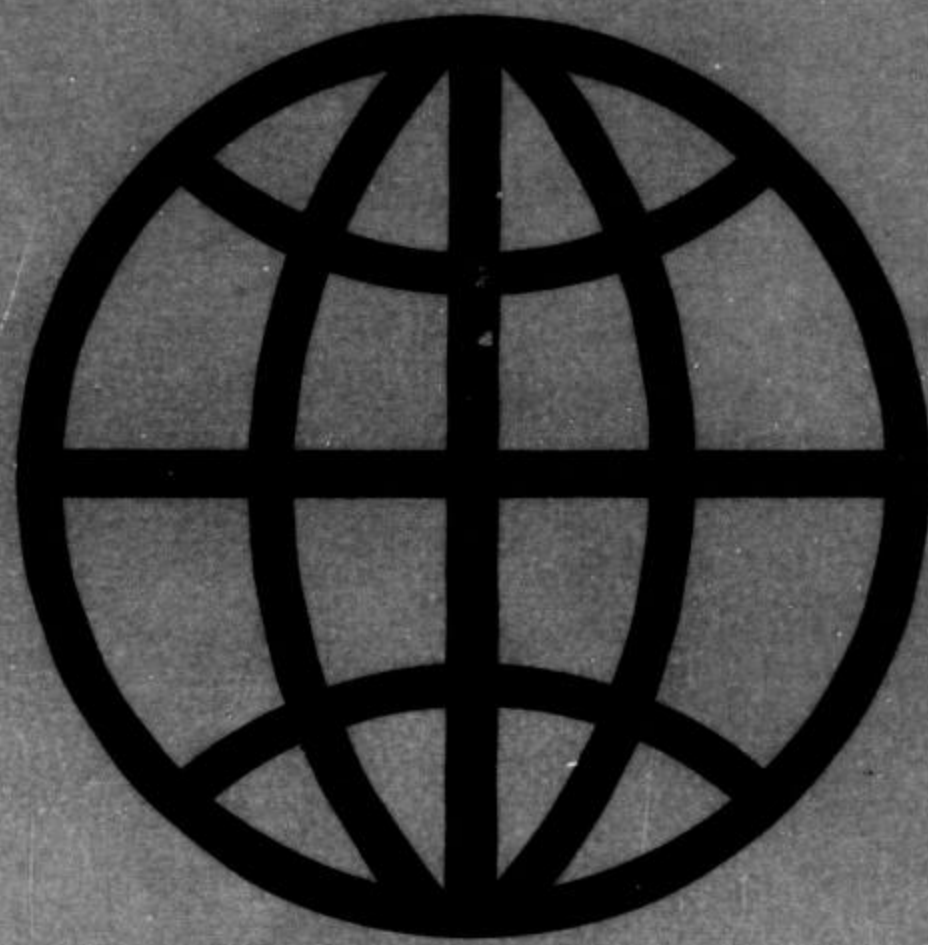


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PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

DECEMBER 1969

VOLUME 12 / NO. 12 / 35 CENTS

To our readers

Best wishes for the New Year from the Editorial Board and staff of **Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review)**.

This year will see the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, and **Problems of Peace and Socialism** will carry articles on topical problems of Marxism-Leninism and the Communist movement, the materials of the international theoretical conference on Leninism and Our Time, and the April jubilee issue will have contributions from leaders of fraternal Parties.

The journal will also mark the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels, whose theoretical and practical work and his contributions to Marxism will be discussed in our pages.

We shall publish articles relating to the problems discussed at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969. Economic, political, and cultural developments in the socialist countries, the workers' struggle in the capitalist world, the movement for national liberation, for peace and progress and against imperialist aggression, are subjects that will figure prominently in our columns.

Discussion of the experience of Communist and Workers' Parties and of the theoretical problems confronting them is still another feature.

The journal will continue its international discussions on topical issues, with reports regularly appearing on its pages.

Our authors include prominent Party, government and public leaders, scientists and cultural personalities.

Now in its twelfth year, **Problems of Peace and Socialism** is published in 24 languages, in more than 30 national editions and is read in practically every country.

We would highly appreciate your opinion of the journal in 1969. What articles were of special interest? What would you like to see in the journal in 1970? Your suggestions will help to improve the journal. Please address your letters to **Problems of Peace and Socialism**, Thakurova 3, Prague 6, Czechoslovakia, or to your national edition.

Editorial Board

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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and socialism**

Theoretical and
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of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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Communique

of meeting of editorial council of "Problems of Peace and Socialism"

The Editorial Council of **Problems of Peace and Socialism**, the theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' parties, met for a regular session in Prague on October 30-November 3, 1969.

The session was attended by delegations from the following 58 Communist and Workers' parties: Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Guatemalan Party of Labor, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, People's Party of Iran (TUDEH), Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Japan, Jordanian Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Norway, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Sudanese Communist Party, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Syrian Communist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Venezuela, two parties working underground whose names are not mentioned for considerations of security, and a representative of the Senegal Marxists.

In the course of the discussion, in which all the delegations shared, the Editorial Council carefully examined the Report of the Editorial Board for 1960-69. It was recorded that publication of the journal **Problems of Peace and Socialism** accords with the requirements of the development of the international Communist movement, and promotes its unity and cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Editorial Council mapped out measures for improving the journal.

The Editorial Council instructed the journal comprehensively to report the campaign launched by the Communist and Workers' parties in preparation for the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, and to facilitate the propaganda and creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

The journal was set the task of widely acquainting its readers with the experience of Communist and Workers' parties, to hold comradely exchanges of views, actively to contribute to the unity of all anti-imperialist forces in the interests of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

The Editorial Council called on all Communist and Workers' parties actively to participate in the publication and circulation of **Problems of Peace and Socialism**. The Editorial Board has also been instructed to inform all Communist and Workers' parties of the Editorial Council session.

The meeting of the Editorial Council proceeded in a business-like and comradely atmosphere, in a spirit of mutual understanding and fraternal cooperation.

In unity of aims and actions lies our strength

DOMINIQUE URBANI

In the six months since the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow, its deliberations and results have been widely discussed in the world press. Political parties and trends everywhere have expressed their views on it.

It is not my purpose here to comment on all that has been written and said about the Meeting, but I should like to single out the common theme in the comments by friends and opponents alike.

Our friends rejoice that the Meeting took place, that it was fruitful and that its documents are an inspiration to fighters for the freedom and happiness of their people.

Our class adversaries, too, have acknowledged that the Meeting achieved the aims set it by the Communist and Workers' parties. Naturally, the Big Business press can permit itself the "luxury" of pretending to be objective, since the purpose is to ensnare in the coils of bourgeois ideology those not over-experienced in the subtleties of politics.

Yes, the Moscow Meeting was a big success for the Communists. It justified the expectations of the peoples and buried the hopes of the imperialists that our ranks would be split.

We all remember how the fight for Communist unity developed over the past decade. Still, I should like to touch on it for a moment if only to show that the Communists have drawn the right lessons from it.

There is no need to go into the history of the origin of the differences in the Communist movement. I should like to note that the danger of the "Left" deviation began to loom in our movement in the 'fifties' and

'sixties', subsequently becoming the focal point first of the ideological and then the political struggle in the Communist movement. This was not only justified. It was also necessary, for all the Marxist-Leninist forces realized that if this danger was not nipped in the bud it could have had consequences catastrophic for the revolutionary movement.

Ideologically, this signified steadily growing differences in viewpoints, and politically the emergence of concepts and positions which, irrespective of the subjective intentions of their exponents, weakened cohesion in our ranks. Significant, too, was the fact that years went by without a meeting being held, although the idea of convening a new international gathering was always in the minds of Communists.

The Meeting, of course, was not an end in itself, and certainly not a panacea for the difficulties and the differences. In my view, its convocation became possible and advisable only when, upon realizing the fatal consequences to which further differences could lead, the trend towards unity became dominant. The credit for this belongs to all the Marxist-Leninist parties, but I should like to stress here the decisive role played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in helping this trend to become the dominant one. Acting in this way the CPSU again demonstrated its fidelity to the behests of its founder and leader—the great Lenin.

Nobody will say that all our problems and difficulties were solved during the preparations for the Meeting and as a result of it. But no one can deny that, as a result of the Meeting, which brought together the absolute majority of Communist and Work-

ers' parties of the world, the most important thing—despite serious differences—was achieved. The Parties proved that they could rise above their differences, that what unites them is immeasurably stronger than what can, under certain circumstances, temporarily divide them; that through joint efforts and goodwill we can gradually resolve all the differences.

We have every reason for saying that now, after the Meeting, the international Communist movement is in the phase of a new upsurge, and that consolidation and our further success depend entirely on us. This is the historical responsibility of all Communists.

THE MEETING'S CONCLUSIONS ARE MARXISM-LENINISM IN ACTION

The Moscow Meeting, the preparation and deliberations of which were conducted in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, democracy and co-operation, not only gave an objective and detailed analysis of the present situation and balance of world forces. It formulated also a platform of militant united action by the Communist parties, giving new impulse to the anti-imperialist struggle.

In this last third of our century man finds himself in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historical confrontation between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism. The general crisis of capitalism is deepening and the contradictions rending it are sharpening. The world revolutionary movement, despite difficulties and the setbacks suffered by some of its contingents, is continuing its offensive against the positions of the old world. The ideas of socialism are capturing the minds and hearts of millions more people.

Imperialism and its agents have for years been waging a bitter struggle against our movement, against the ideology of communism in general. Making the most of past and present differences in our movement, imperialist reaction has now mounted a broad ideological offensive against Marxism-Leninism. In doing so, it employs "sophisticated" and more subtle and refined methods. It is trying to prove, for example, that Marxism-Leninism, its underlying ideas and principles, hold good only for the Soviet Union, that they are not suited to the "civilized West." Anti-communist propaganda would have the working class believe that if Marxism-Leninism could be "softened" somewhat, and if some elements of "social-

ism" could be added to capitalism, then all would be well with society; it would suit everybody—exploiter and exploited alike. This demagogic jumble of ideological views is particularly clearly seen in the so-called convergence theory eagerly propagated nowadays by the bourgeoisie. The purpose of "theories" of this kind is all too evident: they are designed to cause confusion in the ranks of the liberation movement, to arrest the rising tide of the revolutionary struggle, to perpetuate the capitalist system, or at least to postpone its doom.

There is hardly any need to mention that the present situation in the world differs greatly from all preceding periods. In our day, neither capitalist society, the working class nor the conditions of its struggle are what they were not only in the 19th century but even two or three decades ago. The scientific and technological revolution, in particular, has brought with it considerable changes both in the structure of bourgeois society and in the economic and political concepts of contemporary state-monopoly capitalism. This, naturally, could not but affect the forms and methods of struggle of the working class, of all working people in the capitalist countries.

The constantly changing situation and conditions of the class struggle make it essential that the Communist parties adjust their strategy and political line accordingly.

The experience of the revolutionary struggle brings further confirmation of the historical truth of the Marxist-Leninist theory. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine is all-powerful precisely because it is valid for all times and for all peoples. Marxist-Leninist truth, like any other genuinely scientific truth, is not affected by whether it is denied recognition or partly recognized or by attempts to distort it.

Communists have never regarded their revolutionary doctrine as a kind of Talmud. For us, as Lenin taught, theory is not "a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 25). The spirit of Marxism, Lenin said, is in its concrete analysis of a concrete situation.

The Communist parties decide all questions relating to their activity independently. All are equal. They are responsible for their actions and policy to the working class of their countries. But they also have international obligations, and are responsible also to the working-class movement of the world.

In our time the latter acquires particular

importance, since the class struggle in the world is becoming more and more inter-related and international in character. Today, more so than ever before, the success or setbacks of each Party in its fight against the class enemy depend on the success or setbacks of the working class in the struggle against international imperialism.

That is why, in our opinion, it is so important for the Communist and Workers' parties not only to implement the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in their countries, but also to hold more frequently bilateral and multilateral meetings, exchanges of views, to enrich our scientific theory with the new and varied experience of the struggle, to define the objectives of joint struggle and the platform for united action.

The June Meeting of the parties in Moscow contributed greatly to launching a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war, and making the maximum use of all new possibilities to this end. It provided the answers from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint to many new phenomena engendered by the rapidly developing economic, social and political processes in the world.

The Meeting centered its attention on the key problem of our time—the fight against imperialism, the main enemy of peace, freedom and the independence of peoples, the main obstacle in the path to the social progress of mankind.

The Meeting demonstrated the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character and content of the present epoch as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The international forum had every reason to underscore the steady exacerbation of the contradictions within imperialism, the growing unevenness of its economic and political development in the different countries.

The Meeting warned against underestimating imperialism as a serious and dangerous enemy of the revolutionary movement. It stressed that at present the conditions exist for resolving the key problems of our time in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism, for striking new blows at imperialism. Imperialism is powerless to recoup its lost historical initiative, or to reverse world development. The main trend of man's development is determined by the socialist world system, by the international working class, and by all revolutionary forces.

The documents of the Meeting, and the Meeting itself, provided an exhaustive Marxist-Leninist assessment of the basic

motive forces of the present stage of the world revolutionary process.

It reaffirmed the socialist world system as the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Taking into account that the enemies of socialism are spearheading their attacks on world socialism in order to undermine the revolutionary movement, the Meeting forcefully stressed that defense of socialism is the internationalist duty of all Communists.

The forum of fraternal parties reviewed the contemporary working-class movement, its importance in the highly developed capitalist countries and in the common front of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Who does not know of the "latest" investigations of our class and ideological enemies who are trying to prove, by citing the structural changes in the composition of the working class, that the latter is losing its militant potentials and is disappearing from the historical arena as the leading force of the revolutionary world movement. The Meeting particularly stressed in this connection that "in the citadels of capitalism the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement."

The fraternal parties noted the growing role in the revolutionary world process of the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The national-liberation revolutions are more and more becoming anti-capitalist in content, the newly-free countries are increasingly realizing the need for a socialist orientation in their development. The Meeting charted the ways to national development and social progress, effectively combating the machinations of neo-colonialism: by stepping up the activity of the masses, enhancing the role of the working class and the peasantry, rallying the working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle sections and democratic army circles—all patriotic and progressive forces.

The Meeting regarded as paramount for the anti-imperialist fight strengthening the alliance between the socialist system, the international working-class and the national liberation movement.

The documents elaborated by the Meeting fully accord with the interests of the working class of Luxembourg, they give new motive power to the fight for peace, democracy and socialism in our country, put it on the right course. Our Party, conscious of its responsibility as vanguard of the working class in our country, will continue

to work in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in line with the Marxist-Leninist conclusions of the Meeting. Our Executive has called on all members attentively to study the documents and materials of the Meeting and to apply the ideas and experience contained in them in their day-to-day work and in the fight for the working people: in defense of Marxism-Leninism, against Right and "Left" opportunism, in the fight against imperialism and for peace, for the cohesion of Luxembourg's progressive forces who demand a curb on the power of monopoly capital, and the introduction of deep-going social reforms that will spell a better, socialist future for our country.

INTERNATIONALISM—IMPORTANT REQUISITE FOR SUCCESS OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

The Meeting's analysis of the world situation shows that in recent years a radical change has taken place in the political life of society. The international Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time. And the problem of successfully combating imperialism was examined by the Meeting as part of the crucial problem of united action by the Communist and Workers' parties and by all anti-imperialist forces.

The need for unity and cohesion in the Communist ranks is obvious. The question therefore is what do we mean by proletarian internationalism, this basic principle of our unity, of the entire life and struggle of the international Communist movement.

In the September 1969 issue of *World Marxist Review*, G. Vieira, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia, showed, in my view, the importance for success in the class struggle of international solidarity of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard.

In recent years various concepts of what is meant by internationalism have made their appearance. For example, one of these interpretations is that the important thing at present is solidarity with the peoples fighting for national liberation, for it is precisely these regions of the world that are "the storm center of the world revolution"; that internationalism today means first and foremost respect for the autonomy and independence of each Party.

The ideologists of imperialism, naturally, hastened to make the most of this discussion on internationalism, adding their own "arguments" in the hope that somebody would fall for the bait. They appealed

mainly to the nationalist and petty-bourgeois sentiments and prejudice introduced into the labor movement in some places by some sections of the working people, more particularly, by some intellectuals who cultivated individualistic views and reformist illusions, temporarily sustained by the relatively high business activity in some capitalist countries.

The class enemy was not very inventive. All he wanted from the Communist parties was that they break with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Only on this condition, it appears, could the Communists in any country be considered as a "genuinely national" force, a worthy partner in inner-political combinations and machinations of all sorts.

The Communist Party of Luxembourg is proud that at the Moscow Meeting it was among the fraternal parties which declared their complete solidarity with the Soviet Union which is sparing no effort to ensure lasting peace and the triumph of socialism throughout the world, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which firmly and consistently upholds Marxism-Leninism and always displays genuinely fraternal solidarity with all the other Communist parties, with the working-class and national-liberation movements. And in this, too, we see one of the valuable results of the Moscow Meeting. At the same time it is also one of the most bitter disappointments of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its motley followers.

I have already had occasion to cite the latest example from the political life of our country, specifically the general election results of last autumn. I should like to refer to them once again, if only because, in my view, they are indicative of the high level of political consciousness of the working class in the capitalist countries, of the reserves that can be drawn upon by the Communist parties which pursue a principled class line and correctly read the political barometer of the country.

Luxembourg, a small country, is highly developed industrially. About half the gainfully employed population are industrial workers. It provides therefore a typical example of the real mood of the working class in a highly developed capitalist country. In the 1968 general election our Party, despite the anti-communist campaign, far from losing ground, won a big victory, polling more than 15 per cent of the votes (against 12 per cent in the 1964 election). If we take into account that this increase was mainly due to the workers' votes, we

see that the working class of our country instinctively realized, even in the conditions of the anti-communist hysteria, what was at stake and was able to appreciate the principled stand of our Party. In municipal elections held in October 1969 our Party again won a victory, substantially increasing its seats in the municipal councils.

As noted earlier, the class struggle in our day is becoming more and more inter-related and international in character. Our adversaries have learned to conceal their internal differences when it comes to fighting the Communists. And we will be able to carry the day only if we stand united in our aims and actions.

That is why the question of united action by the Communist and workers' parties, by all anti-imperialist forces, was central in the speeches at the Moscow Meeting, why it figured so prominently in its final documents.

Our Party wholly subscribes to the view expressed at the Meeting that one of the most important ways of promoting unity and international solidarity is through closer contact between the fraternal parties and, in particular, through joint elaboration of the urgent problems of revolutionary theory. We also consider that much is being done in this respect by *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (World Marxist Review) and are confident that with the aid of the fraternal parties represented on its Editorial Board, it will be able more effectively to contribute to a theoretical assessment of the new forms of struggle suggested by present-day reality and, consequently, to promoting better mutual understanding, ideological and militant unity of the international Communist movement.

The principled Marxist-Leninist assessment of the new forms of struggle suggested by present-day reality and, consequently, to promoting better mutual understanding, ideological and militant unity of the international Communist movement.

The principled Marxist-Leninist assessments and conclusions of the June Meeting are a sound basis for stimulating and further improving the forms and methods of such work. The approaching centenary of the birth of Lenin and of the Paris Commune offer excellent opportunities in this respect.

The Moscow Meeting demonstrated that the parties are determined to elevate unity of the international movement to a higher level, one corresponding to the needs of the struggle against the common foe, and

for common aims. And the surest way to this, which has been tried and tested by experience, is through the consolidation of proletarian internationalism.

TRANSLATING THE IDEAS OF THE MEETING INTO ACTION

Revolutionary theory and ideas are effective and fruitful only when consistently applied. And the Communist and Workers' parties are now putting these ideas into effect.

An important stage in this process was acquainting the membership of the respective parties with the results of the Meeting. Our Party did so through its paper *Zeitung vom Letzeburger Vollek*, which carried the documents of the world forum, the speeches, and the articles and materials of other parties devoted to the Meeting.

Naturally, the ideas of the Meeting will be translated into practice by each Party in the form it considers necessary and best suited to the conditions in its country.

Still, I think that an obstacle to consistent implementation of these ideas could be underestimating the danger of the disruptive influence of the Right opportunist trends in the working-class movement, especially in the highly developed capitalist countries where so-called parliamentary democracy is one of the main sources sustaining these trends.

The example of Luxembourg is instructive also in this respect. For almost a quarter of a century now I have been a Communist MP. I know from personal experience how cunningly the bourgeois parties "cultivate" the parliamentary representatives of the working class with a view to "integrating" them in the capitalist regime as a "docile opposition." It is sometimes very difficult for working-class deputies to resist the refined system of corruption, and the temptation to substitute parliamentary struggle for the class struggle. The bourgeois parties do their best to spread illusions about achieving reforms "legally," seemingly substantial, but actually hollow, in exchange for renouncing class convictions and the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, and substituting for these "aristocratism" and government speculations which, as we know from history, have frequently affected "labor" representatives in bourgeois parliaments.

The experience of struggle accumulated by the Communist Party of Luxembourg qualifies it to say that the future belongs not to the working-class party which mea-

sures the degree of its revolutionism by the number of seats in parliament or the possibility of participating in a bourgeois government, (the striving to achieve which becomes an aim in itself usually diverting the party concerned from class positions), but to the party which remains true to the end to its class and internationalist duty, to the principles of the revolutionary doctrine of the working class, even in the face of temporary difficulties. It is to the party of the working class of this type that the future belongs.

We are not, of course, opposed to Communist participation in bourgeois parliaments. We ourselves have done so throughout the postwar years. What we are taking issue with is how "parliamentary democracy" influences the spread of opportunism and reformism in the working-class movement.

Opportunism manifests itself in many ways, and at first seems very harmless. It is not always easy to detect, especially in the initial phase, before it has developed into outright petty-bourgeois social-democracy or Left adventurism. However, the first sign of opportunism has always been anti-Sovietism. Both the "Left" and the Right opportunists usually begin with criticism of the Soviet Union, followed by rejection of internationalism on various pretexts and then rejection of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is on this sort of platform that the two deviations eventually merge.

That is why our Party holds that realization of the Meeting's conclusions is closely linked with the need more vigorously to combat both "Left" and Right opportunism and reformism. Disregard of this struggle has invariably led to grave consequences for some contingents of the working-class movement.

The Communist Party of Luxembourg is confident that the ideas of the Moscow Meeting will be of invaluable help in carry-

ing out the tasks outlined in its Program Statement. While not losing sight of the ultimate goal—socialism—the Program Statement notes, the Party consistently upholds the immediate demands and material, social and cultural interests of the working people, their rights and liberties, advocates implementation of fundamental democratic reforms that will ensure the working people broad participation in government and in the economy. The Party stands for peace and the independence of the country, for the abolition of military taxation, the establishment of a broad united front of all working people, irrespective of party affiliation and ideology, against the nation's main enemy—monopoly capital.

The class struggle on the international arena, now in its decisive phase, has spread to all spheres of social and spiritual life—to the economy, to politics, to ideology and to culture.

At this decisive juncture Communists must not allow themselves to be intimidated, they must not vacillate. The revolutionary movement of the working class, the national liberation forces headed by its vanguard, the Communist and Workers' parties, has grown into a mighty stream which, breasting all gales and currents, all shoals, and carrying along all progressive humanity, that is, the vast majority of the population of the world, is undermining the foundations of imperialism. Among our allies in the anti-imperialist struggle there are many who waver. It is our duty to help them and win them over. But, as Lenin has taught us, to help those who waver we must not waver ourselves.

We will be able to multiply the success achieved by the fraternal parties at the Moscow Meeting if we close ranks and together advance towards our great common goal—to the complete victory over imperialism, and the triumph of peace, democracy, socialism and communism on a world scale.

New prospects for our common struggle

**Interview with POMPEYO MARQUEZ
CC Secretary, CP of Venezuela**

Question: The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed to the growing role played by the African, Asian and Latin American anti-imperialist movement in the world revolutionary process over the past ten years. What is the significance of the Meeting's conclusions for the further development of this movement in your country and in Latin America generally?

Answer: The conclusions of the Moscow Meeting are a valuable contribution to our struggle. Its Document highlights the aggressive nature of imperialism, notably its U.S. variety. The experience of the Latin American peoples, including the Venezuelans, confirms the Document's assessment of U.S. imperialism: "The events of the past decade have laid bare more forcefully than ever the nature of U.S. imperialism as a world exploiter and gendarme, as the sworn enemy of liberation movements. The U.S. monopolies have penetrated the economy of dozens of countries, where they are increasing their capital investments and seeking to gain control of key positions in the economy."

The Meeting gave our peoples a concrete program of struggle against American domination and—more important—clearly demonstrated our solidarity and unity in combating Washington's aggressive designs and monopoly exploitation. All the talk about disunity in the international Communist movement is refuted by our complete identity of views on the anti-imperialist fight of our Parties and peoples.

Lastly, the Meeting brought out the tremendous scope of the anti-imperialist struggle, showing the marked extension of its social base, the new forces that have joined

it in recent years, and the rise of new anti-imperialist movements. These are factors of first-rate importance.

Anti-imperialism is by no means a Communist policy. Exploitation is forcing many social groups into active opposition to imperialist domination. The achievements of the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, the advance of the national-liberation movement, the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, which has upset all the plans of the U.S. monopoly-military complex, and, on the other hand, the stepped up U.S. monopoly plunder of Latin America, are all objective factors exerting a powerful influence on our peoples, spurring on their fight against U.S. tutelage, for democratic and anti-imperialist change.

It is in this light, I think, that we should approach developments in the Church in Latin America, one of the biggest, and most important, contingents of world Catholicism. For instance, the emergence in Brazil, Argentina, Colombia and Peru of a Catholic opposition to foreign exploitation reflects the awakening of anti-imperialist sentiment among the masses, and of the growing realization that foreign overlordship must be ended.

And it is in this light, too, that we should consider the changes taking place in the armies in the Latin American countries. True, they are still the principal weapon for maintaining the privileges and power of the U.S. monopolies and their stooges. But there is this important development—nationalist opposition to U.S. imperialism in the armed forces. To us in Venezuela this became clear many years ago. The overthrow of the Jimenez military dictatorship

in January 1958 was the result of joint effort by the masses and part of the armed forces. And they played a significant part also in the armed resistance to the Betancourt and Leoni governments (1958—March 1969). The mutiny of the Carupano garrison (May 1962) and of the Puerto-Cabello garrison (June 1962) were the result of an alliance of revolutionaries and servicemen based on a clear democratic and nationalist program. I would also mention the events in Peru, where the military junta is carrying out such anti-imperialist and democratic reforms as nationalization of U.S. oil companies and an agrarian reform that encroaches on the big landed interests and on U.S. investments.

Still another factor is more active participation in the anti-imperialist struggle by the middle strata—professional people and students. They are pressing for particular demands, of course, but the movement is clearly directed against the U.S.-serving governments and is dominated by democratic and nationalist slogans: return of the national resources now being plundered by foreign monopolies and a bigger share in their development and exploitation; freedom of assembly, press and legal functioning of Communist and other revolutionary parties, release of political prisoners—Communists and democrats—respect for human rights, university and school reforms, and so on.

It can therefore be said that the struggle is being waged not only by the more advanced sections of the working class and the peasantry. And this is understandable: the path imposed on Latin America by the U.S. monopolies and accepted by their local servants, has led nowhere. True, there has been a certain rise in production and cultural standards in some Latin American countries, but this only enhances the realization that our countries are caught in a policy that dooms them to dependence on the U.S. and cannot rescue them from backwardness. The U.S. monopolies and military are draining our life-blood in an effort to resolve the financial difficulties caused by the war in Vietnam and by aggressive moves in some areas of the capitalist world, where the U.S. acts as the protector of reaction, to finance sabotage and provocation against the socialist countries, the ambitious space program, and maintain a definite standard of living for some sections of the U.S. population.

The Alliance for Progress has proved an unqualified failure. The balance of trade is increasingly unfavorable for Latin American countries; "aid" and loans are an addi-

tional burden on their national budgets; all manner of economic integration "models" only help U.S. concerns expand their markets, bypass customs barriers and exploit the new stage of industrial development. Our countries are supposed to pass through this stage after having gone through another, replacement of imported goods by local production. This policy of cutting out imports has largely dislocated the economy, making it even more dependent on the United States.

To sum up, the struggle has been joined by new forces. Referring to Latin America, the Document of the Moscow Meeting correctly assesses the emergence of these forces, defines imperialism as the chief enemy, exposing its provocations, and its bellicose, exploitive and counter-revolutionary substance. The Document calls for unity of all the anti-imperialist forces as the only road ahead. Lastly, it regards our struggle as a component of the transition from capitalism to socialism and emphasizes that "imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces."

There can be no anti-imperialist struggle nowadays without a socialist perspective. Nor can we conceive of a victorious national revolutionary struggle that does not steadily develop towards socialism. Without this the national revolution is doomed to defeat.

Question: The Communist and Workers' Parties are popularizing and implementing the decisions of the Moscow Meeting. What is your Party doing in this respect?

Answer: First, our Central Committee discussed the report of our delegation. Second, we are popularizing the documents among our members and the people. The Party press—the weekly *Tribuna Popular*, the Central Committee magazine *Documentos Politicos* and the university journal *Deslinde*—carried the documents of the Meeting and abridged reports, and all the speeches are now being put out in book form. Third, the materials of the Meeting are being studied and discussed as part of the preparations for our Fourth Party Congress. Fourth, the united action program approved by the Moscow Meeting will be applied in our practical struggles. I would like to add that the basic propositions of the Meeting coincide with the anti-imperialist program adopted by our Central Committee in May and with the new tasks set

by the Plenum which met at the beginning of August.

Basically, our difficulties are not new: weakness of the popular movement, division among the masses, and an inadequate level of struggle at the present stage. However, I think it can safely be said that these are temporary difficulties and that we are on the way to re-building the Communist Party and the anti-imperialist movement. At any rate, our Party is vigorously working towards that end. Our modest day-to-day successes are the fore-runners of more substantial victories.

Question: Emphasis at the Meeting was on strengthening the unity of the movement, international solidarity and mutual aid and support in keeping with proletarian internationalism. How does your Party relate this to its practical work?

Answer: Our Party attaches importance to these questions, for it has always considered itself an integral part of the international movement to abolish imperialist domination and build socialism and communism. All our experience—from the time the Party was founded in 1931, up to our present struggle to break out of North American domination—has taught us the value of international solidarity, as formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

We see no contradiction in the fact that as a national party we champion the liberation yearnings of our people and continue their finest national and revolutionary traditions, while at the same time holding internationalist positions. We hold that the victory of our people depends not only on the unity, organization and mobilization of all their forces, but also on the international solidarity of the socialist world, the working class of the developed capitalist countries and the liberation movement in Latin America and in the rest of the world.

Convinced that the interests of our people coincide with those of the world working-class and revolutionary movement, we fully subscribe to the idea that the key to victory lies in unity and cohesion of the world Communist and anti-imperialist movement.

Our Party differentiates between nationalist positions in the fight against U.S. imperialism and manifestations of chauvinism and actions designed to undermine internationalism.

The documents of the Meeting will help towards closer internationalist contacts between the various contingents of the movement, closer coordination of their efforts with the worldwide struggle. They pave the way to forming a single revolutionary

stream that will sweep away imperialism and clear the way for building socialism. The documents show how the efforts of countries building socialism and advancing to communism can be concerted with the struggle in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries.

These ideas guide our Party in all its work.

The united action program of the Moscow Document sets out guiding principles for every Party. These principles are: all-round support for the Vietnamese people; action for world peace; action to force the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. Peaceful coexistence does not run counter to the right of oppressed nations to fight for emancipation by whatever means, violent or non-violent, they see fit. And certainly it does not imply support for reactionary regimes. These guiding principles also envisage active solidarity with peoples and countries that are the target of unceasing imperialist aggression; solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America; the fight to "rid our planet completely of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last strongholds, and prevent its revival in new, camouflaged forms"; the struggle against the man-hating ideology and practices of racialism, etc.

The Document analyzes, assesses and formulates the main features of the international situation, the differences in the world Communist and workers' movement, the principles that should govern relations between the different revolutionary contingents, and also the ways and means of overcoming the differences and divergences, which are now being studied by our Party. The Central Committee decided to undertake this study in preparation for our forthcoming congress. A discussion has now started, and we are drawing up theses on international questions for discussion and approval by the Party congress.

Question: The Moscow Meeting of 75 parties was a clear expression of the growing unity of the world Communist movement. Many delegates emphasized the importance of international, regional and bilateral meetings. What is the view of your Party?

Answer: Our Central Committee has expressed its full satisfaction with "the way the Meeting was prepared and conducted, allowing every Party freedom to express its views." The Central Committee also noted that "the atmosphere of mutual un-

derstanding and full democracy that marked the Meeting is indicative of the maturity of the international Communist movement and helps to apply the principle of independence of each national contingent. This principle, which our Party accepts and operates, does not contradict the principle of proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is dialectically linked with it" (August 1969 Central Committee plenum resolution).

For us the Meeting was a "historic step towards unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement, though much still remains to be done. It signified a new stage in our discussions, which are governed by feelings of mutual respect and fraternity." I cite these excerpts from the Central Committee resolution on the report of our delegation because I think they are the best reply to your question.

Naturally we favor international, regional and bilateral meetings. In particular we suggest a Latin American conference of Communist parties. But we also favor negotiations, exchange of delegations, documents and experience between all the Communist parties of the world, irrespective of what we think of their political line. For we are of the opinion that mutual fraternal and comradely criticism is fully justified. And we also believe that every Party is justified in expressing its critical judgment of one or another aspect of the activity of another Party if that activity is detrimental to the policy of the first Party or to the common

policy of the movement. What we have in mind, of course, is criticism and differences among revolutionaries. No Party can under any circumstances lay claim to a monopoly of "revolutionariness," or in any way denigrate the role of another Party only because it does not share its policy or views on certain forms of struggle, etc.

Question: The Communist and Workers' parties are preparing for the Lenin centenary. What is being done in this respect by your Party?

Answer: For us this is the Lenin Centenary Year—that is the watchword of all our preparations for the forthcoming congress. Lenin's works are being studied, pamphlets popularizing his ideas are being put out, conferences for Communists and non-Communists are being arranged for closer acquaintance with Lenin's work, the value of his thoughts as the chief weapon in our country's revolutionary struggle and in building a strong Leninist party capable of dealing with any contingency and prepared to fulfil its duty to the Venezuelan working class and people in persevering struggle against American domination, for freedom, for a socialist and communist Venezuela. We are also planning a Lenin enrolment, which, we hope, will bring into the Party over a 1,000 young people, thereby enabling it more quickly to rebuild its strength. Still another feature is exhibitions illustrating Lenin's life and work. In short, we have far-reaching plans for the Lenin Centenary Year.

The ideas of the meeting in the ideological work of the CPSU

VLADIMIR STEPANOV

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties created favorable conditions for a broad new ideological offensive, for popularizing the Communist outlook, proletarian internationalism and the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. Realization of these tasks coincides in time and content with the Lenin centenary preparations. "The Communist and Workers' parties," states the Address of the International Meeting, *Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*, "meet this historic date in a situation of increasing revolutionary activity and will mark it by stepping up political and ideological work among the masses and by extending and strengthening their ranks."

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards the international forum of Communists in Moscow as the beginning of a new upswing in the Communist movement, and sees it as its internationalist duty to promote this upswing in every way, including ideological. It considers popularization of the Meeting's ideas and their realization to be one of the basic and relevant aspects of its work. Our ideological and political task is to make the documents of the Meeting known to every Communist, to all our people, to acquaint them with the conclusions which the CPSU has drawn from it for its practical and theoretical work, and to ensure that the ideas of the Meeting become a powerful motive force capable of accelerating the revolutionary reconstruction of the world and the achievement of our common aims.

This was discussed at the 1969 June Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, which elaborated concrete measures in the political, economic and

ideological spheres aimed at implementing the Meeting's decisions. In this respect an exchange of experience by the fraternal parties on how they are popularizing the materials and documents of the Meeting, how they are using these documents in their ideological and educational work among the people, would be useful. I should like to speak about the experience accumulated to date by the CPSU.

I.

Socialist society is the first society in human history which is being built on a scientific basis. Under socialism the members of society are equipped with a knowledge of the laws of historical development and consciously apply this knowledge in building the new society, the maturity and strength of which depend on the degree of consciousness and activity of its citizens. The growing role of the subjective factor, the creative activity of the working people of town and country, the purposeful implementation of the principles and ideals of communism are, therefore, a logical development of socialism. Hence the importance of political education, why the Leninist party has from the first days of Soviet rule worked tirelessly to educate the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia in the spirit of understanding the revolutionary purport of day-to-day work in building the new society, the international significance of this work.

The Communist Party and the Soviet people consider the building of the material and technological base of communism an international task of paramount importance, for it is by our achievements, our

example, that we exert our main influence on the world revolutionary process now and in the future.

In his speech at the International Meeting, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, acquainted its participants with the advances made by the USSR in the economic, state and cultural spheres, with the basic plans for raising the effectiveness of socialist production, developing science and further improving the well-being of the population.

Some foreign observers think that our ideological institutions focus too much on economic matters, on popularizing production experience, socialist emulation, ways and means of raising labor productivity. We, for our part, see this "list" towards the economy as something to our credit, for we are guided by Lenin's idea that the most important thing for the victory of the new social system is to secure a new, much higher productivity of labor compared to that under capitalism.

The entire experience of the Soviet Union shows that socialist gains are enduring when they are based on a solid economic foundation. We value communism, Lenin wrote, only when it is based on a sound economic foundation.

Lenin emphasized that our world outlook, while recognizing the decisive role played by the economic system in social development, takes into account the active influence exerted by politics and ideology on the economy, that in some circumstances politics is decisive for the success of socialist and communist construction. It would therefore be incorrect to regard the economic transformations carried out in our country as a purely economic act, for, in effect, these transformations bring with them changes in social relations and, through them, in the thinking of people. Our system creates the most favorable conditions for the all-round development of the individual, for the flowering of his spiritual wealth. It is only when due account is taken of this interconnection between the economic and ideological spheres that the ideological efforts of Party organizations can be most effective.

When tackling important economic tasks, we take into account the entire complex of related ideological and political issues. Along with the material incentive, we take into account the moral incentive, the creative interests of people. Not every kind of production is educative, the working people are influenced differently in different conditions by economic instruments. There

is constant conflict in the productive, economic sphere between the old and the new, between the nascent and the obsolescent. No headway can be made without a detailed analysis of new developments, without taking into account both the positive and negative aspects of practice. The purpose of propaganda is to support those aspects which are progressive. Convincing examples of fulfilment of one's duty on the job and as a citizen help to rally the people for new advances, extending their political horizons and raising public thinking to the level of the national interest.

