect. Catholic circles now support strikes and the right to strike, and the discussion around these issues is now not so much from positions of class collaboration as from positions of class struggle. These facts reflect the development of mass action in the country, which is resulting in those Catholic leaders closer to the working-class movement dissociating themselves from the church hierarchy. For its part the mass actions and the participation of Catholic workers in these actions is making an impact on the Church as an institution.

This process is organically linked with the growing influence of world socialism, with the radicalization of the working people and with the activity of the Communist Party. A notable role is played by the Party's policy of national reconciliation.

Many Catholic circles share with the Communists like views on such basic issues as defense of the immediate demands of the working class, the right to strike and other democratic rights. Our idea of establishing a united trade union center in a democratic Spain of the future is gaining ground in progressive Catholic circles. Our views also coincide on the issue of peace and peaceful coexistence. There is a growing tendency among Catholics to accept the socialist perspective, provided their religious beliefs are respected.

For the Belgian Communists, said J. Terfve (Belgium), the question of the Party's relations with Catholic workers is most important. The Catholic Church is very influential in the country thanks in large measure to its excellent organization. Take the Catholic youth movement, for example. It is the most ramified and powerful, and the only truly mass movement in the country. The same cannot be said of the youth organizations of the Social Democrats, Communists or Liberals.

In the light of the struggle for unity of the working class and the democratic movement the question of our relations with the Catholics acquires particular importance. The ruling Catholic party (since 1947 the Christian Social Party) represents some 45 per cent of the electorate. Although it relies on the monopolies this party enjoys considerable influence among the middle sections of the population (including the peasantry) and also in the working-class movement.

Despite its social heterogeneity the party acts on the political arena as a conservative and reactionary force. Hence the growing ferment in its ranks, reflecting the political awakening of the Catholic workers. This process could lead to a political realignment of the Catholic forces, to a split between the reactionary Right-wing of the Catholic party and the Catholic rank and file.

How have the changes in the Church's attitude influenced the masses? Our contacts with representatives of the Church in the peace movement and in other organizations have led

us to the conclusion that Pope John's attitude was interpreted by believers as a kind of dispensation for freedom of action, a freedom to establish contact with Communists without this being regarded as opposition to the Church.

In our contacts with the Catholics, continued J. Terfve, another interesting detail was revealed. The balance of forces between Socialists and Communists on the political arena is 10:1. And yet many Catholic leaders prefer to establish contacts and enter into a dialogue with us rather than with the Social Democrats.

But if we examine the question in its broader aspect, then no matter how considerable the forces of the Catholic party and how significant its progressive trends, the first step towards working-class unity must be unity between Socialists and Communists. Socialist-Communist unity is an essential condition to breaking up the Catholic bloc and making possible the withdrawal of the democratically-minded people from it. The latter will take a more consistent stand only when they are sure that a stable bloc exists between Socialist and Communist workers, a bloc based on clearly-formulated progressive principles and which they can rely on and join in the future.

When speaking about religion, said P. Hentges (France), continuing the discussion, we usually quote Marx's words: "Religion is the *opium* of the people." These words have a profound meaning, for through them Marx defined religion as an expression of despair, on the one hand, and on the other, as a protest against misery. In his works on early Christianity and on the peasant war in Germany, Engels too stressed the importance of the element of protest in the Christian religion. This partly explains why we, although convinced atheists and materialists in philosophy, nevertheless treat religion with respect, especially in the case of working people for whom faith is before all else a tradition and, maybe, also a form of protest. We are, then, opposed to religious persecution. Freedom of conscience is a basic right which we always uphold. And in doing so we are following the teachings of Lenin.

We do not close our eyes to the reactionary nature of the Church's policy as a whole. In the 1937 encyclical Pope Pius XI stated, for example, that "Communism is intrinsically evil and those who want to save Christian civilization must not collaborate with it in any sphere." This encyclical was not only a sharp, vicious attack against communism. It also preached humility in the face of poverty. "As for the poor," it said, "they should always be humble in spirit."

This, however, did not prevent the Church, and still less the Catholic workers from assessing the realities of our time. It is in this sense that we, like our Italian, Spanish and Belgian comrades, stress the importance of "Pacem In Terris." The encyclical is, if anything, an attempt by the Church to keep in step with the times. Although it does not take issue with capitalism, it calls on Catholics and "all people

of good will" to combat war. It unequivocally condemns colonialism. In particular, it marks a change in the Church's attitude to non-believers. Catholic workers are no longer forbidden to accept the hand which we extend to them and we, for our part, remind them of what Lenin said about the militant unity of the working people: "Unity of this truly revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class to build a paradise on earth is more important for us than unity of views of the proletariat to build a paradise in heaven."

The struggle to unite all working people, all democrats, believers and non-believers, is an old tradition of our Party. Its efforts in this direction are particularly important today in view of the major demographic changes taking place in France. As a result of these changes, as a result of what is described as the vanishing rural population, urban Catholicism now plays a more important role than rural Catholicism.

The policy of the extended hand has meaning to the extent to which it reaches factory and office workers, officials and peasants whose interests objectively coincide with those of the working class in the fight against de Gaulle's one-man rule, and against monopoly capitalism. In this respect the evolution of the Confederation of Christian Workers, which originated with the clerical workers' trade union, is highly interesting. At first the Confederation advocated class harmony, but later it rejected this principle with growing vigor. Today it no longer refers to the social doctrine of the Church and no longer speaks of harmony with the employers. Its leaders even decided to delete the word "Christian" from the Confederation's name.* True, some Christian reformists are still opposed to united action with the General Confederation of Labor. However, common or parallel actions are carried out at union and very often also at factory level.

By pursuing a policy of an alliance with Catholic workers, peasants and intellectuals, said P. Hentges in conclusion, we are thereby affirming our conviction that the mass movement is all-decisive—both at the present stage of the struggle for true democratic unity and at the subsequent stage of the transition to socialism.

J. Ledwohn (FRG) spoke of the influence exerted by the Christian Democratic Union, the ruling party in the FRG, on the West German working-class movement. After the collapse of Hitlerism, he said, the opinion was widespread among Catholic working people that the Nazi policy of aggrandisement and war had been backed by the monopoly bourgeoisie. This opinion was reflected in the Ahlen Program of the Christian Democratic Union (1947), which advocated deep-going social reforms to clear the way to the country's democratic and peaceful development: removal from power of the con-

*Since November 1964 it has been called the Democratic Confederation of Labour—Ed.

cerns and monopolies responsible for the war, transfer of the key industries to the state, the right of the working class to have a say in economic management, etc. The CDU leaders endorsed this program for purely tactical reasons so as afterwards, to quote one of them, to "prevent socialization." But these ideas are still current in the Catholic working-class movement.

What are the possibilities for united action with Catholic workers? Many of them are still organized in the Trade Union Federation. The CDU representatives in the Federation in general energetically support the Federation's program.

In 1955 the so-called Christian Trade Union Federation split away from the Trade Union Federation. At its extraordinary congress in April 1964 the Christian Federation adopted a program the basic demands of which were very similar to those of the TUF. However, the program rejects the class struggle and political strikes. According to this program the wages policy should be based on the principle of partnership. It also rejects socialization in any form, or any other kind of public ownership.

The disruptive and sectarian nature of the CTUF which has the support of the more reactionary circles of the CDU is evident. But the inclusion in its program of many of the TUF's economic and social demands shows on what points a joint struggle can be organized of all workers, irrespective of their political views and religious beliefs.

Today more so than ever before we must find ways and means of drawing the Catholic workers into the different movements, find the right approach to them and show them what are our common interests and the importance of joint struggle. Most Catholic workers are prepared to take part in the common struggle of the working class for concrete demands.

The possibility of including believers in the struggle for socialism should find expression in the way the question of conscience is presented in a socialist society, said *L. Gruppi*. We realize the need to fight for the hegemony, the ideological leadership of Marxism in society. In doing so we demonstrate in practice that the social, political and cultural issues of our time, including religious concepts, can be solved only with the help of the Marxist method. Atheism, according to Marx, affirms man's being by denying the *existence of God*, whereas socialism has no need to do this. Socialism and communism give a *positive* answer to the

question of the origin of man, of his being a product of labor, and the ways leading to his emancipation. They thus concretely and effectively answer the questions posed by religion. It is this creative aspect of Marxism that we must develop if we are to affirm the ideological hegemony of Marxism.

Closely related to this is the question of freedom of conscience. We must aspire to a socialist society in which a person's religion will not be cause for considering him an inferior being. We will not be able, otherwise, to draw the Catholic masses into the fight for socialism. This question is also connected with that of socialist democracy, with the question of freedom of science, culture and the arts.

S. Alvarez supported this viewpoint. We, too, believe that the religious beliefs of Catholics should be respected. This is not a new policy as far as we are concerned; we pursued it during the Civil War as a matter of fact. For us the important thing is that the Catholics are ready to enter into an ideological and political dialogue with Communists so as to reach agreement on common aims. In this respect we believe, and some of the Catholic leaders support us on this, that the fact that we share the same views on certain political issues does not mean that we should discontinue the ideological polemic; we believe that we should in our joint actions uphold our respective positions: in our case they are determined by the fact that we are Communists, atheists, adherents of the materialist philosophy; in their case—by the fact that they are adherents of the Catholic viewpoint.

We therefore believe that atheism should not be obligatory to drawing the Catholic masses into the struggle to build a socialist society. However, this is not our main problem. The all-important thing at present is to achieve unity between Communists and Catholics, without discontinuing the ideological and political debate. This poses the issue differently from the way it was formerly posed by Catholicism and, consequently, by the Church. Hence we think that questions pertaining to religion cannot and should not be resolved artificially, forcibly, and only through mass struggle.

In our relations with Catholics we therefore stress what unites us, what we have in common, namely, the need to put an end to the political power of monopoly capital, which, in Spain takes the form of a fascist dictatorship, to promote democracy and to advance together towards a socialist society.

5. WAYS OF BUILDING TRADE UNION UNITY

THE QUESTION OF trade union unity and the role of the Communists in building it was touched upon in the previous discussion on the Left forces and the unity platform, Communists and Social Democracy, Communists and the Catholic movement. Some of the speak-

ers concentrated on the theme of trade union unity.

A. Heikkila (Finland) described the situation in the Finnish trade union movement. In our country, he said, the trade unions are closely associated with the Social Democratic Party

(SPD). The growth of unity trends in the movement since the Second World War has brought about sharp differences in the SPD, especially between its Right-wing leaders and the trade union wing of the party. The differences became particularly acute at the time of the general strike in March 1956, when broad agreement on united working-class action was reached by the Social Democrats and Communists. Many Social Democratic trade unionists supported the strike and took an active part in it—an attitude which sparked off a fierce struggle in the SPD. This was one of the reasons why the trade union wing of the SPD, which found itself in a minority at the 1957 Extraordinary Congress, founded its own party—the Social Democratic Union (SDU). The Social Democrats who joined the SDU constituted a majority in the leadership of the Central Trade Union Association (CTUA). Later the SPD formed its own trade union in an attempt to split the CTUA. Its offspring—the Trade Union Organization of Finland (TUOF)—has a membership of no more than 60,000.

However, as the struggle developed conditions set in which, despite the complexity of the situation and the difficulties of reaching unity, nevertheless paved the way for united action. Although organizational unity has been disrupted, the bulk of the organized workers in industry, in the building trades and in transport belong to the Central Trade Union Association, the biggest body with a membership of 230,000.

The policy of Big Business, aimed at lowering the living standards and restricting democracy, comes up against the resistance of trade unions in the enterprises, thus compelling the Social Democratic trade union leaders to pay more heed to the masses and to support their demands. Under pressure from the union rank and file, the CTUA and the Social Democratic leaders belonging to its branch affiliations are resisting the monopoly policy of raising prices, demanding a reduction in taxes, guaranteed employment and more municipal housing. Unions of government and office employees have in recent years been actively campaigning on behalf of their members.

Needless to say, demands alone, no matter how radical, can hardly lead to any development unless day-to-day struggles are waged for their satisfaction. But the very fact of presenting demands is significant. In this respect the situation today is basically different from what it was ten years ago when the Social Democratic trade union leaders engaged mainly in drafting "economic plans" in conjunction with the monopolies. Taught by the negative experience of the economic stabilization, the burden of which was passed on to the working people, and also in view of the growing mass discontent and especially since the general strike of 1956, the unions are beginning to demand effective curbs on the monopolies. The CTUA congress in 1956 adopted an economic and political program which called for extending public ownership.

All the unions are now advancing almost identical demands for higher wages and better conditions. And these demands can be won provided the three groups agree on united action, supported by the parties of the working people. It is this unity which the Communist Party proposes to the two Social Democratic parties.

Although the Social Democratic leaders in the CTUA are still trying to ignore the Communists, we are united by the common desire to safeguard the organization against a split. For example, we insist that the principle of preliminary discussion be observed in solving problems of trade union policy on which differences can arise. Today this principle is gaining recognition in the CTUA as well.

It seems to us that the greater the desire of the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party to bring under their sway the Social Democratic leadership of the unions affiliated to the CTUA and the TUOF, the more importance attaches to united action by those who want to prevent a split of the CTUA. United action is also favored by many of the Social Democratic leaders. This creates new conditions for mutual understanding and opens new possibilities for pursuing a trade union policy corresponding to the interests of the working people.

J. Ledwohn stressed that organizationally the problem of trade union unity has been solved in West Germany. The significance of this was noted in the policy statement of the Communist Party of Germany adopted in 1963, which stated: "Trade union unity is a major achievement. The development of unity, together with increasing membership, is the common task of trade union members and leaders, Social Democrats, Communists, Christians and non-party people alike."