These features of political and educational work have manifested themselves particularly vividly in recent years in connection with the economic reform. It is characteristic that not only Party functionaries, executives, scientists and front-line workers, but entire collectives in factory, mine and rail transport are popularizing it. This is indicative of our people's deeper understanding of the economic theory of Marxism-Leninism, of their ideological and political maturity, of the fact that the basic principles of socialism have taken strong root in the consciousness, in the everyday life of our people. Such is the foundation enabling the Party successfully to continue the economic education of the masses, effectively to expose concepts about the socio-economic essence of socialism that are alien to Marxism-Leninism.

By showing the dialectical interconnection between economics, politics and ideology in the process of socialist transformations, our Party propaganda is waging an unceasing struggle against Right and Left opportunist distortions of theory. It shows the untenability of the concepts according to which economics allegedly demands to be "depoliticized," rejection of centralized leadership and separation from the state. It also exposes Left revisionists who prate about economics performing the role of "soldier" and politics that of "commander."

At the International Meeting the representatives of the fraternal parties paid tribute to the Soviet people's achievements in building the new society, in their fight for social progress, stressing that these achievements are the result of the constant perfecting of the methods of socialist management of society based on a scientific study of the laws of its development. This inspires us to redouble our creative efforts, to seek new avenues of influencing economic activity ideologically.

The International Meeting discussed the problems connected with the scientific and

technological revolution now under way in the world. This is becoming the focal point of the economic competition between the two systems. The scientific and technological revolution inevitably leads to changes in the social structure of society, in the methods and forms of directing economic and social processes. Its consequences are bound to affect the ideological struggle as well. It is therefore essential to study the social aspects involved in accelerating scientific and technological progress, to condition the public mind accordingly. An important task of the ideological front of the CPSU is to prepare the working masses, Party and managerial personnel to participate actively and creatively in carrying out the scientific and technological revolution in our country.

As a result of the increased proportion of skilled labor, of the higher cultural and technical level of the working people, not only the intellectual but also the producer is more and more coming into close contact with the achievements of science and their practical application, which are influencing his mode of life and the nature of his work. Investigating the effects of the scientific and technological revolution on the public psychology, morals, and especially on the spiritual and civil qualities of young people is, therefore, of great ideological and political importance.

In our ideological and political work we take these factors into consideration as much as possible, so as to differentiate in our approach to our audience according to the level of their education and culture, their requirements and their political maturity. These differences are evident, for example, in the working class. The yardstick applied to collectives in automated production, in centers operating complex systems cannot be applied, say, to workers employed in the building industry or in agriculture. We have to differentiate in our work between people of manual labor and mental labor, to use different forms and methods of propaganda among the technical intelligentsia and the creative intelligentsia, among students and young workers.

Developments in the mass media make it easier to reach listener, viewer and reader who are consequently exposed to varying ideological influences. While these developments have increased our possibilities of disseminating Marxism-Leninism, they have also increased those of enemy propaganda for spreading ideas hostile to socialism. Hence the need to elaborate on a series

of problems that have become the subject of a sharp ideological struggle. We realize the importance of evolving new, more contemporary methods of combating imperialist propaganda, of exposing the untenability of the bourgeois, reformist, revisionist and dogmatic way of thinking and acting. The joint is to educate all our people in the spirit of implacability to bourgeois ideology. Timely explanation of important events, full information about the work of local Party and government bodies, attention to the requirements and sentiment of the population all help to forestall the distorted interpretation of events in our country by bourgeois propagandists.

We realize that the best way to combat slander levelled against the Soviet system and the attempts to magnify some of our mistakes, is to give convincing examples of the great gains of socialism and this we do through the mass media. And the fact that we let the world know not only of our achievements, of which we are legitimately proud, but also of our shortcomings, inevitable in such a complex and hitherto unexplored matter as building a new society, bespeaks strength, not weakness, as hostile propaganda tries to make out. The Party has always held that criticism of shortcomings, the proposals and observations of the working people, public expression, are all a form of public participation in running society, a manifestation of socialist democracy, a sign of the normal functioning of our social system.

II.

When speaking of building the material and technical base of communism as our principal task, we do not overlook the importance of moulding the personality of the builder of communism, the importance of his ideological, political and moral tempering. Our educational system and the politico-educational work of the Communist Party are geared to this task.

Lenin's words that "you can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind," are well known to our people. But they also know that these cultural treasures are not only the heritage of past generations, that the process of man's spiritual enrichment is proceeding more swiftly than ever before, that the ideas showing the only real way to a radiant future, the ideas of scientific communism, make this process a truly humanistic one. At the head of spiritual and social ad-

vance throughout the world stand the Communist parties, the bearers of these ideas, the heirs of Marx, Engels, Lenin. Here it is pertinent to note that an important contribution to the treasure house of revolutionary thought was made by the International Meeting in Moscow.

In our time we can perceive the profound social meaning of our activity only if we are equipped with the ideas of scientific communism. The Marxist-Leninist teaching is the only true guide in life and in struggle. Mastery of the scientific world outlook, the International Meeting noted, is socialist society's great advantage over the capitalist system. The involvement of all citizens in labor and socio-political work, the further development and dissemination of scientific communism — such are the two indissolubly interconnected directions of our work, in which propaganda of the new in revolutionary theory, elaborated by the Meeting, holds an important place.

Immediately after the Meeting the Central Committee of the Party sent groups of lecturers to all parts of the country to acquaint the local Party, government and managerial personnel with the basic points discussed by the representatives of the Communist parties. Members of the Political Bureau, the secretaries and members of the Central Committee of the CPSU, of the Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, the territorial committees and regional committees, directly participated in this work.

The documents of the Meeting are being studied in the Party educational network and in educational establishments. An important aspect of these studies is to reach all categories of working people. This is being done through the network of workers' clubs, people's universities, communist labor schools and lecture bureaus. Also trade union, Youth League and other organizations are actively helping to organize study groups.

New subjects have been included in the current curricula of the elementary political schools, schools teaching the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, activists' schools, the evening universities of the Party committees and at seminars. Lectures, discussions, and conferences on the subjects discussed by the International Meeting are widely practiced. Corresponding changes have been introduced in the social sciences curricula of the higher and secondary specialized schools, in the ideological and educational work with students. In addition,

there are group and individual consultations and exchanges of views.

Naturally, all this has required a competent staff of teachers and lecturers. Special courses and seminars were organized at which they were briefed for their future work. Very useful was the timely publication in periodicals of the subject matter suggested for lectures and talks.

We regard these measures not as a short-lived campaign, but as the content of the activity of Party organizations and ideological departments over a long term. Much still has to be done by the Party in the theoretical and practical spheres to realize the Meeting decisions.

In popularizing the ideas of the Meeting we are focussing on showing their continuity of the Leninist teaching, on combating the distortions of revolutionary science, exposing the aggressive and reactionary essence of imperialism, giving a theoretical assessment of the new social developments and forms of the class struggle engendered by practice, propagating proletarian internationalism and its class character.

We have everything necessary to disseminate as widely as possible the ideas of Marxism-Leninism — theoretically and politically mature cadres, rich traditions and experience and extensive technical possibilities.

From the very first day, our people were kept informed of the Meeting's proceedings. *Pravda* published all the speeches of the Communist parties' representatives. Party journals continue to carry theoretical and political materials devoted to the Meeting. The official documents and the speeches have been put out in a special volume.

Also talks are being given over the radio and TV on the subjects: "The CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties in the Fight for the Unity of the World Communist Movement," "The Socialist World System and Current Problems of Its Development," "Leninism and a Critique of its Contemporary Falsifiers," "The Contemporary Scientific and Technological Revolution and Its Socio-Economic Problems," "The Ideological Struggle in the Present Conditions." A special series of broadcasts are devoted to the working class. Highly popular are the broadcasts about the struggle of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries against imperialism and for peace, democracy and social progress, about the work of the Communist parties in the socialist countries, and also the series of TV films "True to Proletarian Internationalism."

In the information media the advantages are indisputably with the press, radio and television. Take the quantitative aspect. Newspaper circulation in the USSR totals 138 million copies, that of journals more than 115 million copies, while the annual book circulation exceeds 1,300 million copies. This is one-quarter of the world's book output. The number of radio and TV sets in use is roughly 86 and 29 million respectively.

This does not mean, however, that oral information is secondary. That is not in the tradition of our Party. The living word remains a most important instrument in educating the public. Direct contact between speaker and audience makes it possible more fully to take into account their interests and sentiment, to influence the listener, to answer questions on the spot. Regular political reports by Party, government, trade union and Komsomol functionaries, by deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR, Union and Autonomous republics, and of the local Soviets, serve as a "reverse link" in improving the work of the leading government and party bodies.

Popularizing the ideas of the Meeting has met with a ready response among the Soviet public. The citizen of socialist society is an internationalist by nature and education. Hence the deep interest with which our people are studying the Moscow Meeting's analysis of the present epoch, the alignment of main class forces in the world and the perspectives of the anti-imperialist struggle.

In the light of this political interest we are devoting much attention to explaining the complex process of development in the socialist world system and its problems, to the achievements of the peoples of the socialist community in building the new society, the progress and perspectives of socialist economic integration. Our tasks in this respect are made all the easier by the fact that cooperation between the USSR and the other socialist countries is steadily expanding, the fact that hundreds of Soviet enterprises are fulfilling orders for the fraternal countries and are themselves receiving raw materials, equipment and industrial plant from them. Here we accentuate the idea that closer and all-round economic, political and cultural cooperation within the framework of the community makes not for a simple multiplication of forces but for a qualitatively new, organically united force that is growing into an indestructible bulwark of the entire anti-imperialist struggle. At the same time we

expose the attempts of the ideologists of anti-communism, of the Right and "Left" revisionists to impair the foundation of the close alliance of socialist states.

Conscious of their role in the world liberation movement, our people follow with lively interest the success of their allies in the revolutionary struggle — the working people in the highly developed capitalist countries, and the peoples in the developing states. Talks and discussions on this subject meet with a lively response in the most diverse working collectives. As a rule speakers are swamped with questions, as are the press and radio. That this work is more than educational is seen in the Soviet people's full endorsement of the Party's Leninist line in international affairs, in their readiness to support their class brothers in their anti-imperialist actions, to render them all possible aid.

The Party considers greater theoretical activity as one of the best ways to realize the ideas of the International Meeting. Lenin noted that without intensive creative work in the sphere of revolutionary theory one cannot be an ideological leader of the masses. The June plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU set the task of making a deep study of the problems of our time, of the general laws and specific features of the world revolutionary process, the Communist, working-class and national-liberation movements, of the struggle against imperialism, and of the major questions relating to the theory of socialist and communist construction. Our research institutions are presently engaged in carrying out plans elaborated with due account of the conference results. There is every reason to anticipate the publication of detailed monographs of the social sciences. The coming months will see the appearance of books on the subject of the international working-class and national-liberation movements, of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party, proletarian internationalism and other subjects.

This important work is stimulated by the participation of Soviet scholars in international theoretical conferences, discussions and seminars. The scientific sessions devoted to the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx and the 50th anniversary of the Communist International were particularly rewarding. Preparations are under way for an international conference in Moscow that will discuss the growing role of Leninism in the present epoch, and anti-communism. One of the theoretical con-

ferences to be held at the beginning of 1970 with the participation of foreign researchers will be devoted to the subject "Leninism and the World Revolutionary Process." International meetings of Marxists help to coordinate their theoretical research, to enrich scientific communism.

III.

Successful popularization of the ideas of the Meeting hinges directly on the selection of cadres, on the level of their theoretical and methodological training. To keep the workers of the press, radio and television better informed of the political scene at home and abroad, press conferences are now regularly held in many of the republican and regional centers, and also meetings and talks with Party, government and industrial executives.

Party committees are taking steps to staff their education departments with highly trained people. In many regional committees and city committees special information groups have been formed to select and analyze the information material coming from the editorial offices of newspapers, radio, television, from government and public organizations, lecturers and speakers. In other places this is being done by instructors attached to the education department or to the department of Party work and by members working on a voluntary basis in the information sectors of the Party committees. There is a growing need for such an information service also in bigger Party branches.

The flow of information to and from the branches has increased noticeably of late. From time to time committees report to the branch members on how their criticisms and suggestions are being put into effect. Reports on the work of the Party committees made directly to the branches during the intervals between district, city and regional Party conferences, have proved very useful.

As a result, we have a fairly efficient system of information. The Party branches and staffs of enterprises are regularly briefed on home and foreign affairs by the central Party authorities, on the one hand, and a regular flow of information, suggestions, and recommendations reaches the higher Party committees from the branches, on the other.

The elements and principles of this system are:

—a clear definition of the function and effective use of the information media—

press, radio, television, oral propaganda and agitation;

—differentiated information, depending on the specific interests and requirements of the various sections of the people;

—the approach that information is an essential part of Party work;

—the inclusion in the system of Party political information of government and economic bodies, the trade unions, Youth League and research institutions;

—Specially orientated information at all levels, from factory floor to the central bodies.

As we see it, perfecting the system of mass propaganda is one of the ways of implementing the decisions of the CPSU Twenty-Third Congress on improving mass information. Of great importance is the recent decision on the same question.

These measures will, undoubtedly, help effectively to popularize the ideas of the Meeting.

Our Party has always concerned itself with making ideological work as effective as possible. This depends to a large degree on a correct appraisal of internal and foreign affairs, on relating the economic and socio-political tasks of building communism to ideological and educational work. No matter what aspects of life we take—production, social, culture—we see the fruits of our efforts in the much greater participation by the public in social life, in their enhanced sense of responsibility. This shows that we must pay constant attention to the results of our propaganda, strive to make it as effective as possible. We cannot afford to let matters take their own course, the attitude adopted by Mr. Micawber in *David Copperfield* who, it will be recalled, believed that given time his troubles would sort themselves out in their own way.

If we are to give purposeful direction to the spiritual processes, we must objectively and systematically study the mode of life and work of our people, be able to feel the pulse of the various social groups, their reaction to national and international events, answer the questions uppermost in their minds.

Of great help in this respect are the sociological studies made by many Party organizations. The Party organizations in Leningrad, Tallinn, Sverdlovsk and in Gorky are enlisting the help of researchers to conduct investigations and make recommendations. The Youth League, too, in cooperation with researchers, is studying questions

related to the communist education of our youth, the international movement. In addition to scientific conferences and seminars on the subject, special research councils have been formed. Studies of the individual reactions to the information media, of the most effective ways of presenting news are of great help in improving ideological work.

The present stage in the life of the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union is characterized by a new upsurge on the labor and political front in connection with the approaching centenary of the

birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Socialist emulation to meet this anniversary in a worthy manner is truly countrywide. The Party for its part meets the centenary of its founder and leader with a higher standard of ideological and educational work. The International Meeting's unanimous confirmation of the cardinal proposition that Marxism-Leninism was and remains the ideological and political platform of our entire movement, inspires the Soviet Communists to new efforts to make the all-conquering ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin a communist reality.

TOWARDS THE LENIN CENTENARY

Lenin and the national-liberation movement

The tempestuous advance of the national liberation movement in ex-colonial and semi-colonial countries, which account for the larger part of the world's population, poses new and increasingly complex problems requiring careful study and examination. The national liberation movement is one of the main currents of the anti-imperialist struggle. The Document adopted by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties notes that in the past ten years the Afro-Asian and Latin American anti-imperialist movement has continued to play an increasing part in the world revolutionary process. And the growth of this movement, representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties said at the Meeting, deprives the capitalist system of its stability, deals powerful blows at imperialism and enriches the worldwide revolutionary struggle. Favor-

able conditions are being created for social revolution in the zone of the national liberation movement. "Weak links" in the world capitalist system are being revealed, and conditions are taking shape that enable the working class successfully to fight for hegemony in national liberation democratic revolutions.

Marxist researchers have in recent years done much to elucidate the problems of the national liberation revolution, and significant headway has been made. However, it should be clear that scientists are confronted with many, even more complex, problems, upon the solution of which will largely depend the success of the revolutionary movement involving millions. That is why attention has been focussed on the symposium, "Lenin's Teaching on the National Liberation Revolution and the Present Phase of Social Progress in the Deve-

loping Countries," held in October in Alma-Ata, the capital of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. Sponsored by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences, it was dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. Its participants emphasized the influence for change exerted by Lenin's ideas on the peoples of the East and in Latin America. They paid tribute to the man who theoretically elaborated the fundamental problems of the national liberation movement in our age and indicated to the colonial peoples a realistic path to freedom.

Some 200 Soviet scholars, representing more than 49 institutes, research centers and universities in Moscow, Leningrad, in Union and Autonomous Republics and in various regions of the USSR, and also 72 researchers and personalities from 51 Asian, African, Latin American and other countries, shared in the proceedings. The symposium heard 136 reports and communications, of which 57 came from representatives of former imperialist colonies and semi-colonies, and also from Vietnam, Laos, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Cambodia and South Africa, whose peoples are locked in armed struggle against American, British and Portuguese colonialists, and the Arab countries, whose peoples are repelling the Israeli aggression, which has the support of the U.S., West German and other imperialists.

The success of the symposium was determined not only by the attendance of such a large number of scholars and personalities, but also by the atmosphere of free exchange of views and broad discussion on basic problems. Foreign participants were impressed by the public attention evoked by the forum, by the questions it posed, and by the hospitality and international solidarity of the people of Soviet Kazakhstan, who have made such remarkable strides in economic, scientific and cultural development. They could assess the progress made under the leadership of the Communist Party by the people of this former Tsarist colony, which after the Great October Socialist Revolution chose the path indicated by Lenin.

The symposium received a message of good wishes from L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. It reads in part:

"The liberated peoples are determined to eliminate the survivals of colonialism and uphold and consolidate their independence. They are working towards far-reaching so-

cial changes and maximum development of their economy and culture. History shows that this can be accomplished only through consistent struggle against imperialism in close alliance with the socialist countries and the international workers' movement.

"The present tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle are clearly set out in the documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow last June. Voicing the vital needs of our time, it called for the closest unity of all anti-imperialist forces in invigorating the fight against imperialism and colonialism, for peace and security, for social progress.

"True to the behests of the great Lenin, the Soviet people have unfailingly demonstrated their fraternal solidarity with the peoples of the young independent states and the national liberation movement, and are giving both all-round political, moral and material support.

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union extends its greetings to the participants in the symposium and wishes them every success."

The deliberations of the symposium reaffirmed the growing influence of Lenin's ideas on the destinies of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples. Lenin's theory of the national liberation revolution, of the ways and methods of achieving national and social emancipation of oppressed peoples, his practical advice concerning solution of the complex problems that arise in the path of progress, were basic to all the reports and discussions at Alma-Ata. Many speakers pointed out that no major development in modern Asia, Africa and Latin America can be properly understood and assessed without deep knowledge and appreciation of the propositions enunciated by Lenin. And all speakers were motivated by the desire to approach the Lenin heritage creatively and apply the Lenin method of analysis in assessing socioeconomic and political processes in the zone of the national liberation revolution and in charting the perspective of anti-imperialist struggle. D. A. Kunayev, First Secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party, told the symposium: "The ideas of Leninism organically combine scientific theory with revolutionary action and are a guiding star for the peoples of the world. These ideas have already become a reality in the socialist countries. They inspire in the masses of the young ex-colonial countries confidence in their strength and in the pos-

sibility of building a new, free society without exploitation."

And this statement from Yusef el Sibai, General Secretary of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization: "Lenin's name is firmly engraved in history as that of an outstanding theoretician and practitioner of revolution, as leader of the Soviet peoples who carried out the October Revolution, which was a turning point in human history and ushered in the era of the disintegration of imperialism and colonialism. It kindled the flame of popular revolution against foreign oppression and social inequality, and fortified the confidence of the masses in their ability to counter the aggressive designs of imperialism with their unbending will."

Every student of the national liberation movement and social development must study Lenin's ideas, Dia Eddin Daud, member of the Supreme Executive of the Arab Socialist Union (UAR) said, but revolutionary fighters must do more than that—they must also assimilate the militant heritage of this great teacher, for it will give them a profound understanding of the dynamics of the struggle between imperialism and the liberation forces, and a keen appreciation of the organic link between the problems of national liberation and social development which, in effect, are two aspects of one and the same process.

Professor Mukherjee, deputy leader of the Communist group in the Indian House of the People, said that Lenin had closely followed all major events in the East, notably India, one of the biggest colonial countries. Today the world pays tribute to this unique leader and teacher. In India, Mukherjee continued, he is revered also as history's greatest philosopher, and as a friend, as a beacon for the disinherited and oppressed.

Dr. Tunji Otegbeye, member of the Nigerian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, stressed that Lenin remains the greatest teacher of all revolutionaries, the greatest inspiration of the world revolutionary movement. His theory of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, his insistence on close cooperation of the national liberation forces and the countries of victorious socialism, have been corroborated by history.

Lenin's ideas on revolution have powerfully influenced the Argentine people and the rise and development of their Communist Party, Leonardo Paso, deputy director of the Argentine Communist Party's Marxism-Leninism Institute, said in his report

on Leninism and the Latin American National Liberation Movement.

The symposium discussed a wide range of problems of which the following is a partial list: Lenin's theory of the national-colonial revolution; international implications of Soviet experience in solving the national question; the national liberation movement and the problems of economic and social progress in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries; Lenin's theory on revolutionary situations and unity of the anti-imperialist forces; the Leninist principles of cultural development and the cultural revolution in the Soviet national republics; classes and class struggle in emergent countries; problems of non-capitalist development; the relation between the national and international movement in liberation revolutions.

There was a general consensus that the fight for national independence was rapidly advancing, and that the absolute majority of emergent nations had made long strides towards socio-economic and cultural regeneration. The overall tendency of world development, speakers emphasized, is continued decline of imperialism.

Dang Quang Minh, Central Committee Member of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, put it this way: "Though imperialism, led by its U.S. contingent, is doing everything it can to avoid continued defeat, it is obvious that no reactionary force can reverse the general trend. The more the colonialists and imperialists resist, the more will they be forced into passive positions and sustain one ignominious defeat after another."

Continued weakening of imperialism has helped the emergence and operation of favorable objective conditions for united action by all the progressive forces ranged against imperialism, neo-colonialism and capitalist exploitation: broad united action against imperialism is, at this stage, the crucial problem.

The task today is correctly to assess the trend towards changing and power structures in the developing countries, clearly define the interests, role and place of the socio-political forces capable of acting in unity against imperialism, rally these forces and raise the struggle to a higher level. This, a highly complex and responsible task confronting the progressive forces, can be successfully accomplished only through searching scientific analysis of the socio-economic and political problems of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

Most speakers agreed that only unity and cohesion of the three main currents of the world revolutionary process, i.e., the socialist world system, the working-class movement, and the national liberation movement, make it possible to deal decisive blows at imperialism, reaction and colonialism. And the leading role in the anti-imperialist struggle belongs to the socialist world system, whose success determines the course and rate of progress.

But many speakers also pointed to the variety of types and forms of revolutionary and democratic movements in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, with their own distinctive aims at each given stage. At the present stage, they are powerfully influenced by the achievements of the socialist camp, by the technological revolution and by the substantial structural changes in state-monopoly capitalism, and this makes for rapid changes in the alignment of class and political forces in each country. But common to all developing countries is that socio-class differences and contradictions relegated to the background during the fight for political independence are now making themselves more often, and more clearly felt, influencing the Third World's choice of development paths, forms and methods and its concrete measures to accelerate social and economic advance. The class struggle in Africa, Asia and Latin America is growing in intensity and is being waged at a time when elimination of the evil legacy of colonialism becomes increasingly necessary.

The present stage is one of transition from national to social revolution, in which the working class and its struggle play an ever-increasing role. Aziz Sherif, member of the World Peace Council and holder of a Lenin Peace Prize, told the symposium: "The national liberation movement is being enriched by the more significant role of the working class, which has grown in numbers with the rise of new industries, and qualitatively with the penetration of Marxist ideas." In the apt expression of Prof. D. Weidemann (GDR), this regrouping of forces in the emergent countries is essential for the continued advance of the revolution and for its ultimate victory.

Many speakers emphasized that the national bourgeoisie, which in most countries played a leading part in the fight for political independence, is steadily losing influence. For the people are coming to see that government by the bourgeoisie, despite all the promises, has neither radically im-

proved their position, strengthened economic independence, nor assured political stability. In the opinion of Moustafa Rostom, executive member of the Syrian Arab Socialist Baath Party, the bourgeoisie has become a hindrance to social emancipation.

What, then, is the way for the young independent countries, how are they to carry out non-capitalist reforms, which are directly linked with their present socio-economic structure? That question figured prominently in the discussion. The point was made that a multi-element economy is common to all of them, with important distinctions from country to country. Each element represents a specific mode of production involving definite classes and social strata. Lenin, it will be recalled, singled out elements of five economic formations in Russia's transitional period. In the Third World countries the number is even greater, and with a wider range of specific features.

Lenin's theory of multi-element economies is the key to understanding many of the problems and development trends in emergent countries. Lenin repeatedly insisted that this should be carefully taken into account, and that some production modes and economic methods should be utilized for the transition from patriarchal small-commodity to modern production and, subsequently, to a developed socialist society. He pointed out also that given certain conditions it is not only permissible, but indeed necessary, to utilize, even support, some capitalist forms (for instance, state-capitalism) to strengthen and develop socialism.

But, of course, changes in the multi-economy pattern do not come automatically. They are the result of persevering class struggle, waged in different forms, including government policy.

The Lenin theory of multi-element economies helps to understand many peculiarities of capitalist development in the East, and many questions involved in the transition to non-capitalism. In the light of that theory, it can be said that the socio-economic substance of the non-capitalist way is but a definite correlation and interaction of various production modes, and of the classes and social groups involved. A study of concrete economic and political conditions in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries will show that the non-capitalist road can differ greatly from country to country, depending on this combination and interaction of the modes of production.

We know, of course, that political independence has accelerated the growth of national capitalism in ex-colonial and semi-colonial countries. Freed from the ruinous effects of the colonial political superstructure and of direct foreign interference, capitalism acquired a larger operational area. And, equally important, it has the support and assistance of national governments which, in most cases, are using state-capitalist methods of influencing the economy. The net result has been a rapid growth of capitalism in recent years in all capitalistically-evolving countries without exception.

Reports on the subject emphasized that in examining the tangle of problems associated with the national liberation movement, notably Communist Party strategy and tactics, we must always properly assess the real strength of expanding capitalism and never overestimate the potential of non-capitalist development. For capitalist development and sharper competition and greater concentration and centralization of capital and industry have led to the rise of local monopolies in such countries as India, Pakistan, Turkey, the Philippines, Brazil, and Argentina. Their strength depends largely on their ties with imperialism and, in a certain sense, they are the vehicles of imperialism's neo-colonialist policies.

Imperialism is modifying its economic and political pressure techniques. Time was when the colonialists resorted chiefly to outright plunder and subjection of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. Today, the tactic is alliance with the top crust of local capitalists, exploiting their forces and influence to prevent non-capitalist and, eventually, socialist development.

Still another feature of big capital and monopoly capital in developing countries, speakers pointed out, is that they originated against the background of underdeveloped economies, retention of many vestiges of feudalism, preponderance of low-productivity modes of production and economic inefficiency. Monopoly capital, therefore, should be seen as superimposed on underdeveloped economies, the result of "concentration from above," which, in a sense, contributes to retention of pre-capitalist and early-capitalist production relations.

Another major consequence of monopoly development is that it sharpens all the antagonistic contradictions of capitalism, the contradictions between various sections of the national bourgeoisie, and strongly im-

pairs the interests of the small and middle bourgeoisie. The only way out for the latter is to resist the monopolies tooth and nail. One example of this contradiction is provided by India, where the government felt compelled to nationalize the big banks in which were concentrated most of the assets of India's powerful monopolies.

In this context, many speakers urged a differentiated approach to capitalist development in the East. They drew attention to Lenin's point that capitalism can be of the "Black Hundred," Octobrist* or "democratic," "realistic" type, which offer more opportunities for strengthening the class forces that want radical change, followed by non-capitalist development. The question of directing the transition to non-capitalism is thus sharply posed.

Dr. Tunji Otegbeye noted that "nowadays, when the national bourgeoisie can become part of the national-democratic front of struggle for economic independence, the leadership of that front must belong to a worker-peasant alliance. Where the working class is weak, the transition to non-capitalism can be directed only by a democratic intelligentsia that has absorbed the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and is prepared to create the conditions for a Marxist-Leninist party. This presupposes broad cooperation with the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union."

Many pressing problems were debated at Alma-Ata. Of especial value were the contributions from direct participants in the anti-imperialist struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and their speeches were followed with keen interest. They described both the successes and difficulties of the struggle, the disinterested aid of the socialist world, particularly the Soviet Union, to peoples defending their political and economic independence. The accent was on the growing need for theoretical interpretation of present developments and for a clear definition of the new phenomena in the developing countries. Some questions were debated for the first time and differing, even contrary, views were expressed. The value of such discussions is, of course, beyond doubt. As justly pointed out by Academician Zhukov (USSR), the materials of the symposium, which will be published in book form, are bound to stimulate closer research of socio-economic and political problems by scholars in the socialist and other fraternal countries.

*Reactionary trends in pre-revolutionary Russia.

Soviet and foreign participants warmly thanked the people and government of Kazakhstan and the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee for the hospitality, attention and cordiality shown the symposium. Its message to L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, which in a way summarized the results of the discussions, reads in part:

"The development of the world revolutionary process shows how right Lenin was in predicting that the rise and consolidation of the socialist system in various countries, which is governed by common laws, is developing in different forms in concrete historical conditions and national peculiarities.

"In analyzing the problems of the national liberation movement, the participants emphasize the objective historical need for militant unity of the peoples of the socialist countries, the working class and all democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and the liberated and oppressed peoples, in joint action against imperialism, for

peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism.

"The participants highly appreciate the Soviet Union's all-round aid to the Vietnamese people in repelling U.S. imperialist aggression, and to the Arab peoples fighting the imperialist Zionist aggression of Israel, and to the African national liberation movement in its armed struggle to abolish colonialist and racist regimes.

"We wish the Soviet people continued and increasing success in the noble aims of building communism, in their efforts for the complete triumph of the ideas of the great Lenin, who dedicated his life to liberating mankind from social and national oppression, to the happiness of man."

The constructive discussions in Alma Ata, in which scholars and public personalities from many countries took part, were an important step in studying the theoretical problems of the Afro-Asian and Latin American struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

S. Khamis, Y. Rozaliev

AS HIS CONTEMPORARIES KNEW HIM

Continuing reminiscences about Vladimir Ilyich Lenin by veterans of the international Communist and working-class movement, we publish in this issue a contribution by K. Y. Voroshilov, member of the CPSU since 1903, well-known Party and military leader and Hero of the Soviet Union.

Ever with us

KLIMENT VOROSHILOV

It would be wrong to write and speak about Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in the past tense. Lenin's name and his work are immortal.

Lenin personifies utter dedication to the interests of the working class, of all working people, to the fight for freedom, national independence and social progress and against the exploitation, enslavement and oppression of peoples by imperialism. The image of Lenin, his qualities as a man, as a revolutionary and fighter, stir and inspire people, irrespective of color of skin or nationality.

I would like to share with the reader some of my personal recollections of this giant of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action. Needless to say, neither I nor anybody else who lived in Lenin's time and worked with him can convey the whole picture, but every fragment helps more vividly to reproduce the image of the ever living Lenin who, to quote the words of a poet, was the "most earthly, the most humane of all who have walked this earth."

I had the good fortune to work with Lenin and under his leadership for nearly twenty years.

I first met Vladimir Ilyich in the spring of 1906, at the height of the first Russian revolution. I was working at the time as crane operator in the Hartman Locomotive Works in Lugansk and had come to St. Petersburg under the assumed name of Volodin as a delegate to the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the RSDLP. I was familiar with Lenin's writings in our legal and illegal papers and, in particular, with his contri-

butions to *Iskra*. These made an indelible impression upon me.

I was present at the conference where Lenin heard reports by worker-delegates to the Fourth Congress on the situation in their localities. Observing my confusion when I took the floor Vladimir Ilyich nodded encouragingly to me. I did not catch what he said but I immediately felt at ease and began to tell about the work of the Lugansk Party organization, the mood of the workers, the maneuvers of the local bourgeoisie in connection with the elections to the Duma and about other events in our revolutionary work. Lenin attentively followed the speakers, every now and then jotting down something in his notebook, particularly during the report by one of the delegates about the armed uprising in Gorlovka and the participation in it of groups of armed workers from other towns.

After the conference, Vladimir Ilyich summed up. The revolution continues, he noted, the masses abhor the autocracy, the working class is in the van of the revolutionary battles. We must redouble our efforts to unite all the revolutionary forces, end the split in the labor movement, strengthen the ties of the working class with the peasants, soldiers and sailors. The forthcoming congress should help us to accomplish these tasks; unification at the congress with Mensheviks is possible only on a genuinely revolutionary basis.

The conference over, we all crowded around Lenin, a lively conversation began, with Lenin showering us with questions about the working conditions and wages,

wanting to know whether we were in contact with the peasants and soldiers, how did the Duma elections go, were the workers' detachments properly armed, and so on. He was interested in everything the delegates had to say, whether it was about the machinations of the Mensheviks, about the Cadets, or about the behavior of the Cossacks in the Lugansk area. When somebody said that the peasants were seizing the landlords' land, Vladimir Ilyich became particularly animated, saying that that was a real revolutionary act, that we should help the peasants to take a more resolute stand, to join forces with us.

I recall how enthusiastically Vladimir Ilyich responded to one or another report which correctly analyzed the course of events, the support and encouragement he gave in such cases. In this way he helped us critically to assess events, to see them in their proper perspective.

I don't know about the others, but I, after my first meeting with Vladimir Ilyich, gained more confidence in myself and felt that there was no greater honor than to be a conscious fighter for the cause of the revolution, for the interests of the people.

Before taking leave of us, Vladimir Ilyich again discussed the forthcoming Fourth (Unity) Congress and the prospects of the Bolsheviks strengthening their influence in the Party and among the working class. Considering the situation at the time and the fact that many of the Bolshevik Party organizations heading the armed uprising would most probably not be able to send their delegates, Lenin doubted whether we would manage to secure a majority at the congress.

We, for our part, knowing that we had the backing of the bulk of the working class in our respective localities, took it for granted that the Bolsheviks would have the biggest vote at the congress. But Lenin warned us against over-confidence.

Don't reckon on an easy victory, he said. It will be a tough fight and we must be prepared to hold our ground in the battle for our revolutionary program and for truly revolutionary decisions.

Lenin proved to be right. The sessions of the Congress, held in Stockholm in April 1906, were tough encounters with the Mensheviks. Lenin was our main spokesman. He taught us irreconcilability to everything that hindered unity of the masses under the banner of Marxism, impeded the growth of their revolutionary consciousness, reduced their activity in the revolutionary struggle against the landowners and the bourgeoisie.

The Congress agenda included the agrarian question, assessment of the current situation and the class tasks of the proletariat, and the Party's attitude to the Duma. During the discussion and the voting, two sharply different lines emerged: the Leninist genuinely revolutionary line and the Menshevik, opportunist line which added grist to the mill of the class enemies of the proletariat and the peasantry.

It was at this congress that I for the first time heard Lenin as an orator, as the tribune of the Party. I was particularly impressed by his report on the agrarian question, perhaps because it was the first report at the congress, and also perhaps because we felt keenly about this issue, knowing the needs of the peasant masses, how they wanted to smash the fetters of debt bondage to the landowners, to wrest the land from them.

Although I did not understand the purely theoretical aspect of Lenin's report and was even unfamiliar with some of the terminology, such as absolute and differential rent and latifundia, I, like the other delegates with whom I later discussed the report, grasped the underlying idea of Lenin's agrarian program—to release the revolutionary initiative of the peasants, focus their efforts on expropriating the landed estates, secure joint action by the workers and peasants in the fight for freedom and democracy, for the overthrow of Tsarism through insurrection and the establishment of a democratic republic.

Vladimir Ilyich exposed the opportunism of the Mensheviks, their underestimation of the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, conciliation with the liberal bourgeoisie, their spreading of constitutional illusions, evading the fundamental issues of the revolutionary movement—the demand to apply the experience of the October general political strike and the December armed uprising. Lenin's report and remarks proved that the Mensheviks belittled the role of the working class regarding it not as the hegemonic force of the revolution, of the people, but merely as a passive participant in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for its class enemies.

Lenin's logic, his argumentation, held the attention of his listeners, of friend and foe alike. While he was talking there was not a sound in the hall. His manner of speaking was unaffected, natural: it was as though he was addressing you, personally, stirring your consciousness by his trend of thought, his deductions, making you feel that the

conclusions arrived at were the only logical ones, that that was the only way in which events could possibly develop, that the said actions were the only advisable and really revolutionary ones in the particular situation. This made a tremendous impact not only on Vladimir Ilyich's supporters, but also on his ideological adversaries.

Of my other subsequent meetings with Lenin I particularly vividly remember the one at the Seventh All-Russia Conference of the RSDLP, which took place after the February revolution in 1917. Among the delegates I was delighted to meet many old acquaintances and friends, but of course I particularly eagerly looked forward to meeting Lenin again whom I had not seen for more than ten years. I wondered whether he would recognize me now, after years of imprisonment and exile, what he would have to tell the Party and the people.

Vladimir Ilyich entered the hall quietly, warmly greeting the delegates. On catching sight of me he nodded in my direction. Looking more mature and thoughtful, he had otherwise changed little. He was the same, unpretentious and cheerful. Ascending the rostrum he clearly outlined his plan for taking the revolution from its first to its second stage—from the bourgeois-democratic to the socialist revolution. Needless to say we listened with bated breath to his report, trying not to miss a single word.

Among the notes I made at this conference, are the following of some of the thoughts expressed by Lenin: "In the working class centers where the intermediate elements are in a minority, the situation is good. But in the centers where these elements hold sway (officials and others), there are not enough forces to gain control of production. This hampers the development of events. There we can and must carry forward the revolution, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat by exercising the full power of the Soviets, strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants, develop the revolutionary energy of the masses, take control over production and the distribution of supplies, etc." It was gratifying to know that working-class Lugansk was among the centers where the revolution was advancing with seven-league strides. For this we were indebted to Lenin: the Lugansk Bolsheviks had always followed Lenin, heeded his precepts, studied his works and his speeches.

It is interesting to note that when concluding his report on the current situation, Lenin recalled the speech of a Donets miner he had heard at a meeting of Bolsheviks on

the day after his return from emigration. This miner, he said, had made a fine speech in which without using a single bookish word he had related how they made the revolution . . . When they took over the pits they set up a guard over them to keep production running. When they had to tackle the question of bread which they did not have, they likewise decided how they would produce it. This, said Vladimir Ilyich, is a real revolutionary program, not something copied out of a book; this is the real conquest of power in the localities.