Our Party maintains that joint trade union actions can best of all promote mutual trust between Communists and Social Democrats. Today especially great responsibility devolves on the unions, which should be the vehicles of working-class influence in the economy, policy and in the state. For this reason, as the statement of our Party stresses, it is essential resolutely to oppose reactionary schemes to unify the unions; what is needed is to uphold and strengthen their independence as militant organizations of the working class.

We can say that some progress has been made in this direction. Most of the unions stand to the Left of the SPD, both politically and in their practical activity. There are forces in the unions which on many points adhere to a position containing essential features of an independent working-class and trade union policy. The hallmarks of this position are actions against nuclear armament, for democracy and social justice, against extraordinary legislation, and for the independence of the trade union movement.

The extraordinary congress of the Association of German Trade Unions held in the autumn of

1963 adopted a program which, in the opinion of our Party, can be a platform for the struggle in defense of the interests of the working class and for an independent trade union policy aimed against the monopolies.

However, the policy of the union leaders, who oppose the subordination of the unions to monopoly interests, is most inconsistent. In most cases they subscribe to anti-communist positions or make big concessions to the anti-communist hysteria (allegedly for tactical reasons). Many of them still believe that the workers' right to have a say in the management of the enterprises and in the economy generally as well as the basic democratic reforms can be realized with the agreement of the present government.

Monopoly capital aims at subordinating the unions to its policy, to get them to support the line pursued by the SPD leaders. Since it is no longer possible to destroy the unions in the way in which this was done in 1933, the ruling circles are trying to break them from within and to bring them in to the state-monopoly system. And it would be wrong to ignore the fact that the employers have had some success in this. However, at times of intense class struggles and social clashes such as the strike of the metal workers in Baden-Wuerttemberg, the ideology of "social partnership" suffers a fiasco.

Ledwohn also touched on the question of international cooperation between the trade unions of the Common Market countries, including unions belonging both to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions (primarily the Italian General Confederation of Labor and the General Confederation of Labor in France). The best opportunities for joint trade union actions in these countries are offered by the cooperation of the individual enterprises, especially the big concerns which have their subsidiaries, as is the case in the FRG, in France and in Italy. Cooperation at enterprise level creates conditions for trade union cooperation on a higher plane—on industry-wide scale and between national trade union centers.

E. Ambartsumov (USSR) noted the new role of the trade unions in developing working-class unity of action. In countries like France, Italy and Japan the biggest mass actions take place, as a rule, under the keynote of united action by all the unions—a sign that their role in the class struggle is growing. This is explained, on the one hand, by the growing strength of the class trade unions (the CGT, the ICGT, etc.) and by the growing role of the Communists in the reformist unions. Another reason, *Ambartsumov* said, is that, in view of the new phenomena in modern capitalism, in view of the growth of state monopoly, especially the tendency to subordinate all spheres of public life, including the trade unions, to state-monopoly capitalism, the reformist leaders are forced at times to oppose the policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

S. Alvarez spoke about the development of unity processes in the Spanish working-class movement. Our Party, he said, encourages members to work in the corporative trade unions. This has nothing in common with adaptation to the corporative unions, with the spirit of class collaboration and reformism. We work in these unions with a view to developing trade union opposition in the enterprises, which would be able to lead the struggle for the immediate demands of the working people and at the same time become the bulwark of the general struggle against Franco and for democratic freedoms. Today we can say that this tactic has produced results, an undermining of the corporative trade unions, one of the main pillars of the dictatorship, and, simultaneously, creating the conditions for building truly class trade unions on a new foundation of unity.

How did the movement of the working-class trade union opposition develop? The workers supported the Communists because their own experience taught them that Communist policy was correct. As a result of complex developments the trade union opposition has evolved into a major movement embracing all workers, regardless of their political or religious views.

Flexible and mobile organizational forms of working-class opposition have arisen. One of the concerns of our Party was to ensure that genuine trade union delegates (factory delegates) elected by the workers and the members of the factory committees should form a joint body to defend the interests of the workers, a kind of a factory committee of a unitarian and democratic nature. Besides, we supported unity committees formed on the initiative of the working people. In this way, at a certain stage of its development the trade union opposition movement began to combine legal and illegal methods of organization.

Unity committees arise when there is a high level of the struggle, as a reflection of the growing consciousness of the working people. In the Asturias the influence of these committees was admitted even by the Minister of Labor. During a visit there at the time of the strikes he said: "In reality it is you who determine whether or not there will be a strike, for it is you who are the supreme authority here." And he was quite right. The unity committees, which unite the more class-conscious and militant workers irrespective of political affiliation, are the most effective form of guidance and leadership of the working people, the principal bulwark of the trade union opposition and, at the same time, the most striking expression of the unity in action of all trends in the working-class movement.

We maintain that in the broader aspect these committees can be regarded as the embryo of a new working-class democracy in the enterprises. They will be able to make a new imprint on the Spanish trade union movement and affect all spheres of socio-political life, in particular the moulding of working-class unity in the struggle for democracy and a socialist

Spain. And we think that we were right in advancing this perspective because today far-reaching changes of a class, revolutionary and socialist character are taking place in the working-class movement.

N. Kaludis (Greece) spoke about the struggle which the Greek Communists are waging to restore unity of action in the unions. In Greece, he said, the split in the trade union movement occurred and is maintained not because the activists and supporters of the two trends—the class and the reformist trends—had problems which made cooperation impossible. On the contrary, the country has had a fairly long experience of cooperation, which began in 1935, gained strength at the time of the national-liberation struggle and stood the test of the British imperialist intervention in 1944-45. The split occurred and has been maintained for so many years because the government interfered in the affairs of the trade union movement. It displaced the board of the General Confederation of Labor elected by its Eighth Congress in 1946 and appointed a new board consisting of persons who ruled the unions by police violence.

Thus the matter of trade union unity in Greece is linked up with the fight to restore democracy and the democratic functioning of the unions. The ending of the rule of the Right, as a result of the mass struggle in which the leading role is played by the Communist Party and the democratic Left, opens up a real opportunity for solving the problem of democracy and unity in the unions.

A feature of Greek reformism in the trade union movement is that it is associated not with Social Democracy as in other West European countries but with bourgeois parties and relies on the state more openly than in other countries. However, already before the war, at the time of the National Resistance and in the postwar, things began to change in reformist circles due to the growing anti-fascist, patriotic and democratic movement. Some of the active

reformist trade unionists have shifted to the Left, and some of them now uphold the class interests of the proletariat. Permanent contact has been established with this section. The Democratic Trade Union Movement—an organization formed some 10 years ago—unites all the union forces subscribing to the principle of class struggle. The Movement has no permanent membership. Its activists and supporters work in all the unions and are in the van of the struggle for the workers' demands, for trade union democracy and unity.

The trend towards cooperation is growing among a rather large part of the reformist supporters who have resisted the anti-labor policy of the Right-wing governments, and who are in disagreement with the GCL leadership. Our Party and the Left union forces generally have established contact with these people and are working to expand the contact. This cooperation, which takes the form of a trade union bloc, began with action to uphold the economic and democratic rights of the working class.

D. Henin (Israel) dwelt on problems of trade union unity in Israel. Histadruth—the association of Israeli trade unions—is dominated by the ruling MAPAI party, which is a Right-wing Socialist party. Among its members, besides wage and salary workers, are members of the cooperatives in town and countryside who partly use hired labor. Histadruth owns industrial enterprises, building companies and trading societies, mostly in common with private capital, both local and foreign. Industrial enterprises belonging to Histadruth account for roughly 30 per cent of Israel's production.

The Histadruth leadership not only supports the anti-labor social policy of the government (wage-freeze, refusal to compensate for rising prices, etc.) but is as often as not the direct inspirer of this policy. As a rule Histadruth justifies its anti-labor measures by citing the "interests of economic development." The working people are resisting this policy.

6. UNITY PROSPECTS AND SOME IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

INASMUCH AS THE difficulty of achieving unity is closely bound up with ideological and political differences between the various trends in the working-class and democratic movement, this aspect of the problem of unity was closely examined in the course of the discussion which touched upon the question of the transition to socialism, the relationship of socialism to democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat and its forms, etc.

M. Rosette (France) dwelt on the relations between the Communists and the Socialists in the ideological sphere. The Socialist Party leaders, he said, do not deny that unity is possible,

but they say they are opposed to any agreement on unity on a common program at the present time because of the ideological differences between our two parties. However, we know that the dialogue has already begun on the ideological plane as well, and a certain approximation of views on some basic questions has been reached.

First, the question of war and peace. For a long time the Socialist Party supported the myth concerning the aggressive designs of the Soviet Union. That is why we regard as a healthy sign the Socialist Party statements issued on the return of its delegation from

Moscow at the end of 1963, confirming its conviction that the Soviet Union stands for peace and peaceful coexistence.

Secondly, the questions of democracy and socialism. With regard to the conquest of power by the working class in order to effect the transition from capitalism to socialism our past differences were aggravated by the then current assumption that the Communists favored violent revolution as a matter of principle. We explain that not only have we never regarded violence as an end in itself, but, on the contrary, it is in the interests of the working class and its allies that the socialist revolution be carried out by peaceful means that would avoid any disruption or dislocation of the national economy. As Maurice Thorez said in 1946: "The progress of democracy throughout the world . . . makes it possible to envisage roads to socialism other than that traversed by the Russian Communists."

Recalling the Marxist thesis that the bourgeoisie will never relinquish power of their own free will, we showed that in all cases, including the utilization of a genuinely democratic parliament, the revolution is first and foremost the result of the struggle of the masses. It was precisely in order to increase the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism that the French Communist Party proposed an alliance between the Communist and Socialist parties, and not only for today, but also for tomorrow, in the name of joint struggle for the socialist revolution and the new society.

We also say that the one-party system is not an essential condition for the transition to socialism. It would of course be a good thing if the working class could achieve complete political unity, if we Communists and Socialists could work together in one party. But even if such a party were to be established, it would not be the only party since besides the working-class party, other democratic parties representing social sections working together for socialism could also exist. In our opinion this proposition is important inasmuch as it removes one of the main obstacles to unity.

The goal of both Communists and Socialists as set forth in their basic policy statements is the socialization of the means of production and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. And both parties hold that this is the historical mission of the working class. The differences arise when it comes to defining the nature of political power, of the state system to be established by the working class in order to achieve socialism.

In our view, proletarian government through which the working class exercises political leadership in alliance with the working peasantry and the middle urban sections is a government of a new type and can only be a dictatorship of the proletariat. We emphasize the democratic and the historically provisional nature of the proletarian dictatorship. We grant, moreover, that its forms may vary, depending on the

concrete circumstances and specific national features.

The position of the Socialist leaders on this basic issue is extremely vague. Guy Mollet, in a report on the Socialist delegation's trip to Moscow, accepted the idea of a "dictatorship of the majority over the minority" which could "reply, with the use of force if need be, to violent resistance on the part of the privileged classes deposed by the revolution." At the same time he noted that "in this case it is not so much a question of dictatorship as a respect for the will of the majority." At a conference in Strasbourg in 1951, Guy Mollet said that for the period of time necessary to effect economic and social changes the proletariat establishes a dictatorship on behalf of the majority formed earlier.

We know that some fraternal parties have deemed it expedient to delete the "proletarian dictatorship" formula from their basic programs; but in this we are not with them. And today we find that even on this basic issue some approximation of views between Communists and Socialists appears to be possible without relinquishing our principles.

We have also taken particular note of the following statement by Guy Mollet: "To be effective, political democracy must be combined with economic democracy." We are of the same opinion. Another Socialist Party leader, Claude Fusier, has observed that democracy cannot be judged only from the standpoint of formal freedoms, and that genuine freedom presupposes an economically emancipated nation. We, Communists, fully endorse this view.

Thus the attitudes of the Communists and Socialists have come closer on some highly important ideological and political questions, and there is a prospect of rapprochement on other questions as well.

The Italian Party, said *L. Gruppi*, adheres to both the concept and the formula of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Our party, he said, considers that the dictatorship of the proletariat expresses the leading role of the working class which can be realized through active utilization of the existing democratic institutions. This means that it is possible to envisage a government of the working class and its allies which would employ not extra-legal coercion but compulsion by law. Of course coercion will be necessary. It is impossible to imagine a government relying on good will alone. But coercion need not rule out democratic legality. In other words, the socialist revolution does not exclude democratic legality. We believe that in Italian conditions it is precisely in the struggle to uphold the Constitution that a majority can be built up which would legalize the socialist reconstruction of society without violating the continuity of constitutional life, the continuity of the democratic vehicles and institutions, the continuity of democratic legality. This is our answer to the question about democratic guarantees. In our conditions the advent to power of the working class can be effected by consti-

tutional means, without infringing democratic law or traditional democratic freedoms, i.e., with democracy developing to the full.

But it is also possible to conceive of circumstances in which the concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" will preserve its traditional significance, as a concept of power exercised with the restriction of some democratic freedoms. This will depend on the political situation. We do not deny the need in some cases for a dictatorship of the proletariat to restrict—even substantially—democratic rights. Restriction of democratic rights and even coercion within the framework of the law is necessary in the case of some revolutions, and not only socialist, but national and bourgeois-democratic revolutions as well. We can hardly reproach Robespierre with having recourse to terror. On the contrary, we might reproach the Social Democrats for evaluating historical processes by comparison of revolution and the abstract paradise that is their concept of democracy. The liberatory significance of the revolutionary process should be evaluated in relation to the actual historical conditions in which it develops.

But in situations where the working class and its allies are able to exercise power on the basis of the development of democratic legality, would it be correct to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat? It seems to me—this is my personal opinion—that in the given case it would be more correct to speak of the hegemony of the proletariat, i.e., a term which embraces the role of the proletariat both as the guiding and the dominant force.

L. Gruppi went on to speak of socialist democracy. The development of socialist democracy, he said, is a ceaseless process which constantly poses questions requiring an answer.

Essentially this is a question of restoring that integrity of the human personality which Marx had in mind when he spoke of bourgeois democracy separating the citizen from the producer, thereby causing the alienation of man. It is necessary to restore that integrity, the oneness of the citizen and the producer. This can only be done in a Communist society, only given the complete realization of the sovereignty of the people in all areas. What forms will this popular sovereignty take? This is a moot question which cannot, of course, be answered offhand. It involves the problem of cultural freedom, as well as the search for the necessary ideological and political solutions. To bring the meaning of socialist democracy home to the democratic forces is to give the most effective stimulus to unity.

This brings us to the question of democratic guarantees, the multi-party system in general and under socialism in particular. These are issues on which our rapprochement with the socialist movement hinges. Of course we should not foster illusions. The crucial issue is that of who should exercise hegemony in a society moving toward socialism? Nenni's Socialist Party claims to be working for socialism. But

how can one reach socialism while participating in a ruling bloc in which hegemony is exercised by the Christian Democratic Party, the instrument of the monopolies? That is why we urge political independence for the working class, the need for unity.

A. Avanesyan said that if Gruppi had in mind changing the substance of the dictatorship of the proletariat he could not agree with him. The forms of the proletarian dictatorship may change, may become more and more varied. Its social base, too, may be extended. However, the essence remains the same and that is, that for the abolition of capitalism and the victory of socialism the class rule of the proletariat must be established, which in alliance with other democratic forces crushes the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes. Moreover the peaceful conquest of power and the transition to socialism also signifies a certain leap, a qualitative change. Evidently a qualitative change of this kind will not be the result of a single action, it will not take place overnight, but will be a process which will develop differently in each country.

Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the scientific, Marxist-Leninist definition of the power of the working class. Whether or not the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" should always be applied is another matter. Dictatorial regimes set up by the bourgeoisie, especially the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco have made the very idea of dictatorship abhorrent to the working people. On the other hand, bourgeois propaganda for years has sought to discredit the first working class state by calling it a dictatorship. Unfortunately it must be admitted that what happened during the Stalin cult, the crimes and violations of legality committed at that time, helped in some measure to discredit the concept of "the dictatorship of the proletariat." That is why many working people in the West do not like this concept, which they identify with the one-party system. The new theses and conclusions advanced by the Communists in the West in this respect are helping to dispel the prejudices and to find the correct political solutions.

The question of working-class unity, said A. Sobolev (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*) is inseparably linked with the search for ways, forms and methods of leading the masses to the socialist reorganization of society. The program documents of the world Communist movement and many national Party documents advance the idea of a peaceful development of the revolution. But what are the mechanics of the peaceful conquest of power by the working people? When we ask this question we are forced to admit that the practical, positive, constructive problems of revolutionary mass action have yet to be properly worked out by Marxist-Leninists.

When, in discussing the prospect of the peaceful development of the revolution, we speak of reforms, two types of reforms emerge: those which in one way or another improve the exist-

ing social machinery, patch it up, so to speak, and those which will lead to the overthrow of bourgeois domination, to a revolutionary break with capitalist social relations and the establishment of a new system. These are the reforms the Communists want. The difference between the two types of reforms reflects the complex process taking place in the capitalist world at the present time. On the one hand, you find the ruling classes seeking to adapt to the new situation, i.e., reformist tendencies. On the other hand, there is the desire of the masses to change the given social order with the minimum social disturbance.

Decisive for the peaceful development of the revolution will be the action of the masses, the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. This is what distinguishes the peaceful way from the revisionist talk about transforming capitalism into socialism. And it is on this plane that the question of working class unity as the decisive revolutionary force of our time is posed.

One cannot but agree with Gruppi when he says that the Communists should be the initiators in the struggle for far-reaching democratic reforms, should steer them in a revolutionary direction. In their aggregate these reforms, which in the long run weaken capitalism, should at some stage bring about a qualitative advance. In other words, reforms initially weakening capitalism can eventually, provided they are carried out in the course of mass struggle led by revolutionaries, pave the way to the abolition of capitalism.

I should also like to dwell on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This concept is sometimes not quite correctly, I would say even one-sidedly, understood as being synonymous with violence. This is the image that has been fostered by bourgeois propaganda. Unfortunately, some comrades are prepared to accept it. We know that the things that took place in some of the socialist countries—I refer particularly to the personality cult—contributed to this erroneous concept. But Marxists should distinguish between the outward manifestations of things and the substance. The personality cult, the violation of legality and democracy, are not the substance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the contrary, they are a distortion of it. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a term defining the class content of revolutionary power. Lenin emphasized that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only coercion, and indeed not so much coercion; it embraces all aspects of the life of a society that has broken with capitalism.

If we analyse the history of socialist construction in the USSR and the people's democracies (disregarding the distortions of the personality cult period) the following main features of the dictatorship of the proletariat will emerge: (a) complete political power (which can take diverse forms) in the hands of the people headed by the working class in alliance with the peasantry; (b) the leading role of the

working class in all spheres of public life in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism; (c) suppression of the exploiting classes and groups; (d) the building of a socialist society, which would be of a higher order economically, socially, culturally and ideologically than bourgeois society. The realization of these tasks by the working class constitutes the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once these tasks are accomplished, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat evolves into a state of the whole people.

L. Gruppi expressed doubts with regard to some of the points raised by Avanesyan. Of course, he said, we must distinguish between form and content, but we should not forget that the distinction is methodological rather than organic in nature. To exaggerate it would be to divorce the form from the content. When we speak of working-class government with a multi-party system this implies that something in the very content of working-class power has changed. When we envisage the participation of the middle classes in the building of socialism under working-class leadership its economic content becomes somewhat different.

What is more interesting, it seems to me, Gruppi continued, is the question of the qualitative leap that occurs at some definite moment. It is true, this question cannot be posed mechanically, say, in the sense of fixing a precise date for the advent of socialism, of working-class power. But undoubtedly a qualitative leap does take place. It seems to me that it takes place primarily in the political sphere and occurs at the moment when one can say that a new majority exists, a new social and political bloc which guides the life of the state. This is the first, and I would say the most important qualitative leap. It does not mean that you already have socialism in the economy, because the socialist economy comes at a later stage through the adoption of a series of economic measures. And this depends above all and exclusively on the ruling bloc, which guides the life of the country and exercises state power. However it is quite true — and here I agree with Sobolev — that we are still far from having thoroughly studied the questions associated with the peaceful road, with what we call "the Italian road to socialism." But don't expect us to give the answers as yet, because such answers would be anticipating experience and would risk being purely schematic.

We in Italy are faced with the problem of creating a new majority, a new ruling bloc. For one thing there is the question of our relations with the Catholic forces. Moreover new difficulties have cropped up in connection with the position of Nenni's Socialist Party, and this complicates and retards the process of the formation of a new majority. However things are shaping up, and we are working in this direction.

The second question we are trying to solve is that of how to break down the repressive and

bureaucratic machine of the monopoly state. Of course we have not worked out this question in all its aspects. We are up against a system of prefects, i.e., the subordination of local government to the central executive power. We are fighting for decentralization of state power in the regional councils, for extending the rights of the trade unions and committees at the enterprises. This movement to break down the central bureaucratic power of the monopoly state is still far from adequate. We believe that it should be accompanied by reforms in state organization and by struggle to create a new ruling bloc, struggle for economic reforms. The bourgeoisie must be deprived of its economic base and the main levers, now held by the private monopolies, turned over to a democratic government.

At this juncture we are not raising the question of what will happen to the small producers, the artisans' workshops, cafes, etc. I assume that our demand for nationalization will not extend to these sections. When the economy of a country has already reached the level of large-scale monopoly, the working class is in no danger of being isolated. In the Soviet Union the situation was different. Perhaps we are behindhand with our study of these questions, but we do not want to supply any recipes for the future. The reality usually turns out to be far more complicated than any ready-made patterns.

Sobolev was right when he said that we have two types of reforms: reforms which in one way or another help the monopolies, and reforms of a different kind—democratic or revolutionary reforms. But it is not always possible to draw a clear line of distinction between the two. Take, for example, the nationalization of the hydro-power and electrical industry in Italy. This was the result of a stubborn struggle waged by the working class and the democratic forces. But is that the whole story? Certainly not! For there are big monopolies which want to see the electrical industry nationalized in order to lay their hands on this economic lever through the medium of the state. Nationalization of industry, then, may be utilized in the interests of the big monopolies as well. That explains the bitterness of the struggle for political power. How the nationalization is utilized depends on the political forces in power and hence in a position to pursue their particular economic policy. And that is the chief thing.

But to return to the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. When I spoke about hegemony, I used this Marxist term in the sense in which Gramsci used it—the state as an instrument of hegemony. And hegemony not only in the sense of domination, but of guidance, as well. Under certain conditions the question of guidance acquires exceptional importance. Does not the concept of hegemony better convey the idea of working-class power? It seems to me that this formula implies the same class interests and, at the same time, underscores both the element of guidance and

the element of domination. As you see, at present this is purely a terminological question. I repeat, the "dictatorship of the proletariat," is the term we use in the theses of our Party. The observations I have made here are my own private views.

The arguments advanced by Gruppi are very interesting, said S. Alvarez. The perspective of democratic development and the process sketched in theory for us here by the Italian comrades coincide basically with our own position. There is however an important difference. Who will play the decisive and guiding role in the democratic coalition of which Gruppi speaks? The proletariat will play that role by virtue of its weight, by virtue of its progressive ideology, by virtue of its leadership of the struggle for democratic reforms. But the leading political force in a democratic coalition is one thing and the class content of state power is another. After all when the working class in the framework of democratic legality finally entrenches itself in power and decides to replace private ownership of the basic means of production with social ownership, there takes place a qualitative change, the transition from a democratic to a socialist revolution. Here it is already a question of the dictatorship of the proletariat directed against the ousted exploiting minority.

In this connection I should like to say a few words about the broadening of democracy. In the capitalist countries democracy, formal though it is, has a long standing tradition, and certain individual freedoms have been hallowed by tradition. Under these circumstances we Communists must have a better alternative to offer in the sphere of genuine democracy as compared with that which capitalism offers the working class. It is essential that the power of attraction of socialism should make itself felt in this sphere as well. In this respect a more frank, more candid criticism of shortcomings would be beneficial.

M. Rosette emphasized that the question of the need for a state of a new type is bound to arise in the course of the ideological debate with the Socialists. Is a new type of state essential for the transition to socialism or can the existing bourgeois state be preserved or improved through the medium of reforms? The position of the French Communist Party on this score is well known. Our main argument is that what is in question is a revolution of a new type which will not substitute one form of exploitation for another, but will radically alter the production relations. The socialist revolution should transform private ownership of the means of production into social ownership. But the new socialist production relations cannot take shape within the capitalist society. Consequently, the socialist revolution must begin with the taking over of political power.

But in this case the interests of what social class should this state represent? Who should lead it? The leading role should belong to the working class in alliance with the working

peasantry and the urban middle sections.

Does this mean that we do not take the new conditions and specific national features into account? Not at all. We say that the forms of proletarian dictatorship may change. Take, for example, the thesis concerning cooperation between the various parties in building socialism. Of course in this case the form of political leadership exercised by the working class building socialism together with its allies will differ from that in Russia in October 1917 or from that which exists today in Algeria. But this cooperation of the different parties will not be able to prevent the new type of state from fulfilling its functions. In France, whose people have strong democratic traditions, the use of parliament is also envisaged.

One last point. Should the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" be discarded and replaced by some other? The Socialist Party tells us that this term does not suit them. Of course, for the French masses the word "dictatorship" does not have the same meaning as it had in the time of Marx or Lenin; for them the word "dictatorship" is associated, for example, with Hitler, Mussolini or Franco. But that is not why we argue with the Socialists about the concept of "the dictatorship of the proletariat" itself. It is not the term but the essence, the content and the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat that concerns us. But although the French Socialists are aware of our loyalty to the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they nevertheless engage in a dialogue with us, voicing new and highly interesting ideas on the question of democracy and socialism which we have already mentioned. Therefore it would be wrong to reject this term at the very moment when the French Socialists have themselves supported the idea of the necessity of a dictatorship of the proletariat. When we agree with our Socialist comrades on the crux of the matter, we may possibly discuss the term itself with them at some future date.

G. Oehman, (Sweden) spoke of the ways of transition to socialism. In 1944, he said, shortly after the Communist International was dissolved, the Swedish Communist Party adopted its first program for building socialism in Sweden. In it we stated clearly and unequivocally that we were in favor of a peaceful transition to socialism. We did not use the term "dictatorship of the proletariat." However, this by no means implies that our Party departed from its position or rejected the concept of proletarian dictatorship. The dictatorship of the proletariat signifies simply the leading role of the working class in the state. Bourgeois and Social Democratic parties counterpose the dictatorship of the proletariat to democracy. To avoid such comparisons we do not use the term.

In 1953 we revised our Party program. This time we stated that the road to socialism in Sweden lies through people's democracy. In 1961 we once again revised the program. And we came to the conclusion that we should not

even use the term "people's democracy." This term emerged in the specific conditions following the second world war. We cannot tell whether the state in Sweden will take the form of people's democracy. We say that the working class in alliance with the peasantry and with other sections of the population must take over state power. But what will happen after that, what state form will emerge, time will show. In our program we stated plainly that we stand for preserving the multi-party system. The one-party system in the Soviet Union is clearly associated with historical conditions. This is the language the working class and the people of Sweden understand.