These words meant a great deal to me personally, because that is exactly how the Lugansk Bolsheviks had acted. But at the same time I marvelled at Lenin's ability to see in ordinary, every-day facts a great revolutionary meaning, his ability to translate the most complex theoretical questions into the language of practice, of every-day activity.

Under the impression of Lenin's words I decided to tell the conference about the situation in Lugansk.

"At present Lugansk is, in effect, in the hands of the workers," I reported to the conference. "The Bolsheviks will, without doubt, be in power . . . The miners are everywhere: in the commissariats and in the militia, in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, and even in the judiciary. All organizations are in the hands of the miners, they are now the masters of the mines."

The April Conference was the first legal conference of the Bolshevik Party to be held in Russia. In importance it was equal to a Party congress. By calling for the transfer of all power to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, for the peaceful establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Conference gave free scope to the initiative of the local Party organizations, rallied the workers and peasants to revolutionary action.

However, the temporary victory of the counter-revolution changed the situation in the country, and the Party was compelled once again to go underground and to hold in the greatest secrecy its Sixth congress which geared the Party for the armed uprising.

I was a delegate also to this congress. When I arrived in Petrograd I hardly recognized the capital. The Provisional Government, which included Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, was wreaking vengeance on the workers and revolutionary soldiers. Party functionaries were being arrested, an unbridled smear cam-

paign had been launched against Lenin, whom the authorities wanted to kill and thus behead the revolution. We were bitterly disappointed at the news that Vladimir Ilyich would not be able to participate directly in the work of the congress, since he was in hiding. However, throughout the proceedings we felt his presence, his guidance which was evident in all the decisions taken by the congress.

When the Lugansk Party Committee received a telegram from Petrograd announcing the victory of the armed uprising of the workers and soldiers, it immediately convened a meeting of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies to which representatives of the town's factories and community were invited, to inform them of the glad tidings.

We all realized that the victory in Petrograd meant the victory of the working masses throughout the country. This victory was secured in the decisions of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets which adopted Lenin's Decree on Peace, and his Decree on Land, formed a workers' and peasants' Soviet government — the Council of People's Commissars, with Lenin at its head.

In some studies devoted to the October Revolution it is stated that I was elected a delegate to the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets. This is not so. The Lugansk Bolshevik organization, expecting revolutionary events, considered it necessary that the leaders of the Party Committee and of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, should be on the spot. We were represented at the Congress by other comrades who had proved their calibre at all stages of the struggle.

I closely followed the work of the Congress and, of course, wholly supported its decree calling for a just peace without annexations and indemnities, its decisions on nationalization of the land, on securing the revolutionary gains. I was deeply moved when the supreme body of the victorious socialist revolution, the Second Congress of Soviets, elected me, a worker, to the Central Executive Committee (CEC), of the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. Also G. I. Petrovsky and other representatives of the Donets coalfields were elected in absentia to the CEC. We saw in this the great importance the Party and the Congress of Soviets attached to the Donets basin, one of the most important industrial and revolutionary centers in the country.

Shortly after the congress I arrived in

Petrograd where I again met Lenin, on whose proposal I was soon involved in government work as a member of the Central Executive of the Soviets. I was appointed chairman of the Committee for the Protection of Petrograd, and later was put in charge of liquidating the affairs of the outgoing Petrograd city council.

In the capital I met many old acquaintances, among them M. I. Kalinin who was then Mayor of Petrograd, F. E. Dzerzhinsky who, on the proposal of Lenin, had been appointed chairman of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage, G. I. Petrovsky, my old Donets colleague, who held the post of People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR.

I established cordial working relations with Dzerzhinsky. My duties were rather complex and I often had to turn to Felix Edmundovich for advice and help. On his suggestion I was drawn into the work of the Extraordinary Commission and saw from my personal experience how revolutionary law and discipline, based on political consciousness, selfless devotion of its personnel to the revolution and the ideas of socialism, were strictly observed.

We had to work practically round the clock, for the situation called for unsleeping vigilance. This was particularly the case when we had to investigate the first attempt on Lenin's life. I had to interrogate one of the accomplices in the attempted assassination, a Lieutenant Shtyryov, and I still remember how he, like his confederates, literally foamed with hatred for the workers and peasants who had deprived the former landowners and capitalists of their power and their privileges. They hated Lenin because he was with the people. To restore the past Shtyryov was ready to sell his soul to anybody. The investigation revealed that he was working for the French intelligence service.

In those memorable days I often had occasion to meet Lenin and to observe how he worked. And every time I would discover some new facet I hadn't noticed before—his ability to solve the many complex problems of the economy, industry, transport, agriculture, material and food supplies, housing, the work of research institutions, schools, hospitals, etc. His knowledge of these problems often amazed experienced executives and administrators.

He combined political wisdom, a scientific approach to all matters, a tremendous capacity for work, ability to direct and control the work of a vast number of

people, an amazing faculty to inspire the masses by his enthusiasm, to evoke in them boundless faith in the measures carried out by the Party and the Council of People's Commissars, thus ensuring the success of socialist transformations.

Here I should like to speak of Lenin's outstanding role in directing the all-out effort on the civil war fronts. An unsurpassed strategist of this most crucial sector of the class struggle, he was the architect of many operations. He kept in constant touch with the fronts, took a lively interest in the army's equipment and supplies, in the morale of the men, commanders and political workers. He devoted much attention to selecting commanders, promoting military leaders and commissars, and often addressed Red Army men leaving for the front.

While on the Tsaritsyn front I had occasion to see for myself the undivided attention Lenin gave to military matters, the emphasis he put on instructions from the Center being carried out to the letter. He often gave directives by direct line. This Leninist style of leadership strongly influenced the style of work of many Party and government leaders of those years.

I recall another meeting with Vladimir Ilyich. This was shortly before I was to take up my duties as a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the First Cavalry Army, I had already seen action as commander of the 5th, 10th and 14th armies. Discussing my new appointment and the duties involved, Vladimir Ilyich said:

"Only the strictest organization and discipline, the ideological education of the men and commanders can cement our fighting ranks, win for our Party the confidence and support of the broadest masses. Communists must by their personal example inspire their comrades-in-arms."

At the end of the talk Vladimir Ilyich, his eyes twinkling, asked me:

"Are you a good shot, my friend?"

I replied that if need be I would not miss my target, adding that I fully appreciated the importance and responsibility of my new duties, and that I would do my best to justify the trust put in me.

Lenin attentively followed the operations of the First Cavalry Army. When it had to move from the North Caucasus to the Ukraine, which had been invaded by the Whiteguard Poles, and opinion was divided on how to proceed, S. M. Budyonny and I asked permission to come to Moscow to discuss the matter with Lenin. We had rejected the plan of moving the army by rail since transport was not running smoothly; furthermore, many stations were short of supplies, fodder and even water.

When Lenin asked us what we proposed we said the best plan would be to move in marching order for we would be able on the way to establish friendly relations with the local population, procure enough fodder for the horses, wipe out the Makhno gangs and, last, but not least, arrive in full fighting order.

Lenin agreed with this plan which was subsequently realized.

Another episode that comes to mind is when Vladimir Ilyich invited me to lunch, the frugality of which, I remember, amazed me. I had brought some provisions as a present to Lenin from the men. Giving these to Krupskaya I remarked that with such poor nourishment Vladimir Ilyich most probably found it difficult to work. Whereupon Lenin asked me:

"And what are the men's rations?"

"Adequate," I replied. "Otherwise they would not be fit for action."

"True enough," remarked Vladimir Ilyich. "But the country is short of supplies, that is why rationing has been introduced, for all without exception."

"But I have brought you something," I said, "so that you should not be worse off than our men."

"That's interesting," said Lenin, his eyes twinkling. "And just what have you brought?"

After listing the items of the modest food package, Vladimir Ilyich smiled even more broadly.

"Fine," he gaily remarked. "Thank you very much," and turning to Nadezhda Konstantinova said:

"Please see to it that this food is sent to a children's home . . ."

That was Lenin, in this big and small.

Two years in Poland

Cracow, Poland's ancient capital, is one of the many places in Europe associated with Lenin's years in political emigration.

CRACOW AND PODHALE

At 9 a.m. on June 22, 1912, the Vienna express brought Lenin, his wife Nadezhda Krupskaya and her mother, Elizaveta Krupskaya, to Cracow. On the way from Paris Lenin had stopped over in Stuttgart on June 21 for a meeting with Clara Zetkin, who, together with a young German Social Democrat, Zepp Hann, accompanied the Lenin family on the train trip to Vienna.

An item in the morning edition of the Cracow *Czas* for June 23 said the Ulyanov family had stopped at the Victoria Hotel (6, Zwierzyniec St.). They lunched in a student vegetarian canteen on Florianska St. A few days later, local Social Democrats helped them rent a two-room apartment in the house of worker Jan Florczick (218 Zwierzyniec St.) on the outskirts of the city.

Altogether Lenin spent more than 24 months in Poland, from June 1912 to August 1914 (with occasional short visits to other countries). He lived in Cracow, but there were also short sojourns in the mountain villages of Makon Podhalanski, Zakopane, Poroni, Bialy Dunajec and Nowy Targ.

Cracow, then part of Austria-Hungary, was chosen because it was only 12 kilometres from the Russian frontier and therefore convenient for contacts with Russia, where the shooting of the Lena goldfield workers in Siberia had been followed by a powerful strike wave and by other events betokening the beginning of a new rise of the revolution. There were two other factors in its favor: relative political freedom, and a large colony of Polish and Russian revolutionaries always prepared to help the Bolsheviks. In fact, the idea of moving to Cracow first occurred to Lenin in 1908 and he discussed it in a letter to Dzerzhinsky. Cracow had been chosen for a meeting of Central Committee members living abroad,

to be held in the spring of 1911, but was postponed and held in Paris in June of that year.

Lenin was highly pleased with Cracow as a suitable base for contacts with Russia. In January 1913 he wrote to Maxim Gorky: "The base at Cracow has proved to be useful: our move to Cracow has fully 'paid for itself' (from the point of view of the cause)." (*Collected Works*, Volume 35, p. 70). As distinct from France or Switzerland, Cracow, Lenin remarked, was "semi-emigration."

From Cracow he directed the work of the Bolshevik Party, *Pravda*, the six Bolshevik Duma deputies, and in general was in close touch with all aspects of revolutionary activity. Several important conferences of Party functionaries, Central Committee and Duma members were held in Cracow and Poronin.

One of these met at his home at 47 Lubomirski Street in the first half of January 1913 (it was known as the "February" conference, to mislead the police). It took important decisions on all major questions of Party policy and tactics. Then there was the "summer" Party conference in Poronin and Bialy Dunajec on October 6-14, 1913. It discussed the national question, strike struggles, Bolshevik Duma tactics, the Party press and preparation for the International Socialist Congress in Vienna in 1914. It was planned to hold a Party Congress in Vienna at the same time, and detailed preparations were discussed at a Central Committee meeting in Cracow in April 1914. The outbreak of the war a few months later, in August, disrupted all these plans.

It also disrupted the plan to start a Bolshevik Party school in Poronin, a project Lenin had discussed with Plekhanov and Gorky, and to organize a Party printing plant there.

A good deal of Lenin's theoretical and

journalistic work was done in Cracow—the list includes some 300 articles, numerous shorter items, also editing of the speeches and statements of the Bolshevik Duma deputies.

And it was in Cracow that he wrote his famous “The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism,” “The Historical Destiny of the Teaching of Karl Marx,” and “The Right of Nations to Self-Determination” in which he developed his theory on the national question.

Lenin was ruthless in denouncing tsarism for its oppression of other nations and firmly upheld their right to freedom and self-determination. But at the same time, he trenchantly criticized every form of national chauvinism, emphasizing the need to foster and strengthen international working-class unity.

Another major field of research was the agrarian question, a subject on which he wrote more than 40 articles during his stay in Poland. There is ample evidence to prove that much of the material was provided by careful observation of the life of the Galician peasantry in the Cracow area and of the Podhale highlanders, with whom he frequently talked in Polish (which he diligently studied) and German, a language widely used in this part of Poland. Nadezhda Krupskaya says in her reminiscences that in the Cracow period Lenin gave much thought to many of the practical problems that would arise in the future building of socialism.

Direction of the Russian movement, research on the national and agrarian problems, and articles on current development—such, briefly, is the record of Lenin’s work in the two Cracow-Poronin years. He displayed a keen interest in the Polish revolutionary and liberation movement, and the Polish people are proud of the fact that few other countries (not counting Russia, of course) have been the subject of such close attention by Lenin.

TRUE FRIEND OF POLAND AND OF THE POLISH PEOPLE

Lenin was a true and devoted friend of Poland and its people. He maintained close ties with Polish revolutionaries, public leaders, and workers and peasants long before he moved to Cracow. He had a great respect for the revolutionary traditions and revolutionary courage of the Polish working class and people. His interests extended to many aspects of Polish life and politics. Much of the material for his study of

the national question was drawn from the experience of the Polish liberation movement. In his theoretical writings, revolutionary activity, and later, as head of the Soviet government, Lenin ardently championed Poland’s right to self-determination and national independence. His views on the subject were consistently democratic and imbued with proletarian internationalism and a profound and sympathetic understanding of our people’s aspirations.

Leninism always had a strong influence on the Polish revolutionary workers’ movement. This should be attributed not only to the movement’s internationalist orientation from its very inception, but also to Lenin’s personal contact with Poles, notably revolutionary leaders, and these were manifold and multifold and date back to the early years of Lenin’s own political work. Their origins can be traced to Lenin’s association with Polish workers during his Siberian exile in the 1890’s, and they continued for nearly thirty years, right up to Lenin’s last days.

Lenin highly appraised the revolutionary mass actions of the Warsaw and other Polish workers, especially their role in the Russian strike movement and their solidarity in the 1905-07 revolution.

Lenin’s contacts with the Polish working-class movement were greatly facilitated by the fact that in 1906 the Social-Democrat Party of Poland and Lithuania joined the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, and prominent Polish Social Democrats shared in the latter’s stormy internal affairs, had an active role in party conferences and congresses, and sided with Lenin and the Bolsheviks both in the Russian party and in the international movement.

Naturally, these contacts became closer still with Lenin’s arrival in Poland. He met and talked with many people in Cracow and many parts of Galicia and was in constant touch with the large colony of political emigres.

All this gave him a much better idea of Polish political life and political trends. His closest associates were Maria Koszutska (Wiera Kostrzewa) and Eugeniusz Przybylski, prominent representatives of the Polish Socialist Party Left, and Ignacy Daszynski, Zygmunt Marek and Boleslaw Drobner, leading figures in the Galician Social-Democratic organization. His circle of acquaintances extended also to prominent intellectuals, particularly the well-known writers Jan Kasprzowicz and Stefan Zeromski. Last but not least, he had close

ties with the people, for now that he knew some Polish, he could not only read the papers, but could associate with Cracow workers and Galician peasants, learn more of their life and interests. He was thus in a better position to appreciate the popular urge for national liberation, with which he sympathized.

ASSOCIATION WITH POLISH REVOLUTIONARIES

Though engrossed in theoretical and organizational work, Lenin found time for public activity in Cracow. There are a few newspaper reports of two of his lectures: the first, on April 18, 1913, in the Mickiewicz People's University, (16 Szewska Street) on "The Russian Labor Movement and Social Democracy," and the second, on March 21, 1914, in the packed hall of "Spojnia," the progressive student union, on "Russian Social-Democracy and the National Question."

One of the audience at the first lecture recorded his impressions in a February 1924 issue of the weekly *Nowa Kultura*:

"There were between 200 and 300 of us in the small hall, sitting on rough benches. And though Lenin spoke some Polish, the lecture was delivered in Russian . . . Lenin came promptly on time and took his place at a table at the front of the hall . . . His delivery was simple, his lucid exposition convincing . . . But his tone was cold, ironic, sarcastic when he spoke on his opponents . . . He called on his audience to prepare for the struggles ahead. . . ."

And this is the impression of Alexandr Bucewicz, who knew Lenin well: "The small library of the People's University . . . A mixed audience . . . Lenin sat behind a plain library desk . . . He spoke freely, simply, with no pauses, presenting his case with unfailing logic. He discussed the experience of 1905 and its meaning for the coming battles to overthrow the autocracy. He spoke of the crucial social implications of the impending world war . . . There were objections; Lenin was overestimating the revolutionary role of the peasantry and underestimating the organizing role of the Russian bourgeoisie, there was no bypassing a whole stage of development, and so on. Lenin listened attentively, his replies, logical and convincing, refuted these objections one after another."

The second lecture was followed by a heated debate lasting three evenings.

Both lectures were listened to with keen interest and deeply affected the political thinking of many of his hearers.

Professor Eugeniusz Eibisch, a noted Polish painter, says in his reminiscences: "Lenin's lectures were so clear and simple, and at the same time so profound, that they were equally understood by worker and student, peasant and philosopher."

Witold Tomorowicz, a young Jagello University law student, attended Lenin's lectures and decided to learn more about Lenin and his ideas. He read his articles on the agrarian question, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," frequently visited Lenin, who supplied him with *Pravda* and books. This was Tomorowicz's political schooling, and in later years he became a leading figure in the Polish Communist Party and the Communist International.

In Cracow and Poronin Lenin formed close friendly ties with many prominent people in the Polish workers' movement, among them Felix Dzerzhinsky, Jakub Furstenberg-Hanecki, and Adolf Warski. Regular contacts with Russia were arranged soon after his arrival—letters, magazines, Party workers, were able to cross the border, largely due to the assistance of the Cracow Social-Democrat organization and local workers, some of them Social Democrats, others members of the Political Prisoners' Relief League. Both Lenin and Krupskaya shared in its work and also contributed to its magazine, *Political Prisoner*. League members were especially instrumental in carrying Lenin's letters across the border, personally or through peasant women—local inhabitants had special passes—*polupaski*—enabling them to cross and recross the frontier. Local Social Democrats also saw to the accommodation of Bolsheviks coming from Russia to consult Lenin. Letters for Lenin were addressed to Jan Kowal, assistant professor of the Jagello University. Lenin kept in touch with the "Spojnia" student organization, made up mostly Social-Democrat and Socialist Party supporters. All this enabled Lenin to meet a large number of people active in the political and cultural fields. But he was especially interested in the Social-Democrat movement, particularly the anti-liquidationist *Rozlamowcy* group, and contributed to their periodicals, *Gazeta Robotnicza* and *Pismo Dyskusyjne*. He wrote two articles especially addressed to Polish workers.

Lenin's wide range of friends and acquaintances included prominent public and political personalities. And this helped when the war broke out. Lenin was arrested on the absurd charge of spying for

the Russian army. Three noted Polish writers, Zeromski, Kasproicz and Wladyslaw Orkan, immediately interceded in his behalf. In a letter to the Country Commissioner at Nowy Targ, Orkan wrote that he personally knew Lenin as a widely-known publicist and the author of numerous learned works who was compelled to live abroad because of his implacable opposition to the Russian authorities. Zeromski sought legal advice, after which he drew up a petition to the Austrian authorities protesting against Lenin's arrest. It was passed from hand to hand in Zakopane. Little did the authorities suspect that this Russian emigre had so many devoted friends in Poland and that his arrest would arouse such public protest. In fact, former police officer Matyszczyk recalls: "I was sent to Poronin, but did not have a single free minute—there was an endless stream of telegrams." And this had its effect. Lenin wrote to his sister Anna: "I was soon granted certain privileges, so that the 'time' I did was very easy, the conditions and the treatment were good" (Vol. 37, p. 520).

WORKADAY LIFE IN CRACOW

Lenin liked Cracow. He liked walking in its streets and lanes with their rich mementos of the past. He also liked cycling together with friends to the Wolski Woods and nearby villages. In the summer he went swimming in the Vistula. In the winter he often went skating and "no one would have thought that this man, figure-skating with such youthful adroitness, was the leader and theoretician of the revolutionary proletariat," one of his Cracow co-workers, Sergei Bogatsky, was to write in later years. Lenin often told Nadezhda Krupskaya how much he appreciated ancient Cracow. And she, too, felt at home here, with the simple folk and the noisy markets, all reminding her of Russia. She was particularly fond of the picturesque national dress of the women, the bugle-call from the belfry of the St. Mary Cathedral, and of the many other things that gave Cracow its inimitable charm. Nadezhda Krupskaya wrote in her reminiscences: "Lenin liked Cracow very much. It reminded him of Russia. The new surroundings and the absence of emigrant squabbles tended to soothe his nerves. He closely observed the everyday life of the Cracow population, its workers and its poor" (*Reminiscences of Lenin*, p. 238).

He loved walking in the Polish Tatras

during his visits to Poronin and Bialy Dunajec. Jadwiga Kowalewska-Lypacewicz recalls: "I met him several times on Krupowki Street. Lenin always walked with his coat unbuttoned. One was struck by the dark, lively, all-seeing eyes, his tanned face with prominent cheekbones and short beard emphasizing the general image of strength and perseverance. All this remains engraved in my memory. When Lenin took off his cap the first thing that struck me was his high, white forehead."

Always a lover of nature, Lenin found great pleasure in his mountain rambles. There are many reminiscences of his excursions into the hills, alone or with friends.

The Lenin family lived very modestly. The furniture of their Bialy Dunajec home consisted of two narrow beds, two rough tables, a bookcase, a few chairs and a small table and a few stools in the kitchen. But everywhere there were books, manuscripts, piles of newspapers.

Everyone who had the good fortune to meet Lenin in Cracow, Zakopane or Poronin recalls these meetings with pleasure, also numerous details about his life and work in Poland. For instance, Teofila Jasiewicz, a seamstress, remembers Lenin taking part in a May Day workers' rally on Ditlow Square in Cracow. The Poronin postmaster, Tadeusz Radkiewicz, says Lenin used to stop over at the railway station to talk to tourists. And Radkiewicz's wife, Mieczyslawa, still can't get over the fact that every day Lenin used to carry away a pile of letters and newspapers—nobody, she says, subscribed to so many newspapers in so many foreign languages.

Franciszek Stepień of Bialy Dunajec recalls with pleasure how he used to drive Lenin to the railway station. Professor Romaniszyn says in his memoirs: "Every morning Lenin would walk along the railway from Bialy Dunajec to Poronin to collect his mail, returning by the same route and reading letters as he walked." Julian Gontacki, a waiter in one of the local restaurants, remembers some of the cafes Lenin frequented.

And there were many others who helped Lenin in different ways—the family of Cracow cobbler Socha, for instance, and Mikolaj Jaskiewicz, a local worker. Veteran Social Democrat Leonard Wierzbicki describes with great emotion his meeting with Lenin in 1914, and the solicitude Lenin showed towards younger comrades. "A man of great erudition," Wierzbicki says, "he was also a man of kind heart, and this attracted people."

All reminiscences of Lenin in Poland add up to the image of a man infinitely dear to millions of Poles, a man who understood their life and shared their interests.

THE LENIN "PRAVDA" IN POLAND

Pravda, the legally published Bolshevik daily directed by Lenin from Cracow, extensively reported the Polish workers' revolutionary struggle. Some of the articles on the subject were written by Lenin.

Pravda was on sale in Warsaw and was snatched up the moment it appeared on the stands. Stanislaw Budzynski, an active worker of the Social-Democrat and later of the Communist Party, says Polish workers with a knowledge of Russian made it a point to be at the newsstands when *Pravda* was delivered. And in the Warsaw Social-Democrat organization, he writes, the paper began to play an important role—every copy was read by several people, and Lenin's articles did much to foster class consciousness and militancy. Also this significant letter from a group of Polish railwaymen published in *Pravda* (No. 20): "Every copy of *Pravda* strikes an answering chord in the shops. The workers welcome the paper and its exposure of employer tyranny."

Contributors to *Pravda* included Stanislaw Ettinger-Dalski, a prominent Social Democrat, and there were several contributions from Lucjan Rudnicki, a revolutionary worker who was later to become a widely-read author. Polish workers generously contributed to the paper's fighting fund.

Contacts with *Pravda* took on various forms. For instance, it helped put out the St. Petersburg Polish Social-Democrat weekly *Nowa Trybuna* and also, in 1913, a collection of articles titled "Dawn." Arrangements for this were made by Hanecki and Matuszewski, who went to St. Petersburg and were there assisted by Mieczyslaw Kozlowski. Lenin was a regular subscriber to *Nowa Trybuna*.

POLAND REVERES MEMORY OF LENIN

Cracow and Poronin have changed beyond recognition since the days when Lenin lived there. Not far from the city—and from one of the apartments Lenin occupied—there now stands the giant Lenin Steel Mills, and a new residential area, Nowa Huta. A backward area in the Polish Tatras, a source of cheap labor, much of it for North and South America, the Cracow re-

gion has become an important tourist center. Gone is the poverty-stricken Galician village which Lenin witnessed; there is no unemployment now, and living standards are constantly rising.

But the highlanders have retained fond memories of Lenin. The Polish people in general hold in deep respect everything associated with Lenin's stay in their country. In November 1947 the cottage of Pawel Guta, where delegates to the Poronin Central Committee meeting had stayed, was converted into a museum, and in 1950 a monument was erected near the house. Lenin museums were opened in Cracow in January 1954 and in Warsaw in April 1955. There are memorial plaques at 218 Zwierzyniec Street and 49 and 51 Lubomirski Street, where Lenin lived. The modest cottage of Teresa Skupien in Bialy Dunajec, where Lenin spent the spring and summer of 1913 and 1914, has been restored. Situated in a picturesque spot in the Tatra foothills, it attracts visitors from all parts of the country.

After much effort, a large part of Lenin's Cracow and Poronin archives were discovered and handed over to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

People's Poland is preparing to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. The Polish United Workers' Party has organized a nationwide campaign to acquaint the people, notably the younger generation, with the life and work of the great leader, his immense contribution to Poland's liberation from the tsarist yoke and his inestimable assistance to the Polish working-class movement. Party, trade union and youth organizations, and branches of the People's Unity Front are arranging lectures on Lenin's theoretical heritage, its relevance for the socialist countries, the labor movement in capitalist countries, for peoples battling to throw off imperialist bondage, and for all Communist and Workers' parties. The Lenin jubilee has been made part of all Party education programs, especially those designed for young people. The campaign is being conducted in various forms and on a wide scale.

Much is being done also by the radio, television and the press, with the accent on Lenin's teachings on proletarian dictatorship and socialist democracy, unity of the international workers' movement, revisionism as a form of bourgeois ideological influence on the workers' movement, etc.

The Lenin museums in Cracow and Poronin are preparing a new display, using

newly-revealed facts and newly-discovered archive materials more clearly to show Lenin's ties with the Polish revolutionary movement. The Warsaw Lenin Museum is making more extensive use of films, television programs and other visual aids to popularize various aspects of Leninism. All in all, in 1967-68, more than one million people visited the Lenin museums and mobile exhibitions.

In cooperation with the Lenin Museum, the Warsaw branch of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society has arranged a series of lectures and film showings on Lenin in Poland. The Lenin Museum jointly with the Polish philatelic society is holding an international exhibition of postage stamps, "Lenin and His Ideas."

Then there are the annual excursions to places in the Tatras associated with Lenin, competitions, sponsored by our radio and television, on "What Do You Know of the Soviet Union?" This year they will be entirely devoted to the Lenin jubilee.

Polish historians and publicists are making a close study of the "Galician period" in Lenin's life. A number of monographs on Lenin in Poland, particularly the part he and Krupskaya played in the Political Prisoners' Relief League, have already been published. Research along these lines is being intensified in connection with the centenary. Specifically, there are plans for several new monographs and mass-circulation pamphlets showing the significance of Lenin's ideas in our day, Lenin's impact on the Polish revolutionary workers' movement, and on Polish public life generally. The Central Committee Institute of Party History is preparing a collection, "Lenin As Seen By Poles," which will contain many accounts of Lenin's stay in Poland, some of them appearing in print for the first time.

The Institute's research staff is compiling a series of studies. A monograph by the author of this article on Lenin's cooperation with the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania is scheduled for early publication.

Among the many measures to mark the Lenin centenary mention should be made of an exhibition, Lenin in Poland, which will be shown in the USSR in order to acquaint the Soviet public not only with Lenin's stay in Poland, but also with the

various forms we are employing in Poland to popularize Lenin's work and ideas.

An exhibition is being arranged in Warsaw of documentary and art photographs on present-day economic and social conditions and the revolutionary struggle in various parts of the world, and on the development of the anti-colonial and anti-war movement in the hundred years 1870-1970. Its purpose is to produce a composite image of the age on which Lenin's ideas have laid such a deep imprint.

Lenin's role in developing the social sciences will be the subject of a research seminar early in 1970 sponsored by the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Party History Institute and the Higher Party School. Similar seminars, dealing with cardinal problems of Leninism, are being arranged in universities and research centers, and commemorative meetings will be held in practically every factory, office and school.

* * *

Preparations for the Lenin centenary began during the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of people's government in Poland. That is symbolic, for Lenin's ideas are central to all the gains of the Polish people, to all the revolutionary transformations of the past 25 years. Lenin's ideas are the indestructible foundation of the constantly strengthening friendship and cooperation between People's Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics founded by Lenin; the foundation of united action by the Polish United Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist and Workers' parties of the fraternal socialist countries, and of the entire international revolutionary movement.

The Lenin centenary appeal of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasizes the worldwide significance of Leninism: "Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in specific conditions permit scientific answers to be found to the questions facing all contingents of the world revolutionary movement, wherever they are active."

The memory of Lenin, his thoughts and deeds, will always live in the hearts of the Polish people, who show a growing appreciation of his writings and the great meaning they have for our time.

Jan Sobczak

Fifty years of the Communist Party of Denmark

KNUD JESPERSEN

The Communist Party of Denmark was founded on November 9, 1919 at a congress in Fredericia of diverse groups motivated by a desire to restore to the labor movement its socialist policy, abandoned by the Social-Democrat leadership in favor of "ministerial socialism." And that meant tying the party's line and behavior to the capitalist "social stabilization" policy and its companion piece, the campaign to discredit the revolutionary movement in other parts of Europe.

Most of the congress delegates came from the Social-Democratic youth movement which, after a long struggle, had accepted a socialist and internationalist policy. The Social-Democrat leaders retaliated by disowning the movement and expelling its leaders from the party.

Another group of delegates represented what remained of the Socialist Labor Party. Attempts to resurrect it, in particular with the active participation of our famous writer Martin Andersen-Nexo and Gerson Trier, the prominent Left Social-Democrat leader, had ended in failure.

The newly-founded Communist Party voted to affiliate with the Communist International.

Social-Democrat notions and illusions laid a deep imprint on the Party in the early years of its development. The Left opposition frequently slid into syndicalist and pacifist positions. It took a long and hard struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism to forge a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. And in this struggle we drew on the experience of the internation-

al workers' movement as embodied in the work of the Communist International. In 1929 there was a final break with the Right opportunist leadership, which had reduced the Party's influence to a minimum, and later—to everyone's surprise—joined the Social Democrats.

Many believed that this would write *finis* to the Communist Party, but events soon made it clear that the break with the opportunists had strengthened the Party and enabled it to play a more important political role. Marxism-Leninism became the Party's ideological base, with the discussion of the Comintern's Open Letter playing a decisive role. The Party was thus able to reorient its work in a way that made it the leading force of the mass movement. And this was important, primarily because of the movement's upsurge in the years of economic crisis. In 1932 the Party was represented in parliament.

This was a time of a growing menace of fascism, notably its German variety, Nazism, and of developing state-monopoly capitalism, a process accelerated by the crisis. In these conditions, the Party showed greater ability in organizing and guiding mass actions and strengthened its positions in the trade unions. In fact, its influence was decisive in hamstringing Social-Democrat efforts to "integrate" the trade union movement in the state-monopoly system. The Communist Party also initiated a vigorous campaign against Nazism in the teeth of government attempts to play down or discount its danger. The Party was largely responsible for the active solidarity

movement with the anti-fascist struggle in Germany, Spain and other parts of Europe. Our propaganda and organizational work helped to make anti-Nazi radicalism the dominant sentiment among intellectuals, many of whom joined the Communist Party.

At this time we started work on a long-range program of democratic and anti-fascist struggle. Inspired by the world Communist movement's Popular Front policy against fascism and war and Popular Front governments, the Party urged unity of all working-class and progressive forces on a concrete democratic national and anti-fascist program.

Though this met with wide response, we were not able to build a Popular Front by the time Denmark was overrun by Hitler's armies. But the experience gained in this struggle was of inestimable value in forming a national democratic front against the invader. This was the strongest and most inspiring militant movement Denmark had seen in many years.

And in this movement the Communists were, beyond all doubt, the most active, organized and guiding force of the working class and the people. Without the Communists, without their contributions and sacrifices—and this is admitted by every unbiased observer—the liberation struggle would never have assumed such vigor and scope and would not have played such a decisive part in shaping the country's future.

But to play its part the Communist Party had to be close-knit and strong. During the early years of the war Denmark was swept by a wave of anti-communist hysteria. In defiance of the constitution—and, of course, with the approval of the occupation authorities—the Communist Party was banned. This did not achieve its purpose, for in the years preceding the war the Party had intensified its ideological work, including the study and application of CPSU experience, and was able to repel anti-communist attacks from principled class positions. Its approach to all the problems of the liberation movement was based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which became its guide to action. The names of Danish Communists who fell in the battle against the invader have gone down in history as a model of courage, fortitude and dedication to the cause of the Danish workers and the Danish nation.

The Party's contribution to the liberation struggle greatly enhanced its influence. The Party was represented in the

coalition government and increased its vote more than sixfold in the first postwar election. It sought to utilize this for united action by the working class and all the other social groups that had shared in the liberation movement, on a program of democratic demands, for the aims we all shared in the grim days of Nazi rule. Specifically, the demand was for genuine democracy based on the interests of working people; national independence, destruction of monopoly power and imperialist proclivities. To this end the Party started united action negotiations with the Social Democrats.

However, the Party could not put through its line—the forces bent on maintaining the status quo did everything to torpedo the unity built up in the liberation struggle. The Social-Democrat leaders were prepared to accept only such "unity" as implied the organizational and ideological dissolution of the Communist Party. This, naturally, we rejected, and the Social Democrats exploited the Communist election victory to "punish the voters" by handing over power to the most reactionary party. That was the beginning of a broadly conceived and systematically carried out anti-communist campaign, which gained momentum—and venom—with the unfolding of the cold war.

Bourgeois and Social-Democrat politicians used this as a cover securely to tie Denmark to the imperialist world system. Traditional neutrality was discarded and Denmark was dragooned into NATO. Increasing pressure on the Communist Party deprived it of some of the positions it had won earlier. But the Party continued to activate its fight for peace and for vigorous trade union action in support of the workers' demands. And not without important results—in 1952-53, it prevented U.S. military bases on Danish soil, and mobilized strong trade union opposition to unfavorable wage agreements.

In 1952 the Party issued its *Road for the Danish People* program. In it, it clearly showed that the concerted effort of the working class, that leading force of the people, for a policy of peace and abolition of monopoly rule could give the country an anti-monopoly democratic structure as the forerunner of socialism. This strengthened the Party's position, especially in the trade unions.

In 1956 a Right-wing group led by the then Party chairman launched an all-out attack against the Party's Marxist-Leninist principles and policy. This came as a tell-

ing blow, for the group found ready support from the anti-communist campaigners and also in the postwar boom illusions widely spread among the workers. The 20th Party Congress (1958) rejected the group's policy by a considerable majority. The splitters thereupon set up a new party, the Socialist People's Party, which was immediately boosted by the entire capitalist propaganda apparatus. The new electoral law deprived the Communist Party of parliamentary representation.

However, all hopes that this would drive the Party out of existence proved false. The Party continued its struggle and, at the cost of much sacrifice, was able to retain its press and strengthen its trade union position to a degree never known before. Even without parliamentary representation, it demonstrated its ability decisively to influence the workers' struggle, the campaign against NATO policy and imperialism in general, and, more especially, its ability to power the Vietnam solidarity movement.

The sixties have demonstrated anew the collapse of Social-Democrat policy concepts, now supported also by the Socialist People's Party. Having won a majority in Parliament (the 1966 "labor majority"), they promised to give Denmark "economic democracy." But what they did give Denmark came as a bitter disappointment, even to those who had modest hopes. As a result, both parties were heavily defeated at the polls and the Right-wing bourgeois parties took over. This evoked a heated debate in the two parties on policy and principles.

In this situation, the Communist Party's consistent policy of revolutionary class struggle acquired added significance. Interest in Marxism-Leninism, which Communists have consistently upheld and disseminated, extends to new sections of the population, for people want to extricate themselves from the ruins of shattered illusions.

It was against this background that the 23rd Party Congress (February 1969) adopted the policy statement *The Road for the Left to Democracy and Socialism*, which gives a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation that has arisen in the labor movement and the Left generally. The statement calls for united action of all Left forces on a concrete political program, which can also serve as the starting point for an ideological discussion of Denmark's path to social progress.

And so, our Party comes to its half-

centenary in circumstances in which ideological work, backed by fifty years of experience, is of especial urgency. The Party is aware of this, and the jubilee has been made the occasion for a concentrated effort to extend our influence among the working class and the working people generally.

THE WORKING CLASS— THE MAIN FORCE

This brief summary can only bring out the turning points in Party history. But it is also fitting and proper to discuss certain aspects of its experience.

The Party was successful only when it united with the active sections of the working class in the fight for better conditions and for democratic rights. That is the only way the working class can become the core of the nation, its leading progressive force.

And our experience has shown what price has to be paid for disregarding this. In the spring of 1920, shortly after the Party's inception, there was a widespread movement against the monarchy, which had introduced unconstitutional measures amounting, in effect, to a coup d'état. This mass protest, in which the working class played no small part, could have led to abolition of the monarchy and proclamation of a democratic republic. Needless to say, this would have given a fresh impetus to the workers' struggle. The Communist slogan, however, was "For a Soviet Republic of Denmark" which, in the specific conditions of the time, was an abstract slogan totally unrelated to the working class struggle. This was a typical Left sectarian mistake. The slogan met with no response and, naturally, did not add to the Party's popularity and influence.

When we began work in the trade unions, we set up a Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition which, at first, played a positive part in formulating an alternative to the policies of the Right-wing leadership. But with time it became an obstacle to the workers' struggle for an active trade union policy, and the Party dissolved the organization.

Our Party was mainly responsible for linking the fight against the Nazi occupation and the collaborationists with the working-class struggle for economic and social demands. And only when the working class became the leading force of the Resistance did the latter acquire proper strength and effectiveness.

Today, too, when all manner of "Left"

and Right opportunists are at such pains to prove that the working class has no decisive part in the revolutionary struggle and in bringing about social change, our Party consistently advocates united working-class action as a factor without which no democratic or socialist movement can be viable, and works to extend its influence in workers' organizations.

But our experience has also shown that the Party can fulfil its mission only if it stands at the head of the workers' struggle and does not limp in its wake. In the thirties, when the demand for paid holidays was first raised, it was flatly rejected by the Social-Democrat and trade union leaders as "fantastic." The Communists, however, pointed to the experience of the socialist Soviet Union, emphasizing that there was nothing unnatural in the demand for a two-weeks paid holiday. Mass pressure finally forced the Social-Democrat government to grant that demand.

That experience is instructive also in dealing with the problems posed by the workers' new demands resulting from technological advance and industrialization. Management and government usually reject these new demands—often advanced under the influence of measures introduced in the socialist countries—on the pretext that they are "excessive," that the workers had become "greedy," and so on. Actually, of course, these demands, if granted, would only lessen some of the burdens the working people are made to shoulder.

This and other facts plainly show that our leadership of the struggle must conform to the requirements of the time, and expose all the appeals for "moderation" as a means of diverting the workers from the fight for their vital interests.

Only when the Communist Party is at the head of the movement can it have a firm foundation for contact with the working class and for unity of all the anti-monopoly forces around the working class.

INTERNATIONALISM ESSENTIAL TO SOLUTION OF NATIONAL PROBLEM

The history of our Party clearly shows that *devotion to the national interests of the working class must go hand in hand with devotion to proletarian internationalism.*

Solidarity with the world revolutionary forces, and primarily with the victorious socialist revolution in the Soviet Union, has from the very start been a basic tenet

of all our political work. Membership in the Communist International gave us direct access to the experience of the world workers' movement and helped us overcome the reformist prejudices and illusions that were so widespread in the Danish labor movement, and manifestations of "infantile" anarcho-syndicalism and Left-radicalism—we had to wage a two-front struggle. Internationalist policy has been a cardinal factor in our efforts to convert the Party into the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Danish working class.

The Party's contribution to the solidarity movement with the October Revolution and the socialist Soviet Union, the fight against Nazism in Germany, and aid to the Spanish people in volunteers and supplies—all this was highly appreciated in the countries concerned. But it has to be stressed that these solidarity actions were of paramount importance for our own working class and people. For they fostered awareness of the menace of fascism and war, exposed reactionary intrigue in Denmark, and gave the working class a heartening and realistic prospect of socialism. Solidarity actions were decisive in enabling the Communists to rally our people to fight the Nazi occupation. Lastly, international solidarity with peoples fighting imperialism and war was of crucial importance to the Danish people by convincing them that the battle for peace can be won, that their country is not destined forever to remain under NATO domination.

And the fact that these solidarity actions made us the target of incessant attacks is further proof of the inseparable link between internationalism and the Danish working-class struggle. Capitalist propaganda has always directed its invective against our internationalism. In fact, even when the capitalists were openly cooperating with the Germans, they had the effrontery to accuse the Communists—those front-rank fighters for Denmark's freedom—of being "anti-national." Much the same line was followed by groups within the Party that tried to divert it from the class struggle and socialism: attacking our internationalist positions was part of their tactics. More, they shared in the bourgeois campaign of calumny against international communism and the socialist world, seeking to win support by arguing that less reliance on internationalism and disparagement of the socialist countries would give the Party a more "respectable image." History has made a mockery of that: groups that shunned internationalism and set out

to produce a "Danish socialism" failed to win the confidence of the working people and ended up as supporters of the capitalist system.

The lesson our Party has drawn from all this is that fidelity to internationalism and to our own working class are two facets of a cause we must always defend and uphold. All other roads lead to a dead end. The Communist Party of Denmark is proud to consider itself an integral part of the international Communist movement, and as such it welcomed the success of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, whose blue-print of the way ahead fully conforms with our own experience.

LOYALTY TO MARXISM-LENINISM— THE ONLY FIRM BASIS

There is ample evidence in our 50 years of experience to show that whatever gains accrue from opportunistic deviations, whether Right or Left, they are temporary and politically inconsequential. Opportunism blocks the road ahead. And our Party has abundant proof that only a principled Marxist-Leninist approach to the problem posed by the class struggle assures firm and lasting influence. And by following that course, the Party has been able not only to show the working class the road to socialism, but to elaborate new, more precise concepts of how socialism can be achieved in our time.

During their years in office, the Social Democrats claimed that Denmark had gone a long way towards integration in a "form of socialism." Today, however, the Social-Democrat party is in a state of deep ideological crisis. It has put out a book, *Social-Democracy in the Seventies*, which contains this revealing statement:

"The weakness of our long stay in office lay in the fact that the party had to guarantee continuation of the existing capitalist system and did not present a radical alternative, one that would show its resolve, once it had obtained a majority, to reconstruct society. The party was caught in a vicious circle, we were afraid of our own ideas, afraid to call things by their proper names . . ."

The Communists are not afraid of their ideas. That is why they are bound to play an important role in the increasingly intensive discussions within the labor movement

and the Left on Denmark's path to socialism. And the Communists maintain that the task today is to intensify the democratic anti-monopoly struggle in order to break monopoly power and win positions from which, with the support of the majority of the people, the transition to socialism could be started. In this Left debate the Communists lay stress on the following.

Independent mass activity, first and foremost by the working class, is crucial to the development and success of the democratic struggle. For only through such mass activity can concessions and rights already won be consolidated and made the starting point for a fresh offensive. This applies also to positions gained in parliament and government — the 1966-68 "labor majority" is conclusive proof of that.

The Danish democratic and socialist movement can score decisive successes only if it proceeds from a correct assessment of socialism already established in a number of countries, on a correct understanding of its experience and influence. This concerns, above all, the attitude towards the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, the first to win, build, defend and develop socialism. There can be no real progress, no "new ways" for the Social Democrats as long as they cling to their old understanding of socialist experience and there can be no realistic conception of the conditions in which the working-class struggle develops today so long as they fail to acknowledge the importance of the Soviet Union and the socialist world in containing imperialism's drive towards war.

Our Communist Party celebrates its half-century confident that it is following the correct path. But it is not giving way to complacency. For it knows only too well that there is still much to learn, and very much to accomplish, if it is to discharge its historic duty to the Danish and international working class. The Party is exerting every effort to extend and improve its work. But that can only be done if we have before us the long-range prospect given by Leninism.

That is why the Communist Party of Denmark ties its 50th anniversary to the celebrations of the Lenin centenary in a united effort to make a contribution to the struggle of our working class and people commensurate with the needs of our time.

Fight against reactionary dictatorship in Nicaragua

ROBERTO SANTOS

The fight against the reactionary policy of the government of General Debayle, against its policy of persecution, has become particularly widespread in the past six months.

The dictatorship resorts to terror to suppress the democratic movement in the country, to counter the mounting discontent provoked by the difficult conditions and the worsening economic situation. Never before in the history of Nicaragua has the structural crisis been as acute as it is today. Mainly affected are the economic and political life of the country and there is every danger that it will bring economic chaos in its wake.

Before the sixties, the structural crisis followed the same course as that in the other Latin American countries which are likewise economically and politically dependent on U.S. imperialism. But as the North American monopolies intensified their plunder of the continent by means of pressure, through the puppet governments and their neo-colonialist policy in the guise of the so-called Alliance for Progress and economic integration and the regional "common markets," the country's economy, much more backward than other countries of Central America, went from bad to worse. Continuing their direct plunder of our country, the imperialist monopolies tightened their grip on the export trade, at the same time stimulating unequal competition between Nicaragua and the other Central American states involved in the system of economic integration and the common market.

The end result is that today these two interconnected factors are retarding the country's development. Its economy is being bled white and the outlook for the people is unemployment, impoverishment and hunger.

A concrete instance of how the economy is being drained is illustrated by the following fact: because of the low purchasing prices paid for our exports by the U.S. monopolies, Nicaragua receives only half, and sometimes less than half, the value it received for the same amount of goods it exported twenty years ago. Here it is also pertinent to note that the economic relations that have evolved in the Central American Common Market are adversely affecting Nicaragua. Some industries are declining, the payments balance deficit is rapidly increasing. All this has, of course, told on the already low incomes of the working people.

The moment the present dictator seized the reins of government, thus achieving his ambitious goal, he had only one more desire, and that was to prove his devotion to U.S. imperialism which had helped him on his way to power. You will not find a more zealous champion in Nicaragua—and possibly in all of Central America—of an anti-national, anti-people's policy than Dictator Somoza who always agrees with the policy of his imperialist masters.

Unlike the other Central American states which had no intention of meeting their commitments, the Nicaraguan dictator, anxious to please the U.S. monopolies, hastened to carry out the obligations with respect to integration and in the common market undertaken by previous Nicaraguan governments. This put Nicaragua at a disadvantage compared with its neighbors and further aggravated the crisis in the country.

An example of the anti-national and anti-people's actions of the absolutist regime is its attitude to the San Jose Protocol. At the meeting in the capital of Costa Rica, representatives of the Central American govern-

ments discussed raising the tax on non-essential imports from abroad by 30 per cent. While the other Central American governments took no decision on this proposal for several months, Somoza hastened to make it a law, even before the National Congress of the republic had endorsed it.

This Protocol, known as the "30 per cent protocol," was subsequently revised, and the final result most adversely affected living standards. The tax increase was extended to all products and goods imported not only from abroad but also from the Central American zone. To make things worse, the government is pursuing a policy of wage freeze and any demand by workers for higher wages is qualified as "subversive activity."

The government's offensive against the working class and its disregard for national interests evoke the resentment of the people. Even those sections of the population which until recently were in a fairly privileged position (industrial and commercial bourgeoisie not associated with foreign imperialism) have begun to feel the negative effects of the government's policy and, consequently, are expressing their dissatisfaction with the regime.

In subordinating the country to U.S. imperialism the dictator took into account that this could cause an explosion of indignation among the working people and other sections of the population whose interests would in one way or another be affected by this policy. Hence the moment he came to power he redoubled the repressions with a view to stifling the slightest manifestation of discontent.

Under Article 154 of the criminal code any citizen opposed to the reactionary regime can be charged with "endangering the security of the state" and sentenced to a term of imprisonment ranging from six months to several years. The prisons of the capital and in other towns are filled with leaders and members of the country's democratic, revolutionary organizations. Communists—members of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party—are particularly persecuted.

Murder, torture and harassment, are the main forms of repression employed by the Somoza regime. Many leading democrats have been behind bars for years now, among them Daniel Ortega, Jacinto Suarez, Axel Somarriba, Santos Medina. Languishing in prison are comrades Domingo Sanchez, Roger Cabezas, Justo Miranda, Porfirio Garcia.

The Rockefeller visit was used as a pretext for throwing into prison the students

Lenin Cerna and Dennis Monkada, and the two labor leaders, Onofre Guevara and Jorge Galo.

In the departments of Rivas, Matagalpa, Massaya, Chinandega, Jinotega and Leon, Communists and other democrats are constantly hounded by the local military and civil authorities.

In the countryside the repressions are often more brutal than in the towns. The authorities use the slightest pretext to crush the peasant discontent. Many have lost their lives in the "combing" operations periodically carried out by the National Guard (the regular army). Peasant leaders are threatened, thrown into prison, killed, on the pretext that they are aiding the guerrilla groups in their districts. Leaders are often falsely accused of "complicity with cattle thieves." The civil and military authorities, in agreement with the landowners who operate through their agents, forcibly drive the peasants off the land, burn their huts and crops.

The bourgeois conservative opposition in Nicaragua is purely a formal opposition. Various circles of the bourgeoisie, anxious to preserve for as long as possible the present socio-political set-up, are drawing together. As regards the organizations pursuing a consistently democratic and revolutionary policy, they are orienting themselves in their anti-dictator, anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist activity on stepping up the mass movement to restore democratic liberties, for better conditions, higher wages, inviolability of peasant land and release of political prisoners.

In the van of this activity is the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the party of the Communists. It is the initiator of the National Front formed to fight the high cost of living, the Organization for the Release of Political Prisoners and in Defense of the Rights of Man. The Socialist Party participates in the trade union and peasant movements, in the campaigns against violation of civil rights and democratic liberties. In some cases it is supported by other democratic and progressive organizations, among them the Independent Liberal Party.

An objective analysis of the present situation in the country leads one to conclude that the very nature of the regime, which has exacerbated the crisis, whipped up repressions and which relies more and more on violence, will inevitably spark an open struggle by the working people against the dictatorship.

In the event of such a clash, the oligar-

chic group in the conservative leadership will, in the opinion of the Communists, side with the regime, seeing they share the same socio-economic interests. Those sections of the people still supporting the conservatives will, consequently, be obliged to change their orientation, to join with the forces of democracy and national liberation. But bold and able action will be needed to achieve this unity.

The Communists consider it their urgent task to secure at least a measure of united action by the forces of democracy and progress in the fight against the dictatorship. This unity could lay the basis for a broad national democratic front capable of carry-

ing out the structural changes needed for the country's economic, political and social development along the path of democracy, liberation and social progress.

The Communists consider that only a genuinely democratic government, pursuing a national liberation policy, can carry out the urgent tasks of revolution. But they realize that the first step must be the overthrow of the Somosa dictatorship and the oligarchic feudal-bourgeois forces who, together with imperialism, are the main support of the despotic regime. Hence, the struggle to topple the dictatorship is the paramount task of the people of Nicaragua and of the Communists, in the first place.

New works by French Marxists

Questions of Marxist-Leninist theory hold an important place in French Communist Party life and are treated in close association with the political and ideological struggle of the Party and the working class.

Of major importance in this respect were the Central Committee plenums in Argenteuil (March 1966), entirely devoted to ideological work, and Champigny (December 1968). The latter adopted the Party's manifesto, *For an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France*, in which it posed a number of practical matters of current Marxist-Leninist theory. Waldeck Rochet's book, *The Future of the French Communist Party*, published earlier this year, gives the theoretical background to the Party's fight for democracy, socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship, for a socialist France.

But French Marxists also vigorously combat bourgeois ideology, its diverse forms, concept and views, disclosing their social and class implications and their fallacy from a scientific standpoint.

In this context, much attention is being paid to humanism and the personality, which for several years now have been the subject of a sharp controversy between Marxist and bourgeois philosophers. A recent study on the subject has come from the pen of Lucien Sève, a prominent Marx-

ist philosopher, *Marxism and the Theory of the Personality*.*

Sève, who has studied this subject for years, says he has been greatly influenced by Lenin's work. For it was Lenin's ideas, he writes, that enabled him to understand and disclose the "fundamental principles of the concrete historical and revolutionary psychology in which the life of the individual is regarded as a manifestation of political relationships" (p. 8).

The development of Marxist psychology in France, the author says, was influenced by the work of Politzer, a Communist who 40 years ago set out to elaborate a "concrete psychology" based entirely on materialism, and also by the work of A. Wallon, a leading French materialist psychologist.

The central theme of Sève's study is an explanation of the scientific nature of the Marxist theory of the personality and humanism and its superiority over all forms and varieties of bourgeois doctrines. The author exposes the bourgeois contention that Marxism "ignores the individual," "destroys the personality," which, so the allegation goes, is regarded as a negligible quantity. Sève shows that Marxism provides a truly scientific theory of the indi-

*Lucien Seve. *Marxisme et theorie de la personnalite*, Editions Sociales, Paris, 509 pp.

vidual and in this respect, as in many others, continues and develops the finest humanist traditions of world culture.

He uses the same analytical method in his criticism of diverse bourgeois concepts of the individual and of humanism. He demonstrates, in particular, the insolvency of "metaphysical essentialism," based as it is on the belief that human nature is unalterable, an *a priori* category devoid of any real content and wholly unrelated to concrete, living man. There is no such thing, he writes, as abstract human nature, for the real nature of man is concrete, determined by his place in social relations, his life, work, struggle seen in their entirety, and certainly not by some pre-ordained scheme of things.

Atheistic existentialism, which has had a pervasive life in France, is premised on negation of ordained and abstract "human values" and flatly rejects religious criteria as determinants of human nature. Instead it proclaims man's "emancipation," his right to unhampered freedom and activity.

But, it transpires, existentialist humanism has no foundation in science and does not provide anything resembling a real picture of man and his interests. And Sève is able to prove that, factually if not declaratively, existentialism is predicated on the unalterable "fixed" nature of man, and preaches an abstract freedom unrelated to man's real life in society and unconnected with the historical requirements of social development (p. 478). Indeed, its central concept is that of the isolated individual, with his "personal freedom" and subjective aims and interests. In this respect the individual stands opposed, in his practical work, to the objective laws of life and inevitably proves powerless when faced by reality. It might be recalled in this context that Sartre has himself admitted "our complete impotence."

The sixties have brought a fresh crop of new ideas in France. One of these is structuralism, which has come to replace existentialism. Its purpose is to examine diverse social systems (or structures) and their elements, in the belief that this is a valid scientific method of investigating social phenomena. But at the same time, the author points out, structuralism claims that it provides a "positive concept of man" (p. 482). In this respect it would appear to be the very opposite of existentialism, since it concentrates on analyzing objective, "de-individualized" structures and relationships of "positive facts" in such widely differing fields as history, culture, linguistics, geo-

graphy and economics. However, its treatment of these problems is anything but scientific. For, among other things, its method of analysis is fallacious, since it ignores man's role in social life, negates the importance of his creative activity and the decisive role of labor and material production in the development of all social phenomena. Indeed, man disappears from the history-making process—*l'homme est mort*—that is the end inference of structuralist reasoning.

Sève consistently follows Lenin's principle of partisanship in philosophy, and not only in his critique of the various forms of bourgeois ideology, including those mentioned above, but also in his explanation of the socio-political implications of the Marxist theory of the personality and of humanism, which is especially relevant today. He especially examines its significance for the mass political struggle, in which the problem of "what is man," "human relations," the aims and meaning of the life, consciousness, conscience, will and temperament of the individual, are now so sharply posed. "Without understanding these elements of psychological life there can be no understanding of man," Sève writes (p. 25).

Present-day Western psychological studies of the personality, he says, are scientifically immature, vague in their understanding of the very subject of human psychology and laced with diverse, often contradictory, interpretations of psychological phenomena and facts.

What is the reason for this? The author sees it in the lack of a genuine and solid scientific foundation for these psychological studies, which shun analysis of the general laws of development of the personality in society, though these are essential to any scientific theory (p. 63). From this the author concludes that the researcher must turn to Marxism-Leninism as the firm foundation for the study of man and human society. And here the determining factor is historical materialism which provides a scientific basis for analyzing social relationships and a methodological basis for all the social sciences and is, therefore, "the basic science of man," the "general theory of the scientific concept of man" (p. 174).

The importance of historical materialism for an understanding of human nature was formulated in his time by Engels, who defined historical materialism as the science of "real men and their historical development." The author's emphasis and elaboration of this aspect is of exceptional im-

importance in the battle against bourgeois ideology, for it brings out the complete insolvency of the latter's assertion that the individual, the problem of personality, have "no place" in Marxism.

Sève's book has another merit: it consistently, and ably, presents Marxism as a humanistic doctrine, illustrating and analyzing the profound humanistic orientation and implications of Marxist ideas.

The author reminds his reader of the thoughts enunciated by Marx in his 1844 *Philosophical and Economic Manuscripts*. And in this connection he singles out Marx's idea of the human essence of social relations, including the relations that arise in material production, the socio-historical character of man's condition and development, the nature of man's alienation in an exploitive society, his emancipation through abolition of capitalist private ownership. And it was in these manuscripts that Marx gave us the classical formula: "Communism is the real humanism."

Considering the sharp ideological struggle over the problem of the individual and humanism, it is especially important and topical to bring out the humanistic nature of Marxism as expressed not only in this, but in all the subsequent works of Marx. And the author sets out convincing arguments to expose the bourgeois myth of the "two Marx's" precisely on this issue of the attitude towards the individual and humanism. For latter-day critics of Marxism have used barrels of ink to make out that the young Marx was a humanist, whereas the mature Marx was not, and on this false premise deny the humanism of Marxism.

Marxism, the author emphasizes, has injected a new dimension into the understanding of man as the *real* man, the sum-total of social relationships in their concrete forms. The author shows up the fallacy of abstract bourgeois humanism, based as it is on a speculative, idealistic notion of man "in general," seen out of context with his place in class social relations. Such notions are to be found not only among the Hegelians of the last century—they are very much in vogue today, too, among adherents of "philosophical anthropology" and "religious humanism."

Taking a number of Marx's works—notably *Capital*—as a starting point, the author analyzes the humanistic meaning of Marxism. For bourgeois critics maintain that in *Capital* Marxism has "abolished" man, sacrificing him to the law of "economic determinism," that "production Moloch" which crushes the personality. But they studiously

ignore the fact that Marx regarded socio-economic relations as relations between classes, groups and individuals. In *Capital*, Sève justly remarks, "Marx elaborates a system of concepts — requirements, consumption, labor, freedom, etc. — which apply *both* to economic relations and to the relations of individuals" (p. 158). Seen in their broader implications, all socio-economic and political relations are human relations because men make history and are the product of history. Man's active creation in all spheres of social being, including revolution and the class struggle, are, the author stresses, the basic aspect of his life as an individual.

Consequently, only a scientific analysis of the socio-economic substance of human relations—and this is provided by Marxism—can produce a correct understanding of the individual, his personality and psychology.

In the concluding part of his study, Sève defines the object of psychology of the personality and discusses the fundamentals of a scientific theory of the personality. In particular, he demonstrates that, in contrast to vulgar materialist notions, Marxism does not reduce personality to social and production relations, but regards it as belonging to the concrete individual with his distinct socio-historical traits.

Personality, therefore, is a definite conjuncture of traits, characteristics and specifics, the essence of which can be understood by examining the individual's conditions of life and work against the background of the given historical era. And seen in this light, the personality of the real and concrete individual, taken in its organic unity with socio-historical processes, becomes the object of a special science, personality psychology.

Given this scientific materialist and dialectical approach, we can trace the complete fallacy of naturalistic (also Freudian) notions of the personality based on the primacy of biological (or physiological) factors, which are supposed to determine its substance, but which completely ignore the determining role of socio-historical conditions and of man's activity and development as a concrete individual.

The author then formulates a number of propositions that add up to a blue-print theory of the personality. It is premised on the concept of the concrete individual and his development in definite social conditions. Sève shows that personality manifests and asserts itself in the multiform activities of the individual, especially in

determinative basic actions and their structure, which the author defines as the "infrastructure of the personality."

Sève points out that a personality theory must of needs include analysis of human capabilities, requirements, forms of perceiving and interpreting environmental phenomena, life conditions and the laws governing their formation and evolution.

The cardinal principle here, as in the elaboration of an integral personality theory, is the dialectical unity of the general laws governing the development of the human personality and the specific peculiarities and forms of the individual's activity.

Lastly, his analysis of the conditions in which the personality develops in modern society leads Sève to the conclusion—which he ably substantiates—that socialism and communism furnish limitless opportunities for the full unfolding of the personality, for socialist production relations and democracy, he writes, remove all class barriers and restrictions in this respect. And only this, qualitatively new social basis, which differs fundamentally from that of exploitive societies, makes it possible to bring out all the abilities inherent in the individual, now that he is free of every form of alienation.

The French Communists devote much attention to a theoretical analysis of the problems of *religion and the church*. This has a direct bearing on the revolutionary activity of the working class and its joint action with other sections of the population against the monopolies and reaction. And of major importance in this respect are the decisions of the Argenteuil Central Committee meeting, which discussed the fight against religious ideology, attitude to the church, and the Christian-Communist dialogue. These have been the subject of several Marxist studies published in recent years. Mention should especially be made of Antoine Casanova's *Vatican II and Evolution of the Church*.*

One of its undoubted merits is the author's wide use of a rich fund of documentary material to support his arguments and conclusions.

In the first part of the book, Casanova examines the far-reaching changes that have taken place between Vatican I (1869-70) and Vatican II (1962-65). And these have been truly of titanic and revolutionary significance and have had a tremendous

impact on Catholicism and the church. The world Communist movement influences not only diverse classes and social strata, but also the very nature of religion and the tactics and policies of the modern church (pp. 27-28). Numerous statements by Catholic spokesmen, including speeches at the last Vatican Council, testify to the hierarchy's concern over the future of Catholicism in the modern world.

That Catholicism is experiencing a profound crisis is freely and frankly admitted—even by the late John XXIII. Pope Paul VI has been equally frank: "Rejection of God in theory is developing into His rejection in practice." Nor is it merely a matter of questioning certain postulates of Catholic doctrine—its very "concept of life" is being questioned. (pp. 23-24).

The hierarchy is worried and alarmed by the mounting defection from the church, especially among workers, and moreover in France, Spain and Italy, where the position of the church has traditionally been considered unassailable. Casanova notes that the revolutionary spirit of our age, dissemination of science, materialist philosophy and atheism, are exerting a powerful influence on the minds of millions, thereby intensifying and deepening the crisis of religious ideology.

This has confronted the church with the need radically to alter its attitudes, doctrine and activity in an effort to retain its influence on the masses, arrest the retreat from religion and strengthen the church's position in social life. However, these "radical changes" must not in any way affect the underlying principles of religion. On the contrary, the purpose is to make them more effective in influencing people's thinking and counteract the influence of revolutionary ideas. As one Catholic spokesman, Monsignor Soares, put it: "The Church must formulate its own answers and offer a Christian alternative to Marxism" (p. 18).

What, then, is the basic orientation of these "radical changes"? What is the main content of *aggiornamento* (renewal, or modernization) which has now become so fashionable in church literature? Casanova answers both questions in some detail. Here are some of his main points.

First, the Catholic church is squarely facing the pressing social issues that exert a direct influence on the life of millions of people. In propagating its views on war and peace it is endeavoring to form closer ties with the people, to adapt itself to their longing for peace, their opposition to the

*Antoine Casanova. *Vatican II et l'évolution de l'Eglise*. Editions Sociales, Paris, 1969, 294 pp.

arms drive. Many Catholic spokesmen have come out against American imperialism's criminal war in Vietnam. The Vatican has stated its position on such social issues as capital-labor relations, the status and role of the working class, peasantry, intellectuals, and youth; private property, "socialization" and collectivism. On all these issues Catholicism is elaborating its own social doctrine in order to keep abreast of the times; it is even prepared to abandon some of its long-standing tenets.

Further, religion is being "democratized," a process that extends to its central concepts and forms and methods of influencing the masses. The church is anxious to demonstrate its kinship with the working people, the common man, to present itself as the "mother of the poor." Accordingly, such categories as "charity," "meekness" and "humility" are being given a "democratic" content that borrows much from the spirit of early Christianity. Religious ritual has been simplified and priests are recommended to adapt church rites to local customs, and—charge less.

This brings to mind the word of Jaures the famous French socialist: "The church sides with the weak when they become strong."

Another innovation is the tendency to "humanize" the Catholic faith. This was especially evident in Vatican II. For if previously the Church stressed the spiritual nature of man, the accent now is on his temporal, even social nature. This has found a very typical and very eloquent expression, the author remarks, in the "humanistic modification of the very image of God." No longer is He regarded as an "objective" supernatural being, but rather as a reality embodied "in the concrete, active and historical experience of the human personality" (p. 46); there is no God save "God for the people" (p. 48); the image of God must be clear to everyone and His language understood by everyone (p. 54). This should not be taken to mean, the author adds, that what we have is "religion without God": it is merely an expression of the concern caused by the declining authority of religion and of a desire to adapt the church to the needs of our time by outwardly humanizing some of its traditional precepts.

The church's new social doctrine has many important ideological implications. Its traditional doctrine was at odds with the march of history. Hence, the "radical review" of doctrine to bring it into conformity with the evolution of modern society.

The crucial factor in this is the necessity to give expression, within doctrinal confines, to the revolutionary protest and mass struggle against capitalism.

Essentially, the new Catholic social doctrine envisages no more than "reformist renewal of capitalist society" (p. 267). And in the encyclicals of John XXIII and Paul VI, also in the major Vatican II statement, *The Church in the Modern World*, and in a number of other pronouncements, we have a series of measures and reforms designed to "improve" and "renew" existing social institutions and practices. For instance, there are general demands for "assuring the masses a full and free life worthy of man," "defense of the toiler's rights," the worker's right to strike (regarded, however, as a "last resort"), agrarian reform, notably in underdeveloped areas, etc. But as a rule, the author remarks, these do not go beyond the framework of capitalism and, in effect, are confined to reformist "improvements," on the understanding that the socio-economic foundations of capitalism remain intact (pp. 117, 259).

For example, John XXIII's Encyclical *Pacem in Terris* speaks of distributing society's economic benefits in the interests of man and envisages the possibility of diverse forms of property. But in this, as in other pronouncements of John XXIII and Paul VI, in *The Church in the Modern World* and in numerous statements at the Vatican Council, emphasis is always on the inviolability of private property as the "natural basis of human life" and the chief "condition of human freedom."

The new Catholic social doctrine retains the traditional preachment of social peace, peace between the classes, between employer and worker. The association of labor and capital remains the key to all social problems. And this determines the church's hostility to social revolution, which has been so sharply condemned by Paul VI.

All this reaffirms the truth of Lenin's view that the purpose of clericalism is "defense of the 'Christian' (in reality capitalist) system and the struggle against 'destructive,' i.e., socialist) aspirations."

Casanova concludes his study with a discussion of a major theoretical and practical question, namely, the Communist-Christian dialogue. Reality has made it a topical issue, and the author examines its objective basis and potentialities. The interests of differing sections of the population coincide in the struggle against the monopolies and the working people (believers and non-believers) share common class inter-

ests in the struggle for socialism, genuine freedom and democracy. This offers a basis for joint action and for a fruitful dialogue on many social and political questions.

But such a dialogue does not signify theoretical convergence of religion and Marxism-Leninism, and this is especially emphasized in the decision of the Argentine Central Committee meeting. Rather, the dialogue should be seen as one of the new forms of ideological struggle to win

over the working people to the ideals of socialism and communism. In this respect, the dialogue becomes an important ideological basis for the workers' practical struggle against capital.

Casanova's book, as also that of Sève, raises many important theoretical problems requiring continued deep analysis and creative elaboration from positions of Marxism-Leninism.

G. KURSANOV

On recent political developments in India*

NARAJANA KALJANA KRISHNAN

Very important political developments have taken place in India in the course of the last few months, marking the beginning of a new period and of a new correlation of forces in the country's political set up.

These developments center around four important events which, taken in their totality, signify a big blow to the forces of monopoly capital and Right reaction and a corresponding victory for the popular forces in the country. These events are:

Firstly, the dismissal of Morarji Desai, the most outspoken and reactionary representative of the big monopoly houses in the Congress Central Government, from the Cabinet.

Secondly, the nationalization of the 14 biggest banks in the country which are controlled by five of the leading monopoly groups in the private sector.

Thirdly, the defeat of Sanjeeva Reddy who had been put up as the candidate of the ruling party, the National Congress, for the post of President of the Republic of India, by the Right-wing Congress leadership (popularly known as the "Syndicate")** in collusion with the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh parties, the parties representing extreme Right reaction outside the Congress; and the victory in the

Presidential contest of V. V. Giri, the well-known nationalist and veteran trade unionist, supported by the Communist and other Left and democratic parties in the country, as well as by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and a considerable section within the National Congress itself opposed to its Right-wing leadership.

Fourthly, the defeat of the conspiracy hatched by the Syndicate in alliance with the Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties to throw out Indira Gandhi from Prime Ministership and to effect a Rightist take-over of power at the Center.

These events and developments symbolize the sharpest confrontation that has so far taken place in post-independence India between the combined forces of Right reaction, those inside the National Congress acting concertedly with those outside, on the one hand, and the Left forces, including progressive sections within the National Congress, on the other. They symbolize the sharpening of the conflict between the most reactionary and aggressive sections of monopoly capital on the one side and all those sections of the Indian people opposed to them on the other side, including the non-monopoly sections of the national bourgeoisie. This conflict has sharpened not only in the political life of the country as a whole, but inside the ranks of the national bourgeoisie itself and its party, the National Congress.

These developments and the new political situation they have created have come about not all of a sudden, at one stroke

*This article was written for WMR in October. Recent developments in India fully confirm the author's analysis of the political situation.—Ed.

**The Syndicate, representing the most reactionary and aggressive sections of monopoly capital, consists of Nijalingappa, the Congress President, former Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister in the Central Cabinet Morarji Desai, Kamraj, S. K. Patil, Atulya Ghosh and others.

as it were—but as the accumulated result of several factors which have been building up in the political life of the country in the course of the past years and operating jointly to lead up to the present explosion. The most important and immediate of these factors are the following:

(a) The many-sided growing crisis in the national economy caused by the Congress Government's pro-monopoly policies and rapidly-mounting popular discontent against them—a crisis characterized by the Communist Party of India as the natural outcome of the capitalist path followed by the ruling party.

(b) Accentuation of the crisis since 1966, due to *de facto* abandonment of the policy of planning by the Central Congress Government under the growing pressure of the monopolies, now grown strong enough to challenge the State sector and planning itself; and adoption of new anti-national measures like devaluation of the Rupee carried through by the Central Government in 1966 under pressure of the World Bank, which led to all-round upward spiralling of prices and increase in mass misery.

(c) The massive movement of the exposure of monopoly and the fight against the big monopoly houses that has spread in the country, both inside Parliament and outside. This movement was initiated by the Communist Party of India at the Great March and Petition to Parliament led by the Party in 1963 with the demand to nationalize the big banks and take other urgent measures to curb monopoly, and was later on taken up by the other Left parties as well as by the progressive sections inside the National Congress. In the wake of this came the big mass struggles and statewide *Bandh* movements against the anti-people and pro-monopoly policies of the Congress Government, led by the Left parties and trade unions since 1966. Through these struggles, a certain measure of success was achieved in building up unity of Left and democratic forces in many States.

(d) The debacle for the ruling party, the National Congress, its electoral defeat in a number of States in the 1967 general elections; the massive victory of the United Fronts, led by the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party (Marxist) in West Bengal and Kerala.

(e) The defeat suffered by the Congress Party in the mid-term elections of 1969 in the four States of West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, which finally brought the crisis inside the ruling party at the

Center itself to a head and rapidly precipitated the present developments.

Failure to see these developments as the accumulated result and culmination of all these factors would lead one to superficial and oversimplified assessments and conclusions.

Coming in the wake of a continuously rising curve of mass upsurge against the vested interests on a nationwide scale, the results of the mid-term elections of 1969 in the four North Indian States of West Bengal, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar made it clear that the monopoly of power of the ruling party, the Congress Party—the main party of the Indian national bourgeoisie which has been ruling the country since India attained independence in 1947—was coming to an end not only in several States, but also at the Center itself. The results of these elections made it clear that if things continue as at present, the Congress Party would not be able to get even a bare majority in the Parliament at the Center at the time of the next general election due in 1972.

This situation sharpened political differentiation inside the National Congress.

On the one side, progressive sections of Congressmen began to come forward openly criticizing the reactionary and pro-monopoly policies which the Congress Government had been pursuing all these years in violation of all promises and resolutions formally taken on paper. They demanded that strong action be taken to curb the power of monopoly and satisfy the just demands of the working masses. They demanded that the Congress Party should seriously start implementing the promises made to the people repeatedly.

On the other side, the Syndicate began to work out plans to ally itself with the parties of extreme Right reaction outside the Congress—the Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties—in order to throw out Indira Gandhi from the Prime Ministership and to form a Right reactionary coalition Government at the Center that would use police terror to crush the Left and democratic movements and safeguard the interests of the monopolists and the landlords. Such a plan of Rightist take-over of power at the Center based on an alliance of the Syndicate with the Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties also suited the neo-colonialist designs of the American imperialists.

The struggle between these two sections inside the Indian bourgeoisie and its party, the National Congress, burst out into the open in connection with the election of

President of the Indian Republic caused by the demise of Zakir Hussein who had been elected President in 1967.

The specifically unique character of this year's Presidential election consists of two political developments.

Firstly, two powerful political alliances came into being almost openly and came face to face against each other. One of them is the alliance of the Syndicate with the Jana Sangh and Swatantra parties directly representing the interests of the monopolies and all that is backward and retrograde in our national life. This alliance put forward Sanjeeva Reddy, a member of the Syndicate, as their nominee for the Presidentship. The election of Sanjeeva Reddy as President was intended to be the first step towards removal of Indira Gandhi from Prime Ministership and installation of a Right reactionary coalition Government at the Center.

The other development consists in the march of all democratic forces outside and inside the Congress together to defeat Right reaction and the beginning of a turn of the Government policies to the Left. As against Sanjeeva Reddy, the Presidential nominee of the Right reactionaries, the progressive sections in the country all rallied together in support of Mr. V. V. Giri. Mr. Giri was supported by the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party (Marxist), the Samyukta Socialist Party, large sections of the Praja Socialist Party, the United Fronts of West Bengal and Kerala, as well as regional democratic parties like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Madras State and the Akali Dal in Punjab. A big section inside the Congress Party, both in Parliament as well as in the different States, openly revolted against the so-called "discipline" sought to be imposed by the Congress President Nijalingappa and voted against the Congress candidate Sanjeeva Reddy and for V. V. Giri. It is this significant combination of progressive sections within the National Congress with the democratic parties and forces outside which led to the resounding victory of V. V. Giri and the defeat of the plans for a Rightist take-over of power at the Center.

The Presidential election was preceded by two bold steps which Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took. She took away the key Finance portfolio from the hands of Morarji Desai, the outspoken champion of the most reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie in the Central Cabinet and herself assumed charge of it. Secondly, she nationalized

the country's biggest 14 banks by an Ordinance. She took these steps in pursuance of a significant Note on Economic Policy which she submitted to the Bangalore session of the All-India Congress Committee in July. This Note outlined certain immediate steps indicating a radical reorientation of economic policy, based on strengthening of the State sector, curbing of the power of monopoly, and radical agrarian reforms.

Coming in the wake of these bold steps, the Presidential election and its outcome created an atmosphere of great mass enthusiasm and mass upsurge in the country. A new mass mood has spread throughout the land, demanding radical policy changes from the Government and eagerly waiting for them.

The take-over by the State of the 14 major commercial banks in the country is a big blow against monopoly and its power over our national economy. Firstly, the State which till now controlled only a little over one-fourth of total bank deposits in the country will, with the take-over of the fourteen major banks, control more than 85 per cent of such deposits. According to rough preliminary estimates, the net accretion, as the result of the take-over, will be of the order of Rs. 2,000 crores. Secondly, the big monopoly houses which had so far controlled the banks and used their resources to expand their empires will no longer be able to use them in the same manner. Thirdly, speculative and other anti-national unproductive activity which were often fed by the banks' resources and which were playing such a big role in furthering hoarding and cornering of foodgrains and price rise of essential commodities, will no longer be so fed. Lastly, the state, with its control over the bulk of the bank deposits, will be able to utilize them for priority sectors of national development such as expansion of State sector, aid for the peasantry and for small-scale and medium industry as well as for the rapid development of backward regions and removal of regional imbalances which have been a source of increasing social conflict and tension in our political life in recent years.