W. Kashtan (Canada) observed that the different views that had been advanced were of great value, since the approach of the comrades and the parties to one or another problem had been based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation, on the history, the development and the relationship of forces in their particular countries. The approach of the different Communist Parties to the question of the transition to socialism is bound to differ in some respects, he said. Are the problems the same? Is the relationship of forces the same? Do they all have a big Catholic population and a Catholic Church which dominates? Does this not require a Party to develop the most flexible approach in order to reach the masses and win them? These different approaches, do not, in my opinion, imply opposition to the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. This is a question that interests all the parties, in the capitalist world particularly.

What will be the form of the transition to socialism under capitalism? The relationship of forces, the local conditions are not the same in all countries. If we start from the same standpoint we shall only hit our heads against a stone wall. We need, therefore, to develop, within the framework of fundamentals, those peculiarities which we cannot afford to ignore if we want to achieve our objective. Of course it would be wrong to concentrate solely on the peculiarities and forget the fundamentals. On the other hand, if we limit ourselves to the fundamentals and fail to study the peculiarities we will not be able to advance. That is our problem.

So the key question is the way for Communist parties in the capitalist countries to open the door to the advance of the people to socialism, taking into account the peculiarities in the respective countries.

It seems to me that one of the mistakes the world Communist movement has made for many years is not to take sufficiently into account the profound democratic sentiment of the masses of the working people in the capitalist countries, a sentiment sharpened by the war against Hitler fascism. And this democratic sentiment is an important factor against reaction and reactionary tendencies. We must take this into account in our mass policy.

This is closely connected also with the devel-

opment of our relations with Social Democracy. If our estimates of world developments are correct, if major revolutionary changes are taking place in the world, can one say that Social Democracy is outside this process and is not affected by these developments, or that this does not open up possibilities for cooperation and development of unity?

There is a need for the development of unity and cooperation with the Social Democrats and reformist-minded workers who constitute the majority in the capitalist world, with the exception of France and Italy, where the correlation is different. This would help to buttress the movement and strengthen the basis for democratic unity against monopoly, for socialist transformation.

In this connection we have, I think, as Marxists, to be prepared to admit that mistakes have been made and not to sweep them under the carpet as if they didn't exist. We all know that Lenin emphasized more than once the need for Communists to be prepared publicly to recognize their mistakes, correct them, and to study their essence in order not to repeat them. In saying this I do not deny the historical responsibility of Social Democracy. I think this is important from the standpoint of establishing a relationship with the reformist workers and breaking down those barriers that still hinder cooperation and unity.

The discussion of these questions was joined also by *P. Motta Lima, A. Ferrari, D. Konstantinu, D. Henin*, and others.

Eugenio Curiel

University docent, the hope of Italian science and, despite his youth, a veteran of the liberation struggle. The first to send out a call to the youth of Italy to unite against the fascists—German and Italian. The best part of them responded, inspired by his confidence, enthusiasm and example. He ably led them in the heroic struggle, organizing them in the Youth Front, a powerful weapon of the liberation. An incomparable agitator, he was always to be found where organization, action and inspiration were needed. Hounded by the enemy who saw in him a dangerous adversary, he continued the struggle undaunted. He was killed by fascist assassins on the eve of the victory. A dedicated leader, an inspiring example of heroism and devotion to his native land and the Italian youth in their battle for freedom . . .

(From the citation recommending the posthumous award of the Gold Medal of the Resistance to Eugenio Curiel)

ON FEBRUARY 28 of this year 60,000 Italians gathered in Padua, the city awarded the Gold Medal of the Resistance, to honor the memory of Eugenio Curiel, outstanding Resistance fighter, on the twentieth anniversary of his tragic death.

Curiel was killed in Milan on February 24, 1945, two months before the national insurrection which liberated Italy (April 25, 1945) from fascism and the Nazi occupation. He was only 32 years old.

He began his political life in the Communist Party when still a youth, in the years when fascism was in the saddle. An intellectual, he joined the Party not on the impulse of class instinct but from scientific convictions. Like many other young Italians, Curiel was able to find his own way in those grim years, which started with a profoundly critical attitude to the social system of which fascism was the instrument. He came to the Communist Party because its theory and practical activity convinced him that the Communists possessed the most effective means of analyzing and understanding the international and Italian scene of those years.

His fine intellect, profound philosophical and political grounding and his courage immediately became apparent in his activity. After the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the Italian Communist Party stressed the importance of work among the masses, of using every opportunity for legal work, and first of all the trade unions.

In August 1937 Eugenio Curiel took up his appointment as a teacher of mathematics in the University of Padua. The student organization of those years, the so-called "fascist university groups," published a fortnightly newspaper *Il Bo*. Eugenio Curiel began to collaborate on the paper as editor of the trade union column. The result was that in the course of one year his column steadily expanded, occupying first a quarter of a page, then a whole page until finally trade union problems began to figure more and more frequently in the front page editorials.

And so problems of the class struggle, the revolutionary role of the working class and the working people generally held the center of attention in Padua. An extraordinary thing came to pass: a newspaper produced by stu-

dents for students began to be bought by workers, to be read and discussed in the factories. Curiel, however, was not one to be satisfied with this success. On the "legal" pretext of carrying on educational work "in the fascist spirit," he persuaded the fascist chiefs to give him patronage over the printers' trade union. For two months the workers, both old and young, heard with amazement words that were completely different from the usual official speeches, words which summoned them to action against the exploiters and the fascists. It was during this period that Curiel broadened his knowledge, made a more profound study of the trade union movement, and particularly of the national liberation role of the working class. With incredible skill he expounded Marxist ideas in a fascist newspaper, ideas as, for example: "only a well organized trade union, supported by a mature and prepared membership can secure . . . social equality . . ." The trade unions must solve a series of "problems—from that of the equal distribution of the wealth to that of the dignity of the working class and recognition of its role in the life of the nation . . . In this historical period not only the workers of the iron and steel, engineering and textile industries, not only printing workers and farm laborers, but also the masses of the working people whose problems and demands are now determining the historical tasks of humanity, are beginning to enter the political arena."

Curiel's subsequent arrest and deportation to the island of Ventotene temporarily interrupted his political activity, but he continued to study the problems of the Italian revolution, writing many articles and notes on the subject. After the collapse of the fascist regime on July 25, 1943, Curiel resumed his place as a fighter and leader in the liberation war. His previous experience stood him in good stead: the call to resistance made by the Rector of the University of Padua, Concetto Marchesi,* fell on the fertile soil prepared by Curiel. In this noble call are the following words:

"Students, I cannot leave my post as Rector of the University without addressing this last call to you.

"In the course of one generation your youth and your country have been destroyed, and you have been hurled into the chaos of ruins; through these ruins you must carry forward the torch of hope and militant fervor and resurrect your youth and your country. You must overcome delusion, violence, inertia and criminal servility and together with the working class and peasant youth be the makers of Italy's history and regenerate her people. Do not probe the past only for individuals responsible for the crimes—behind the hired assassins

stands a large group of men who wanted these crimes and covered them by their silence or cowardly submissiveness, behind them stands the whole ruling class of Italy, whose inability and criminal policy is leading to its utter collapse. Students, I am leaving you in the hope of again returning to you as a teacher and friend, returning after having experienced the fraternity of joint struggle. For the sake of the faith that inspires you, for the sake of the anger burning in your hearts, do not allow the oppressors to dispose of your lives, close the ranks of your battalions, liberate Italy from shame and add the glory of a new and higher award to the banners of your University in this great battle for justice and world peace."

And the Italian youth, led by Curiel, closed their ranks and went into action against the Nazis and the fascists. Curiel united them in the Youth Front whose immediate aim was, as he envisaged it, to rally the young men and women of Italy to fight for independence and freedom; later after peace was won, it would be the guiding center of the youth, to enlist the young workers, peasants and students for the building of a progressive, democratic Italy.

Curiel was not only the heart and soul of the Youth Front during the partisan war; he held a key post on the Party's illegal newspaper *Unita* and theoretical journal *Nostra Lotta*. In the Party's leadership he voiced the spiritual and political aspirations of the youth who had matured during the period of the fascist dictatorship and had taken the path of struggle against fascism and for communism.

This is what G. Amendola wrote about him: "I still see him as I did that day for the last time, with his warm and friendly smile, standing on the square in Milan where he was shot down three days later by machine-gun fire. . . . On that day we had been striding along the street animatedly discussing, before parting, the never-ending subject of our conversations: the development of democracy in Italy and the link between the anti-fascist struggle and the struggle for socialism. Can the division of Europe into spheres of influence be permitted? And, most important (considering the presence in Italy of British and U.S. occupation troops who in Rome were already supporting the monarchy and the old privileged classes), how to continue the struggle for the democratic and socialist reconstruction of the country in the new conditions on the international and home fronts?

"Curiel considered as decisive for the future of Italian democracy, as the guarantee of its progressive character, the participation of the people in the liberation war, the unity of the people, the development of the National Liberation Committees as people's organs of self-government; the participation of the mass organizations in the local National Liberation Committees, in a word, the creation of a system of National Liberation Committees in which they would not simply be organs of

*Concetto Marchesi (1878-1957)—outstanding Latinist, Rector of Padua University. In 1943 the Italian Communist Party insisted on his going underground in order to save him from the reprisals of the fascists. At the Fifth Congress of the Party in 1945 he was elected a member of the Central Committee. From 1946 up to his death he was a member of parliament.

unity 'from above' but the base of the new democratic structure, the foundation of the new republican state born in the crucible of the struggle. He therefore devoted special attention to the fruitful experience of the self-governments in the 'free zones' (Domodossola, Monferrato, Montefiorino)."

Curiel assigned a big place to the Catholic workers and youth in the united actions of the masses. He was able to appreciate the motives that prompted them to join the Communists in the liberation movement and saw them as active participants in the future building of a democratic, renovated Italy.

In his speech dedicated to the memory of Curiel, Comrade Longo stated that the writings of Curiel expound "the essence of the present policy of the Party, the party which even before the 20th Congress of the CPSU pointed to the new independent Italian road to socialism in the conditions of democracy and peace, and which resolves theoretical and practical problems in a new way compared with the previous experience of the revolutionary movement."

In this speech Longo said: "Twenty years

have passed since the day Curiel was killed. Twenty years have passed since the momentous days of April 1945. Big problems confronted us, heavy sacrifices were needed to repel the attacks of the conservatives and reactionaries. Today a new generation has appeared on the scene, the generation of young people born at the time Eugenio Curiel died. This generation has grown up more quickly because the world is moving today at a greater speed, because the contradictions are being revealed more sharply: the contradiction between the triumphs in the cosmos and the poverty in which two-thirds of humanity lives; between the danger of war, of a nuclear holocaust, and the thirst for freedom and independence which is bringing peoples into action and which is encountering resistance and counterblows on the part of the conservative and imperialist forces. . . ."

For all young Italians the image of Eugenio Curiel, his dedicated life, are an inspiring example. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism for which he gave his life, the teachings of Gramsci and Togliatti are a clarion call to continue the fight for freedom and socialism.

S. MARCHI

ZAMBIA:

First steps of the republic

FOR FOUR YEARS the man on a horse—the monument to the British “conqueror” of Africa, Cecil Rhodes—stood in Lusaka, capital of former Northern Rhodesia. The monument was presented to the city in 1960 by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) founded by Rhodes at the end of last century. Rhodes gave his name to the vast territory stretching on both sides of the Zambesi River, and the BSAC, having seized the resources of the country, became the sole master there.

The bronze Rhodes in the saddle was to symbolize the eternal “partnership of rider and horse” as the relations between the metropolis and the colony were defined by a colonial official. But the Africans have ended the “partnership.” The “rider” — colonialism — was ejected from the saddle by the national-liberation movement and the militant struggle of the working people.

The monument has been returned to the company. And the name Northern Rhodesia has disappeared. In its place the Republic of Zambia appeared on October 24, 1964. The country is faced with the task of consolidating its independence, establishing economic sovereignty and raising the standard of living.

As a first step the government cut short the “traditional” predatory activity of Rhodes’ heirs in the BSAC. During the 75 years of its domination, the company, which arrogated to itself the sole right to exploit the mineral resources of the country, has pumped out of it hundreds of millions of pounds in profit. The activity of the company was extremely parasitical in character. It preferred not to work the mines itself but to “lease” them at a profit, of course, to other monopolies, mainly British and American.

After gaining independence, Zambia put an end to the privileges of the BSAC. All payments for the right to exploit copper, cobalt and other mineral resources now go to the government of the Republic. But the natural wealth of the country is still controlled by foreign capitalists (British, American and South African). Two monopoly groups—the Anglo-American Corporation and the Rhodesian Selection Trust—directly exploit the mineral resources.

Last year these monopolies extracted over 630,000 tons of copper ore there.

The Rhodesian Selection Trust, exploiting the labor of 20,000 people, belongs to the six biggest copper monopolies in the world. It sells copper at £250 a ton, and of this sum £41 used to be paid to Rhodes’ heirs. Today this sum is paid to the government of Zambia. But imperialist exploitation continues. The 1963 net profit of the Rhodesian Selection Trust amounted to £17,420,000, and the Anglo-American Corporation, to £29,389,000.

The solution of the basic problem—nationalization of the mining industry—encounters the difficulties typical of the newly developing countries. The chief difficulty is the lack of trained personnel.

The population of the “copper belt” is 500,000. But the number of trained Africans at the time of liberation was infinitesimal. Now, however, things are changing. The government hopes in the not-too-distant future to supply industry with all the necessary cadres. But, needless to say, this will take time.