The dismissal of Morarji Desai, the nationalization of the 14 big banks and the Presidential election of V. V. Giri "mark a turning point in the political life of the country," according to the Statement issued by the National Council of the Communist Party of India, adopted at its meet-

ing held in Delhi from August 26 to 30, 1969.

These developments signify that the political differentiation inside the ruling party, the Indian National Congress, has reached a qualitatively new point. The greatly sharpened contradictions between the forces of monopoly and the vast mass of the common people including sections of the national bourgeoisie—which is itself the result of the path of capitalist development—have reached a bursting point and these developments are its political expression. They also signify a differentiation in the ranks of the national bourgeoisie opening the possibilities of a split. New possibilities of an alliance of the working class, peasantry, middle-class, of the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie against the combined forces of pro-imperialist, feudal and pro-monopoly reaction open up. How soon such a possibility can become a reality depends upon a correct political approach and tactics on the part of the Left and democratic forces.

The struggle to build up the National Democratic Front envisaged in the Program of the Communist Party enters a new phase where coordinated and united action between Left and democratic sections inside the Congress and those outside acquires special importance.

The present crisis and developments inside the National Congress cannot therefore be explained as mainly or purely factional power struggles going on between different groups. They are a reflection of the basic class conflict between the monopoly section of the Indian bourgeoisie on the one hand and all other sections of the common people, also sections of the national bourgeoisie oppressed by the monopolists, on the other.

Such is the essence of the new political situation opening out before the country.

In its Program adopted in 1964, the Communist Party of India had drawn attention to the contradiction and growing differentiation between the monopolies and the rest of the national bourgeoisie and predicted that the crisis of the capitalist path was bound to develop and produce a split in the ranks of the national bourgeoisie—setting the general bulk of them against the monopolies. Such a split is bound to have its repercussions inside the Congress so that a section of Congressmen would be confronted with the necessity to fight the Right and thereby come closer to the Left and democratic forces outside the Congress. Such a development would ultimate-

ly give birth to a National Democratic Front against imperialism, remnants of feudalism and the Indian monopolies. Based on the contradiction between these forces and the entire people, the National Democratic Revolution was visualized as an intermediate stage for the country's transition towards socialism or as the precursor to the socialist revolution.

This assessment of the Indian national bourgeoisie and the Indian situation, the possibility of increasing differentiation between the pro-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie and the non-monopoly sections leading to the possibility of splits, the conception of the National Democratic stage of the revolution as the transition towards socialism, was opposed by that section of comrades who split away from the Party and formed the parallel party, the Communist Party (Marxist). This, in fact, was the main reason they gave for the split. Recent political developments in India have indeed strikingly confirmed and vindicated the political and programmatic stand of the Communist Party of India and revealed the incorrectness of the political and programmatic stand of the Communist Party (Marxist).

It is because Indian political life and political developments are in line with our Party's basic understanding and program that the Communist Party of India has been able to play a significant role in the recent critical political situation by mobilizing the people and unleashing a nationwide mass political campaign for building united action between democratic sections inside the National Congress and the democratic forces outside and defeating the combined forces of Right reaction. The role played by the Party in the recent period has in fact been acknowledged by friend and foe alike.

The current political developments are bound to accelerate the process of political and ideological rethinking in the ranks of the Communist Party (Marxist). On the Presidential election and victory of V. V. Giri, the Politbureau of the Communist Party (Marxist) has been obliged to make a statement supporting Indira Gandhi and opposing the Syndicate and the danger of a Right reactionary take-over of power at the Center. This is a positive step. But the contradiction between this tactical slogan and their general programmatic assessment and understanding still remains unsolved. The Communist Party (Marxist) leadership seeks to explain its support to Indira Gandhi only in negative terms of

preventing a Rightist take-over and still denies the rise of progressive trends inside the Congress and the new possibilities of democratic advance which are opening up. The Communist Party (Marxist) leadership also continues its attacks and slanders against our Party—which only brings grist to the mill of the camp of reaction.

Despite this, the National Council of our Party has once again appealed to the Communist Party (Marxist) to reconsider the proposals we have already made to it for joint action immediately after the mid-term elections when we foresaw the coming crisis. The Communist Party (Marxist) leadership had rejected these proposals at that time. We have repeated these proposals once again in view of the situation—namely, the proposals to have a joint bloc in Parliament of the two Parties and to form coordination committees of our Party and the CP (Marxist) at Central and State levels.

Our Party is firmly convinced that closer cooperation and joint action between our Party and the CP (Marxist) on the basis of the above proposals would indeed have a galvanizing effect on the situation in the country, in rebuffing the forces of Right reaction and securing massive advance of the Left forces, including the democratic forces inside the Congress itself.

What are the perspectives for the immediate future?

Analyzing the recent developments that have taken place in the country, the National Council of the Communist Party of India, while correctly pointing out the big successes scored by the progressive forces in their confrontation with reaction, at the same time has emphasized that the forces of monopoly and reaction have by no means been finally and decisively defeated; that these forces still occupy strategic places in the country's economic and political life and inside the National Congress itself, both at organizational and Governmental level; that they, though temporarily thrown into disarray, are regrouping themselves and preparing for their next round of attack; that the threat of Right reaction coming into power still continues; and therefore that the role of the united mass movement and mass struggles and of the strengthening of the unity of all the Left forces, including the democratic sections within the National Congress, "on the basis of a concrete, realizable, progressive program here and now" is of decisive importance in shaping the immediate future.

The August events in India have revealed the shape of things to come, history has taken a sharp turn. Right reaction is now like a wounded beast, likely to behave more ferociously than ever before. American imperialism is, of course active, aiding and abetting them and casting its greedy eyes on the Indian Ocean. The economic might and organized strength of the monopolies remain powerful forces to be combatted. They have already started their big propaganda campaign in the country through the press which they control. They have powerful reserves in the reactionary bureaucracy which remains strongly entrenched in the Government administration at all levels.

If the Right reaction has so far been unable to re-enact the drama of Indonesia and Ghana on Indian soil, it is because many historical factors are on the side of the democratic forces here. Strong democratic traditions, complete isolation of the monopolies, the crisis of the national economy revealing the bankruptcy of the capitalist path followed hitherto by the ruling class, the growing anger of the working masses against the oppression of the monopolies and the supremacy of the black market throwing millions of workers, peasants, agricultural labor and students into militant action, the historical need of the middle and small bourgeoisie and particularly of the rising rural bourgeoisie to curb the monopolies in order to save themselves from total collapse and, above all, the strength of Communist policy in influencing the correlation of class forces—all these factors have operated against Right reaction.

But events since the Presidential elections clearly show that the forces of reaction are regrouping themselves for the next round of struggle.

The resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the National Congress after the Presidential election no doubt signify a retreat of the Syndicate from their plan for immediate overthrow of the Prime Minister. But they are grouping themselves and gathering their forces in the various States for a favorable moment to resume their direct attack against the Prime Minister and her policies. Their strategic and powerful positions in the Congress organization at all levels offer them plenty of scope for this. They are concentrating at present on preventing any reshuffling of the Central Cabinet to their detriment, on sabotaging through the bureaucracy the

effective implementation of the Bank Nationalization policy, on restraining Indira Gandhi from going ahead with the adoption of urgently-needed follow-up measures even on the lines indicated in her Economic Note to the Bangalore AICC session. Even among the supporters of the Prime Minister as against the Syndicate, there are many who are in favor of "go-slow," some are even know Rightists.

The final crystallization of the two camps within the National Congress is yet to take place clearly, a long process of continued political struggle has to be gone through to effect this.

The Communist Party of India has pointed out that the progressive sections inside the National Congress can isolate and defeat the Syndicate decisively only if they reject the opportunist slogan of unprincipled patch-up unity and press forward for a radical reorientation of policy and removal of all those opposing such reorientation, not only from the Government at all levels, but also from the Congress organization itself. Vacillations in this respect would only play into the hands of Right reaction.

The Communist Party has also emphasized that in the new phase of building up Left and democratic unity opened up by the present crisis in the Congress, the task of building up unity and joint action between democratic sections inside the Congress and those outside acquires special importance. The Party is taking effective steps to build up links, mutual consultation and joint and coordinated action with democratic sections inside the Congress, both at the Central and at the State level.

While the Right-wing inside the National Congress is regrouping itself for counterattack, the forces of Right reaction are also getting active on the other fronts. As yet there are many negative factors that can help reaction. Disunity in the Left camp, the opportunism of a section of the leadership of the Socialist parties, the split in the Communist movement and its organizational weakness, casteism, communalism and other fissiparous tendencies are some of them.

The reactionary pro-monopolist party of Hindu chauvinism, the Jana Sangh and the powerful organization it has built up, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is getting activated, fomenting Hindu-Muslim strife and disrupting the democratic unity of the masses. The communal riots that shook the State of Dujerat recently, the

worst since the days of the Hindu-Muslim riots following partition of the country by the British imperialists, were mainly fomented by the Jana Sangh and the RSS, with the connivance of the Congress Government of the State which supported the Syndicate as against the Prime Minister.

Such disruptive diversionary sallies against the rising unity and upsurge of the mass movement are also being increasingly resorted to by reactionary forces, taking advantage of other issues which are agitating the minds of the people.

Such developments foreshadow serious dangers facing the democratic movement.

In addition to all this, the opportunist and sectarian policies of the Communist Party (Marxist) leadership in the United Front Governments of Kerala and West Bengal, their policies of utilizing their positions in these Governments to attack and weaken other parties of the Front, particularly our Party, instead of fighting against the vested interests, are playing a negative role and creating serious difficulties for these United Fronts, precisely at a time when the all-India political situation calls for the maximum strengthening and consolidation of these United Fronts. The State Committees of our Party in West Bengal and Kerala have recently put forward constructive proposals for the solution of these difficulties and for the speedy and effective implementation by these United Front Governments of the minimum program to which they are pledged. Such speedy and effective implementation of popular measures, attacking the strongholds of the vested interests and securing the just demands of the working class, peasantry and agricultural labor would strengthen the unity of these United Fronts and enable them to play a positive role in galvanizing the all-India situation at the present moment.

Summing up the recent political developments in the country and assessing the situation, the National Council of the Communist Party of India, which met in Delhi from August 26 to 30, 1969, gave the following call:

"In this situation, the supreme task of every Left and democratic party is to defeat every maneuver of Right reaction to topple the Indira Gandhi Government and press forward so that the democratic movement can score more decisive victories against the monopolies and their allies. Similarly, the National Council of the Communist Party of India considers that the

participation of progressive Congressmen in the democratic mass movement together with the Left forces outside the Congress is both urgent and essential for democratic advance.

"In the interest of uninterrupted democratic advance, the National Council of the Communist Party of India calls for the launching of a national campaign throughout the length and breadth of the country by mobilizing the masses in order to achieve the following demands:

1) Democratization of the national economy by recasting the Fourth Five-Year Plan in the direction of rapid development, strengthening and expansion of the public sector, conserving of foreign exchange, price stability, expansion of employment opportunities and satisfaction of the urgent demands of the working people, both urban and rural;

2) A cleaning up of the administrative apparatus of the worst anti-national elements of the bureaucracy;

3) Association of trade unions with the management of the public sector projects and of the peasant and agricultural workers' organizations with the introduction and implementation of radical land reforms;

4) Reorientation of foreign policy in order to restore the balance in favor of anti-colonialism, recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam;

5) Radical democratization of the administration of the nationalized banks, scrapping of reactionary laws curbing trade union rights of bank employees; bank deposits to be used for—

a. providing water to peasants through completion of all irrigation projects and rural electrification;

b. providing cheap credits for small and medium industries, as well as to the peasantry;

c. developing backward regions and removing regional imbalances;

d. rapid expansion of the Public Sector, including those under the States.

6) Immediate distribution of all types of Government fallow lands to agricultural workers and poor peasants;

7) Provision of free house sites and living wages to agricultural labor;

8) Immediate steps to provide jobs for the unemployed, ensuring living wages and salaries for workers and middle-class em-

ployees, guaranteeing full trade union rights;

9) Nationalization of import-export trade and, as a first step, immediate radical expansion of the sphere of the different State trading organizations;

10) Curb on exploitation by foreign monopolies;

11) Ban an entry of foreign capital into fields in which local technical know-how is available;

12) Intensification of the movement for self-reliance and import substitution, enlisting full cooperation of our scientists, technicians, intelligentsia and the trade unions;

13) Implementation of radical land reforms, and monopoly purchase of food-grains by the State, guaranteeing a fair price to the peasant and ending dependence on American PL-480 immediately;

14) Planned expansion of our industrial collaboration and trade with socialist countries with a view to full utilization of the capacity of the engineering industries and of the public sector projects as well as mitigating foreign exchange crisis;

15) Abolition of privy purses and other privileges of the feudal princes.

"The National Council of the Communist Party of India urges upon the people to remain vigilant against the machinations of Right reaction and march forward with the above and similar other urgently needed anti-monopoly demands for an upsurge of the democratic movement.

"The National Council of the Communist Party of India once more reiterates its appeal for unity to all the parties of the Left and democratic camp by carrying forward the lessons of the August events. These events have conclusively shown how joint action of all these forces, both inside and outside the Congress, can bridle the combined strength of Right reaction and secure big advances."

The Communist Party has not only placed a fifteen-point program before the country as the basis for a nationwide united mass campaign and mass movement, but the Party is already in the thick of organizing, on the basis of its independent strength, two key all-India mass struggles. One is the nationwide mass struggle of poor peasants and agricultural labor to take direct possession of Government fallow land as well as fallow land under illegal occupation of the landlords and big capitalists and bring it under cultivation. This struggle is already well under way in most

of the States. Second is the nationwide mass movement of students and youth against unemployment. This movement, started several months ago, has covered all the States. The Agricultural Laborers' Organization and the Youth and Students' Federations, under the influence of the Party, are leading these all-India mass struggles.

The Communist Party particularly emphasizes that the coming period will be one of sharp twists and turns, of political instability fraught with serious and dangerous possibilities. The Party emphasizes the decisive role of united mass movements

and mass struggles against the vested interests, the decisive role of unity in action between democratic sections within the Congress and Left forces outside, in the present critical situation, in consolidating and carrying forward the victories already won by the popular forces and inflicting a decisive defeat on the combined forces of Right reaction.

The outcome of the struggle which the 500 million people of India are now carrying on against the forces of Right reaction and for social advance will have a vital impact on the world front of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

Lessons of democratic upsurge in Pakistan

AMINA NIZAMI

Alarmed by the rising tide of the popular movement in Pakistan at the end of 1968 and the beginning of 1969, the reactionary forces have once again brought out in their defense the mercenary army. And while the democratic movement has temporarily been forced to retreat, it is equally certain that it will rise again and forge ahead with renewed vigor and strength. And if the movement's vanguard, the class-conscious workers, are to draw the lessons from the 1968-69 events, they must carefully examine the factors behind these events and the experience accumulated in recent months.

The main reason for the upsurge of the mass movement should be sought in the complex and contradictory development of capitalism in Pakistan. Parallel with the rapid growth of capital concentration and the rise of monopolies, which now dominate the economy, there are still many survivals of the colonial past, notably semi-feudal relationships and a substantial influence of foreign capital. The working people are thus under the double yoke of home and foreign monopolies, further aggravated

by the persistence of semi-feudal survivals. Unemployment in industry and in agriculture is rising, and living standards are woefully low. The national question is still another source of tension, with sharpening contradictions between the bourgeoisie in the national areas and the big monopoly concerns.

The government's home policy has fanned the public resentment caused by economic difficulties and unsolved social problems. The mass demand was for repeal of the emergency imposed during the 1965 Indo-Pakistan conflict, a return to parliamentary government and universal franchise, and release of all political detainees. The position became especially tense towards the end of 1968.

The movement was triggered off by the Rasheed Group of the National Student Federation in Karachi when they held their Student Demands Week on October 7. The action encompassed the entire student community of Karachi and quickly spread to upper West Pakistan; the arrest of student leaders on a large scale had the effect

of fanning the movement. By mid-November it had enveloped West Pakistan, and other sections also joined in.

The movement spread to East Pakistan, first as a protest against the repressions in West Pakistan and then on their own demands, spearheaded chiefly by the United Opposition Party and students.

By mid-December the movement had become a really countrywide affair. Two facts about it, however, were very pertinent. Firstly, that despite its intensity it was confined to the middle class and, secondly, that being of a spontaneous character—the issues ranged from such non-political ones as a protest against searching Pindi students at Landi Kotal for smuggled goods to the demand for regional autonomy for East Bengal—it lacked integration and a clearcut direction.

In these circumstances a working-committee meeting of the different political parties was held at Dacca at the end of December, which led ultimately to the formation of the Democratic Action Committee.

The basic issue before the National Awami Party (NAP) and other class-conscious workers was what precise direction the movement should take and how to channel the integrated movement accordingly. The first involved an assessment of the movement and of its level, while the second involved working out an appropriate program, alliances and organizational media for developing the movement in the desired direction.

The upsurge had become truly countrywide and ever new sections of the masses were being drawn into the struggle for their rights. It was of course the democratic yearnings of the people that were finding expression, but at this stage the masses were not yet clear about the comprehensive anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks of the democratic revolution. Hence the level of the consciousness of the people dictated that for the initial phase the democratic movement should be directed against the autocratic regime.

Bearing in mind the low political level of the masses and the need to draw millions into the movement, an appropriate 8-Point anti-autocracy program was formulated by the NAP in consultation with the other parties; all parties and groups that could be united around this program were brought together in the Democratic Action Committee on January 8, 1969.

The formation of the Committee on the minimum program of democracy, i.e., an

anti-autocracy program, carried the democratic upsurge to a higher stage and developed it into an integrated movement.

The ruling clique left no stone unturned in its effort to sabotage the formation of DAC. Many NAP leaders were in jail, and the ruling clique was also helped by the "Left." On the eve of the Dacca consultations, Bhutto, the NAP leader, announced his candidature for the Presidency (without even the pre-condition of adult franchise), and Bhashani, leader of the extremist wing in the NAP, unilaterally took the line of boycotting the elections. The two lines, seemingly diametrically opposed, were in reality a desperate effort from two opposite angles to sabotage the forging of an anti-autocracy front. That Bhutto and Bhashani were after all not so very far apart as they declared at the time was further confirmed when in March they hurriedly joined hands.

President Ayub was forced to bow to the popular will and declared his willingness to negotiate with the Opposition. A Round Table conference was scheduled for February 17 and on the 21st Ayub announced that he was no longer a future presidential candidate. The Round Table culminated in Ayub's consent to re-establish universal suffrage and parliamentary rule. Martial law was lifted and political prisoners released, after which the Democratic Action Committee was dissolved.

Class-conscious workers know that the anvil for testing any theory is practice. While the DAC had its critics, the response it generated among the masses proved the political soundness of its formation.

The DAC was attacked on the grounds that it did not provide a program for socialism; that it did not include the economic demands of the people; and that it was a reactionary front since it included the Jamat-i-Islami.

It should be said that this opposition and criticism came mainly from pro-bureaucracy parties and groups masquerading as sections of the Left and from the national chauvinists aligned with them. Radical in appearance, their stand objectively served merely to place obstacles in the way of the developing popular movement.

It is true of course that the DAC program was not the full program of democracy; it was rather a minimum program, specifically aimed against the autocracy. It was formulated in the light of the thesis that, by aiming the main blow against the autocracy, the talons of the autocracy

would be loosened with a resultant democratic upsurge. The general upsurge in East Pakistan and the working-class upsurge in West Pakistan that followed the convening of the Round Table proved to the hilt the correctness of this thesis.

One should recall what Lenin said in 1905 in his "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" about those who shout themselves hoarse about socialism and in practice obstruct it: "Finally, we will note that the resolution, by making implementation of the minimum program the provisional revolutionary government's task, eliminates the absurd and semi-anarchist ideas of giving immediate effect to the maximum program, and the conquest of power for a socialist revolution. The degree of Russia's economic development (an objective condition) and the degree of class-consciousness and organization of the broad masses of the proletariat (a subjective condition inseparably bound up with the objective condition) make the immediate and complete emancipation of the working class impossible. Only the most ignorant people can close their eyes to the bourgeois nature of the democratic revolution which is now taking place; (Lenin was writing at a time when the socialist world was still non-existent and when world capitalism held sway. In our changed international context of proletarian world revolution this will be amended to 'close their eyes to the inclusion of the entire bourgeoisie in the democratic revolution now taking place.'—Ed.); only the most naive optimists can forget how little as yet the masses of the workers are informed about the aims of socialism and the methods of achieving it. We are all convinced that the emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves; a socialist revolution is out of the question unless the masses become class-conscious and organized, trained, and educated in an open class struggle against the entire bourgeoisie. Replying to the anarchists' objections that we are putting off the socialist revolution, we say: we are not putting it off, but are taking the first step towards it in the only possible way, along the only correct path, namely, the path of a democratic republic. Whoever wants to reach socialism by any other path than that of political democracy will inevitably arrive at conclusions that are absurd and reactionary both in the economic and the political sense. If any workers ask us at the appropriate moment why we should not go ahead and carry out our

maximum program we shall answer by pointing out how far from socialism the masses of the democratically-minded people still are, how undeveloped class antagonisms still are, and how unorganized the proletarians still are. Organize hundreds of thousands of workers all over Russia; get the millions to sympathize with our program. Try to do this without confining yourselves to high-sounding but hollow anarchist phrases — and you will see at once that achievement of this organization and the spread of this socialist enlightenment depend on the fullest possible achievement of democratic transformation" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 9, pp. 28-29).

A variation of this was the attack on the DAC on the score that its program did not contain the economic demands of the workers and peasants. To put the emphasis on the economic demands of the masses when they lack the most elementary democratic rights would be side-tracking the issues. No class ever gains economic concessions in the shape of charity. How could the economic demands of the workers and masses be granted at a time when they were utterly disorganized because of the undemocratic curbs placed on them? The DAC envisaged for the masses the right to organize and struggle; the workers and peasants themselves could use this right to force through their economic demands. (Which is what they began to do later).

The Jamat-i-Islami bogey in the hands of a section of the so-called Left was assigned a specific role by the ruling clique.

In the conditions of today the Jamat-i-Islami represents the feudal ideology. It aligns itself with the imperialists and acts as their stooge. But in a society such as ours to say that this party is the main enemy is, from a theoretical standpoint, tantamount to saying that feudalism rather than monopoly and state capitalism is the main ally of foreign imperialism. The wheels of history, however, cannot be turned back and the feudal class, though numerous and aggressive and providing the main social base for imperialist penetration, can but play the role of junior partner in the reactionary alliance of imperialists, monopolists and feudals because historically it has outlived its day.

To describe the DAC as reactionary merely because the Jamat belonged to it is sheer dogmatism and the height of political naivete. The constituents of a Front are not determined abstractly, but in relation to the enemy against which the Front is directed, and if the Jamat opts for the anti-

autocracy Front why should it be left out. Of course, if Bhutto and especially Bhashani had also joined the Front, the democratic Left would be stronger. Every effort was made to bring them in, but they declined to join hands with the other parties.

Foresight is not, of course, one of the virtues of these friends of the Left. But it would be reasonable to expect them to use hindsight and see for themselves whether the Jamat-i-Islami or the old ruling clique under a new leader again struck at the popular movement on March 25. (On March 25, 1969 President Ayub Khan handed over power to the Army Chief, General Yahya Khan, who reimposed martial law and on March 31 assumed the functions of President—Ed.)

Moreover the decisive role in the formation of the Front was that of NAP and not of Jamat-i-Islami. This is clear from the 8-Point Program of the DAC which does not make a single concession to Jamat.

It is necessary to assess the matter of participation in the Round Table. The fight for democracy has many aspects, and one is negotiations with the powers that be. Negotiations should not be equated with compromise. Prof. Muzzafar of NAP was quite correct when he stated in Lahore on February 16 on the eve of the first Round Table that the popular movement must go on, and that the masses should not place too much hope on the Round Table.

Taking part in the Round Table should be seen in the context of the political situation in Pakistan. The DAC or the anti-autocracy phase of the struggle was a transitory phase, to be followed by advancing more positive and comprehensive demands. And that is exactly what happened. The moment the masses realized that victory had been won on the elementary DAC demands, the movement advanced to the next phase, new social forces joined in and brought to the fore new demands. In East Pakistan the new demands were focussed by the 11-point program of the Students' Action Committee, and in West Pakistan by a wave of working-class struggle.

Experience in the newly-independent countries has taught imperialism that if democratic movements are not nipped in the bud and are allowed to grow vigorous, they inevitably wrench the particular country out of the capitalist orbit. The ever deepening crisis of U.S. imperialism makes it mortally afraid of democratic processes and the holding of general elections in countries like Pakistan.

The vested interests, first of all the U.S.

imperialists and internal monopolists and bureaucratic capitalists whose interests were served by the autocracy, were not ready to take their defeat lying down. They had well entrenched leaders inside the DAC and fielded new ones like Asghar, leader of the Party of Justice, through whom they hoped to keep the movement within bounds. But in case these pro-imperialists failed to arrest the movement—as they actually did fail—they could use people like Bhashani, Bhutto and the Jamat leader Maudoodi who would mouth ultra-Left and ultra-Right slogans, and create precisely that division among the masses and anarchic conditions in which the autocracy, using the Army, could stage a come-back.

The vile role of the Army in 1958 had not been fully grasped by the masses, and new illusions about it were created by the chauvinistic war fought in 1965. The Army, intimately associated with the imperialists, especially U.S. imperialists through CENTO and SEATO and bilateral pacts, is a willing tool in their hands and in the hands of the home reactionaries. Hence the entire democratic movement developed in the shadow of martial law and, taking this into account, it was necessary to proceed cautiously; to consolidate whatever gains had been won and to advance in an orderly manner. A stalemate or conditions of anarchy at a stage when the people were not sufficiently organized to defend their gains against the mercenary Army would provide the latter with the opportunity to swoop down on the people.

In the first weeks of February when victory on the eight-point demands was already in sight, preparations for the next phase were made in both parts of the country. In East Pakistan students' unity was forged and the 11-point program was launched. Lefts began to talk about a students' revolution, but in point of fact the students in East Pakistan rejected the black banner of anarchy; instead they were rallying round the red flag of the working class and heading for independent national democracy. The student community providing leadership in the struggle, naturally under the guidance of the working-class party, was an entirely new phenomenon, and class-conscious workers should study this experience in minute detail and draw the appropriate lessons.

In West Pakistan conditions were different. No such organized democratic force as the East Pakistan students was present. Class-conscious workers, however, assessed that in this new phase the working

class participation in the democratic movement could be greatly increased. Hence the West Pakistan Joint Labor Council was formed at the end of January 1969.

One of its acts was a call for a general strike, but a grave mistake was made when the general strike call by the Joint Labor Council was given for 17 March, and not 14 February as planned earlier. The government succeeded in preventing the organized working-class action from coalescing with the united struggle of all the people due to the month's delay in unleashing the working-class struggle and, above all, conditions were provided in which the ultra-Left provocative and divisive line of Bhashani and others could bear fruit. This mistake apart, the 17th March saw the general strike of the working class in West Pakistan which wrested considerable concessions from Governor Haroon. Among its own demands the working class had put forward the peasant demand to end the land tax on 16½ acres of land. While promising to consider this demand the Governor, as a partial concession, stopped the sale and auction of all state-owned land. Even this half-hearted measure held immense possibilities for the formation of the worker-peasant alliance which was the key to the successful development of the democratic movement in the post-DAC phase.

The mistake was that no serious efforts were made to bring the peasantry into the struggle. In time, of course, this mistake was rectified.

But all the time the reactionaries were working feverishly to halt the developing movement and wrest back from the people the rights they had won. The imperialist press sounded warnings about the danger of the movement passing into working class and genuine Left hands. The reactionaries, alarmed, began to sow division among the masses. Specifically, they aimed at isolating the working class, at depriving it of its allies, particularly the petty bourgeoisie, by advancing ultra-Right and ultra-Left slogans—so that martial law appeared as a defender of law and order and the champion of the propertied classes, including the petty bourgeoisie.

This attitude towards the democratic struggle was well expressed by the stand of the Jamat student leaders. Initially they tried to halt the developing student movement. On being rebuffed by the student community they then pleaded with the authorities to accept the student demands so that the Communists should not be able to "exploit" these demands. Having failed

to disrupt the movement from without, they joined it—of course to try to disrupt it from within.

When, due to the rising democratic movement, Maudoodi and other communalists were unable to get their reactionary line included in the DAC program, they tried to disrupt the movement by advancing reactionary slogans as "Pakistan's mission is a work for the glory of Allah!" When this slogan failed to divert the people, Maudoodi threatened that the forces of Islam will pull out the tongues of the Socialists. These arch-communalists and imperialist agents also built up a fascist-type frenzy over the burning of the Koran and provoked clashes with the followers of "Islamic Socialism" so that the movement for democratic rights could be disoriented into a fight between Islam and Socialism.

The rising fury of the Jamat convinced some innocents that Jamat-i-Islami was the main enemy. Yet the unsoundness of this theory could be seen from the fact that the Jamat was forced to take an anti-government stand on some issues, to side with the DAC and, more importantly, that it had come out with an economic program.

In the DAC the efforts of the reactionary group, including Maudoodi and Ch. Mohammed Ali, were aimed at halting the further development and radicalization of the movement. From their attitude it was clear that they would prefer return of the autocracy rather than see the movement passing into genuine democratic and Left hands. (Lenin said about the Cadets—Constitutional Democrats—that they do not fight for democracy because they are mortally afraid of revolution. This, in a way, is applicable to Pakistan's democratic movement and its constituents). But sensing that the reactionary parties would not succeed in stemming the democratic movement, the rulers decided to stake on the ultra-Lefts Bhutto, Bhashani and Mujibur Rehman.

Bhutto, who had started with the three-headed bogey of Islam, Democracy and Socialism, and who like a weather-cock, had sabotaged, supported, blessed and opposed the DAC and the Round Table in turn, became most active in his effort to thwart any transfer of power and the holding of elections through the Round Table.

Bhashani, leader of the NAP extremists, failed to sabotage the general strike in East Pakistan. His bid to sabotage the formation of DAC also failed. He staged a political comeback in Dacca after 17 February on an anti-RTC platform, but was

resolutely rebuffed by the Student's Action Committee. So he joined hands with Bhutto and added Islamic Socialism to his armory. And so we found him in the strange situation of advocating Islamic Socialism which is a reactionary ideology; of supporting the 11-point program of the Students' Action Committee, which represents the ideology of NAP; and of propagating the ultra-Left Naxalbari line of Gherao.

Supplementing Maudoodi's effort from the other extreme, Bhashani succeeded in creating a conflict between Islam and Socialism—via Islamic Socialism. The bureaucracy also fanned the division. Former Minister of Defense Khan denounced the "attack" on Bhashani one day and condemned his political line of violence the next day.

All these activities pursued a single aim—that of creating division among the masses and conditions of anarchy in the country, which could provide the armed forces with the opportunity to move in.

The class character of the ultra-Left and the ultra-Right must, however, be kept in mind. Bhashani cannot be lumped together with Maudoodi. The ultra-Left is a trend in the working class and the other oppressed classes, mainly the peasantry, and only objectively helps the enemy. The ultra-Right is an arch reactionary pro-feudal, pro-imperialist, obscurantist trend. There may be some agents of the bureaucracy or other enemy class masquerading as ultra-Left and playing the role of agent provocateurs, but that does not mean that a hostile attitude should be taken towards the ultra-Left as a whole. The ultra-Left is an amorphous group containing genuine but misguided revolutionaries.

Unity of the Left should be the basis of the broadest possible unity on specific issues or programs. Had Bhashani and Bhutto been in the DAC, Jamat could have been cornered. But despite all the efforts of NAP, Bhashani and others refused to join DAC. In future, too, efforts should continue to forge unity with Bhashani and others on common points.

This whole period of 5½ months of popular struggle is rich with experience that calls for detailed study. Sincere Socialists, having faith in socialism as a scientific theory and not believing in socialism as a religion can learn much from it. And, as we see them, the main lessons are:

1. The issue of against whom the main blow should be aimed has been proved. It is the military and civil bureaucracy-based autocratic rulers.

2. The ultra-Left objectively play the role of the splitters by formulating an anti-capitalist class strategy and giving the slogan of instant socialism or people's democracy. Their line thus forces the non-monopoly capitalists and petty bourgeoisie out of the united front of the people into the embrace of the imperialists, monopolists and feudalists. This line runs counter to the line of the 81 Parties' Document of 1960 and obstructs the achievement of an Independent National Democracy. The Left unity slogan, when advanced in the context of the anti-capitalist class strategy, and not as a part of the united front of the patriotic, democratic and progressive classes as was done by the ultra-Left, serves the same purpose.

3. The ten-year rule of Ayub was an incubation period for the monopoly capitalists. Now they are well entrenched and, consequently, thoroughly isolated from the masses and counterposed to them.

4. Agent-provocateurs masquerading as Lefts, and ultra-Right reactionary religious slogans are used against the democratic movement by the reactionaries and imperialists with some success in the present national and international conditions.

5. Independent National Democracy is impossible in our country until the masses are sufficiently organized on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance to overcome the power of civil and military bureaucracy to impose autocratic rule.

6. The students can play a sustained role at least during the critical, and more difficult phase of the revolution in forging the people's united front, and in organizing the peasantry.

7. The ruling class will leave no stone unturned to prevent the working-class movement from coalescing with the movement of the other patriotic groups.

8. The recent movement, which gave the working class a glimpse of power, demonstrated its ability to lead the peasantry and the struggle of the patriotic people.

9. The absence of a higher theoretical level among individual workers is a big weakness of class conscious workers, especially in West Pakistan.

10. The mass line, pursued by the class conscious workers and by the NAP, has been proved wholly correct.

11. The most important lesson is that while the objective conditions for the democratic revolution have fully matured, the subjective conditions (level of organization and of consciousness) are not yet adequately developed.

The re-imposition of martial law on March 25 once again brings to the fore the issue of federal parliamentary democracy, general elections and adult franchise, which had been earlier solved by the DAC. The masses are weary, but they have already tasted their strength, and in this is the guarantee that they will rise again.

The recent movement was but a rehearsal for the greater movement that is yet to come and which will sweep away autocratic rule and the imperialists, monopolists and feudalists.

In the meantime, we shall digest the experience gained, regroup our forces, and keep our powder dry for the battles ahead.

NATO's chemical and germ warfare strategy

The Byelorussian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Hungarian, Mongolian, Polish, Rumanian, Soviet and Ukrainian delegations to the 24th UN General Assembly jointly tabled the draft of a Convention outlawing the development, manufacture and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons, stipulating the destruction of existing supplies.

Supported by many other delegations and evoking a favorable public reaction, the action of the socialist countries was hailed as a roadblock to the accumulation of chemico-biological weapons. Bourgeois press organs, too, think it imperative to outlaw and destroy the disease-bearing weapons and war gases, for the prospect of accidents involving them, like those involving the U.S. nuclear bombs at Palomares, Spain, and the Thule base in Greenland, is alarming.

The magnitude of the danger is brought home by reports in the world press. In July on Okinawa 24 U.S. servicemen were hospitalized in a grave condition after exposure to a neuro-toxin leaking from a gas-filled shell in a depot. Last year a plane accidentally ejected a cloud of the same gas in the vicinity of the Dugway testing ground in Utah, causing the death of thousands of sheep on a neighboring farm. And in September on the banks of the Rhine an alarm was raised when seven containers of poisons from the Leverkusen Bayer plant were accidentally dropped into the river. Last but not least, in August 1967 a number of researchers in Frankfurt-on-Main and Marburg suffered from a mysterious illness, eight of them dying, while the rest barely

survived. *La tribune des nations* asked: has this tragic event anything to do with chemical or biological war research? West German officialdom shied away from this question.

It is indicative, however, that involved were U.S. bases on Okinawa and in Utah, and West Germany, because the United States and the Federal Republic are reported to have been conducting intensive development of chemical and biological weapons for years, both the U.S. Army and the Bundeswehr building up stockpiles.

POISONS AND GERMS

The United States is the only major power that has not ratified the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925, outlawing use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other similar gases and biological agents. Moreover, Washington refuses to honor the 1966 UN resolution reaffirming the principles of international law pertaining to chemico-biological warfare. That is probably why U.S. generals think they are free to do as they please. Eager to stock their arsenals with diverse weapons of extermination, they have enlisted the services of scientists, research centers and industrial plants.

Associated Press reported on August 8, 1969, that throughout the decade the United States has been secretly priming for a war with visible and invisible weapons that destroy people, animals and crops. Though the pertinent budget allocations are secret, an AP investigation showed that \$2,500 million has been spent on this since 1960.

The *Christian Science Monitor*, *Newsday* and the journal *Ordnance* have furnished some details. It turns out that the U.S. Army has six special arsenals and testing grounds in army-owned territory to manufacture, test and stockpile various types of chemical and biological weapons, the total cost of the installations exceeding \$1,000 million. Edgewood Arsenal employs some 5,500 people, of whom about one fifth have academic degrees, and Pine Bluff Arsenal has 250 underground installations for storage of biological weapons.

The U.S. press lifts the veil high enough on Pentagon secrets to provide an idea of the latter establishment's hell's kitchen. It has stockpiled millions of kilograms of poisonous substances—from the tear gas widely used against Negro demonstrations to neurotoxins causing almost instantaneous death. Experiments are underway, too, to redouble the toxic content of the V-type poisons which act through the skin and render gas-masks useless. Researchers are also developing germs and viruses immune to vaccine, with the accent on bearers of lethal diseases such as tularemia, smallpox, anthrax, the plague, encephalitis, typhoid, and so on.

All the evidence indicates that this build-up of chemico-biological weapons is not "just in case," not a mere deterrent, as claimed by Pentagon chief Melvin Laird. Poisons and germs figure prominently in the aggressive plans of Washington and NATO. Robin Clarke's *The Silent Weapons*, a book published in New York last year, says that propaganda-conditioning has affected the public attitude to chemical and biological weapons, which are now viewed as a "humane" mode of warfare. Western staffs are advocating their use, restricting nuclear attacks to enemy troops only, supplemented by "silent" attacks on the civilian population and thus sparing the material wealth of the conquered country.

Some imperialist propaganda media contend that the dangers of poisons and germs are greatly exaggerated. The purpose of this is to blunt the vigilance of the public, for the U.S. and NATO staffs have concrete and detailed plans for the use of chemical and biological weapons.

One such scheme was recently exposed by the West German *Stern*, the U.S. *Ramparts*, the Italian *A-B-C* and other publications in the United States and Western Europe. It concerns a top-secret U.S. document, listed as "10-1," outlining warfare by "unconventional means," involving chemical and biological weapons. The project-

ed theatre of operations embraces 101 areas in 23 European countries, including neutral Finland, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland.

According to Plan "10-1" special units, like the Green Berets now operating in Vietnam and in other countries, practice "unconventional warfare" in socialist and some non-socialist European countries as a "support" operation, with instructions to use nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as well as conventional arms. Among other things, it envisages dissemination of chemical agents already tested in South Vietnam. The consequences may be appalling, for two thimblefuls of botulin are enough to exterminate a million people.

No denial of the scheme has been forthcoming from either the U.S. military command or officials in Bonn (the plan being drawn up by a U.S. Army Headquarters in the FRG); evidently, it could not be denied, for too many details are known to the public.

One can assume that similar plans exist for other regions. The United States, according to press reports, has stockpiled chemico-biological weaponry in many of its military bases, of which, according to Associated Press, there are 429 big ones and 2,000 lesser ones located all over the globe. Pentagon orders are being filled by secret laboratories in Brazil, Panama, Britain, Japan, Australia, Israel, the South African Republic and Portugal. But the closest cooperation in boosting the potency of war gases and disease-bearing agents is between the militarists of the U.S. and Federal Germany.

SUCCESSORS TO THE NAZIS

Documents published by the German Democratic Republic and press reports in the U.S. and Western Europe reveal that West Germany is developing and stockpiling chemical and biological weapons, and that, among other things, Bonn's Ministry of Defense is exploiting to the full such favorable factors as West Germany's highly developed chemical industry, the ample supplies of raw materials, the fact that chemical and biological research is much cheaper than nuclear research, facilities for secrecy and, lastly, the know-how accumulated by the Nazi Reich.

During the Second World War giant concerns, particularly IG-Farben, supplied poisons to the Wehrmacht and SS, including tabun, sarin, soman, as well as cyclon B, which was used to exterminate millions of people in the death camps. In this sense,

the present West German militarists are the direct successors to the Nazis.

A memorandum to the United Nations from the Foreign Ministry of the German Democratic Republic in the summer of 1969 showed that Farbenfabriken Bayer AG in Leverkusen and Wuppertal-Elberfeld, Chemische Fabrik Boehringer in Ingelheim and Karlsruhe, Chemische Fabrik Knoll AG in Ludwigshafen and the Hoechst AG plants in Frankfurt-on-Main are developing and manufacturing chemical agents for the Bundeswehr. Bayer, the successors to IG-Farben, the complicity of which in the Nazi aggression is well established, is operating on a large scale, concentrating on highly toxic organic phosphorus compounds, its chemists increasing thousands-fold the toxic content of already known poisons.

The GDR evidence published under separate cover in 1969, shows that the West German chemical and germ warfare program is supervised by the Federal Defense Ministry, whose Department of War Technology handles all matters pertaining to development. Centers have been set up under Bundeswehr auspices to prepare for chemico-biological warfare. One of these, Research Group ABC, is exploring the practical use of "silent weapons" and their effects on the human body, seeking to boost the role of the FRG in NATO chemical and biological warfare preparations and to extend its cooperation with other NATO members, especially the United States. Officers of the ABC group, subordinated to the Artillery Inspectorate, are attached to all Bundeswehr divisions as consultants in the field use of poisons and germs. Research Center ABC E 53, near Lueneburger Heide, once used by the Wehrmacht, is investigating the offensive possibilities of these weapons.

In chemico-biological matters, the GDR documents reveal, the Federal Defense Ministry collaborates with some 120 higher educational establishments, the best known being Bonn University, Mainz University's Institute of Organic Chemistry, Goettingen University's Institute of Inorganic Chemistry, Freiburg Breisgau University, and the "Free" University in West Berlin.

Of special importance is the Institute of Aerobiology in Graftschaff Sauerland, founded in 1959 by Bonn's military establishment and filling Federal Defense Ministry orders. For camouflage, the Institute is formally run by the Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft of Munich, but the Bundeswehr is the master. This was described in detail at

a Berlin press conference by Dr. Ehrenfried Petras, former microbiology laboratory head in Graftschaff, presently residing in the GDR. *From the beginning*, he said, *the Institute worked on technico-military objectives in an offensive*, with research centered on aerosols of long-lived biological and chemical agents. The aerosols are to contaminate a large territory with sprayed germs for a considerable period. The Institute is investigating the penetrative powers of newly-developed phosphorus-organic compounds and highly toxic VX substances, involving experiments on animals and human skin. It has also experimented with systemic poisons, especially botulin, the most effective of all known chemical agents. His former colleagues in Graftschaff, Dr. Petras said, had access to the researches made for the U.S. by West German chemical and bacteriological centers.

Many facts show that the U.S. military establishment and the Bundeswehr are working hand in hand in projecting the use of poisons and germs. The West German press calls attention to U.S. biological and chemical weapons stockpiled in the FRG, mentioning points such as Mannheim and Hanau. Also, the Italian news agency OP reported U.S. Rep. Richard D. McCarthy as saying that this year the FRG ordered 40 tons of the neuro-toxic VX gas from the United States. Seeing that the Bundeswehr has poison-charged shells and mines and U.S.-made rockets with warheads containing 200 lbs. of lethal gas, the purpose of these imports is clear. Special mine pits have been dug along the border with the GDR and Czechoslovakia, which can be either atomic or chemical.

The successors of the Nazi poisoners are helping the U.S. imperialists in the war against the people of Vietnam, using South Vietnam as a "testing ground" and supplying the interventionists with poisons, used extensively against the liberated areas. Wholesale extermination of people, crops and plantations in South Vietnam involves use of the products of Bayer AG, Hoechst AG and BASF of Ludwigshafen. The West German merchants of "silent weapons" have even found it profitable to establish factories in South Vietnam for the manufacture of chemical munitions.

Documents released in the GDR show that Bayer AG invested DM 4,200,000 in building a plant making toxic gas near Johannesburg, South African Republic, and that West German researchers are cooperating with laboratories and factories in Israel. In other words, the West German

militarists are equipping with mass annihilation weapons not only their own war machine, but the racist regime in Africa and the Israeli extremists, who are provoking a new war in the Middle East.

* * *

The facts show that development and stockpiling of chemico-biological weapons in the United States and in West Germany, and their gradual spread to other countries of the capitalist world, constitute a grave danger to the European peoples and those of other regions. In war they could not only cause colossal human sacrifice, but also affect civilization and man's future. Small wonder that the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Mos-

cow attached importance to combating the danger. In its Appeal in Defense of Peace it called on the peoples to demand an effective international ban on all types of chemical and bacteriological weapons and, acting in the spirit of the Appeal and in pursuance of their internationalist duty, the governments of Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and the Ukraine submitted to the UN General Assembly a joint draft of a Convention for outlawing the development, manufacture and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons. Adoption of this nine-nation project by the United Nations would, no doubt, help safeguard mankind from the perils of chemical and germ warfare.

A.B.

Work among the masses

(From the experience of the Polish United Workers' Party)

A delegation of **World Marxist Review**—**Helene Berg** (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), **A. Gedo** (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party), **J. Kowalczyk** (Polish United Workers' Party), **P. Naumov** (Communist Party of the Soviet Union), **B. Zaharescu** (Rumanian Communist Party) and **E. Zucker-Schilling** (Communist Party of Austria) — met in Warsaw with leading officials of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and its Warsaw organization.

The delegation was received by **Jan Szydlak**, alternate Political Bureau members, Secretary of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of its Ideological Commission.

The following took part in the discussion on behalf of the PUWP Central Committee: **Marian Renke**, deputy head of the international department; **Z. Zandarowski** and **E. Olubek**, deputy heads of the organization department; **S. Kosicki**, deputy head of the agitation and propaganda department; **K. Matwiejuk**, agitation and propaganda department inspector; **J. Koszyczek**, organization department instructor; **J. Lukaszewicz** and **S. Puchala**, secretaries of the Warsaw City Party Committee; **L. Kiew** of the Warsaw City Party Committee; **L. Kiewicz**, chairman of the Warsaw Party Control Commission; **W. Kata**, head of the City Party Committee organizational department; **J. Grzelak**, deputy head of the City Party agitation and propaganda center.

The Polish comrades described the orientation, forms and methods of ideological work, the structure of Poland's multi-party system, the activity of party and public organizations within the People's Unity Front, and certain aspects of the work of the Warsaw City Party Committee.

MAIN LINES OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

In our mass ideological work, **J. Szydlak** said, we are guided chiefly by the decisions of the Fifth Party Congress, which generalized our views and experience.

And one element of this experience is active dissemination of Marxism-Leninism within the Party and in society as the basis for training Communists and fostering socialist consciousness among the population.

The struggle between the two social systems in the ideological sphere acquires especial importance today.

Imperialist propaganda is understandably displaying a heightened interest in the new generation, which has not directly known capitalism and is playing a bigger part in public and Party affairs.

Ideological work must therefore be con-

ducted more intensively and on a bigger scale to meet the demands of the present stage in the struggle against anti-socialist forces, Rightists, revisionism and nationalism—the demands, in short, of Marxist education of a mass party.

And the more active our Party is, especially on the ideological front, in working out positive and constructive solutions for the new problems that arise in socialist construction and the two-system contest, the easier will it be to combat capitalist propaganda.

Comrade **Wladyslaw Gomulka** said in his concluding speech at the Fifth Party Congress: "Without creative development of Marxist thought there can be no effective struggle against revisionist deformation."

Our Party creates all the conditions for

wide discussion and confrontation of views. For we are working on the premise that only through open and bold discussion in many fields of social science and social practice can we eliminate defects in ideological work and raise it to a level consonant with present requirements.

The Political Bureau's Ideological Commission plays an important part in this. J. Szydlak described the work of the Commission, its Secretariat and Presidium. It deals with cardinal ideological problems. Proposals from its Secretariat (which includes four Central Committee secretaries) are a basis for discussion and not binding directives. The Presidium (which besides Secretariat members, includes Central Committee department heads) coordinates ideological activities. Meetings of the full commission are attended also by comrades prominent in the ideological and cultural fields, representatives of the social sciences, etc.

At present, the speaker continued, the Commission is concentrating on four projects. The first project is preparations for the Lenin centenary. Several themes have been chosen for popularizing Lenin's ideas among the more than two million Party members, with special reference to the tasks now facing them. Specifically, the subjects are: the Leninist understanding of peaceful coexistence; Lenin's ideas on the political economy of socialism; the principles of internationalism and the roots of nationalism as discussed in Lenin's works; problems of proletarian dictatorship, socialist democracy and the worker-peasant state; the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the Party and its leading role; Lenin's fight against revisionism; agrarian policy as enunciated by Lenin. In addition there is a subject of special importance for our Party, namely, Lenin and Poland, for Lenin devoted much attention to the Polish workers' movement and its development is closely linked with his name.

The second project is improvement of the ideological content of Party training, relating it more closely to the ideological, political and economic problems we have to solve.

The third project is elaboration of a uniform system of political education of the youth, encompassing primary, secondary and higher schools. Work is now in progress on new text-books for all school levels.

The fourth project is more efficient organization and more pithy content of all

our propaganda, including Party training and political information.

Our Party, J. Szydlak stated, will exert every effort to strengthen the unity of the Communist and workers' movement. We are always mindful of that in resolving our own economic, political and ideological problems, for our national interests are inseparably linked with the need to strengthen the socialist camp and international workers' solidarity.

The Fifth Party Congress, S. Kosicki said, emphasized that the most effective way of combating revisionism was to bring all links of the Party into popularizing Marxism-Leninism and relating it to the problems of socialist construction and the worldwide class struggle.

The fight against revisionism, the speaker continued, is bound to be a long one, involving all links of the Party and all sectors of the ideological front. It can be successful only if it is attended by constructive solution of the problems arising in the process of socialist construction.

NEW DEMANDS, NEW TASKS

The accent, S. Kosicki said, is on the strategy of the struggle for socialism on a world scale and in our own country. Now that science has become a direct productive force, combination of the socialist and technological revolutions will make socialism invincible. That was stressed by Comrade Gomulka in his concluding speech at the Fifth Party Congress. This lends especial importance to intensifying economic development and modernizing the production structure in order to reach the highest technical and economic levels of advanced industrial countries.

Such were the tasks set by the Fifth Congress. Concretized by the Central Committee plenum in April, they direct all our propaganda toward cultivating in the people a higher sense of duty, a feeling of responsibility for the country's future, and an understanding of their personal contribution in improving technical and economic performance.

Ours is a growing working class, rich in experience and with steadily rising educational and skill standards. One function of our propaganda is highlighting the role of the working class and the Party as the front-rank, leading social and political force of socialist society. It is particularly important to bring out the political, organizational, ideological and moral role of advanced sections of the working class in the

life of the Party and the country and, parallel with this, intensify political education within the working class.

We are becoming more and more a mass party whose composition is constantly being renewed with the influx of young people who have grown up in the new Poland. Suffice it to say that some 37 per cent joined between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses (1964-68); more than 25 per cent are below the age of 30, and more than 10 per cent are in the 18-24 age group. Ours is a young Party also in terms of length of membership. Hence, the need for extensive Party training. Of course, the vast majority of new recruits join because they accept the Party's principles and policy. But they too stand in need of Marxist training to become ideologically mature Communists.

The system of Party training helps the membership acquire a more profound knowledge of the ideological and political principles of the Marxist-Leninist Party, its home and foreign policy and the history and experience of the Polish and world workers' movement. Last year, 1,500,000 Party members and candidate members—75 per cent of the total—attended Party classes taught by about 70,000 instructors. These figures provide a fair idea of the scope of Party training.

The aim is political training of all young Party members and candidate members through our system of three-year after-work classes in the fundamentals of politics and economics.

The next, intermediate level, is group and individual study of one or more selected subjects. This year's curriculum includes study of the Party's revolutionary traditions, using the selected works of Comrade Gomulka, Marxism-Leninism, political economy and economic policy, problems of philosophy, sociology and scientific atheism.

The evening Marxism-Leninism universities cater for the Party activists, with two-year and one-year courses in political economy, philosophy, sociology, history, scientific atheism, and applied economics.

This year we began supplying new textbooks for all sectors of the Party training system. Publication of all the textbooks will take several years, but we can already provide pamphlet training aids for new members and candidate members.

There have been many change in Party training, especially since the Fifth Congress. For one thing, we are gradually shifting from the old method of lectures to classroom discussion.

Theoretical conferences on various aspects of Party policy, ideological issues, etc., are being arranged for leading Party workers. Besides, many are able to attend the Central Party School, which also runs special courses and seminars.

We have drawn the necessary conclusions from shortcomings in ideological work among some sections of intellectuals. Party organizations are now paying more attention to work among members of the scientific and art communities. One new feature is joint conferences of professionals and Party functionaries—some at Central Committee level—to discuss topical problems in the political, ideological, scientific and art fields.

Campaigns to mark the anniversaries of historic dates are still another means of ideological education of Party members and the public at large. And our experience in this respect has shown that the attitude to history is one of the most sensitive issues of the ideological struggle. In preparing for the 25th anniversary of popular rule, we concentrated on explaining the social, economic, cultural and political problems of Poland's past, the emphasis being on countering hostile views stemming from anti-communist and reactionary positions.

Lucid explanation of the close tie between Poland's national and international interests plays a prominent part in all our educational work. The interests of People's Poland are inseparable from the cause of socialism, the socialist camp and its fight against imperialism. And our experience conclusively proves that this fusion of national and international tasks is a major factor in strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement and of the socialist camp.

Preparations for the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, begun in April, are now central to all our ideological work. And our aim here is to popularize Lenin's theoretical heritage, and more especially, to bring out the relevance of his thoughts, views and ideas in the struggle for progress, democracy and socialism, in the struggle against revisionism. We bring to the knowledge of our people Lenin's unfading contribution to the achievement of Polish independence, the role he played in the Polish workers' movement and in elaborating an effective program of social change.

Preparations for the Lenin jubilee help us concentrate on crucial issues and treat them in the light of Lenin's teaching. This, of course, ties up with popularization of the

International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Question: How did Polish Communists respond to the Moscow Meeting and its results?

M. Renke: Our whole Party followed the preparations and proceedings of the Meeting with keen interest. For Party members have a deep feeling of solidarity and unity with the international Communist movement. Nor is that expressed merely in declarations—it is a definite political fact, the result of sustained and devoted effort to train all Party members in a spirit of proletarian internationalism.

And there is also a deep feeling of concern over negative developments in the Communist and workers' movement, primarily manifestations of splitting activities that undermine unity, and certain centrifugal tendencies. At Party meetings there are dozens, in fact hundreds, of questions betokening deep concern for the unity of our world movement and a great demand for more information.

The consensus in the Party is that the Moscow Meeting was an outstanding success, demonstrating unity of the movement on the overall problem of the fight against imperialism, regardless of different viewpoints on certain other questions. And this, I believe, is fully appreciated by all our Party members. It should also be noted that the Meeting enabled them better to understand the complexity of the situation in the international Communist and workers' movement and —without over-dramatizing—the reasons for certain developments.

The materials of the Meeting add up to a panoramic picture of the struggle the Communist parties are waging in widely differing conditions. The experience of Communist parties in socialist and developed capitalist countries, the class struggle and the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the experience of fraternal parties working in legal and illegal conditions—they were all comprehensively discussed at the Moscow Meeting. Its documents open up new prospects for the anti-imperialist movement and create a feeling of confidence.

The Party press carried detailed reports of the Meeting, publishing all the speeches, many in full and, of course, all the documents. These materials are of inestimable value for internationalist education of young Party members and the young generation generally. And it is no accident that the Third Central Committee plenum urged their extensive use in ideological work

among the youth. In fact, the plenum decision says we will constantly draw on the Moscow documents in all our propaganda, Party training and information and, naturally, in all our international activities.

IMPROVING PROPAGANDA METHODS, COUNTERING ENEMY ATTACKS

Poland is a country of rapid change, both in terms of economic and cultural development and social composition of the population, its living and educational standards, etc. New economic planning and management methods have been introduced; socialist democracy has been carried to factory level; much attention is paid to investment policy; new problems are posed by the technological revolution. All this, naturally, has to be taken into account in our ideological work.

Ours is an ideology deeply anchored in science and based entirely on scientific principles, S. Kosicki said. We must therefore make use of scientific methods in all our ideological work. Let me cite one example, the changing age-structure of the population. We Poles are one of Europe's youngest nations: 40 per cent are under 19, and over 50 per cent under 29. It has always been a characteristic of youth to show a keen interest in the future. Hence, it is especially important for our propaganda to give a clear prospect of the country's development.

On the initiative of the Party leadership, the Academy of Sciences set up a study group on long-range social prognostication. We propagandists welcomed that initiative and hope that the prognostications will help us in our work. We want to make much more effective use of research in the social sciences. And in this respect a good deal can be done by the Central Party School, which has its own research groups on various problems of propaganda and other Party work.

We are now employing several new propaganda methods based on the experience of last year's major ideological and political clashes with various revisionist and nationalist tendencies and the people behind them, and on the results of the last election campaign. For instance, we are more frequently resorting to direct dialogue between the Party and the people through meetings with Party leaders and also through the "free forum" columns in the press.

We attach much importance to extending public debate with our political opponents.

Needless to say, radio, television and the cinema exert a very strong influence on

public thinking, and, mindful of that, we provide a cinema "background" to some of our lectures and talks.

Question: How does bourgeois propaganda penetrate into Poland, and how, concretely, is its influence countered?

S. Kosicki: I think we should bear in mind two sources of this propaganda, internal and external. Of course, the overwhelming majority of our people firmly stand for socialism. But there are certain elements within the country who, in definite circumstances, can be the disseminators of hostile ideology. I refer to the remnants of the old exploiting classes, erstwhile bourgeois party leaders, men associated with the reactionary underground active in the early liberation days. These groups are small but in some cases they can, and do, act as vehicles of the hostile propaganda directed to Poland from various imperialist subversion centres. Nor should we overlook the part played by the reactionary section of the clergy, which has repeatedly and openly come out against the socialist state and the policy of the Polish United Workers' Party.

To all this I might add survivals of the past in the minds of some people, primarily among the once numerous petty bourgeoisie and certain sections of the intelligentsia.

Every manifestation of opposition within the country is immediately seized upon by capitalist propaganda centers and given megaphone publicity throughout the world. There is also a reverse process: every propaganda stunt from abroad is seized upon by certain elements within the country.

And with this constant ideological pressure from outside, the survivals of the past in people's minds offer a receptive soil also for revisionist views. These originated several years ago among some of our scientists, particularly in the social sciences and the universities and seeped through to the students and other sections of the youth. The substance and implications of these revisionist views were carefully analyzed in preparation for and during the Fifth Party Congress. Generally speaking, they can be reduced to negation of the Party's leading role and of socialist democracy, to which the revisionists contrast bourgeois democracy. These views and trends always have an anti-Soviet coloring and consequently play into the hands of imperialist propaganda.

And the latter uses every conceivable infiltration technique, including exploitation

of our broad cultural and scientific contacts. Besides, all manner of foreign "centers" try to introduce their anti-socialist and anti-Soviet publications. West German revanchist centers are especially active in spreading their propaganda.

Radio, of course, plays a special part in all this ideological subversion. Western radio stations broadcast 30 hours a day in Polish—Free Europe alone accounts for 19 hours. And all of them work in one and the same direction—ceaseless attacks on our social system in order to sow confusion and undermine the people's confidence in socialism. This is done ostensibly to help "correct" or "improve" the socialist system. That tactic is, of course, only added proof that our enemies have come to realize that blatant anti-socialist slogans will find no response from our people. Hence, this smokescreen of ostensible support for socialism.

This is how Free Europe conducted its broadcasts during the last Sejm and local elections. It came out with its own election program, full of demagogic demands, and obviously designed to discredit the achievements of People's Poland, to prove that the elections were not democratic, and to undermine confidence in the People's Unity Front candidates.

The election results showed that this elaborate piece of ideological subversion had failed dismally, but only because we had effectively countered it. For instance, we were able to contrast the achievements of socialist democracy to the evils of bourgeois democracy and expose its hypocritical restrictive nature. We provided all Party members with arguments to help them in their political work.

However, the election campaign also showed the need for more comprehensive explanation of the problems of socialist democracy, and we have ample arguments convincingly to prove its superiority.

Z. Zandarowski: "Free Europe" radio broadcasts can be heard in every part of the country, and it is not unlikely that within a few years foreign propaganda centers will try to broadcast television programs too. This has to be taken into account in planning our mass ideological work. And the first thing we have to do in this respect is to bring to the knowledge of the Party and the entire population the basic facts of socialist construction. This is the most effective way of countering enemy propaganda which, incidentally, shows scant respect for facts.

S. Kosicki cited one more example of enemy propaganda. The Second Central Committee plenum concretized the Fifth Party Congress directives and worked out measures to intensify economic development. Hostile propaganda came out with the version that the earlier period of economic development had been one of "mistakes" by the leadership. The idea, obviously, was to drive a wedge between the people and the Party and government. Our reply, particularly in the campaign to mark the 25th anniversary of popular rule, was to show that economic development is an uninterrupted process of transition from lower to higher forms, and that had we not used the extensive development factors of the earlier period, we could not have gone over to the present pattern of intensive growth.

The difficulties we now have to face in building socialism sometimes manifest themselves as a contradiction between national and personal interests. And this, in turn, finds expression in the proclivity

among some elements to "get rich" by any and every method, which runs counter to the socialist principle of distribution according to work done. The trends differ—towards reducing the income gap and, conversely, widening it. The approach differs among different social groups. For instance, a man with a good flat approaches the problem of housing investment differently than a family on the waiting list. Imperialist radio propaganda uses such problems, distorting them to suit its purpose. What I want to emphasize, S. Kosicki said, is that in our ideological work we must react to every issue, every problem.

Z. Zandarowski remarked that the structure and distribution of the national income—a subject of popular interest—has been discussed in all Party branches on the basis of detailed and concrete facts and figures. When Party members know and understand the reasons for one or another policy decision, we can anticipate complete approval of the Party's line.

THE PEOPLE'S UNITY FRONT

Popular rule rests on the alliance of the Polish United Workers' Party with the United Peasant and Democratic parties. Both work under the guidance of the PUWP and make up the core of the People's Unity Front. Other affiliates are trade union, youth and women's organizations, the Resistance Fighters' Organization, etc. In short, the Front embraces all patriots who accept the socialist foundations of our political structure, irrespective of past views, party affiliation or religious beliefs.

The People's Unity Front is more than an idea—it is the mass basis of popular rule, a great movement extending to millions of Poles. Its practical activity has contributed immensely to the country's material and cultural progress. Hundreds of thousands are active on its committees, from national to rural, commissions and other bodies, and practically the entire population is in one or another way involved in its work.

The People's Unity Front has its antecedents and traditions. Its origins go back to the policy declaration the Polish Workers' Party published when the country was still under German occupation. It said that the Polish Workers' Party did not seek a monopoly in the fight against the invader and did not seal itself off from other organizations honestly fighting the enemy. It was working to unite all the forces in the battle against Hitlerism and to that end

was building a broad anti-fascist national front.

Both as a political concept and as a practical movement, the National Front proved its viability in the fight against the invader, and successfully withstood another test, when the foundations of popular rule were being laid immediately after liberation, and in the subsequent years of socialist construction.

SOCIALIST POLAND'S MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM

Z. Zandarowski described how the system works.

Our Party, which exercises political leadership, cooperates with its two allies, the United Peasant and Democratic parties, which are independent non-Marxist political parties that accept the building of socialism under the leadership of the PUWP and belong to the People's Unity Front. Both make their distinct contribution to developing socialist democracy and share responsibility for government policy and the country's future. Naturally, this independence cannot lead to opposition to the PUWP or to the socialist system.

The multi-party system presupposes concerted action of the PUWP and its two allies in activating all social strata in the process of socialist construction. Mention

might be made of the social milieu from which the two parties draw support. The United Peasant Party recruits its members in rural areas, partly from professionals working in agriculture. The Democratic Party is made up mostly of civil servants, the liberal professions, artisans and what are usually termed the intermediate strata.

The Polish United Workers' Party is not only spokesman for the working class, but also for the worker-peasant, and working class — intelligentsia alliance. This means that the PUWP speaks for wide sections of the people of town and country and is the custodian of Poland's national interests.

This is reflected in the Party's composition and its organizational network. At present, the Party has 2,156,000 members and candidate members, of whom 40 per cent are blue-collar and 42 per cent white-collar workers—and this latter category includes a considerable proportion of engineers, technicians, schoolteachers and economists—and 12 per cent are farmers. The Party has 7 members and candidate members for every 100 farms. It has branches for all trades and professions and in 95 per cent of the country's villages.

The United Peasant Party has 380,000 members, of whom 71 per cent (270,000) are farmers. Its farmer membership is slightly bigger than the PUWP's (240,000). A breakdown of Peasant Party membership shows 5.5 per cent farm workers, nearly 14 per cent professionals and white-collar workers connected with agriculture, over 5 per cent schoolteachers, students and pupils in agricultural schools and institutes. The Party has 24,000 branches in rural areas, and 2,260 in urban communities.

The Democratic Party: total membership 82,000, of which 60 per cent white-collar workers and 40 per cent private and co-operative artisans, small shopkeepers, etc., 2,800 branches, most of them territorial, but also 510 branches in offices, schools, etc., and 566 in producer and consumer co-operatives. The Democratic Party's structure is thus rather unique, for it has both territorial (residential area) and industrial branches.

The three-party alliance allows for different organizational forms and methods, with each party retaining initiative in resolving concrete problems. At the same time, however, there is a coordinating procedure through the so-called Intra-Party Forum, and central, provincial and county coordinating commissions, with permanently functioning secretariats. In addition, there are bilateral meetings of representa-

tives of our party and one of the two other parties, and, of course, there is day-to-day contact between representatives of the three parties.

All three have their representatives in central and local government bodies. The Sejm elected on June 1 has a total of 460 members, of whom 255 represent the Polish United Workers' Party, 117 the Peasant Party, 39 the Democratic Party, and 49 have no party affiliation. The breakdown for the People's Councils at all levels is: PUWP 45.6 per cent, United Peasant Party 20.6 per cent, Democratic Party 2.1 per cent, and non-party over 30 per cent. The three parties are represented on the Sejm executive bodies and in the Council of State. Each maintains its own parliamentary group, and that arrangement operates in all other elective bodies.

Question: Were many candidates rejected in the last elections. How many failed to win election?

Z. Zandarowski: I would like to draw attention to three factors. First, 99.2 per cent of the 20,642,449 votes cast went to candidates of the People's Unity Front, and only about 0.8 per cent (161,569) were cast against them.

These figures are eloquent proof of the Party's close link with the people, the result of our continuing and extensive work of political education.

Second, our electoral system provides for more candidates than the number of seats to be filled. For instance, there were 622 candidates for the 460 Sejm seats, and 237,873 candidates for the 165,725 seats on local bodies.

Data made public in the pre-Congress discussion indicate that most of the candidates were workers and farmers with a large proportion of women and young people.

Third, the vast majority of voters opted for the candidates at the top of the list, which meant that they voted in accordance with the number of seats allotted the given constituency. There were about 30 cases of candidates at the bottom of the list being returned in local elections.

Throughout these 25 years of People's Poland, Zandarowski continued, our multi-party system has successfully withstood every practical test. In the socialist framework, it differs fundamentally from the multi-party systems in capitalist countries. For socio-economic change has produced a society in which the principal aim and interests of all classes and social groups coincide. The multi-party system helps to acti-

vate the people in the building of socialism, functions in a coordinated manner and dis-

cussions of specific controversial questions make for still closer unity.

PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR ROLE

In addition to its All-Poland Committee, the People's Unity Front has committees at all territorial levels, and at election time also constituency committees. All party and public organizations, *K. Matwiejuk* said, are represented on these committees. Representatives from villages are elected directly by village meetings, while at higher levels they are delegated by their organizations. The All-Poland Committee consists of 206 representatives, and the provincial committees of over 100, with all sociopolitical groups represented. In addition, committee work is done by a vast army of volunteer social workers.

The Unity Front committees are the ones to organize all national political campaigns, the election campaigns included, drawing up election programs, the lists of candidates, making up the ballots, and sponsoring meetings of the electorate.

At People's Unity Front consultations, at which candidates are selected for the People's Councils, some candidates are replaced by more suitable ones.

Our election system, *E. Olubek* said, has a built-in procedure of consulting the electorate: the People's Unity Front issues lists of candidates approximately a month before the elections. The lists are announced at village gatherings, residential meetings and meetings in factories, enterprises and offices, with each citizen entitled to raise objections, suggest changes and make his own nominations. The matter is then thrashed out and any challenged candidate, if the allegations against him prove true, may be replaced.

The Unity Front Committees, *K. Matwiejuk* said, set up a number of commissions: that for propaganda publishes booklets, posters, and other propaganda material; that for public initiative organizes volunteers for road-building, building of stadiums and clubhouses, tree-planting and residential improvement schemes; the youth commissions coordinate political and educational work among young people and help organize their leisure; the arbitration commissions, which usually exist in villages only, are for dealing with conflicts and misunderstandings among neighbors, relieving courts of law from the duty of handling minor cases.

Organizing the so-called civic knowledge

centers is another Unity Front concern. These sponsor lectures on a variety of subjects, especially in villages where the PUWP or the United Peasant Party have no branches. The commission for building schools and school hostels has now expanded into a public movement on Comrade Gomulka's initiative: more than a thousand schools have been built on funds contributed by the people to mark the millenary of Polish statehood.

E. Olubek spoke of the variety of public organizations, leagues, societies and associations in the country. Though they differ in size and scope, each is afforded equal opportunities to participate in the country's social, economic and cultural life and in building socialism.

The creative professions, for example, have unions of their own: the Union of Polish Writers and the unions of composers, artists, actors, and so on. Acting in the interest of their membership, these carry on propaganda of the achievements of the arts and in culture. Also, they participate in shaping the nation's cultural policy, submitting pertinent proposals to the government. The Main Technical Organization and the Polish Economic Society are prominent in linking science with practice and disseminating popular technical knowledge. Their influence extends to the domain of production management and efficiency, and their factory branches are represented on workers' self-administration bodies at the different levels.

Regional and local organizations function alongside national ones. We have numerous local societies for the protection of cultural assets and historical relics. National minority organizations, such as the Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Slovak and Jewish cultural societies, keep alive the national and linguistic traditions of their people and disseminate literature and folklore. The League of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, comprising war and resistance veterans, conducts considerable educational work. Also active in their respective fields are the Polish Red Cross Society, the Social Aid Committee and the Anti-Alcoholic League. The variety of public organizations is so great that a complete list is hardly possible here. It remains to be said, however, that each is given every opportunity to display its

initiative and to cooperate with the central and local authorities.

Poland has four youth organizations conducting ideological, educational and cultural work. The League of Socialist Youth is highly influential in the towns and the League of Village Youth in the countryside. There is also the League of Polish Students and the children's Pioneer organization. Their total membership exceeds four million, with the Socialist Youth and Village Youth comprising one million members each. The most numerous youth organization, with a membership in excess of two million, is that of the Young Pioneers.

In representative bodies of government like the People's Councils, 10 per cent of the deputies represent youth organizations, chiefly the Socialist Youth and Village Youth leagues.

Olubek listed the women's organizations: the Women's League circles of village housewives, city housewives' clubs and women's councils in enterprises, the latter working in close cooperation with the trade unions. As a result of our political drive, he said, women's participation in government and workers' self-administration has increased considerably.

The trade unions, the biggest mass organizations, play an extremely important part in the system of socialist democracy. The Central Trade Union Council embraces 22 unions with a total membership of more than nine million, with some of its member unions comprising 700,000 and even up to 900,000 members. The unions have industrial and territorial administrations, as well as factory and local committees.

They are endowed with the power of legislative initiative, participate in economic administration, distribution of the national income and the shaping of cultural and social policies. They exercise public control over working conditions, observance of labor legislation, and handle labor disputes. The trade union system of public control in the distribution industry (commerce) and community services exercises functions that are normally those of the state. Besides, the unions are in complete charge of the nation's holiday homes and sanatoria.

Trade Union initiative in labor emulation drives, production campaigns and other forms of civic activity has yielded considerable benefits. By and large, the unions act on the principle that production matters and the people's everyday needs command equal priority.

WORKERS' SELF-ADMINISTRATION, A VEHICLE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Socialist democracy in production. E. Olubek said, is expressed through workers' self-administration bodies, vested with considerable decision-making powers in areas related to the activity and growth of enterprises and control of production. Workers' factory and shop councils are elected directly by the workers, with the Conference of Workers' Self-Administration being the highest body. The latter consists of members of the PUWP factory committee, the trade-union factory committee and the Workers' Council, and representatives of the factory branches of the League of Socialist Youth, the Main Technical Organization and the Polish Economic Society. The director of the enterprise, though not a member of the Conference, may attend its meetings.

Out of the total of nearly 250,000 members of workers self-administration conferences, 152,000 are workers, some 60,000 engineers and technicians and some 40,000 economists and administrative staff.

The Conference is vested with considerable powers. It examines the annual accounts of the enterprise, receives reports of the administration on production assignments and participates in defining the trends of growth and in drafting annual and long-term plans. It takes part in the allocation of funds for capital investment and in the distribution of the so-called decentralized funds of the enterprise.

Workers' self-administration exercises a distinct influence on the choice in technological and production improvements, organization of labor and the structural aspects, the forms and trends of labor emulation and in framing the factory rules and regulations. To be sure, self-administration is expected to conform with the general economic and social policy of the state. The director of the enterprise, representative of the state interest, may, therefore, reject workers' suggestions that are contrary to the general line. However, cases of that sort are practically nonexistent.

Workers' self-administration has become a form of participation in government and any derogation of it is, in effect, inconceivable. What we are witnessing is a significant blending of the workers' initiative with the activity of the state, which we shall now proceed to illustrate with a few examples.

A new system was adopted by the Se-

cond Central Committee Meeting for drawing up the five-year plan for 1971-75, reversing the former principles of planning: it now originates on the factory floor and proceeds through the amalgamations, the various senior administrations to the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, not vice versa as before.

The enterprises are given five obligatory targets in all, the others being supplementary and optional, that is, modifiable if contrary to the conceptions of the enterprise deriving from an on-the-spot efficiency analysis.

This affords the factories room for maneuver in the search for the best solutions. Furthermore, instructions of the Central Committee Secretariat and government decisions oblige the factory administration to discuss the drafts at workers' production conferences, whereupon they are scrutinized by the workers' Self-Administration Conference. To be sure, representatives of the higher agencies, the amalgamations, administrations, research institutes and ministries, participate in the discussion, chiefly as technico-economic advisers. Once the draft plans are thrashed out at the lower levels they are forwarded to the Planning Commission, which vets the targets from the standpoint of the national interest

but allows the actual planners to present their case and defend their conception, with the ultimate decision resting with the economic factors.

Several million people are thus actively drawn into planning, and to apply the outcome of this massive effort as effectively as possible naturally becomes for us an important political objective, and our Party, naturally, takes into account the initiative of so many people.

I should like to stress, Olubek added, that the PUWP attaches importance to all the bodies of self-administration and tries to enhance their role in the system of socialist democracy. As society's leading force, it combines the activity of all public organizations into a harmonious movement for the benefit of socialism. It exercises guidance of public organizations through affiliated Party members, who are expected to carry forward the duties of leadership by the force of their prestige and influence. However, appointing its representatives, the Party follows the principle of consent and approval by the organization concerned. Work done in those organizations by the respective Party members is discussed from time to time at different Party levels. That is an essential element of Party leadership.

WORK OF THE WARSAW PARTY ORGANIZATION

The Polish capital, J. Lukaszewicz said, has a population of 1,300,000, of whom more than 730,000 (including commuters) are employed in publicly-owned industries. Warsaw is the third biggest industrial center in the country after Katowice and Wroclaw, its industrial output amounting to 6.7 per cent of Poland's aggregate production. Its industries account for 7.3 per cent of the exports and 7.7 per cent of the national income. The list of Warsaw's industries is topped by the steel works making chiefly high-grade steel, a motor works, the Nowotko Mechanical Plant making diesel motors, etc.

The engineering and electronic industries and about 50 per cent of the Polish electro-technical potential are concentrated in Warsaw, which is also the country's main scientific and cultural center. Nearly 50,000 students are enrolled in its higher educational establishments, including the correspondence departments, almost equalling the total of students in all pre-war Poland. Warsaw's research institutes, employing almost half the nation's scientific person-

nel, number ninety, and it has 17 theatres and 23 theatrical stages. Nearly 1,500 actors, 600 writers and poets and many artists have chosen it as their place of residence.

Warsaw's powerful industry and numerous working class, coupled with the strong contingent of intelligentsia, exercise a definitive influence on the work of our City Committee. An additional factor is the presence of the PUWP Central Committee, the Ministries and other top-level Party and government institutions.