Today the issue is equal pay for equal work. At the end of last year only 100 of the 47,000 Africans employed in the Copper belt received wages equal to those of the Europeans. But discrimination on the scale practised in the past has been ended, and the government is resolved to uproot it completely.

An obstacle in the way of independent development is the division of the economy into two sectors—the “European” (enterprises of foreign companies and farms of white settlers) and the “African” (small peasant holdings and a few small enterprises in agriculture, trade and handicrafts).

The most fertile land (some three million hectares) is owned by European farmers. They, however, cultivate a mere 80,000 hectares. The chief products of the farms are corn, meat, dairy products for home consumption and tobacco for export.

The reservations and the so-called “mandate lands” totalling 70 million hectares allotted to the African farmers are mostly in the hills where the land is arid. The irrigation systems

of pre-colonial days were neglected and fell into ruin during the colonial period. Land-hunger, poverty and malnutrition condemn the peasants to seasonal work or force them to migrate to the towns where they join the ranks of the unemployed.

Average annual income per capita of the African population is a mere £50, and in the countryside it is as low as £10. Medical care for Africans in the towns is negligible, while in the countryside it is almost non-existent. Trachoma and leprosy are widespread. Most of the population is illiterate.

The country is now coming to grips with its many problems. In January work began on an economic development plan designed for a period of one and a half years. Development of agriculture, better utilization of the land, and building the factories, roads, hospitals and schools envisaged in the plan should ensure a growth of the economy and a rise in the standard of living. £35 million has been assigned for this purpose. The youth are working actively to abolish illiteracy.

The peasants warmly responded to the plans for agricultural cooperatives. With state support, thousands of them are combining for joint cultivation.

The prospects of the Republic's further development are outlined in a five-year plan providing for a considerable growth of industrial output, and a radical improvement in the public health and education systems. Two-thirds of the funds needed for the plan will be obtained by the state from the increased copper production. Foreign aid will be required, too. The government is prepared to accept it provided it is not accompanied by economic pressure to influence its policy of neutrality and African unity.

The progressive forces in Zambia hold that socio-economic progress is inconceivable without cooperation with the socialist countries, and that it is incompatible with anti-communism towards which the government is being propelled by the imperialists and local reactionaries.

Success in building the new Zambia and

buttressing its economic and political independence depends in large measure on the international position of the Republic, on its ties with the external world. The racist regimes in Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa, and the Portuguese colonial regimes in Mozambique and Angola, bordering on Zambia, are in a position to exert a considerable pressure on its government, since the railway lines giving Zambia an outlet to the oceans pass through the territory of these countries.

Another difficulty is that Zambia inherited economic ties with Southern Rhodesia and with the Republic of South Africa. The latter so far has accounted for 20 per cent of Zambia's imports of consumer goods and equipment. Yet Zambia is cutting these ties in line with the policy of support for the anti-colonial struggle in Africa proclaimed by the government. "Our trade policy with regard to South Africa," said Arthur Wina, Finance Minister, "is determined by the general African policy, which means boycott."

In mid-January Zambia annulled the trade agreements with South Africa and Portugal concluded by the government of Northern Rhodesia. According to official statements, it will no longer conclude trade agreements with the racist government of Ian Smith, which is nurturing plans for an "independent" Southern Rhodesia where power will remain in the hands of the white exploiting minority.

The emergence of an independent Zambia is of significance for the liberation struggles of the peoples of neighboring territories still ruled by colonialists and racists. Progressives in these countries are closely following the first steps of the Republic and its policy. For them it is important to see which way Zambia will take—cooperation with the colonialists or anti-imperialist struggle.

President Kaunda stressed in a speech at the 19th session of the U.N. General Assembly that his country will pursue a policy of non-alliance. But this, he added, does not mean that it will remain neutral on questions of war and peace, on issues affecting the interests of Africa.

Chiziza KAMBWE

GAMBIA:

Difficulties and prospects

GAMBIA, WHICH THE *London Times* described as one of the oldest, smallest and poorest colonies of Britain, joined the family of independent African states on February 18. The country is faced with the task of overcoming the legacy of colonialism—economic backwardness.

After three centuries of colonial rule this

West African country with a population of 316,000 is a typical example of a colonial one-crop economy. Ninety per cent of the population is rural, occupied mainly with growing groundnuts, the annual production of which is about 80,000 tons. The groundnut trade, which accounts for most of the export, is concentrated in the hands of the British state-mono-

poly company, Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board. The colonialists, not interested in investing in a colony "with no prospects," were content with the profits from groundnuts and gave little thought to the future of the country. The policy of the colonial regime was aptly defined by one of its spokesmen: "What is important is the price of groundnuts."

But the Africans think differently. The leaders of the country regard increasing the production of groundnuts as only one of the means of overcoming the economic backwardness.

Plans are in hand for modernizing and diversifying agriculture, for encouraging development of new branches of industry.

In agriculture the immediate task is to replace primitive implements with ploughs. Intensive agriculture and rising export will be important sources of growth for the national income, for accumulating the capital needed for development. Experiments are being made to grow olive palms, cotton and other crops. The government hopes to develop these into cash crops to stabilize exports, now completely dependent on the fluctuations of world prices for groundnuts. Importance is attached to growing food crops to make the country independent of food imports.

To reduce the country's dependence on imports of consumer goods, provision has been made to encourage foreign investments in new branches such as the clothing, perfume, food and other industries. Gambia's leaders stress the need for modernizing transport facilities, above all sea and air transport, because the

country has no railways and few highways.

The main difficulties lie in financing the economic development program. From year to year the country has had a big budgetary deficit, which was covered by funds granted by the metropolitan country. British financial aid to Gambia is guaranteed up to the year 1967. Today, however, when the newly-independent state can independently determine its economic policy, this aid has been sharply reduced.

Aware that reliance solely on imperialist "aid" does not create conditions for attaining genuine independence, the ruling People's Progressive Party sees one of the ways of solving the country's problems in building a close alliance with neighboring Senegal. The geographical position, the ethnical affinity of the population of the countries, the identity of their cultural traditions, and the need for joint effort in mastering the water and hydropower resources of the Gambia River which are practically the only natural wealth of the young state, make such an alliance urgent.

After the proclamation of independence, Gambia and Senegal concluded agreements on defense, security and foreign relations.

This small independent country will have to travel a long and difficult road. Success in overcoming the difficulties will depend on the government solving its problems independently and consistently, on the firmness with which it resists the forces impelling the country back to "partnership" with the colonialists.

Mamadu DIARA

Jailers and prisoners in the new world

ARBITRARY RULE, COMPLETE disregard for the constitution and scorn for human rights are features of the repressive policy in Latin America.

Domingo Lopez Florez, a sixty-year-old peasant, has spent the past three years in La Aviacion Prison, Nicaragua. No one knows why he has been jailed. The sole entry in his dossier reads: detained "on orders from the civil authorities."

The inmates of the Tacarigua concentration camp in Venezuela include two teen-age boys, Francisco Oropeza and Endo Maldonado, who have never been tried.

Even MP's are not immune. Communist leaders Luis Elmiro Arrieta, Antonio Garcia Ponce and Hector Rodriguez Bauza, members of the Venezuelan parliament, each spent one year in prison. No charge was, or could be, made against them. The authorities, worried by the powerful national and international campaign for the release of political prisoners, were forced to release them. But Senator Jesus Faria, leader of the Venezuelan Communists, and many other MP's are still behind bars.

For the Leoni government repressions are the sole means of containing the national-liberation struggle in Venezuela. It is particularly brutal to the peasantry who are taking an active part in the struggle. Countless peasants have been tortured and killed for "aiding the partisans." Many villages have been subjected to destructive air raids.

Communists are jailed even when their persecutors have no grounds whatever for arresting them.

On January 10 the police raided the head office of the Communist Party of Colombia, seized the issue of the Party weekly, *Voz Proletaria*, and arrested Alvaro Vasquez, Secretary of the Central Committee, and Cepeda Vargas, Secretary of the Communist Youth League. Three hours later the police were compelled to release them, unable to bring any charge against them.

The wrecking of the office of the Communist Youth League of Uruguay by the police last February, the arrest of Hugo Victor, leader of the People's Party of Panama, and other Panamanian patriots—these are but some of the examples of U.S.-inspired official violence.

* * *

The U.S. imperialists have covered Latin America with a network of "continental" punitive organs. During the war the United States sponsored the establishment of an "inter-American political defense commission," with the task of combating communism. In the same period the inter-American defense council was founded to work out recommendations for "defense of the Western hemisphere."

Enmeshed in "defense" treaties, the governments of the Latin American countries are spending \$1,400 million annually for the upkeep of 650,000 troops and for the purchase of U.S. arms.

Members of punitive agencies attend special U.S.-run schools where they are taught methods of struggle against "subversive activities" and guerrillas. Senior officers are given special training in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and in the inter-American defense college in Fort McNair. Training is conducted also in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Paraguay. A special police school has been established in the Panama Canal Zone. Last December more than 180 "students" graduated from the Pentagon school at the Albrook air base in the Panama Canal zone. At present the number of officers trained in anti-guerrilla warfare stands at 6,537. They include officers from Bolivia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Salvador, Ecuador and the United States.

Aided by the U.S. emissary Sterling Cottrel, the Ministers of the Interior of the Central American countries and Panama have drafted a "Managua Charter" in which they propose to forbid visits to Cuba by citizens of their countries, to sequester the bank deposits of persons or groups they find to be "Communist," and to set up an espionage agency for exchanges of information between governments about participants in the national-liberation movements—all on the pretext of "combating Communist subversion."

The Council of the Organization of American States has authorized its security commission to interfere in the affairs of any country on the continent even without the request of the government concerned. Teodoro Moscoso, the Alliance for Progress administrator who represented the United States at the conference of senior officers of the Latin American countries

held in Fuerte Amador, Panama, declared that the army should counter the threat of the national-liberation war with tactics "not provided for in instructions" and that it was its duty "to uphold law and order in the name of anti-communism."

In addition to forming "inter-American" repressive organs the reactionaries are going out of their way to impose on their peoples reactionary laws drafted according to Washington recipes. For instance, hardly had the Chamber of Deputies of the Argentine parliament voted for the abolition of the decrees adopted by the Guido government when the executive authority submitted a draft "national defense" law based on the U.S. concept of "defending the western hemisphere against an extra-continental aggressor" and "enriched" by the Argentine military with the concept of "internal front."

Commenting on this draft, the progressive Argentine newspaper *El Popular* stated that it concretizes the ideas discussed at the 5th conference of the American armies in the United States. It signifies the complete militarization of the country and will give the executive the right to declare martial law at any moment in the event of "attack from without, internal disorders, or extreme danger." Thus any strike, the newspaper points out, can be used as a pretext for declaring martial law. Anti-communist laws are identical in the different Latin American countries, as if they had been stencilled.

Indeed, in the first decree issued after seizing power the military junta in Ecuador introduced martial law, prohibited strikes and abolished all constitutional guarantees.

In Guatemala the military government is acting likewise. Last February it declared a state of siege, abolished constitutional guarantees for an indefinite period, prohibited meetings and subordinated all organs of power to the army.

Conservative quarters are demanding stronger action against the Left. The Argentine weekly *Politica* maintains that "the repressions will not be effective enough unless the faculties of philosophy, literature and medicine as well as cine-clubs and cultural and other centers are closed down."

* * *

Despite the repressions, the revolutionary upsurge of the peoples and the movements for national liberation, democracy and the rights of the working people are growing. The recent conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America stressed the need "to encourage the formation of solidarity movements or organizations, ensuring that the campaigns against the repressions should be of a permanent character . . . to render active support to the persecuted, specifically to the Venezuelan, Colombian, Guatemalan, Honduran, Paraguayan and Haitian freedom-fighters to extend the anti-colonialist movement on the continent. . . ."

On January 15 meetings of protest against

the ban on a Communist rally were held in Buenos Aires. Undaunted by tear-gas bombs and armed soldiers and tanks, hundreds of people marched along the streets chanting "We want freedom!"

Thousands of Uruguayans took part in a meeting of solidarity with the people of Brazil in Montevideo at the end of last year. The meeting was also attended by Argentinians, Colombians and Chileans. A proposal was made at the meeting to set up a permanent organ to coordinate the actions of the Latin American peoples fighting for liberation.

A youth congress for the liberation of political prisoners held in the Chilean capital called upon the Latin American youth to launch a mass movement for the release of political prisoners and expressed "solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for democratic freedoms, independence and national liberation."

The strength, scale and influence of the solidarity movement were demonstrated in the struggle for the release of political prisoners in Ecuador. Special committees were set up to provide material aid to the prisoners and to expose the arbitrary acts of the dictatorship. A vigorous protest campaign with the participation of democratic politicians, organizations and newspapers was organized. Even Right-wing parties joined in the protest. Weeks of solidarity with the Ecuadoran political prisoners were held in the socialist countries. Messages demanding the release of the patriots were sent to the ruling junta from these countries as well as from parliamentary blocs in Chile, Uruguay, Colombia and Panama. Meetings to demand the release of the victims of the military regime were held in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and other countries. This demand was supported by the delegates to the World Forum of Youth and Students in Moscow, the youth congress for the release of political prisoners in Chile and the conference of the Latin American Communist Parties. Pablo Neruda, Velasco Ibarra, Ruperto Alarcon Falconi and other well-known personalities protested against the actions of the military junta. The campaign was a big success. At first the junta declared that not a single Communist would be set free as long as it was in power; then it made their release conditional on a written pledge not to oppose it, but in the end it was compelled to release them without any conditions.