Warsaw's Party organization consists of 112,000 full and candidate members, of whom nearly 30 per cent are workers. Of the people employed in industry some 15 per cent are Party members, and about 10 per cent of those employed elsewhere.

We have nearly 2,000 Party branches, some 1,200 shop cells, and seven district committees. The City Committee and the district and factory committees employ 261 political workers, the age of 90 per cent of whom is 30 to 40.

Question: Would you tell us about the recent changes in Party cadres?

Changes in Party cadres, J. Lukaszewicz said, occur for various reasons. One reason is transfer from Party to government work and vice versa. Comrades doing Party work are recommended as, say, deputy chairmen of district councils and some for work in various ministries. Another reason for cadre changes was the selection of more competent people, people with a higher education. However, the main criterion in promoting people to Party work is their character and politico-ideological make-up.

People were dismissed from responsible Party posts if moral flaws came to light or if their work was not up to standard. Also, people were allowed to leave if their views diverged from those of the Party on important political issues. This applied, first and foremost, to exponents of revisionist ideas.

Lukaszewicz pointed out that cadre policy is a continuous process comprising a systematic appraisal of people, whether or not they are members of the Party, working in top posts in enterprises, offices and Party bodies. This was the approach that culminated in the cadre changes of 1968.

SOME OF WARSAW'S PROBLEMS

One could scarcely list all the problems preoccupying the Party's city and district committees. Most of them, Lukaszewicz said, center on tasks set by the Central Committee, while some derive from the city's daily life.

Lukaszewicz examined the main problem, related to Warsaw's growth. In the past four years, he said, the City Committee has been concentrating on Warsaw's harmonious development. War-damaged Warsaw developed fairly rapidly early in the postwar, what with industry being restored and expanded and people streaming into the capital. Not until 1964 did the disproportions between the number of jobs, the size of the population and the labor supply create any serious problem. But at that point we had to ask ourselves whether Warsaw should be allowed to grow unrestrictedly. Should it have a population of 1,300,000 or 2,000,000, or still more? We had difficulties in maintaining an adequate labor force. Industry needed more workers and the expansion of the population was becoming uncontrollable. More workers kept streaming into Warsaw. In due course, people living in hostels (known as workers' hotels) wanted flats, though many of the city's stock population had inadequate housing. We had to find a solution for the question of how to use the existing pro-

ductive potential, and at once stem the inflow of new people, in order to prevent a deterioration in housing, community services, public transport, etc.

The City Committee decided to give the city's industry a specific orientation, considering that the bulk of the research and technical force, and of skilled labor, was concentrated in Warsaw.

We divided industry into three groups: a) expanding enterprises allowed to engage new labor, b) enterprises whose employment should remain at the 1964 level and c) enterprises cutting back production or moving to locations where surplus labor is available. The latter's labor force is retrained and transferred to the expanding factories. Under this scheme, more than 20,000 jobs were transferred out of Warsaw between 1966 and 1969, the labor thus released shifting to other local factories.

Employment limits were set and a strict employment routine established. Followed for four years, Lukaszewicz noted, this policy paved the way for the city's further harmonious growth and for control over the growth of Warsaw's population. Also, it contributed to a partial solution of the housing problem. More than 60,000 families were provided with flats in 1966-68, though the housing problem has hardly been solved.

We had to align our public education with all these developments, for Warsaw factories should preferably obtain labor locally, not import workers from other towns and districts.

Education was modified both at the secondary and higher levels. Certain privileges were extended to secondary technical schooling, securing thereby a supply of skilled personnel for industry, building and the utilities.

The number of students admitted to higher educational establishments is regulated to conform with the demand. What prompted this move was our wish to stimulate the growth of higher education in other parts of the country.

At the same time, some research institutes and government offices were transferred from Warsaw to more suitable locations elsewhere. For example, the central offices and research facilities of the ship-building industry, which is itself located entirely along the seaboard, were removed from the capital. The same was done with the research facilities and central offices handling agricultural matters.

In these moves the Warsaw Party Committee received generous help from the

Central Committee and the government. A special Party-government commission headed by the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, set up on the initiative of Wladyslaw Gomulka, assisted us in our scheme.

PARTY WORK IS WORK WITH PEOPLE

The Warsaw Party Committee tries to keep abreast of all important events and developments on the world scene, in the international working-class movement and in political, economic and cultural life, thrashing out the viewpoints jointly with the Party cadres and membership. In a way, therefore, the attitude of the Party bodies is vetted by the perceptiveness and appraisals of the membership. This encourages Party members to be active, assuring fulfillment of the Party's tasks.

We make it our business, Lukaszewicz said, to familiarize Party functionaries with the motives behind all our decisions, to acquaint them with the Party standpoint, enabling individual Communists to elucidate their attitude in their contacts with the people.

The Central Committee explains its point of view to Party cadres and the membership on all important developments in the country and abroad. Lukaszewicz cited a few examples: in 1968 the Party's Central Committee circulated information about the events in Czechoslovakia, with the result that Warsaw's Party members solidly upheld the Central Committee viewpoint. Hence, the speaker emphasized, the Central Committee's standpoint was, at the same time, the standpoint of the entire Party.

During the election campaign to the Sejm and the People's Councils, the Central Committee circulated a special booklet, containing information on the structure and distribution of the national income. While in another booklet it examined the methods of enemy propaganda, citing examples from the practices of the Free Europe radio station.

J. Koszyczek dealt with the publication and dissemination of information. The Central Committee's Organizational Department, he said, puts out a "Chronicle of Initiatives and Experience," containing information about useful experience in Party work. This is circulated among all provincial committees.

The Department has a Sector for Party Information, which lists topics for future dissemination on the basis of the Party's

functions in the coming six months. The plan is forwarded to the provincial committees, which supplement it with local information. This secures a steady flow of information from below, laying no constraints on the initiative of the provincial Party organizations, for the latter are encouraged to contribute all information that they may think useful.

The minutes of provincial Party Committee meetings, materials prepared by various public organizations and administrative bodies and information gathered directly by our comrades during their visits to the provinces, to say nothing of specially organized meetings with Party cadres, are also a valuable source of information.

Our Party Committee, Lukaszewicz said, tries to discuss all important matters with the rank-and-file and keep the membership briefed on all developments.

In 1967, for example, Party meetings were convened in Warsaw to discuss Israel's aggression in the Middle East and the German question in relation to European security. These meetings were preceded by conferences of Party cadres, whereupon the City Committee prepared special materials, circulating them among the local Party branches. Warsaw's Party branches held five meetings of this kind in 1967, eight in 1968 and five in the first six months of 1969.

Two meetings were held by decision of the Warsaw Party Committee in April and May 1969: the first to adopt the City Committee's platform for the People's Unity Front in the elections to the Sejm and the People's Councils, the draft of which was first discussed at a general meeting of the City Committee and then at district conferences, which nominated the PUWP candidates. Subsequently, the draft was discussed by the Party rank-and-file and the Party branches. All suggestions gathered and approved by the City Committee were included in the election platform. The second meeting, in May, discussed the tasks of Party members during the final phase of the election campaign.

We call these meetings held to discuss matters suggested by the City or district committees, the method of remote control, Lukaszewicz said. However, at times we wondered whether or not cut-to-measure agendas restricted the initiative of the Party branches. On an average, a Party branch holds 11-12 meetings annually, of which six or seven are devoted wholly to their own problems. This seems a suitable proportion, while the remote control method

helps us mould a standpoint for the entire Warsaw Party organization and rally the Communists to fulfilling the current tasks.

Our information system relies substantially on meetings between members of the City Committee and the Party cadres. We have had 11 such meetings since 1968, each attended by about 400-500 people: members of the City Committee leadership, secretaries of the bigger Party branches and members of the bureaus of district committees. And when we invite the secretaries of all Warsaw's Party branches to discuss the more important subjects, the attendance rises to 3,000.

In 1965-66, Lukaszewicz added, our membership criticized us severely for insufficient Party information, but last year and now we have been giving little cause for complaint: the flow of information between the Central Committee and the Warsaw Party Committee is now quite satisfactory, which also applies to the flow of information from the City Committee to the capital's Party cadre.

What we must now secure is a steady flow of information from the Party cadres to the rank-and-file. To this the district committees are now attending: meetings are held at regular intervals with group organizers, who transmit the information to their groups of 10-15 members.

The reverse flow of information, from the rank-and-file to the leadership, was also discussed. Lukaszewicz described the following time-tested system: secretaries of Party branches and factory Party committees supply information to the district committees, the latter forward it in writing to the Warsaw City Committee, which sums it up and hands it on to the Central Committee. However, all too often the sharp edges rub off in this phased process. We therefore try to obtain additional information directly from the source. For example, we collect the questions asked at meetings and in talks; these are then forwarded in the original wording to the Central Committee, which takes them into account in its publication plans, propaganda programs, and the like.

In 1968 the City Committee organized talks with politically unaffiliated workers. Specially formed Party groups conversed individually with more than 100,000 such workers in April and May, asking for their opinion concerning the efficiency of their enterprise, the role of the factory Party branch, Party policy and the country's general situation. We feared that these conversations would sound formal. However,

Party groups consisting of people liked and trusted by their workmates, enabled us to obtain a better idea of how developments are refracted in the minds of unaffiliated workers.

Similar conversations were organized with a section of the students, and are to be held with engineers and technicians.

New Party cards were issued to members in 1967. The re-issue was preceded by individual interviews to determine the Communists' opinion about the work of the Party branches and their possible participation in Party work. The results were discussed at general meetings of the district committees and by the Warsaw Party Committee. This, too, proved a source of important information. Also useful are meetings of Party branch secretaries and conferences of the secretaries of the bigger factory committees. The City Committee's Organizational Department, moreover, is in constant touch with the secretaries of the district Party committees.

When draft decisions of the Central Committee are circulated for discussion among Party branches, they stimulate exchanges of opinion, yielding considerable information. For example, shortly before the Fifth Congress of the PUWP, the Central Committee's draft theses were discussed by the branches at three consecutive Party meetings. As a result, some of the these were amended and some recast.

Question: How does the task of intensifying the economy reflect on the content of the work of factory Party branches?

Replying, Lukaszewicz said that after the Second Central Committee meeting, the factory branches were instructed to locate untapped potentialities. The branches and the factory administration formed joint commissions to assess efficiency in the use of the equipment, to determine the bottlenecks in production, and to examine the use of production premises, the organization of labor, and the like. Conclusions, drawn up directly on the shop floor, were then discussed at production meetings, while findings concerning the enterprise as a whole came up at workers' self-administration conferences. The District Committee studied these analyses and framed measures to secure a fuller use of production plant. Surveys prepared by factory commissions are being analyzed at amalgamation level, yielding answers to the following questions: What enterprises must be allocated funds for investment, what enterprises need new equipment, and what enterprises require additional em-

ployment quotas to make the fullest use of existing potentialities or to eliminate bottlenecks? This is the basis for the five-year plans of the respective factories, to be studied at amalgamation level and by the central administration. The drafts then will go back to the factories. The plan is to be discussed at Party meetings, where Communists will express their opinion. Thus, the Party organizations follow all developments at all stages, from the initial analysis of efficiency to the planning phase, which assures the realization of proposals.

S. Puchala examined aspects of the Warsaw Committee's propaganda work. The Committee has a group of 500 lecturers, which, he said, is large enough in our view to meet the needs of the capital's Party organization. We try to select prominent specialists for the lectures, providing them with essential information about the work of the City Committee and Polish and international affairs. Some of the subjects are suggested by the Committee, usually relating to the tasks of the local organization. But branches, too, may indicate what they would like to hear about when inviting a lecturer.

Sometimes, the City Committee organizes lectures for the Party cadres. Special meetings were held in March and April 1968, at which Party cadres and managers met students, of whom more than 25,000 attended. The discussions were lively, incisive and frank.

Periodicals and other publications, Puchala continued, chiefly for the cadres, are an important element of Party propaganda and education. Some of these are meant to help the Party functionary to prepare for a meeting, others are an aid in Party education. Eighty such publications, with an average printing of 2,000 (though some are issued in 5,000 and even 10,000 copies) have been put out by the City Committee in the past two years.

The Committee concerns itself with the factory press and the content of factory radio broadcasts. Twenty-seven factory newspapers are put out in Warsaw, and more than 70 factories have public address systems. Of late, Puchala added, some broadcasts are centrally prepared, while 60 of the capital's biggest enterprises have factory propaganda and information centers run by volunteers.

Question: What sociological investigations are conducted in Warsaw and how does the City Committee assist them?

Sociological investigations J. Lukaszewicz replied, are conducted among various

sections of the people by the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw University, the Senior School of Planning and Statistics, the Public Opinion Center of the Polish Radio and the newspapers.

A recent investigation concerned the socio-political activity of engineers. Eight hundred engineers, members of the Party and non-members, were selected by drawing lots. They were asked what they thought of their work and the prospects of promotion, whether they felt at home in their factory, how they saw their role and place in public and political life, etc. The anonymous replies were analyzed by computers. We are now summing up the results and drawing conclusions that may be useful in our practical work.

Another investigation, Lukaszewicz continued, concerned candidate and full members of the Party. What we wanted to know were the motives that prompt people to join the Party and what they consider their task as Party members. The poll revealed that the motives are mainly politico-ideological, with the work of Party organizations, their ability to resolve various conflicts on the shop floor, exercising a strong influence on the growth of the Party ranks. Every time adverse situations arose in a shop or factory, with the Party organization stepping in and normalizing the situation, this had the immediate effect of increasing the inflow of new members.

The poll also showed that we are deficient in our work with people whom we admit as candidate members. All too often, Party branches show an interest in the individual and talk with him before he is admitted, and lose interest as soon as he is made a candidate member until the time comes to admit him to full membership.

Facts gleaned from the polls help us shape our solutions for concrete problems. A special group is being formed by the Central Party School, Lukaszewicz said, to handle sociological investigations. It will also orientate the various sociological works.

S. Puchala amplified that talks with Party members during, say, the exchange of Party Cards and the recent individual talks with 100,000 workers were, as he saw it, a kind of sociological investigation in itself.

Some Warsaw industries have special officers doing sociological work. But that is only the beginning, he added, for in the

future we must do much more of this kind of work.

* * *

What Communists do in a country yields a wealth of revolutionary tradition and ex-

perience. The Polish Communists, as we see, supplied the journal's interviewers with information that may be useful to others. Therefore, the Editors will continue to devote space to exchanges of information and experience among the fraternal parties.

Character and content of the revolutionary process in Latin America

LONGINO BECERRA

Have the character and the content of the revolutionary process in Latin America been affected by the changes in the continent's economy? This question is currently the subject of lively debate both in Latin American revolutionary organizations and beyond their confines. Each analysis usually takes as its point of departure the conclusions drawn on the subject by the Communist parties in recent decades. These conclusions can be found, in varying formulations, in the program-documents of the respective parties.*

Some analysts of the Latin American scene challenge these conclusions, maintaining that growth of production has outdated the theoretical solution of this important problem suggested by the Communist movement. They counter the parties' conclusions with their own, two of which we examine below.

One is that, since the Latin American bourgeoisie has already achieved its basic objectives both in the economic and political spheres, the socialist reconstruction of society is objectively essential for the development of our countries. The advocates of this thesis, consequently, reject the Communist parties' view concerning the need for a democratic-liberation stage as a transitional stage to socialism. They are quite categorical on this score. Thus we read in one of the works on this subject that on the order of the day is not a demo-

cratic and anti-imperialist revolution, but a socialist revolution.

The other conclusion, which accentuates the specific features of the continent, asserts that it represents an entity totally different from other areas in the world and that the politico-economic categories often used to define the phenomenon of dependence in other regions, are not applicable to it. According to this viewpoint the concepts "colonialism," "semi-colonialism" and "neo-colonialism" have no objective basis in Latin America since these connote a form of dependence different from that of our countries. It follows, therefore, that the concept "national liberation movement," used by the Communist parties to define the general character of the revolutionary process on our continent, is not applicable to it. Hence the categorical conclusion that any analysis of Latin American reality should be predicated on the premise that it belongs to some fourth category of countries (as yet unspecified) and that the revolutionary struggle in our countries should not be qualified as a national liberation movement.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

a) *Structure of Production.* The Communist parties consider that the economic structure of the continent is not homogenous, comprising as it does varying economic elements: 1) the remnants of the pre-capitalist formations differing in proportion in the different countries (the Indian community, the latifundium, the minifundium, domestic production, etc.); 2) the

*The basic elements of the character and content of the revolution on our continent were discussed for the first time by the Conference of Latin American Communists in Buenos Aires in 1929. See Paulino Gonzalez Alberdi's article in *World Marxist Review*, No. 6, 1969, on the 40th anniversary of this conference.

local capitalist sector of the dependent countries; 3) foreign capital which has made deep inroads in the decisive branches of the economy. These elements do not simply exist side by side; there is no distinct demarcation line between them, they are interrelated and even support each other, forming a kind of contradictory unity. This interpretation of the question, clearly, has nothing in common with the "dual society" theory often ascribed to Communists in some critical studies of the subject. According to this theory the economic structure of Latin America is distinguished by two economic formations: feudal survivals and a deformed capitalism.

Naturally, an economic structure of this kind is not static. The inevitable process of development—although slow and deformed—dictated by the new technology, is accompanied by substantial changes in the correlation of factors constituting the structure. Industrialization in Latin America, especially since the Second World War, is plain for all to see and cannot be left out of account. But it proceeds at differing tempos in the particular countries, and for this reason the role of one or another economic component in these countries is as yet not identical. For example, in Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela and Chile the proportion of purely capitalist production is greater than in other countries (see Table No. 3), and, conversely, the proportion of pre-capitalist production in these countries is smaller than in the rest of the continent.

b) A "single-type" capitalism. Some analysts of the politico-economic situation in Latin America deny the existence of the aforementioned structures. Thus, Andre Gunder Frank whose ideas regarding the character of the continent's development enjoyed a certain popularity with the so-called New Left in Latin America, maintains that right from its discovery capitalist relations have existed in Latin America. This, according to Frank, is the result of the process of "satellization" when an external center (Spain, Britain, the USA, etc.) subordinates to itself national centers (Santiago, Buenos Aires, Lima, etc.), which in turn exploit the provincial centers, the latter doing the same in relation to the local centers. Since this chain (or "constellation of satellites") is piloted by merchant capital, only capitalist relations have existed and exist at all levels of development, even at the lowest. Frank writes: "... expansion of the capitalist system in the past centuries was effective and total, penetrating

even into the seemingly most remote corners of the underdeveloped world. Hence the economic, political, social and cultural institutions and relations we observe here today are the product of the historical development of the capitalist system."

From this it follows that a "single-type" capitalism exists in Latin America, in other words, a society in which, notwithstanding its different forms of production, the latter are linked by one and the same type of relations—capitalist. As for the underdevelopment of the continent, that is simply the consequence of its "satellite status." This status implies that the internal contradictions of the system are essentially capitalist everywhere—in the Indian communities and in the latifundia—and that the only antagonistic classes are the bourgeoisie and the working class. Hence, there is but one way to solve the current problems of the continent and that is through direct socialist measures in the different sectors of the economic structure. And, further, that the democratic, liberation program proposed by the Communist parties as the way out of the economic and political impasse by no means corresponds to "reality."

c) *The average level of capitalist development in conditions of dependence.* In some of the studies by Latin American economists our continent is classified as being at the "average level" of capitalist development. While recognizing the existence of a heterogeneous economic structure, these studies maintain that all the countries have already passed the initial phase of capitalism and have now reached the "average" stage. According to this, they are all at one and the same stage, despite the unevenness of development. These studies proceed from the fact that some of the countries are in the initial stages of average capitalist development while others, those more developed, are approaching the next stage—that of a highly developed capitalism. This kind of generalization, needless to say, is fraught with serious political consequences (as serious as the conclusions arising from the aforementioned Frank theory). We therefore think it necessary to examine it more broadly.

What is implied by the characteristic features of average level of capitalist development? What are its economic indices? The aforementioned works do not provide a clear answer to this. The authors confine themselves merely to drawing comparisons, and proceed from the fact that Latin Ame-

rican indices are somewhere in between the highest (USA and Western Europe) and the lowest (Africa and Asia). In other words, no objective analysis is made of the process of capitalist accumulation on the continent to determine whether it really comes within the category of "average" capitalist development. Only a concrete analysis of capitalism at its present stage can furnish such data.

It may well be possible that the continent's economic indices are somewhere in between these two extremes. But does this mean that our region as a whole has reached the "average" level in its capitalist development? We don't think so, although some of the countries have made considerable economic headway. To take two indices, frequently referred to by the spokesmen of the above-mentioned theory: gross product per capita (in dollars). The figures in the first index for 1963 were: USA—2,764; Latin America—345; Africa (excluding South Africa)—103. The figures in the second index for 1964 were: USA—666; Latin America—63; Africa (excluding South Africa)—21.*

The conclusion usually drawn from these figures is that the continent occupies an intermediate position, somewhere in between the highest and the lowest point.

*See Francisco Mieres' article "The Economic Specificities and Revolutionary Process in the Latin American Countries," *World Marxist Review*, No. 1, 1969.

But in our view the facts do not bear out the conclusion that the Latin American countries have reached the "average" level of capitalist development. And for the following reasons:

First, the figures indicate a tremendous gap between the USA and Latin America (the latter's indices are a mere 9-12 per cent of the U.S. figure), and its relatively close proximity to the indices of Africa which are about three per cent of North America.

Second, these indices are not sufficient for drawing conclusions with respect to level of development of the entire continent's economic structure.

The concept *countries of average capitalist development* implies, in our opinion, the existence of a series of basic economic indices which have not yet been achieved on the continent as a whole. This does not mean, we repeat, that we discount the changes in the continent's structure of production, or the changes in the relative weight of its components. It is purely a question of differences in assessing the changes, for a first-hand study of other data (it is not our intention to contrast them with a table of average development indices) prompts a thoughtful approach to the concept "countries of average capitalist development." Certainly the data on the structure of employment, on the structure

Table 1.

Composition of the Gainfully Employed Population According to Branches of the Economy (in %%)			
Branches	1950	1960	1965
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
A. Agriculture	54.1	48.6	46.1
B. Non-agricultural production	43.6	48.4	49.8
1. Industry, Building and Municipal Services	23.1	24.2	23.9
a) Mining	1.0	1.0	1.0
b) Manufacturing industry, including:	14.2	14.1	13.8
1) factory production	6.8	7.5	7.5
2) handicraft production	7.4	6.6	6.3
c) Building	3.7	4.0	3.9
d) Municipal services	4.1	5.0	5.2
2. Other branches			
a) Trade and finance	7.7	9.0	9.5
b) Services, including:	12.8	15.3	16.4
1) government	3.2	3.6	3.8
2) various services	9.6	11.7	12.6
C. Other forms of activity*	2.3	3.0	4.1

Source: ECLA. "Economic Survey for Latin America"

*Reference is principally to the unemployed and part-time employed who live by casual earnings.

of gross product according to industry, on the level of technical education show, in our view, that economically most of the Latin American countries still lag far behind what can be called the average level of capitalist development.

To get an idea of the structure of employment let us turn to Table 1.

It shows that in 1965 some 46.1 per cent of the gainfully employed population worked in agriculture and only 13.8 in manufacturing industry which, it is interesting to note, includes *factory and handicraft production*, these accounting for 7.5 and 6.3 per cent respectively of gross product. If we compare these two figures with those for distribution of the population we get the following: in 1965, 10,546,000 people were employed in manufacturing industry, of whom 5,734,000 (54.4 per cent) worked in factories and mills and 4,812,000 (45.6 per cent) in handicraft industry. These figures indicate the still great proportion of the handicrafts in the economy. On the other hand, it is interesting to follow the trend in some of the branches. Thus, while the number of people engaged in agriculture has decreased by eight per cent in the past 15 years, there has been no increase in manufacturing industry. Just the reverse

—a slight downward trend in the years from 1960 to 1965. Services and the “other forms of activity,” show an upswing. These facts reveal the deformation in the Latin American economy as a consequence of imperialist penetration.

An analysis of the distribution of labor according to countries and branches of the economy reveals a similar picture—greater concentration of labor in agriculture and in the services. The figures in Table 2 speak for themselves.

As we see from the Table, in 14 of the 18 countries agriculture absorbs from 46 to 66 per cent of the total labor force, and industry only from 10 to 24 per cent. In this respect the latter data confirm the general indices contained in Table 1.

The low organic composition of capital determines the small share of the industrial sector in the gross national product in most Latin American countries (see Table 3). Of the twenty countries listed only in *eight* (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Guyana, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela) do we observe greater industrial participation in building up the gross national product; the remaining *twelve* show the predominance of agriculture whose technical stagnation is all too evident against the general background of a deformed economy. These figures are enough to disprove any enthusiastic generalization about the level of economic development by the continent.

In our view agriculture continues to be the principal branch of the economy in most Latin American countries. The common feature of this agriculture is its low productivity and the application in most cases of extensive farming although in some areas there are holdings of the so-called plantation type (these are usually controlled by North American monopolies) where machinery is used to cultivate crops for export.

d) *Heterogeneity of structure and unevenness of development.* The continent's economic development is determined by the predominant structure. As noted earlier, this structure is composed of different elements. Differentials between the components are the source of the uneven development, for the “dead weight” of the pre-capitalist survivals in the countries still at a low level of development hampers their attaining a higher one. Thus, to include all the countries of the continent in one and the same phase of development — the average stage of capitalist development — is to represent the production structures

Table 2

Composition of the Gainfully Employed Population According to Countries and Branches of the Economy at the Beginning of the Sixties

(in %)*

	Agriculture	Industry, including mining	Trade and the services
Argentina	19.2	32.5	48.3
Bolivia	56.9	24.4	18.7 (1950)
Brazil	51.6	24.8	23.6
Colombia	47.2	19.0	33.8
Costa Rica	49.1	16.6	32.1
Chile	27.7	28.3	44.0
Ecuador	55.6	18.5	25.9
El Salvador	60.3	17.2	22.5
Guatemala	65.4	14.2	20.4
Honduras	66.8	10.2	23.0
Mexico	54.2	18.9	26.9
Nicaragua	59.7	16.1	24.2
Panama	46.2	12.5	41.3
Paraguay	52.2	18.5	29.3
Peru	49.7	19.0	31.3
Dominican Republic	61.4	11.4	27.2
Uruguay	17.9	27.5	54.6
Venezuela	32.1	20.6	47.3

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 1, 1969.

Table 3

Structure of the Gross National Product
According to Branches and Countries in
1966

	(in % %)		
	Agri- culture	Industry, including mining	Trade and the services
Argentina	15	41	44
Bolivia	23	32	45 (1965)
Brazil	30	27	43 (1965)
Colombia	32	26	42 (1965)
Costa Rica	31	19	50 (1964)
Chile	11	45	44
Ecuador	35	26	39
El Salvador	32	19	49 (1964)
Guatemala	29	17	54
Guyana	25	34	41 (1965)*
Haiti	49	15	36 (1962)*
Honduras	41	22	37
Mexico	17	36	47
Nicaragua	35	19	46 (1965)
Panama	23	20	57
Paraguay	35	19	46
Peru	20	31	49 (1964)
Dominican Republic	24	23	53
Uruguay	16	30	54 (1964)
Venezuela	7	44	49 (1964)
Average**)	26.50	27.25	46.25

Sources: ONU "Anuario Estadística, 1967."

*UN Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics, 1965.

**Author's estimates.

as being homogenous, and to reduce the basic contradiction to one of its elements—capitalism. As we know, this can apply only to countries which have no other, non-capitalist structures in their production organism, and whose basic contradiction is determined by the inability of the capitalist system to solve the urgent problems of the people. But most of the Latin American countries have not yet reached such a level, and other contradictions stemming from the different structures add to the basic contradiction.

Proceeding from present-day reality, the Communist parties assess this reality on the basis of the prevailing economic factors. The result of this concrete approach is the different definition of the economic structure: from the "semi-feudal" (Communist Parties of Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, etc.* to the "agrarian-industrial" (Communist Party of Argen-

*World Marxist Review for the years 1966-1968 carried a series of articles from these countries on the subject.

tina).** The Venezuelan Communists for example define their country as a country with a heterogenous structure in which capitalist relations predominate and whose main feature is dependence on the neo-colonial policy of the United States.***

From the political viewpoint this approach means that the revolutionary struggle in our countries pursues common general aims, but that differences exist regarding the concrete, immediate tasks in each country in keeping with national conditions and with due regard to the aforementioned common aims.

POLITICAL REALITY

Some studies of Latin American reality maintain that our continent differs totally from other regions of the world. Even more, the continent is presented as a kind of "chemically pure" region from the political viewpoint and that the conditions here should therefore be judged by other categories. This approach has evolved as a result of the just criticism of the tendency to equate, within the framework of the so-called Third World, Latin American problems with the problems of some of the African and Asian countries. But in their zeal to stress the specific features of our continent, some critics make the grave mistake, in our view, of denying that the political reality of Latin America, despite its specific forms, includes many elements characteristic of other regions of the world; hence there is no need to look for new categories to define our reality. It is essential to investigate—proceeding from the already established categories—the concrete forms of a series of phenomena whose essence has already been disclosed by Marxism-Leninism. To lose sight of this is to court the danger of distorting the present-day reality, that is, of embellishing the political situation in our countries, creating thereby the impression of an amorphous, emasculated revolutionary process.

An objective analysis leads us to conclude that *colonialism, semi-colonialism and neo-colonialism* exist on our continent both in the classical form and in new forms. Actual colonies are: French Guiana, Surinam, British Honduras, Puerto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone and numerous islands in the Caribbean. The total territory occu-

***Towards the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party." Draft Theses. Buenos Aires, October 1968.

***Pompeyo Marquez. "Problems of the Development of the National Liberation Movement." Documentos políticos. Journal of the Communist Party of Colombia, March-April 1967.

pied by these countries is 298,182 sq. kilometres with a population of approximately 5,000,000. The semi-colonies are: Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Neo-colonialism on the continent takes different forms than in the newly-free countries of Africa and Asia. But it exists, though in specific forms, and is invariably aimed at establishing indirect control over the continent's principal economic and political mechanisms.

Most of the countries ceased to be colonies when they cast off Spanish and Portuguese rule in 1810-1825. But in the course of their development as independent republics they experienced a process of neo-colonization which in the final analysis has turned many of the principal attributes of sovereignty and independence into an obvious formality (for some countries more than for others). U.S. imperialism has enmeshed the continent in a complex system of economic and political dependence not only with a view to plundering its riches, but also to preventing the genuine political self-determination of the republics. Economic integration, the Alliance for Progress, Development Agencies, Banks, the Peace Corps, technical-aid bureaus, military missions, mutual defense treaties, inter-American organizations — these are some of the principal links in this neo-colonialism. The Document of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow in June 1969, characterized the situation on the continent as follows: "The Latin American peoples are struggling against a common oppressor and exploiter, U.S. imperialism, which has placed the entire continent in a position of dependence, regarding it as its strategic hinterland."

Naturally, North American imperialism, using all kinds of methods, adapts these to the specific political features and national traditions of the countries concerned. In some it employs more subtle and veiled forms, in others it acts more openly, through its embassies and numerous "special" bureaus. For example, in Central America U.S. imperialist penetration in all spheres of life is far more overt than in other parts of the continent. Therefore, when the Communist parties in Central America in their publications describe the political situation in some of the republics of this region as "semi-colonial" or "pseudo-independent," this is not merely a turn of speech; these words are used to show the extent of imperialist penetration in these countries.

In his *Notebooks on Imperialism*, Lenin

made a profound study of this phenomenon and of the forms assumed by it in the concrete conditions of those days. Basing himself on statistical sources, Lenin classifies the countries of the world into four groups: (a) the financially and politically independent countries; (b) the financially dependent but politically independent countries; (c) the semi-colonies; (d) colonies and politically dependent countries.* Latin America was included in two groups: one part of the continent in group "b," the other in group "d." Lenin quite obviously did not approach the matter schematically. While taking into consideration the territories directly colonized, he at the same time clearly saw that the process of imperialist penetration in Latin America had turned many factors of the political independence of some states into a mere formality.

When elaborating this subject in greater detail in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin followed the criterion that in its development finance-capital is capable of politically subjecting states which open their doors to it. "Finance-capital," he wrote, "is such a great, such a decisive, you might say, force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject, to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 259). At that time Lenin's words signified that an independent country could be turned into a colony through different transitional stages, i.e., through semi-colonial dependence. Lenin wrote: "... it should be observed that finance-capital and its foreign policy, which is the struggle of the Great Powers for the economic and political division of the world, give rise to a number of *transitional* forms of state dependence. Not only the two main groups of countries, those owning colonies, and the colonies themselves, but also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, politically, are formally independent, but in fact, are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence, are typical of this epoch. We have already referred to one form of dependence — the semi-colony. An example of another is provided by Argentina." (*Ibid.*, p. 263.)

To substantiate his reference to Argentina as one of the "transitional" forms of dependence (earlier Lenin mentioned China, Persia and Turkey as examples of semi-colonies), Lenin quotes the following

**Collected Works*, Vol. 39, p. 718.

words of Schulze-Gaevernitz: "South America, and especially Argentina, is so dependent financially on London that it ought to be described as almost a British commercial colony." (*Ibid.*, p. 283.) We think that the qualification "almost a colony" can now be applied with even greater justification than before to most Latin American countries. The terms "semi-colony" and "almost a colony," as we see from Lenin's works, are not used simply metaphorically. These terms define a reality; the indirect control of one state over the economic and political structures of another.

Naturally, there have been changes. Lenin considered the semi-colonial forms as the "transitional" stage to colonies. But now, fifty years later, colonialism had disintegrated, and in the present era—the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale—seizure and preservation of colonial territories are an anachronism. For this reason, the transitional forms have lost their former value and have now become a concrete and immediate objective of imperialism. The policy of colonial expansion, that is, direct seizure of territories or countries, has been replaced by neo-colonialism, in other words, by a policy of establishing indirect control over these territories or countries. Latin America has long been the object of this policy. Therefore, since our countries are not *semi-colonies* or *almost colonies* in the classical sense (i.e., the transitional form to a colony), we hold that this concept can be applied in a new way: that our countries should be seen as the victims of modern neo-colonialist imperialist penetration (the case of Argentina was mentioned by Lenin). The first form corresponded to the period of the rise of capitalism, the second to its present phase, the phase of its historical decline.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

This economic and political review enables us to conclude that the revolutionary programs elaborated by the Latin American Communist parties for their countries—and which in the aggregate express the needs of the continent—remain valid. The changes in the structure of production have not attained a level of homogeneity sufficiently broad and profound to change the content of the liberation process, defined, in substance, if not in form, as a *democratic* (or *popular*), *agrarian* (or *anti-feudal*), *anti-imperialist* movement. On the other hand, the fact that U.S. imperialism has

subordinated our continent, politically and economically through neo-colonialist methods, justifies in our opinion the inclusion of the continent's revolutionary movement in the category of the *national liberation struggle*, one of the three great streams of the anti-imperialist struggle at the present time. As we see it, it would be a big mistake to overlook this factor, for to do so could engender illusions regarding the political situation in our countries. This prompts the conclusion that the purpose of theory should be not to reject this criterion, but rather to explain the specific, concrete forms of Latin America's neo-colonial dependence.

The democratic, anti-imperialist character, and also the essentially agrarian content of the liberation process in Latin America is determined by the basic contradiction of the continent: backward production relations (the result of pre-capitalist survivals and the status of dependence, imposed by U.S. imperialism), which are hampering and deforming the growth of new productive forces. The democratic aims of the current liberation process are determined not by subjective factors, as some Left trends maintain, but by objective factors, stemming from the basic contradiction indicated above.

The economic backwardness of our countries, their exploitation by foreign monopolies, and the existence of conciliatory or dictatorial regimes proclaim the need for transitional stages which could prepare the economic and political groundwork for socialist reconstruction. The basic objectives of this period include: achieving full national sovereignty, democracy in public life, encouraging political awareness among the masses and restoring the national resources to the people. The Document of the International Meeting in Moscow shows the relationship between the revolutionary process and socialism: "In this part of the world militant democratic, anti-imperialist movements and revolutionary processes are developing which will pave the way to socialism."

The anti-imperialist trend of the Latin American revolutionary process, which includes national-liberation aims, likewise does not depend upon the will of one or another individual or organization. It is dictated by the fact that U.S. imperialism is, within the framework of the basic contradiction, the most serious factor responsible for the deformation and backwardness with which the new productive forces have to contend. Imperialism's reactionary fo-

rays are directed against any change likely to weaken its economic and political positions on the continent, that is why the people understand the need for a genuine national liberation effort. If the position of Latin America were different, in other words, if our countries were not under the jackboot of U.S. imperialism, the liberation aspect would not exist, and the fight would be for purely structural reforms.

The agrarian content of this national liberation movement is determined by the fact that the bulk of the pre-capitalist survivals are concentrated in the countryside. The oligarchic regimes, even the most "progressive" of them, are incapable of solving the agrarian question of their countries for the simple reason that their own class interests prevent them from tackling the vital structural problem: re-distribution of

the land with the object of abolishing the latifundia and minifundia. Their inability explains why even in the more developed countries — Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Mexico—radical agrarian reform is still a revolutionary task of paramount importance. Table 4 is most revealing in this respect.

The democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution now maturing on the continent as an objective necessity does not mean, as the "New Left" claims, oblivion or betrayal of scientific socialism. It is a matter of a necessary phase to prepare the way for socialist changes. Hence the conclusion that there is no "Chinese wall" between this kind of revolution and changes of a socialist nature. Just the reverse. Both categories are part of one and the same process. The working class, in alliance with the peasant masses and the most advanced sections of the population, is, therefore, the only class that can consistently carry out such a revolution. The conditions for such a revolutionary process are to hand—an economic and political crisis which cannot be resolved in a bourgeois society, and the popular movement which, under the leadership of the Communist parties, is spreading and gaining strength in all countries of the continent. The Cuban revolution, supported by acts of international solidarity, inspires our peoples in their fight to accelerate the inevitable outcome of the class confrontation in Latin America—victory over U.S. imperialism and the oligarchies in its service.

Table 4

Relative Importance of the Minifundia and Latifundia and Their Scales in Seven Countries of Latin America (in %)

	Year	Minifundia		Latifundia	
		Number	Size of arable	Number	Size of arable
Argentina	1960	43.2	3.4	0.8	36.9
Brazil	1950	22.5	0.5	4.7	59.5
Colombia	1960	64.0	4.9	1.3	49.5
Chile	1955	36.9	0.2	6.9	81.3
Ecuador	1960	89.9	16.6	0.4	45.1
Guatemala	1950	88.4	14.3	0.1	40.8
Peru	1961	88.0	7.4	1.1	82.4

Source: ECLA. "Economic Survey for Latin America."

Relations between science and technology

Notes from international symposium in Bratislava

An effect of the scientific and technological revolution, the closer interaction between science and technology is making a deep impact on man's way of life and the destiny of social classes, countries, and mankind generally. Not surprisingly, therefore, this was the theme of a symposium held under the auspices of the World Federation of Scientific Workers last September in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia.*

Some 60 scientists attended the symposium from all continents, submitting more than 40 papers and communications on subjects ranging from the computer systems in research and technology (by S. Lavrov, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences) to the history of science in particular countries.

Despite the diversity of professional, philosophical and political viewpoints represented, the symposium reflected *the growing common concern of scientists for the social problems arising from the expanding interaction of science and technology*, and it is this particular aspect that we have chosen to examine here.

WHY THE "DOUBLE FACE" OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY?

For years the forced pace of scientific and technological progress has been evoking a strange mixture of both optimistic and pessimistic forecasts about man's future. There arose the notion, for example,

*The World Federation of Scientific Workers was founded in London in 1946. Its first President was Frederic Joliot-Curie. The Federation has affiliated organizations in 27 countries and corresponding members in another 26. Professor Pierre Biquard, of France, is Secretary General.

that technico-scientific growth has two faces—a benign one and one contorted in a tragic grimace. Apart from the desired effects, the invasion of the many spheres of life by science and technology has yielded some undesirable consequences, perils, difficulties and apparently insoluble problems. One cause of this is gnoseological, stemming from the limited knowledge of the scientist or engineer, for it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to anticipate the long-term consequences of technico-scientific innovations, consequences which make themselves felt years, maybe generations, later. Technical systems, while introducing harmony and lessening the entropy in one sphere or relationship, create disharmony and greater entropy in others, adding to the complexity of foreseeing the long-term effects on man's somatic and psychic faculties.

The main cause, however, is purely social. Not all speakers, it is true, were able to probe it with equal insight. Hilary Rose and G. Oliver, two young Britons, denounced the militarist orientation in technico-scientific development, but, in our view, abstracted themselves from the social realities in placing the blame for the flagrant abuses solely on "bureaucrats" and "technocrats." Admittedly, Hilary Rose made the point, and rightly so, that "pure economism," the urge for an "end of ideology," the "escape" to the realm of irrational emotion, which facilitates application of scientific achievement to man's detriment, were inept and dangerous. Architect Oliver spoke of the inhumanity of the technical solutions of vital social problems that did not reckon with man's daily needs, casting

him as a passive observer.

The causes of the many pernicious effects of technico-scientific advance in Japan were examined by Professor Shobei Shiota, who pointed out that industrial production in his country had increased by 245 per cent between 1958 and 1967 and that today Japan's gross national income ranks second in the capitalist world as a result of the application of science and technology. The concomitant, he added, was that the public hazards of technical growth were greatest in his country. Pollution of air and water, noise and vibration, and the so-called "traffic warfare" were a new blight and, above all, for the poorer sections of the population. In the industrial areas of Osaka and Yokkaichi, for example, sufferers from chronic bronchitis are twice, even three times, more numerous than elsewhere, and the medical profession attests that air pollution is the most likely indirect cause of pulmonary emphysema and lung cancer. The "logic of enterprise" presents lethal dangers, causing industrial injuries and poisoning with harmful industrial waste. Professor Shiota pinpointed the main reason why the serious social problems, the hazards to health and life, are so acute in present-day Japan. The culprit: *monopoly capital, which, in its profit-seeking, rapaciously exploits the country's land, resources, science and technology.* The victims are the workers, farmers and other wage-earners, their "suffering amid prosperity" aggravated by the political, economic and military dependence on U.S. imperialism.

A deep-going study of the interaction of science and technology was made by Professor Juergen Kuczynski of the German Democratic Republic, who stressed the importance of social science for the growth of the productive forces and the relations of production. The continuous and harmonious development of social science, he said, responding to the objective needs of the times, is possible only through a faithful and consistent utilization of Marxism. Elucidating the trends in industry and society and materializing under the leadership of the working class in socialist production relations, Marxist science assures the optimum scope for a benign growth of technology and the natural sciences.

THE "ENGINEER'S OATH"— WILL IT HELP?

The symposium applauded with understanding and sympathy a short film showing Engineer M. W. Thring's ingenious in-

ventions to help the housewife and the handicapped, to relieve man of many difficult, dangerous and unpleasant operations.

Thring suggested that all qualified engineers should take a Hippocratic oath to apply their skills only to projects that contribute to the coexistence of all human beings in peace and human dignity. "I vow," says the oath suggested by Thring, "to struggle through my work to minimize the danger and strain to individuals, pollution of earth, air or water, destruction of natural beauty, wild life and natural resources, noise and invasion of privacy." Thring classified the machines designed to satisfy the needs of a "creative society," which he contrasted with the "affluent society" ruled by acquisitiveness and the urge "to keep up with the Joneses."

Scientists, Thring said, should acknowledge their guilt for the harm and hazards to which man is exposed these days. Yet he rejected political action to combat the abuses. The only effective way, he held, was to appeal to the decency, the code of morals of the present-day science and technology, to public opinion, to the humanist solidarity of scientists and engineers.

While accepting the importance of decency and humanism, many speakers described Thring's approach as obviously insufficient. Not because, as Hilary Rose deplored, too few scientists today prefer to be burned at the stake rather than renounce the truth. The key is mainly in the socio-class structure of the modern world, in which the historically outdated exploiter is ready to go to all lengths, not short of starting a nuclear world war, for the sake of his dividends.

The scientist and technician can make technico-scientific progress serve the needs of mankind to the fullest extent only in alliance with all other working people, primarily the working class, declared A. Gaegle, representing the French General Union of Administrative Workers and Engineers. To deliver science and technology from dangerous anti-humanistic tendencies, said Professor W. Hoffman, Federal Germany, scientists must fight against the rule of military-industrial complexes, for the liberation of the progressive classes, the working sections of society, from the power of monopoly capital.

WILL THE "SCIENCE CRITIC" HELP?

Science journalist Maurice Goldsmith, director of the London School of Science

Foundation, submitted the case for the "science critic."

Referring in particular to the political and scientific scene in Britain, he maintained that neither politicians nor scientists have an overall grasp of the state and significance of modern science. Nor can they acquire that grasp, Goldsmith said, until the "science critic" appears in their midst as an "integrator" of the various branches of knowledge, dispensing competent advice to the government and thereby assuring a competent science policy. Popular science, he said, was out of date and should give way to a "public understanding of science and public appreciation of the impact of science." He assigned to the "science critic" the job of interpreting the social significance of science to the non-scientist, so that "people understand its poetry and cease to be afraid of it."

Goldsmith's is a peculiar concept of the professional middleman between science, politics and society. Though excellently reasoned and, in a way, original, it does not appear sound, for it is not aimed at producing the basic social conditions for the elaboration of a genuine science policy, but merely at improving a professional division of labor that presumes the immutability of society's division into a political and scientific elite, on the one hand, and a mass of "uninitiated," on the other. That Goldsmith is perturbed at the technocratic trends and warns against the peril of a "technological fascism" does not, objectively, make his conception any the less narrow.

Taking issue with the idea of replacing popular-science writing with "science critics," Dr. S. Lilley, of Nottingham University, said: what we need is not so much the "science critic," but that whole generations become critics of science.

Could Goldsmith's "science critic" exercise a substantial influence on the scientific and technical knowledge of the public at large or, for that matter, on government policy under a social system based on the private interests of those who own the means of production? *Effective and truly scientific criticism of social development is practicable only by an organized movement of the working people, led by the working class, the basic interests of which coincide with the objective requirements of scientific, technical and social progress.*

THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION

Sustained growth of science and technology requires a rapid growth of scientific

and technical personnel. The increasing shortage of this personnel and *the crisis in higher education* was examined with deep concern by speakers from the developed capitalist countries and Third World countries. In some countries, they noted, young people are visibly less interested in scientific and technical disciplines. Universities experience a dearth of competent instructors. The blame, among other things, lies with the deficiencies in primary and secondary education — the shortage of schools, the outdated textbooks, the low salaries and skills of teachers. Prof. Humberto Barrera, Chile, noted that even rough estimates place the proportion of adult illiterates in Latin America at over 30 per cent, with sixty and even eighty per cent in the case of some countries. Prof. Samir K. Thabet, Lebanon, observed that in his country, one of the most enlightened in the Middle East, curricula were, until 1969, modelled on old French programs, dating to 1927. In most universities in the Arab countries, he added, the student-to-teacher ratio is 200:1.

Some developed capitalist countries try to eliminate the personnel shortage by draining off brains from other countries, among others also from developing countries, doing the latter untold harm. However, "importing" scientists is not a dependable source of technico-scientific progress. An instructive example, taken by Dr. Lilley from the history of British organic chemistry, shows that at one time Britain's synthetic-dyes industry availed itself extensively of the "brain drain" method, employing German chemists, who, however, returned promptly when favorable prospects were offered them in their homeland, leaving Britain for some years without even one professor of organic chemistry.

To combat the crisis in education, progressive instructors and public leaders in some capitalist countries are campaigning for more allocations and searching for new models. Hilary Rose referred briefly to the attempts in her country to establish "free universities," to join which young people pass no entrance examinations nor present education certificates. However, these and other similar measures will not remove the contradictions between the objective needs of technico-scientific development and the limited possibilities of the social system in which higher education is still very much the privilege of definite social strata. And it is in this contradiction that is rooted the crisis in education, aggravated by modern technico-scientific growth.

Scientific socialism alone removes the element of social privilege from education. In the socialist countries, Professor Lavrov pointed out, the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated, creating thereby the main social prerequisite for unrestricted growth of education for all.

The advance made in higher education in the Polish People's Republic was the theme of Dr. Przeciszewski's paper. In 1963-64, Poland surpassed France, Italy and Japan, treading close on the heels of the United States, for the number of graduates of technical, agricultural and medical higher educational establishments per 10,000 population.

The German Democratic Republic has outstripped higher education in West Germany in many important aspects. The same progress is being made also by the other socialist countries. To be sure, this does not mean that the educational system in socialist society is not in need of improvement. Professor I. Altenbach, for example, devoted his contribution to the third higher school reform in the GDR, aimed at substantially improving education and integrating it in the social system of developed socialism.* Academician Ishlinsky (USSR) spoke of the training of science personnel

*See *World Marxist Review* No. 9, 1969, on the GDR higher education reform.

in the USSR, where instruction and training is closely combined with research.

The socialist educational system is not afflicted by crisis. It is a dependable source of talent for the growth of science and technology, a fact borne out by the increasing technico-scientific potential and the visibly higher educational and cultural level of the working people in the socialist countries.

* * *

Many interesting ideas were expressed at the Bratislava symposium about the intrinsic laws regulating the development of the fundamental and technical sciences, international cooperation of scientists and engineers and the state and future of technico-scientific progress in Third World countries. Many of the problems posed have still to be solved, both in theory and practice. Yet despite the diversity of attitudes and opinions, the tenor of the symposium centered on *the responsibility of scientists and engineers for the social consequences of the interaction of science and technology in the modern world.* It stimulated the search for, and definition of, this responsibility.

Bratislava

G.O.

The man they couldn't break

Peniche is a name dreaded throughout Portugal. A medieval fortress perched on a cliff protruding far out into the ocean and located 100 kilometres from Lisbon, it has been turned into a maximum-security prison for political detainees. And these include many leaders of the Portuguese Communist Party—Comrades Pires Jorge, Blanquim Teixeira and Octavia Pato—anti-fascists, prominent Catholic spokesmen opposed to the ruling clique, workers, peasants, intellectuals, servicemen — in fact, people of widely differing political views and affiliations. But they have one thing in common—a burning desire to see Portugal freed from the fascist yoke.

Peniche is a "special" prison, notorious for its brutal treatment of the detainees. The central complex consists of three ferro-concrete cell blocks, completely isolated from each other, and subdivided into isolated sections. Entrance to these is through a complicated system of steel doors and barbed gates. The men are constantly watched by warders, soldiers of the Republican National Guard and secret police agents—there are more jailers than jailed.

The prison authorities have done everything physically and morally to crush the men in their charge. But the fascist machine has proved powerless against the will and spirit of Portuguese Communists. True to their revolutionary ideals, they continue their courageous fight behind prison walls, using every available opportunity to escape and again take their place in the ranks of their Party. For Portugal's Communists are supremely dedicated to the liberation of the people and to the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist ideals.

One of these unbending revolutionaries reared in the ranks of the Communist Party is Antonio Dias Lourenco, now a Peniche prisoner. This story of his life is based on documentary materials supplied

by his comrades in the underground struggle.

Antonio was born in March 1915 into a working-class family. His childhood and youth were spent in the small town of Arsena-Alverca do Ribatejo, where he made his first acquaintance with the hard life of the Portuguese peasant working in fields belonging to the Dukes of Cadaval and Palmela and other aristocrats.

Antonio began working at an early age in a small factory in Villa Franca de Xira. He had been taken on "as a favor" and his job was sweeping the shop, running errands, making himself "generally useful." But Antonio was a quick learner and with the help of older workers soon became a skilled lathe operator. "You have hands of gold," the other men used to say.

But these hands of gold fetched only a beggarly wage, hardly enough to keep body and soul together, and with nothing left to send back to the family. Things became still worse with the advent of the fascist regime of Salazar.

Many in Villa Franca de Xira were determined to fight the fascist dictatorship—the town had always been a center of active revolutionary struggle. Antonio learned that the Communist Party of Portugal had been fighting for a better lot for the worker ever since its inception in 1921. Antonio listened with rapt attention to stories about Lenin, leader of the workers of all countries, the man who led the Russian proletariat in carrying out the world's first socialist revolution. He eagerly listened to accounts of the Soviet Union.

This was part of his political education. And talks with older comrades were followed by the study of political literature, the works of Lenin and pamphlets explaining the Communist Party program. Lourenco became a revolutionary, a member of the Young Communist League and of the Communist Party, did active work among

the workers and peasants. This did not go unnoticed by the authorities. Agents of the PIDE, the secret police, were after him, but the Party was warned in good time and Lourenco went underground.

That meant taking every precaution not to fall into the hands of the police, while at the same time continuing active work for the Party in various parts of the country, organizing Lisbon ship-building workers, leading the big 1943, 1944 and 1947 strike struggles. He was put on the Party Central Committee, became a close co-worker of such prominent Communist leaders as Alvaro Cunhal, Militao Ribeiro, Jose Gregorio, Francisco Miguel, Pires Jorge and Blanquim Teixeira. But the PIDE was on his track and in 1949 he was arrested.

The PIDE investigator began with these words: "You realize, of course, that I'm not going to spend time establishing your identity. We know all about you—how you incited the workers to strike, recruited members for your Party and all your other subversive doings. So let's not waste time."

Then came the questions; Antonio did not answer them. The investigator was furious. Antonio cut him short: "I am not going to tell PIDE anything, do you understand? Nothing at all!"

The investigator took up a truncheon and began beating Antonio. Years later Antonio was to learn his name, Fernando Gouveia, an assistant PIDE inspector.

The interrogation was resumed a few days later. Though weakened by torture, Antonio remained unbroken and refused to answer any of the questions. For he knew, as every Communist knew, that even some seemingly innocent statement might harm the Party and give the police valuable information.

Finally the police realized that no amount of torture would force Lourenco to supply the information they wanted. He was handed over to a fascist tribunal on charges of "activity against the state" and was sentenced to a long term in the Peniche fortress, where he was put into one of the worst cells. But he was still the intrepid fighter and all his thoughts centered on how to escape.

By sheer chance Antonio discovered a possible escape route. A heavy iron plate on the cell floor covered the entrance to a tunnel carrying electric cables. How could that be used? Antonio discussed the matter with the other prisoners. The tunnel was too narrow for a man to creep through, but it could be widened. And after several months of carefully conceal-

ed work, digging with primitive tools, the prisoners managed to widen a 10-metre stretch. But then the whole thing fell through—the men were transferred to another cell.

Antonio did not lose heart: there must be some way of getting out of this hell. And again he made an encouraging discovery.

He had been put into a "disciplinary cell" for a few days. It was pitch dark, but in feeling his way along the walls he found something protruding out of the brickwork. Further investigation revealed a bricked-over door. If only he could open it! It might be the way to freedom. The underground organization managed to smuggle in a small knife, and Antonio managed to be sent back to the disciplinary cell for a longer period by refusing to submit to prison rules.

But no time could be wasted, and he kept digging away with his small knife. His hands were numb, there was blood on his fingers. Several days of work cleared away the bricks to reveal a heavy iron door. Heavy, but not very secure, for the bolts had become rusty and loose, though it took Antonio a long time to remove them.

At long last he was out of the cell, but the road to freedom was still difficult and dangerous: it took him to the very edge of the cliff, many meters above the ocean. The problem now was to make his way down to the ocean and swim the long distance, in the cold December water, around the cliff to the shore.

Antonio cut his prison blanket into strips and tied them together, but the "ladder" was too short, and jumping the remaining distance could have meant certain death.

There was not much time to consider what to do. He climbed back into the cell and in the night added a few handkerchiefs and some rags to his makeshift "ladder." It was longer but still not long enough—he had to jump about 10 metres.

Of course, this was a risky business but Antonio was lucky—he got off with a leg fracture. Then came two hours in the cold water, every metre taking him further and further away from his prison. Finally, by dint of tremendous effort, he reached the shore where fishermen gave him first-aid treatment.

This created a furore in Lisbon. The PIDE and the Peniche prison authorities tightened security, claiming that henceforth not even a bird would escape. But more than a "bird" got away: early in Jan-

uary 1960, the Communist Party General Secretary, Alvaro Cunhal, and a group of his comrades made a daring and dramatic escape.

For seven and a half years after the night he had outwitted his fascist jailers and swam to freedom, Lourenco continued his work in the underground Party. An experienced leader, he took good care not to be detected by the police, strengthened discipline and vigilance in the clandestine organizations. Yet in August 1962 he was arrested again.

Antonio was living with his wife and two small children in Buarcos, a small town near Coimbra. He had been severely injured in an automobile accident and was very weak. One night PIDE agents broke into the house, beat him up, threw him to the floor and trampled on his body. After that he was handcuffed and together with his wife and children pushed into the police car and taken to the Cassias fortress, a few kilometres from the capital.

Word reached the Party that, despite his serious condition, Lourenco was not put in the prison hospital. More, he was being tortured, flogged with his hands tied behind his back.

Towards the end of November 1962 he was transferred to the PIDE headquarters and again tortured. At his trial, in February 1965, he told the court how he had been tortured. His speech was published in a book, *The Accused Accuse* put out by the *Avante* newspaper in April 1969, from which we quote the following excerpts:

"I was pushed into an office, not one of those usual offices used for interrogation. It had a special heating system with pipes in every corner, along the walls and criss-crossing the cemented floor. The electric lights were blinding. The atmosphere was stifling. I spent about four days there, handcuffed behind my back. Two times the room was filled with steam and gas that affected my eyes and breathing. The steam and gas came from holes in the floor and from pipes stretching from the next room.

"I was attacked by policemen led by Brigadier Tinoco. They knocked my head against the wall, made cuts in my body, then put me in a straitjacket and sealed my mouth with adhesive plaster. This was followed by more blows on my neck, face, eyes. I can still feel the pain now. Then the police forced my mouth open and stuck in a copy of the Portuguese Communist Party Manifesto, in which the PIDE is denounced as a gang of murderers.

"But, as during my very first arrest, I

refused to speak," Lourenco proudly told the tribunal. "And I shall never speak, never will I supply information about my comrades in the illegal Party or about the Party itself."

No amount of savage torture could vanquish the indomitable courage and revolutionary spirit of this Portuguese Communist.

Members of the Party are always prepared to face the most trying ordeals. This has been emphasized by Alvaro Cunhal:

There are three crucial moments in the life of a Communist captured by the enemy: he must display his revolutionary courage in facing the police, the court and imprisonment.

"The Party teaches its members that no matter how brutal the torture is, even if you have to sacrifice your life—as was the case with Central Committee Secretary Militao Ribeiro, Jose Moreira, Jermano Vidigal and many others—you must refuse to supply any information about your political activity or the Party, any information the enemy could use against us in the fight to liberate our people.

"The fascist courts have turned justice into a tragic farce. Revolutionary firmness inevitably means harsher treatment at the hands of the police. Our comrades never argue with the prosecution, even on minor points, never try to find excuses. For they are defending not only themselves, but the policy of their Party."

These words apply fully to Antonio Dias Lourenco. Facing the fascist tribunal, he presented a damning indictment of the tyrannical regime. He knew his words would be heard by millions of Portuguese, and he addressed himself to them:

"People of Portugal! I have been a member of the Communist Party from the age of 17, and I shall soon be 50. I am proud of having given the Party my best years, everything I cherish in life, and I am determined to face death supremely loyal to the great ideals of Communism.

"I am a worker and the son of a worker, and all my life has been given to the working class, to the people of my country. As a worker, as a Portuguese, as a Party member for 33 years, and a Party functionary for 20, I categorically refute the charge that my Party is engaged in 'subversive activity'.

"The Communist Party is internationalist in its class outlook, and, at the same time, a party of true patriots. It speaks for the real interests of the country, of its

working people and their progressive and revolutionary traditions.

"Facts and events have been distorted here to rig up a case against the Communist Party. But it should be perfectly clear that neither I nor my Party are the real accused—the regime and its leaders are in the dock here."

The presiding judge interrupted Lourenco, threatening to expel him from the courtroom. But he was able to finish his speech, thereby fulfilling his duty as a Communist.

The verdict was harsh and vengeful and

tantamount to slow murder: 23 years and 8 months imprisonment for "encroaching on the security of the state."

The reactionary clique in Lisbon wants to keep Lourenco and many other devoted Portuguese Communists permanently incarcerated. But that plan can be effectively foiled by strengthening international solidarity with Portugal's political prisoners and intensifying the world-wide campaign for their release.

C. MENDES
A. PEREIRA

Propagation of Lenin's ideas

We have asked publishers in the socialist countries to inform our readers about the works by and about Lenin appearing in 1970, the centennial of the leader's birth.

☆ ☆ ☆

TSVIATKO TSAGOV

General Director of Bolgarska Kniga

Lenin is dear to every Bulgarian Communist, every citizen of our country. On his centennial our people are preparing to pay tribute to the leader of the world's first victorious socialist revolution.

The Bulgarian reader was first made familiar with Lenin's works and ideas at the end of the past century through Bulgaria's socialist press. The newspaper *Sotsialist*, No. 44, June 7, 1897, ran a review of Lenin's brochure, "Explanation of the Law on Fines Imposed on Factory Workers," and in 1902 Dmitry Blagoyev, founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party, referred to Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* in his article, "Opportunism or Socialism."

The first books by Lenin in Bulgarian appeared after the October Revolution: in 1919 the Party's bookstore, "Osvobozhdeniye" published *The State and Revolution* and, somewhat later, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and a few of Lenin's articles. Subsequently, a number of Lenin's books appeared, despite the restrictions of the monarcho-fascist regime.

Of course, Lenin's works were widely circulated in the country after the socialist revolution of September 9, 1944, with 176 volumes, totalling 2,580,000 copies, published in the years of people's power.

A special publication plan has been drawn up for the Lenin centennial, consisting of some 150 titles, most of them by Lenin, including volumes 42 to 45 of the 4th edition of his *Collected Works*. Also, we plan to put out a new three-volume *Selected Works*.

Appearing in a separate series are fifteen of Lenin's works that played a prominent role in the Bulgarian Party's development as a Marxist-Leninist party, its fight against the monarcho-fascist regime, in establishing the people's power and building socialist society, and advancing our socialist culture. These include: *What Is To Be Done?*; *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*; *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*; *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*; *The State and Revolution*; "Left-Wing" Communism — *An Infantile Disorder*; *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*; *How to Organize Competition?* and *Last Letters and Articles*, etc.

We are also planning a number of Lenin collections on specific topics: "About Ideological Work," "About Literature and Art," "About the Communist Code of Morals" (BCP Press); "About the State and Jurisprudence" (Nauka i Iskustvo Publishers); "About the Youth Leagues" (Narodna Mladezh Publishers); "About the Defense of the Socialist Fatherland" (State Military Publishers).

Works by Bulgarian authors are fairly numerous on the Lenin centennial list. The most substantial of the 68 titles under this head are: *Lenin's Theory on Imperialism and Modern Capitalism* by a group of associates of the Economic Institute, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, edited by Ljuben Georgiev, Doc., Econ.; *The Leninist Stage in the Development of Marxist Philosophy*, a collection edited by Professors Ghirgin Ghirginov and Kiril Vasilev, and *Leninism and Its Modern 'Critics' in Philosophy* by Deyan Pavlov, all three to be put out by the BCP Press.

Sofia-Press Agency is putting out eight titles in 33 foreign-language editions: *Leninism and the Growth of the BCP as Society's Leading Force* by Rajcho Pishev, *Lenin—the Banner of the BCP's Struggle Against Left Sectarianism, Dogmatism and Revisionism* by Stella Dimitrova, *Lenin and the Socialist Reconstruction of the Bulgarian Economy* by Emil Khristov, *Leninism and Socialist Democracy in Bulgaria* by Pyotr Ostojich, *The Bulgarian Revolutionaries' Ties with Lenin* by Itso Samuilov and others.

Coming off the presses are two volumes jointly produced by Bulgarian and Soviet authors: *Lenin's Theory of Reflection and Our Time*, edited by Academician Todor Pavlov, and *Lenin and the Historical Destiny of the Bulgarian People*, a monograph jointly produced by the BCP History Institute and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU.

The collection, *Lenin About the Youth*, compiled as a reader, is to contain sections devoted to the key problems of the Communist education of the youth and Lenin's statements on educational problems, the role of the youth in the class struggle and in building the new society. The reader will contain the principal decisions of the Soviet Communist Party on the YCL and the youth, drawn up with Lenin's participation.

The decision of our Central Committee on the Lenin centenary, announced on May 11, is an inspiration for our scientists, journalists and publishers to present the monumental image of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the genius of the proletarian revolution, founder of the CPSU and the Soviet state, showing the viability and power of his ideas.

ANDOR BEREI

Director of Kossuth Publishers (Hungary)

Publishing Lenin's works in Hungarian is main works, published between 1945 and Socialist Workers' Party's publishing house, the successor of Szikra Publishers. Lenin's main works, published between 1945 and 1951, appeared each in printings of 10 to 25 thousand, with a two-volume *Selected Works*, with a printing of 50,000, appearing in 1948, followed by two new mass editions. A three-volume *Selected Works*, in 8,000 copies, appeared in 1967.

In 1951 we launched the first edition of the *Collected Works* in Hungarian, and in 1963 the second edition in Hungarian, based on the Soviet fifth edition, began coming off the presses, with 23 volumes, a total of

188,500 copies, already completed. Issue of the remaining volumes will continue in 1970, the year of the centennial, and, with an eye on the current ideological struggle, we shall republish under separate cover Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder and *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. Also, a special collection will contain Lenin's articles on the Communist code of morals.

Besides, we shall publish some Hungarian authors on Lenin and his works, including Dezso Nemes's *Lenin*, which examines the universal significance of Lenin and Leninism. The author associates Leninism with the growth of the world socialist system, accentuating the experience of applying Leninism in Hungary. The Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is preparing the book, *Lenin and Our Times*, the contributors to which analyze those of Lenin's works that have a bearing on the tasks and problems facing the working-class and Communist movement.

The plan also includes a polemical work, *Lenin the Philosopher*, by Adam Wirth, a Hungarian philosopher, who takes issue with those who consider Lenin as merely a great revolutionary and politician and overlook his contribution to dialectical and historical materialism.

Historian Laszlo Reti wrote the book, *Lenin and the Hungarian Labor Movement*, showing that Lenin followed the development of the labor movement in Hungary and events in that country long before the constitution of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and that he maintained close ties with Bela Kun after the formation of the Soviet republic. When the proletarian dictatorship was overthrown, Lenin examined the lessons to be drawn from the experience of the Hungarian commune.

A de luxe edition of Vladimir Mayakovsky's poem, *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*, is being timed for the centennial, and we shall also offer ten prints showing Lenin at different times in his life.

MIKHAIL SIVOLOBOV

Director of the Political Literature Publishers, USSR

Among the books we are planning to publish for the centennial are Lenin's works, collections on special topics, investigations, popular books on topical problems of Marxism-Leninism, recollections of Lenin's associates, art albums, exhibits and other mass publications.

Naturally, our main concern is for Le-

nin's works: an additional printing of his Complete Works in 55 volumes, an improved ten-volume selection (*The State and Revolution*; *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*; "Left-Wing" Communism — An Infantile Disorder; *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and others), the collections *On the Defense of the Socialist Fatherland*; *On the Worker-Peasant Alliance*; *On Ideological Work*; *On the Norms of Party Life and the Principles of Party Leadership*; *On the Party—Organizer and Leader in Building Socialism*, and others, and some works under separate cover.

Of considerable interest will be the 5-volume edition, *Recollections of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*, prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU. More memoirs will appear under separate cover, such as M. I. Ulyanova's *About Lenin*, A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova's *Remembrances of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*, Maxim Gorky's *V. I. Lenin*, A. V. Lunacharsky's *Stories About Lenin*, N. P. Gorbunov's *How Lenin Worked*, A. M. Kollontai's *Remembrances of Ilyich* and G. M. Krzhizhanovsky's *Thinker and Revolutionary*.

A prominent place in the centennial year goes to documentary collections: *Lenin—Comrade and Man*; *To Comrade Lenin* (collection of letters to Lenin) and *The Peoples of the World About Lenin*.

To appear under separate cover for the first time is *The Correspondence of the Ulyanov Family* (Letters and Documents).

We shall republish the five volumes of the literary portraits of Lenin's closest associates, which first appeared in 1963-67 with favorable comment in the press and readers' letters. A group of eminent Soviet writers and journalists took part in producing the collection, consisting of the following volumes: *The Origins of the Party*; *The Party Marches Toward Revolution*; *Lenin's Guiding Ideas*; *The Leninist International Guard* (about Lenin's foreign associates) and *We'll Build a New and Better World*.

A wide range of problems is examined in monographs, investigations and popular books, showing Lenin as a brilliant theorist and practical revolutionary, founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, leader of the world's first socialist state. Many books tell of the triumph of Lenin's ideas, the contributions of the CPSU and the fraternal parties to the treasure-trove of revolutionary theory, and of the creative work involved in the further development of Marxism-Leninism.

Here are a few of these books: *Lenin and the Problems of Scientific Communism* (group of authors headed by Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU); *Lenin the Philosopher* (edited by Professor M. M. Rosental); *Leninism and the Revolutionary International Working-Class Movement* (group of authors headed by T. T. Timofeyev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Director of the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement), and *Leninism and the Economic Problems of Building Communism* (group of authors headed by E. F. Borisov, Dr. Econ.); also in the preparatory stage are the collections *Leninism and the Nationalities Problem* and *Lenin's Theory of Socialist Revolution and Our Time*, by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU. Of interest are A. F. Kostin's *Lenin, Builder of the Party of a New Type*, G. F. Kim's and A. S. Kaufman's *Leninism and the National-Liberation Movement* and V. G. Afanasyev's and S. V. Alexandrov's *The 23rd Congress of the CPSU and Some Problems of Leninism*.

The centennial is to be marked by the issue of a series of booklets under the head, *The Great Impact of Lenin's Ideas*. The writers, all prominent leaders of foreign Communist and Workers' parties, speak of the influence exercised by Lenin's immortal ideas on the working-class movement in their respective countries and the creative application of Lenin's theory by the fraternal parties heading the people's struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

I should also like to mention the planned illustrated centennial editions: an artistic album of documentary photographs *V. I. Lenin*, the exhibits *Life and Work of V. I. Lenin* and *The Triumph of Lenin's Ideas*, an album of documents in facsimile *Documents of the Great October*, and an album of photographs of Lenin's home and study in the Kremlin, Moscow—*Kremlin—Lenin*. In addition, we shall publish a colored illustrated calendar, *Lenin*.

ANATOLY PORYVAYEV

Director of Mysl Publisher, USSR

In celebration of Lenin's centennial, we shall publish a number of monographs, adding new investigations to the wealth of research devoted to Lenin's heritage, the scientific Leniniana.

Under the head of philosophy I should like to single out two monographs prepared by the Institute of Philosophy, USSR

Academy of Sciences. One of them, *Leninism and the Philosophical Problems of Our Time*, was written by a large group of researchers (headed by M. T. Iovchuk, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences), who set out to produce a comprehensive idea of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxist philosophy and the invaluable contribution made by Lenin and the Leninists to the treasure-trove of dialectical and historical materialism. The monograph makes a thorough analysis of the role of Lenin's heritage in the elaboration of topical problems of materialist dialectics, the theory of knowledge and the philosophical problems of natural science. The book also shows the role of Lenin's ideas in the fight against modern bourgeois ideology, anti-Marxism and anti-communism.

The second monograph, *Lenin and Modern Natural Science*, was produced by philosophers and a number of natural scientists, including Academicians A. D. Alexandrow, V. A. Abartsumyan, A. I. Berg, N. P. Dubinin, B. M. Kedrov, E. K. Fedorov, P. N. Fedoseyev, V. A. Fok, V. A. Engelgardt, Academician P. V. Kopnin (Ukraine), Corresponding Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. E. Omelyanovsky and D. I. Blokhintsev, Drs. V. S. Barashenkov, B. V. Biryukov and N. F. Ovchinnikov, and the prominent foreign scholars, T. Pavlov, John Bernal, C. Powell and S. Sakata. Much of the monograph is devoted to the philosophical aspects of modern physics, astronomy, cybernetics and genetics. The book discusses the prospects of natural science and analyzes the problem of the synthesis of modern science from the standpoint of Lenin's ideas.

The Institute of Economy, USSR Academy of Sciences, has prepared the book, *Development of the Economic Theory of Socialism and Communism by V. I. Lenin*, produced by a group of economists (headed by A. I. Pashkov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences), showing Lenin's outstanding contribution to Marxist economic science.

Among the noteworthy works on Party history is the 3-volume collection of documents, *The Correspondence of Lenin and the "Iskra" Editors with Social-Democratic Organizations in Russia. 1900-1903*, prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU, containing the correspondence of the "Iskra" editors with the newspaper's agents and Social-Democratic organizations in Russia. The three volumes contain nearly

1,400 documents, most of which are being published for the first time.

The monograph, *Lenin's Teaching on the Party*, prepared by the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU (edited by Prof. A. A. Timofeyevsky) promises to be an interesting investigation. It traces the development of the teaching on the proletarian party of the new type from the Party's foundation to our time. The authors examine the question of the historical necessity for a party of the new type, showing the sources of Lenin's party doctrine and the development of that doctrine during the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism at the present stage. The book shows that the Communist Party is internationalist, fighting for the consolidation and unity of the world Communist and working-class movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Another book prepared by the Academy of Social Sciences, *Lenin and the History of Classes and Political Parties in Russia*, is a thorough examination, the first in Soviet historiography, of the pertinent section of Lenin's theoretical heritage. The book covers a considerable period of history, opening with an examination of social relationships in post-reformation Russia, the genesis and formation of the antagonistic classes—the working class and the bourgeoisie—and closes with a study of the class forces in Russia in the early years of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism. It is edited by M. P. Kim, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Another valuable monograph by a group of authors, *Lenin and the International Working-Class Movement* (edited by L. A. Slepov, Dr. Hist.), is based on documents and materials from archives, many of which appear in print for the first time.

A second edition of the collection, *Letters to Lenin from Abroad*, containing a number of new documents, has recently come off the presses.

EVZEN PALONCY

Editor-in-Chief of Svoboda Publishers,
Czechoslovakia.

To begin with, a few words about the early publication of Lenin in our country. His writings appeared first when Czech and Slovak Red Army men returned from Russia after the First World War as reprints in magazines—*A Great Beginning*, *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Gov-*

ernment, and others. The first book by Lenin in Czech was *The State and Revolution*. In 1924, when the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party formed a Lenin fund to publish Marxist literature, we launched the Lenin Library series, and soon after the Small Leninist Library. In the thirties we began publishing a 20-volume Lenin's Selected Works, of which five volumes appeared before the Nazi invasion. The translators were B. Smeral, E. Urx, J. Prochazka, F. Necasek and others, all well-known Communists. On Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army the publication of Lenin's works was continued by Svoboda Publishers, founded in May 1945. Under separate covers we issued Lenin's *The State; Marxism and Revisionism; A Great Beginning* and, somewhat later, *The State and Revolution; What Is To Be Done? "Left-Wing"—Communism—an Infantile Disorder; Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and others.

Postwar, Lenin's main works were published in two popular series: The Big and Small libraries of Marxism-Leninism. Besides, we put out a two-volume Selected Works, of which four successive editions totalling 200,000 copies, were sold in three years.

In 1951 we began publishing a Collected Works based on the 4th Russian edition, originally to have comprised 35 volumes but later expanded with another ten. The volumes appeared at regular intervals, several of them annually, with 41 appearing up to 1968 (Vols. 1-39, 41 and 42).

We are planning to complete the Collected Works in 1970, the year of the Lenin centenary, when the remaining four volumes will appear (Vols. 40, 43, 44 and 45). Our readers will then have a complete Czech edition of Lenin's works, from the

earliest, written in 1893, to the latest, written in 1923. The total printing—1,650,000 copies.

Svoboda publishers have put out many works about Lenin—biographies, recollections and books on various aspects of Lenin's heritage: a few editions of Lenin's biography, including the well-known monograph by Zdenek Nejedly, 12 volumes of memoirs and the collections *Workers and Peasants About Lenin* and *They Spoke with Lenin*. Another 16 books were published on Lenin's methods and experience, including *Lenin's Principles of Party Activity*, as well as translations of a number of Soviet authors. The total printing of Lenin's works and works about Lenin put out just by Svoboda, exceeded 5,000,000 copies, with other publishers in the country also publishing Lenin's works.

At present, we are launching a new series of the Marxism-Leninism Library, of which Lenin's book, *The State and Revolution*, will be the first. In addition, *Lenin and the October*, a monograph by Laszlo Gyurco, a Hungarian writer, will appear in the Subscribers' Library, series, which has more than 100,000 subscribers. Also, we are now preparing a collection of Lenin's critical appraisals of Trotsky's activity. To reappear on the bookstalls are *How Lenin Guided the Socialist State* and the collection *Lenin's Heritage*, which are in high demand. Posters and other graphic aids are to come off the presses for the Lenin centenary.

On September 24, our Central Committee Presidium adopted a decision on celebrating the Lenin centenary. The coming year will see Lenin's ideas take deeper root in the work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Dissemination of Lenin's ideas is the main objective of our Publishing House.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

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