Victory was won also by the democratic forces in Mexico whose Solidarity Movement forced the release of David Alfaro Siqueiros and other political prisoners.

The struggle waged by the Puerto Rican people won freedom for Pedro Albizu Campos, an outstanding fighter for the liberation of the country.

Pressed by Colombian and world public opinion, the Supreme Court of Colombia ordered the release of Cepeda Vargas, Secretary of the Communist Youth League.

Restoration of its legal status to the Communist Party was a big victory for the democratic movement in Argentina.

Solidarity with the political prisoners in Latin America is also a worldwide movement which has become a powerful weapon in the struggle for democracy, peace and national emancipation. Last November a week of solidarity with the Venezuelan political prisoners was held in many countries. An important role

in organizing campaigns against the persecutions is played by international democratic organizations and trade unions. The waves of protest are battering the prison walls, opening the door to freedom. And the more powerful the solidarity movement, and the more united the forces fighting for democracy, national emancipation and peace, the more such victories will be won.

S. LORENZSON

Mass arrests in Senegal

WHENEVER SENGHOR'S neo-colonialist regime is confronted with difficulties endangering its existence, it panics and resorts to ruthless suppression of the opposition and unlawful arrest of patriots. This was seen in the critical period of the collapse of the Mali Federation, when hundreds of fighters for democracy, progress and Senegal's genuine independence were jailed.

Today, to please its imperialist masters, the reactionary government has sided with the Tshombe regime, showing again that it is an enemy of free Africa. The situation in which the lackeys of imperialism have landed as a result of their perfidy is aggravated by the economic crisis; to this should be added the growing struggle of the progressive forces, the collapse of Senghor's attempts at reconciliation with the supporters of former Prime Minister Mamadou Dia, and the contradictions in the ruling party.

The government is searching for means with which to cling to power. Along with feverish diplomatic activity to win allies, it has started wholesale repressions against political opponents. Leaders of the opposition parties are subjected to persecution and arrest.

As always, the hardest blows are aimed at the party of the working people, the African Party of Independence. The government has brazenly announced an open hunt for members of the API. Many of the unlawfully arrested patriots are tortured in the police headquarters in Dakar.

In a statement issued in connection with the new wave of arrests the Central Committee of the API points out: "Senghor and his clique are heading for a shameful end. This end is coming, and nothing can save the traitors. Persecution of the patriots is bound to turn against Senghor himself. He and his clique will have to account to the people for their actions. . . .

"As far as our Party is concerned, such trials have fallen to its lot before. As in the past, it will emerge from them tempered and militant. It is firmly determined to sweep the last traces of colonialism off our land."

The Central Committee of the API calls upon patriots in Senegal, and all Africa, on all progressives and democrats to support the fighters for democracy and progress in Senegal, to help wrest the arrested patriots from the executioners.

M. DIENNE

A history of struggle and devotion

THROUGHOUT ITS EXISTENCE the French Communist Party has enriched the international working-class movement with valuable political experience and has played an outstanding role in the life of the French people. Acquaintance with its history is, therefore, indispensable for understanding the contemporary history of France, for ascertaining its motive forces and prospects.

The decision to write a history of the Party was adopted at its Fourteenth Congress in 1956. The Central Committee appointed a commission consisting of Party leaders, historians and economists and charged it with writing a thoroughly documented textbook to serve as the basis for profound theoretical and political thinking. This called for proceeding, not from *a priori* affirmations, but from facts. With this in view the authors studied the official documents of the Party reflecting its policy in each period and on each issue, used the Party publications, memoirs of Communists, and documents of the international working-class movement. The book appeared in print in September 1964.*

Any document can be correctly explained and understood only in its concrete historical context. For instance, the significance of the call dated July 10, 1940, signed by Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos and proclaiming that "never shall our people be slaves," can be appreciated only if one is well informed about the internal and international position of France at that time. The authors had to reconstruct the actions of the Party on the basis of an analysis of the actual situation. This means that they had to know not only the history of France but also world history.

The subject itself obliged the authors to examine some aspects of history which are only touched upon in official publications. In this respect the book, as Jacques Duclos has said, "is, without doubt, a document unequalled in France for the thoroughness with which the economic, social and political activity of the working class is reflected" (*France nouvelle* No. 984).

Although the people in their mass are assigned pride of place, the authors do not ignore

the role played by individuals. The Party leaders, who were closely linked with the masses and equipped with both practical experience and a profound knowledge of theory, played the main part in shaping Party policy. Specifically, the book shows the role played by Maurice Thorez and the importance of his theoretical contribution.

Since the Communist Party determines its policy on the basis of a Marxist study of reality, it follows that all the major theoretical problems should be examined in a book on its history. And the authors examine these problems not didactically but in conjunction with life, as they were seen by the Party at the particular time. This enables the reader to see why the Party bases its activities on scientifically comprehended reality and how it enriches Marxism by creatively applying its theory to the various social and political situations. Hence one can follow the deepening of the approach to such basic problems as the united front, democracy, the fight against colonialism, the issue of war and peace, and peaceful co-existence. The basic lessons of the struggle waged by the Party are also set forth.

In addition to the difficulties involved in collecting and using documents, there was the problem of the size of the book. The nearly half-a-century history of the Party had to be put down on roughly 700 pages. It was necessary to study the history of the French working-class movement prior to 1920 in order to explain both the solid revolutionary traditions of the Party, and the reasons which impelled the reconstruction of the old Socialist Party into a new kind of party. The results of this research occupy the first two chapters. The remaining thirteen deal with the history of the Party from its founding at the Tours Congress in December 1920 up to the Seventeenth Congress in 1964.

From 1932-34 onwards, that is after the initial difficulties of building a genuinely Leninist party had been overcome and with the Party playing a growing role in the life of the country, the amount of factual material calling for elucidation in the book piled up.

The authors had to single out the main points for each chapter and show the cardinal problems that confronted the Party, the solutions

**Histoire du Parti communiste français (manuel)*. Paris Editions Sociales, 1964. 774 pp.

it found, and the methods it used to bring the masses into action in each situation, from the Second International to the Third, and all the way to the current struggle against one-man rule.

It will suffice to cite one example from the Resistance period. The authors show how the Party lent a principled character to the liberation struggle. Our Party alone saw the Resistance not as the cause of a chosen few, but as mass struggle in the course of which the masses gradually united around the working class; the Party alone pointed out that this struggle should be waged not only against the invader, but also against the big bourgeoisie who had betrayed the people. This explains why the Party was the most consistent driving force of the union of the French nation that developed in the Resistance Movement.

The authors show how the Party organized the mass movement against the invader. Its constantly growing contact with the masses and its analysis of the situation enabled the Party to determine the actions possible and necessary at the given moment. For instance, in 1940 the Party was able to initiate, around modest demands, the regrouping of the working class which became the basis for the entire national struggle. Whenever the objective conditions changed, the Party determined the new forms and directions of the struggle, heading the entire Resistance Movement.

The prestige gained by the Party was such

that the entire Resistance began to share its concepts of the struggle. Despite the plans of de Gaulle's terrorists and the Anglo-American general staffs, the Resistance developed into a mass struggle which culminated in the national uprising.

Therefore the national role of the Party and the factors which enabled it to gain this role constitute the main subject matter of the chapters devoted to World War II. This part of the book also touches upon such thought-provoking questions as the character of World War II, the way in which it developed, and the nature and role of Gaullism.

The book, understandably, is not faultless. History, like any science, is a gradual approximation to the truth, assimilation of new facts, a deeper thinking constantly impelling it forward. It was not the purpose of the authors to provide the last word in the history of the Party. Comments received so far from readers are mainly concerned with factual slips and explanations.* The authors welcome criticisms which will help improve subsequent editions.

Be that as it may, the book is a useful contribution. It will be particularly helpful to the young Communists. And for all of us it will be indispensable ideological equipment illuminating the current struggle with the experience of the past.

Germaine VILLARD

*See Francois Billoux' article in *Cahiers du Communisme*, January 1965.

The Communist International against fascism

THE COMMUNIST International was the only international organization which pointed to the danger of fascism when the latter was still in embryo. Between the two world wars the Comintern acted as the principal center of the anti-fascist struggle. Away back in those early days new forms of activity began to be developed in the world Communist movement and the foundations for its present strategy were laid. The growth of the postwar Communist movement is unthinkable without the Comintern's anti-fascist activity.

Of great interest in this respect is "The Communist International Against Fascism"* by the Czechoslovak historian, Vladimir Suchopar. This is the first major work in international

Marxist historiography in which an attempt is made to draw a comprehensive picture of the strategy and tactics of the anti-fascist struggle of the revolutionary Marxist parties during the years from the founding of the Comintern until its Seventh Congress in 1935, when the idea of the anti-fascist popular front took shape.

In his appraisal of the historical role of the Comintern and the work done by it, the author points to its shortcomings and to positions which did not conform to the real state of things and which hampered the movement. He thus gives a convincing reply to the attempts made by our opponents to lump together both the mistakes and the positive aspects of the Comintern's work, to belittle its successes. At the same time this analysis makes one ponder over the historical root of the mistakes, which

*V. Suchopar. *Komunistická internacionale proti fasismu v letech 1921-1935*. Praha, NPL, 1964. 329 pp.

in a somewhat modified form appear now, too, in the current discussions in the international working-class movement, and which seriously retard creative elaboration of its strategy and tactics.

The author devotes special attention to the cardinal problem which confronted the Comintern from its inception and almost throughout the entire period between the two world wars, and the treatment of which was responsible, in the final count, for its successes and its setbacks. The problem is whether in the developed capitalist countries, which have already had their bourgeois-democratic revolutions and in which in view of their economic development only the socialist revolution is relevant, whether in these countries the slogan of the fight for democracy and the policy of unity of the working class and the other democratic forces is a mere propaganda flourish designed to expose the inconsistency and impotence of the non-Communist democratic forces, whether it is simply a temporary or accidental stratagem which can be abandoned at any moment, or whether it is the cornerstone of Communist *strategy* in the fight for socialism throughout the given historical period.

Suchopar shows that in Lenin's time the Comintern leadership strove to work out a comprehensive idea of the united-front and popular-front policy, to develop a strategy which would enable the revolutionary working-class movement to arrive, via certain intermediate stages and forms, at the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the call for a workers' and peasants' government advanced by the Comintern at that time, the author sees creative application of Lenin's theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution evolving into the socialist revolution in the specific conditions of the developed capitalist countries; he notes the new elements and the new problems which are decisive in resolving the relationship between the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism.

It follows from the author's analysis of the stand taken by the Executive Committee of the Comintern on the "Italian question" in 1921-22 that in that period, in the polemic against the Bordiga sectarians, the Comintern correctly assessed the nature of fascism, the relationship between fascism and bourgeois democracy, and the problem of anti-fascist unity. The line mapped out by it was the initial variant of the line subsequently approved by the Seventh Congress. Also noteworthy are the analysis of fascism and the arguments substantiating the need for democratic struggle, presented by Clara Zetkin at the Frankfurt conference of the Communist parties of Europe and at an enlarged plenary meeting of the Comintern Executive in 1923, the Executive's stand on the "Bulgarian question," and the proposals made by Dimitrov in 1923 which were a step towards the realization of the idea of the popular front and the new democracy. In the period of the "Matteotti crisis" in Italy the concept of "new

democracy" was formulated by the Comintern, and the Italian Communist Party headed by Gramsci demonstrated a creative approach to the policy of unity of the democratic and anti-fascist forces.

It should be said, however (and Suchopar does not conceal this), that the period of fruitful and creative elaboration of vital strategic problems was interrupted after Lenin's death. After the fall of the united workers' government in Saxony and Thuringia in 1923 the upper hand was gained by a Left sectarian policy which regarded the slogan of the united front and different forms of people's government merely as a tactical maneuver designed to draw a line between the Social Democratic leaders and the rank and file. But this substitution of tactics for strategy, with its dogmatist shading which affected sincere supporters of the policy of unity of the working class and its alliance with the broad non-proletarian masses, was engendered also by the objective need to combat the growth of opportunist sentiment which set in as a result of the successes of the reactionaries. A definite role was also played by the stand taken by Zinoviev, then Chairman of the Comintern, at the 1923 enlarged plenary meeting of the Executive. The Communists, he said, would naturally strive to bridge the gap between themselves and the Social Democratic workers, but for them the calls for a united front would serve merely as propaganda, as a convenient means and an argument in the polemic with the reformist leaders, who were opposed to a united front. According to Zinoviev, the united-front tactic was simply a maneuver needed to expose the reformist leaders.

The onslaught of reaction and the failure of attempts to carry out the united-front policy undermined belief in its success as a strategic concept. At the Fifth Congress, voices urging its application were heard but rarely.

Less was heard about the slogan of a united workers' government as a coalition of the workers' parties. Those Communists who held that a workers' government could be the point of departure in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat found themselves in the minority. Important decisions of the previous sessions of the Comintern, including the classical characterization of fascism made by the Fourth Congress, were buried in oblivion. Simultaneously with this there appeared the thesis on social-fascism, a thesis which was to cause great harm to the struggle for a united front. Moreover, the united front from below began to be mechanically counterposed to unity at the top.

However, the mistakes and miscalculations of the Comintern in the years between the two world wars, which are subjected to close scrutiny by Suchopar, in no way detract from its historical role in the struggle against fascism. The author points to the Comintern's contribution to the active popular resistance and to the

anti-fascist movement, and describes how the Left sectarian views were combated.

Special attention is paid to the efforts taken against these views way back in 1925-27 and after the Sixth Congress, and an analysis is made of the attitudes of various groups and trends in the Comintern. The concluding chapters deal with the "German question" in the years 1929-33 and show how the prerequisites for overcoming the Left sectarian deviations began to develop after Hitler's advent to power (specifically in the course of the class battles of 1934), and how the logic of this experience promoted the rise of the international Communist movement and helped the Parties in the fight for democracy and for the unity of all the democratic forces against fascism and monopoly capitalism.

Despite the obstacles and errors (due not in the last place to Stalin's interference), the path traversed by the Comintern from its first congresses to the united-front policy in the second half of the thirties, was the pathway of the triumph of creative Marxism-Leninism. The history of the Comintern is proof of its vitality, of its ability to overcome the subjectivist influences and deviations that hampered it.

At the same time, the successes and the setbacks of the Comintern convincingly demonstrate the need for combating any simplification and distortion of Marxism-Leninism by revisionists or dogmatists.

It becomes clear from the Comintern documents that the new elements of the strategy of the revolutionary proletarian movement came into being with the rallying and building up of the anti-fascist forces. These have found expression in more recent documents, specifically the CPSU program and the statements of international conferences. Important here are the lessons of the first years of socialist construction in the USSR. The efforts to elaborate a united-front policy, which coincided in the USSR with the transition from war communism to the New Economic Policy, demonstrated Lenin's ability to grasp the essence of the

new conditions, particularly those that set in in the developed capitalist countries after the defeat suffered by the working-class movement in the twenties in the West. The purpose of the united front—an alliance with the other revolutionary organizations irrespective of their political or religious character, with the non-proletarian strata of the working people and particularly with the peasantry—was to isolate the more reactionary and dangerous groups of the bourgeoisie. The basic idea of the united front—the formation of a coalition government of the working people which would not, however, be a government of the dictatorship of the proletariat—was the corollary of Lenin's new strategy and tactics at a time when the world proletarian revolution envisaged a fairly long period of coexistence not only of different class interests, but also of the proletarian state with the capitalist states.

A study of Marxist theoretical thought of the first half of the twenties, which led to the elaboration of the united-front policy in the capitalist countries and to the New Economic Policy in the USSR, and equally a critical analysis of the subsequent period, will help us gain a better understanding of the nature of sectarianism and dogmatism, which greatly impaired the Comintern.

Suchopar's book could not, naturally, deal at length with this intertwining of the internal development of socialism in the USSR with the international anti-fascist struggle of the working class. But the course of events in the world Communist movement since World War II and particularly in recent years calls for a closer look at this subject. Lack of clarity on the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat hindered the Comintern in building unity and the popular front. The concept was identified with the experience of the Soviet revolution and with the methods of communist construction in the USSR. Practice knew no other examples, while theory even ruled them out.

Jaroslav KLADIVA

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The world today

Complying with readers' requests for supplements on current events—problems of the struggle for peace and of economic development, and other issues of the day—WMR prints in this issue commentaries on Vietnam, the civil rights struggle in the USA, Nazi war criminals and the statute of limitations.

SUPPLEMENT TO No. 4, 1965

New phase of U.S. aggression in Vietnam

THE U.S. AGGRESSION in Indochina has entered upon a new phase. U.S. marines have arrived in South Vietnam, U.S. planes are bombing and strafing villages in North Vietnam and Laos, and now the horrors of napalm burning have been superseded by the use of gas. Nobody in the United States any longer speaks of the presence of American "advisers" in South Vietnam, for juridically and factually the United States, acting as a belligerent, is waging war in Indochina.

"U.S. imperialism," we read in the statement unanimously adopted by the participants in the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow recently, "defeated in its attempts to strangle the liberation movement of the South Vietnamese patriots, has embarked on naked aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In defiance of the elementary standards of international law, the U.S. military are pursuing the most brutal and undisguised colonial policy. The barbarous bombing of populated areas in socialist Vietnam is creating a situation in Southeast Asia which is fraught with serious complications for the whole world."

More and more U.S. troops are arriving in South Vietnam; their number already exceeds 27,000. The Seventh Fleet is patrolling the coast of Indochina.

According to American press reports, the Pentagon has marked up to 100 targets on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam "to be destroyed." Needless to say this resort to outright war drastically diminishes the possibility of a negotiated settlement of the South Vietnamese problem.

The U.S. press also reports that there are men in the Pentagon who are ready to risk a "big war" for the sake of continuing the colonial adventure in Southeast Asia. But more and more people in the United States are calling for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Progressive organizations, many of which helped President Johnson win his victory over Goldwater at the last elections, are insisting on a halt to the U.S. intervention in Indochina. Influential press organs speak of the "hopelessness" of Washington's policy in Southeast

Asia and its dangerous consequences for world peace.

"The world is at a point of most crucial crisis," said Gus Hall, Communist Party spokesman, in a speech demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam. "We are precariously tottering on the edge of a new world war and a nuclear holocaust."

The danger of the war spreading is hardly surprising considering that the tone of U.S. foreign policy is being set by the reactionary elements clamoring for "extreme measures" against North Vietnam. These elements include top officials like the Secretary of Defense McNamara (some U.S. commentators call it "McNamara's war"), McGeorge Bundy, special assistant to the President, and others of the Johnson entourage, not to mention other top officials in the Pentagon and in the State Department. In Congress the voice of reason is being drowned by the bellicose chorus of both Democrats and Republicans. The foreign-policy gambles are accompanied by rising reaction in the country. An example of this are the latest proceedings taken against the Communist Party. The days of the witch hunt seem to be returning. This time, however, the reactionaries are confronted with an alerted public opinion.

Two distinct trends seem to be taking shape. The newspapers refer to this demarcation of social forces as the "party of war" and the "party of peace." Walter Lippmann has his own names for the two trends: "neo-isolationism" (supporters of a peaceful settlement), and "ideological globalism." The representatives of the second trend urge U.S. interference on a "global scale" in the affairs of any country in the capitalist world whose way of life does not suit Washington. In other words, this group of monopoly capital is determined to prevent at all costs, even at the risk of a world war, revolutionary changes in different areas of the world.

It is pertinent to recall in this connection that in the years immediately following the Second World War, U.S. ruling circles saw themselves in the role of international gendarme in pursuance, as they put it, of their "global commitments." We recall, for example,

the Truman Doctrine, the Eisenhower Doctrine and Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, all of which were spearheaded against the socialist countries and the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Today the aggressive character of U.S. policy is becoming more and more pronounced. U.S. troops are stationed in more than 30 countries, and Washington has promised to "defend" another 42 countries. Against whom?

Everybody knows that in Saigon, for example, U.S. troops are buttressing puppet governments which are replacing one another with kaleidoscopic speed and which have no support among the people. The National Liberation Front has liberated about three-quarters of the country and two-thirds of the population. The Front has the support of all sections of the people because it calls for peace, for an end to U.S. intervention, for a national coalition government and a democratic regime.

Writing in the *New York Post* recently, Drew Pearson, the columnist, noted that the governments in South Vietnam are changing so often that it is difficult to keep track of who is in power—Big Minh, Little Minh or simply Mickey Mouse. Since January 1964 there have been fourteen changes in government, an average of one a month.

Hence the frantic State Department efforts to find allies for their dirty war. They have found them in South Korea, on Taiwan, in Bonn, and, oddly enough, also on the banks of the Thames. Harold Wilson's Labor Government have associated themselves with the reckless actions of the United States in Southeast Asia. The *Economist* commented that a new area of Anglo-American collaboration has opened in Southeast Asia. British monopoly capital hailed Washington's "gunboat policy" in Indochina, so reminiscent of Rhodes and Kitchener.

It is common knowledge that despite the much advertised "special relationship" between the United States and Britain these two leading imperialist powers fiercely competed with each other after the Second World War in most parts of the colonial world. The British imperialists invariably lost in this competition. Now they are hoping to reap some benefits for themselves by backing the U.S. monopolists.

Washington is trying hard in NATO to coordinate the offensive against the national-liberation movement. According to General Ramberg, Commander-in-Chief of Denmark's armed forces, NATO is presently working out "new tactics." The Atlantic bloc members are agreed on the need to be fully prepared for "local armed conflicts." Ramberg also mentioned plans to form a NATO "emergency corps."

A feature of imperialist reaction's present-day tactics is the combining of naked aggression with treacherous assault. Attempts on the lives of national-liberation fighters in Africa tell the

story. In Nairobi, for example, popular leader Kenny Pinto died at the hands of assassins. Pierre Ngendandumwe, Prime Minister of Burundi, was murdered by thugs. A number of leaders in the Congo (Brazzaville) were kidnapped and murdered.

The international Communist movement has not remained indifferent in the face of the intensified imperialist aggression. The Communist and Workers' parties have expressed their solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their struggle for freedom and independence, have given a clear and concise appraisal of the international situation in the Communiqué of the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, recently held in Moscow. "The representatives of the parties agreed," states the Communiqué, "that consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national-liberation forces advocating the maintenance and strengthening of peace, constitute the basic trend in world development under the present conditions. At the same time it was noted that world reaction, primarily U.S. imperialism, is becoming more active in various parts of the world, aggravating the situation and undertaking acts of aggression against the socialist countries, the newly-liberated countries and the revolutionary movement of the peoples.

"In this situation it is more than ever necessary for all Communist parties to show their sense of internationalist responsibility and to unite for the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against the rule of monopoly capital, for active support to the liberation movement and defense of the peoples who are subjected to imperialist aggression, and for the struggle for world peace based on respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all states."

The peace-loving peoples of the world, denouncing the U.S. aggression, are demanding that this aggression be stopped and American troops withdrawn from South Vietnam. The actions of the aggressors must not go unpunished. Fraternal solidarity with the Vietnamese people and socialist internationalism are finding expression in the fact that Soviet citizens have voiced their desire to fight alongside the Vietnamese people in their struggle for freedom, in the fact that the Soviet Union is helping to strengthen the defenses of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The gamblers in the imperialist camp are teetering dangerously on the edge of the abyss.

Unity of all the anti-imperialist democratic forces is the guarantee of the success of the international revolutionary movement, the factor that will wreck the schemes of imperialist reaction. To achieve this it is essential to strengthen unity of the world Communist movement — the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle.

M. KREMNYOV

Selma, Alabama

ALABAMA HAS LONG been the scene of the brutal oppression of the Negro people. It also has a proud history of heroic resistance to that oppression. In the thirties, it was in Alabama that the struggle to secure the release of the nine Scottsboro Boys aroused the nation and the world against the legal lynching of Negroes. It was in Montgomery, Alabama, that the famous bus boycott of 1955, led by the Rev. Martin Luther King, initiated the great civil rights struggles of today. And it was in Birmingham, Alabama, that the great wave of demonstrations took place in 1963 that led to the enactment the following year of the federal civil rights law prohibiting segregation in public places and providing some safeguards for voting rights.

Today it is the town of Selma, Alabama, that has become the focus of world attention and the center of the whole Negro freedom struggle. This town has become a symbol of heroic struggle for freedom, on the one hand, and of Nazi-like bestiality, on the other.

Last summer the campaign in Mississippi advanced the struggle for the right to vote to a new level. In mid-January of this year, Rev. Martin Luther King, seeking to carry those gains farther, announced a drive to register Negroes to vote in Selma. At the time, of 15,000 Negroes of voting age in the Selma area only 335 were registered. And in adjacent Wilcox and Lowndes counties, where Negroes outnumber whites four to one, not a single Negro had ever been registered. Every conceivable device was used to keep Negroes from qualifying to vote. They were given impossibly difficult literacy tests to which white applicants were not subjected. Places of registration were deliberately kept closed except for very brief periods. Negroes who sought to register were fired from their jobs, intimidated, beaten and even murdered.

With the opening of the campaign, hundreds of Negroes lined up to register each day. The white segregationists and racists, led by Sheriff James G. Clark and an army of deputies, met those efforts of the Negro people to exercise their constitutional rights with wholesale arrests, violence and terror. On the very first day, King himself was assaulted and kicked by racist hoodlums.

Demonstrations in protest against the deliberate snail's pace of registration were met with

even greater violence and terror. On one occasion, a group of 100 Negro teachers who sat in protest on the courthouse steps were clubbed, kicked and dragged by the hair. On another, the lowest depths of racist sadism were reached when a group of Negro children were forced to run for three miles, driven by police clubs and electric cattle prods until they were exhausted.

The brutalities and the arrests mounted. By the middle of February, more than 3,300 had been arrested and thrown into dirty, cold, damp prison cells. Among these were the Rev. Martin Luther King and his assistant, the Rev. James Bevel. When the latter became ill with pneumonia and had to be hospitalized, he was chained to a bed in the prison infirmary.

Local sheriff's deputies were joined by state troopers, readily supplied by Alabama's racist governor George C. Wallace.

This campaign of brutal suppression came to a head on "Bloody Sunday," March 7. On that day, 500 demonstrators set out on a march to Montgomery, capital of Alabama. They were met on the highway by mounted state troopers, who were ordered by Governor Wallace to use "all necessary force" to stop them. What followed rivalled the bestiality of Hitler's storm troopers. The state police, together with sheriff's deputies and a gang of "volunteer" vigilantes, launched an all-out attack on the defenseless marchers with clubs, whips and tear gas. Eighty-four were injured, 17 of them enough to require hospitalization. *The New York Times* of March 10 cites an eye-witness description of it in these words:

"The scene in Selma resembled that in a police state. Heavily armed men attacked the marchers. The first 10 or 20 Negroes were swept to the ground screaming, arms and legs flying. Tear gas was used. Fifteen or 20 night sticks could be seen through the gas, flailing at the heads of the marchers. The hurried rout went on. Four or five women lay on the grass strip where the troopers had knocked them down."

To this act of sadism a further page of infamy was shortly to be added. On March 9, some 1,000 participated in a second effort to march, among them 500 white ministers and civil rights workers from all parts of the country. This time the marchers turned back when violence threatened. But soon afterward, three white ministers were savagely beaten by

racist hoodlums and one of them, the Rev. James J. Reeb of Boston, died of the beating.

Violence and terror in the South are not new; they are fundamental to the whole system of Negro oppression. In Mississippi and elsewhere, there has been an all-too-familiar pattern of beatings, bombings, murders and other acts of brutality, all unpunished. And these have continued and multiplied because of the failure of the Federal government to intervene, to use its police powers to enforce the Constitution and the law and to protect the lives and rights of Negroes.

This time, however, the sadistic acts of violence and murder did not go unchallenged. On the contrary, the wrath and indignation of all America and the world were aroused as never before.

In the United States, a wave of revulsion and condemnation gathered momentum. Some 10,000 marched in New York's Harlem, half of them white. In Washington 15,000 marched, in San Francisco 7,000. In Detroit a march of 10,000 was led by Governor Romney of Michigan. Similar marches and demonstrations took place in other parts of the country, including such southern cities as Dallas and New Orleans. Sit-ins took place even in the White House, at the foot of the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, and in numerous other cities.

Protests poured into Alabama and Washington, D.C. Statements of protest came from labor unions, church groups, state legislatures, universities, and civic organizations of all sorts. They came from governors, senators and representatives of both parties, leading labor, religious and academic figures, and from numerous others in all walks of life.

Indignation among the American people has been all the greater in the light of the Johnson Administration's new aggressive actions in Vietnam. John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, said: "I don't see how President Johnson can send troops to Vietnam—I don't see how he can send troops to Africa and can't send troops to

Selma, Alabama." These expressions are typical of many others.

Imperialist slaughter of Vietnamese people and the toleration of racist brutalities against Negro Americans are parts of the same pattern. The events in Selma only serve to expose the hypocrisy of the claim that freedom is being defended in Vietnam, and to make it clear that the fight to end U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the fight for Negro freedom are in truth parts of one struggle.

The magnitude of the reaction to Selma has forced President Johnson to react at least in a limited measure. On March 15 he presented to a joint session of Congress a new bill for the protection of voting rights. There is no doubt that such a law is needed, and the President's action on this score has been welcomed. But it is also recognized that in the absence of direct federal intervention to protect the lives and rights of Negroes, the value of such legislation is severely limited. Hence the demands for the use of federal armed force in the South continue to mount.

Meanwhile, the struggle in Alabama goes on, and no amount of terror and brutality can stop it. The whole world now knows that these struggles will never cease until the goal of complete freedom in all aspects of life is achieved.

A new dimension has been added, which offers the prospect that Selma can be a major breakthrough with profound consequences for the extension of democracy in the United States. Such a breakthrough can be realized provided the Negro people receive continued and growing mass support both within the United States and throughout the world. And there is every indication that this support will be forthcoming, that the protests of democracy- and peace-loving people will continue to mount until a halt is called to the mass killing of Vietnamese people, on the one hand, and the brutal oppression of Negro citizens, on the other.

Hyman LUMER

Justice must triumph!

"HAVE YOU HEARD the astounding news? Hitler's alive!" These opening words of a recent Czechoslovak TV commentary on world events, designed to shock the viewer to a realization of the seriousness of the issue, highlighted the absurdity and impermissibility of Bonn's announcement of its intention to drop all legal action against Nazi criminals as of May 8 this

year. For were this to be done Hitler himself might enjoy full citizenship rights in the Federal Republic.

The Bonn politicians evidently staked their hopes on the people forgetting. But they miscalculated. The plan to amnesty the war criminals evoked indignation everywhere.

Protests came from governments, mass orga-

nizations and the public in many countries. Meetings and demonstrations were held, and signature campaigns were conducted against the rehabilitation of fascism. The world press unanimously condemned the Bonn government's scheme. Demonstrations were held outside West German embassies and consulates in the USA, Canada, Britain and other countries, and Federal German diplomatic representatives were flooded with letters and telegrams. A strong protest was voiced by international workers' organizations, peace organizations, the women's and youth movements and organizations of anti-fascist resistance fighters embracing millions of members.

The indignation has compelled the Federal German government to maneuver. But the issue remains and rightminded people cannot but once again give serious thought to the responsibility of the Nazis for their monstrous crimes. Can the murderers of tens of millions ever be forgiven? Has humanity the moral right to exonerate the ideologists and executors of the policy of genocide on the strength of the passage of time? Should Hitler, Bormann and other criminals be allowed once again freely to appear on the streets, to stage orgies in beerhalls and to drill young Germans for another drive for *Lebensraum* after May 8 this year, or any other day for that matter? Should things be allowed to come to a pass when an ex-SS man can grin in your face and say: "Yes, in my time I shot thousands, but you can't do anything about it now!" In short, should the Nazi criminals be granted a sort of "diplomatic immunity" and given a chance openly to carry on their political activities? "No, never!" was the world's unanimous answer.

But for all that there is no dearth in the Bonn Reich of zealous advocates of absolution for war criminals. They speak of humanism, law and morality. But they are not the victims of fearful crimes. As often as not they are participants in them.

What right have the Globkes and Trettners, or men like Schuele, former SA man and Wehrmacht officer already convicted by a Soviet court as a war criminal and now at the head of the central office for the investigation of Nazi crimes, to forgive?

Much has been done in West Germany to gloss over the crimes of Nazism. The thesis is more and more propounded that Hitler and Nazi Germany alone cannot be held responsible for the war. For instance, ex-Defense Minister Strauss, the Chairman of the Christian Social Union, claims that the extension of the statute of limitations would mean "shaking mankind's faith in legality and a falsification of history since it would make it appear that only Germans committed war crimes." And Justice Minister Bucher, rejecting all protests from abroad as interference in the internal affairs of the Federal Republic, openly urged the public to learn to live with the killers.

Rallies of revenge-seekers and militarists are held in the Federal Republic openly and with the support of the authorities. Testimony to the impunity with which the fascist underground is allowed to work can be seen in the distribution on the eve of the Bundestag debate on the statute of limitations of leaflets bearing the Swastika and the text: "Deputies who vote against ending the prosecution of Nazis because of the time that has elapsed since the offenses were committed will be condemned to death." The signature was: "Oberbrigadenfuehrer, Security, Third District."

Of the estimated 160,000 Nazi criminals residing in the Federal Republic, only 12,000 have been brought to trial to date and fewer than 5,000 convicted. At the same time proceedings have been instituted against peace supporters, democrats, Communists and other German patriots in 100,000 cases.

Even when Nazis have had to be convicted under pressure of public opinion the sentences have been light. What is 15 years of imprisonment for the killing of 300,000 people! This was the "penalty" imposed on SS General Wolff. SS Hauptsturmbahnfuhrer Harder, expert in burning people alive, was sentenced to three and a half years. The Gestapo-man Zumbach who had a share in the murder of 800 people was given only four years imprisonment. And Fellenz, responsible for the deaths of nearly 40,000 inhabitants of Cracow, was acquitted.

Ten minutes of imprisonment, one prosecuting attorney has calculated, is the price set by Bonn justice on the taking of a human life.

In their efforts to obtain an amnesty for the Nazi criminals, the Bonn advocates of fascism have mostly resorted to two devices: invoking the criminal code adopted in 1871, in Bismarck's time, which still operates in Federal Germany, and appeals for humanity. For instance, Von Hase, a Bonn Secretary of State, declared: "After a thorough examination of the question from the legal and moral standpoints, the Federal government has arrived at the conclusion that extension of the statute of limitations is impossible for constitutional reasons." According to Chancellor Erhard, "international law does not allow of prosecution for Nazi crimes 20 years after they were committed."

Yet it is common knowledge that modern international law recognizes no statute of limitations. It makes it incumbent on the state to institute criminal proceedings and punish those who have committed crimes against peace and humanity, as well as war crimes, irrespective of how much time has passed.

The international legal standards are reflected in Article 6 of the Statute of the International War Crimes Tribunal. Punishment of war criminals is made obligatory also by the U.N. General Assembly resolutions of 1946 and 1947, the Act of Surrender of the German armed forces of May 8, 1945, the Four-Power Declaration on the defeat of Germany of June 5, 1945,

and the decision of the Potsdam Conference which states that "war criminals and those who have participated in planning or carrying out Nazi enterprises . . . shall be arrested and brought to judgment." This has been done in the GDR. As for the Federal Republic, Article 25 of its Constitution states: "The common norms of international law are a component part of the law of the Federation. They take precedence over legislative acts, and the rights and duties of the residents of Federal territory derive directly from them." Article 139 of the Federal Constitution also makes it incumbent on the authorities to carry out the stipulations of juridical acts concerning the "deliverance of the German people from National Socialism and militarism."

Thus in seeking to amnesty the Nazi criminals the Federal German government violated both international law and its own fundamental law.

Speaking of the moral aspect, the defenders of the Nazi sadists insist that the latter be approached from the positions of Christian forgiveness. "It will then be seen whether the idea of forgiving human transgression, engendered by a sense of guilt and a realization of one's own mistakes, is more deep-seated in our people than the idea of retribution," *Die Welt* writes.

The killers' advocates claim that their clients have completely reformed in the past years. In an interview published in *Der Spiegel*, Bucher declared: "The underlying principle of the statute of limitations is that a person who committed murder 20 years ago can, if he leads an honest life of retirement and if his nature has changed, once again become a worthy member of society." *Die Welt* repeats

this argument, saying that a man who was 25 at that time should not be identified with the 45-year-old of today.

But these references to "self-rectification" do not hold water. Suffice it to mention the rallies of fascists and revenge-seekers, SS-men and ex-soldiers held in Federal Germany. The arrogant faces of the defendants in any of the recent trials of Nazi murderers alone are enough to show that their outlook has not changed, that they have neither understood nor reassessed anything. There has not been a single case of a Nazi giving himself up, of defendants accused of appalling crimes confessing or repenting. They always deny their guilt or shift the blame to others. Their one aim is to hold out at whatever cost, to wait for an opportunity to revert back to their old ways.

Nazism in Federal Germany is gradually emerging from the underground. The outrageous efforts of the Bonn rulers to whitewash Germany's fascist past are added evidence of this.

Hitler, true, is no longer among the living, but his spirit and his ideology live on. We do not know exactly what has happened to Bormann, Mueller and other leaders of the Third Reich. They may be hiding in some rat-hole somewhere. The press speaks of 1,800 major Nazi murderers still evading justice, not to mention the tens of thousands of lesser war criminals. None of them can count on being exonerated and their crimes being forgotten. Those guilty of heinous crimes against humanity must be brought to trial and punished no matter how much time has elapsed.

Retribution must overtake them!

R. SOKOLOV

The Nazi war criminals must not escape retribution

WE SHALL NOT FORGET!

FOR US POLES THE issue of Nazi crimes is like an open wound. Probably no nation, with the exception of the Soviet people, suffered so much at Nazi hands as we did.

The application, as proposed in West Germany, of the statute of limitations to the Nazis can be challenged from the standpoint of both law and morality. As for myself, I cannot

escape the agonizing memory of what I went through during the Nazi occupation, of what I saw in Poland in those years.

The Nazi crimes were of such an order and were committed on such a scale as to preclude the application of any normal legal standards. The question can in no way be dealt with within the framework of commonly accepted

legal procedure. It affects people everywhere. It is a question of elementary humanity. The Nazi outrages were crimes against humanity which cannot fall into oblivion even with the passage of the centuries.

Six million Polish citizens alone lost their lives. The figure staggers the imagination—six million people murdered with savage ferocity, done to death with refined cruelty! This has left a bleeding wound in the soul of the Polish people, even among our youth. Mankind will never forget the anguish and the disillusionment.

I myself lived through an ordeal. I saw the Warsaw ghetto, and I saw Treblinka and Majdanek. In front of my own house in the village where I lived I saw people murdered solely because of their nationality, or to gratify the sadistic urge of the killers.

That was how one of my close friends was killed. His corpse lay there for days, his blood seeping through the snow as if crying out for vengeance. That memory will haunt me as long as I live. Each time I see freshly fallen snow the blood seems to be seeping through it again and I relive the horror of those terrible years.

Many of my relatives, friends and acquaintances perished in Oswiecim (Auschwitz) or Treblinka, or in the Warsaw ghetto. I doubt whether there is a single family in Poland which does not mourn someone lost in those days. The fascists decimated our youth and our intellec-

tuals. For instance, all the intellectuals in Sandomierz, which I now represent in the Sejm, were sent to Auschwitz, among them several of my closest friends. They all perished. When one visits Majdanek or Auschwitz today, the mind refuses to grasp the enormity of it all. It is impossible to believe that man could be guilty of such inhumanity to man.

The proposal to apply the statute of limitations to the Nazi criminals evoked wrathful protest in our country. The working people in the factories and in the villages voiced their deep indignation at this move on the part of the Bonn authorities. The Polish Writers' Union, of which I am a member, added its voice to this protest. All Poles without exception declare: We do not agree, we cannot forget the **Nazi crimes!**

Under pressure of world public opinion, the West German government is now considering the question of postponing the amnesty to the Nazis. But in speaking of a postponement they are only confirming the principle that these criminals come under the statute of limitations. This is nothing but another attempt to erase the Nazi crimes from people's memories. But no one will agree to this. Shifting the time limit does not solve the problem, for such crimes can never be forgotten. No matter how many years have passed since they were committed the Nazi murderers must be brought to justice.

Jaroslav IWASZKIEWICZ

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