

**Bonn's Eastern Policy:
Substance and Illusions**
By G. Kegel

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STATE OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE,
January 14, 1903.

REPORT
OF THE
COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE,
IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE SENATE
MAY 1, 1899.

ALBANY:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.,
PRINTERS,
1903.

THE LAND OFFICE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
HAS THE HONOR TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT
OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE,
IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SENATE
MAY 1, 1899.

AND TO CERTIFY THAT THE SAME HAS BEEN
FILED IN THE OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE SENATE,
AND IS HEREBY REFERRED TO THE COMMITTEE ON LANDS,
FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I HAVE HEREUNTO
SET MY HAND AND THE SEAL OF THE OFFICE,
AT ALBANY, THIS 14TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1903.

JOHN W. ALLEN,
CLERK OF THE SENATE.

The socialist economy: results, problems, perspectives

RUDOLF BRAUER, ILYA DUDINSKY

Comparison is an objective criterion. It is therefore fitting and proper to compare progress in the member countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance with their capitalist past. Only two, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, had developed capitalist economies, with industry contributing more than agriculture. The others were agrarian-industrial or simply agrarian, and Mongolia was still in the feudal stage.

This discrepancy in development levels, diversity of conditions, in starting points and in the forms of the transition to socialism, helps to explain the inevitable initial difficulties, some of which persist to this day. These countries were setting out on an uncharted path, blazing the trail. It was not an easy job, and each of the socialist countries can look back on both successes and disappointments. And not all the difficulties were of an objective nature. Some were due to mistakes, to impatience, to an urge to overcome the economic backwardness as possible. But there were other factors. Throughout these courageous years of socialist construction, international imperialism sought to exploit every error, every difficulty encountered by the new system, and its subversion methods became more insidious as the new social system built up its record of achievement.

Latterly, capitalist propaganda has been working hard to vilify socialist construction, exaggerating the mistakes in individual socialist countries and belittling their achievements. It is therefore both neces-

sary and useful to draw up a balance sheet of the progress made by these countries, of the socio-economic gains of their peoples.

The establishment of people's rule was followed by nationalization of the basic means of production, by industrialization, by the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, and by economic planning. During this phase the socialist countries solved the supreme economic problem of assuring the dominance of socialist production relations. In most of the European socialist countries the foundations were thus laid for a developed industry and agriculture as the material and technical basis of socialism.

Simultaneously the foundations were laid for the socialist world economic system. Stable economic relations were formed between the countries, enabling them to realize, on an international scale, all the advantages latent in socialism. These contacts have been developing especially beneficially between members of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

The socialist countries worked to build the facilities needed to achieve the goal of socialist production, namely, ever greater satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the people. In the conditions of fierce struggle and competition between the two systems, and faced with ceaseless imperialist military, political and ideological attacks and economic sabotage, they built up a powerful industry as the reliable basis for strengthening their defense power and producing more for social and personal consumption. And to speed the process, they had to mobilize their material and financial resources, make sac-

*Based on materials of the GDR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Research Institute, and the Moscow Institute of Socialist World Economy.

rifices and endure a certain amount of austerity, and inhibit expansion in the consumer industries. This, an unavoidable necessity, was the internationalist duty of the working class and all the working people of the socialist countries.

Many of them have now entered a new phase of development. The Soviet Union is laying the material and technical foundations of communism; a number of the European socialist countries are building a comprehensive socialist society. This all-round socialist society will make much fuller use of the rapidly advancing new technology and will attain a higher level of the productive forces and productivity than in the advanced capitalist countries. In nearly all the European socialist countries, socialism has become, so to speak, self-propelling. And this, naturally, provides greater leeway for the objective economic laws of socialism. The new phase furnishes much greater opportunities for realizing the overall aim of socialism—greater prosperity for the people.

However, this new phase does not mean that there are no difficulties. For we are living in a time of sharper struggle between socialism and capitalism, of heightened aggressiveness on the part of international imperialism. This means that in future, too, the socialist countries will have to devote much effort to strengthening their defense power, repelling imperialist provocation and safeguarding world peace. In this situation the leading and organizing role of the Communist and Workers' parties, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, is a guarantee of new victories for socialism.

HIGH GROWTH RATES

Before discussing the changes in the socialist economy over the past few years and the distinguishing features of the new phase, it should be emphasized that social-

ism has consistently achieved much higher growth rates than the capitalist countries. Epitomized in this are its chief advantages — dynamism and effectiveness of socialist production. Last year, industrial output in the socialist countries was 11 times greater than before the war, compared with a less than fivefold increase in the capitalist countries, which means that socialist industry has been expanding at least twice as fast, despite the capitalist post-war boom with its relatively high rate of growth.

Also this important figure: socialist production gains in the past four years were, in most countries, higher than in 1961-63. The downward trend in growth rates of the early sixties, due to a number of unfavorable factors, has in the main been overcome. The measures taken by the Communist and Workers' parties to improve economic management, increase agricultural output and accelerate technical progress have contributed greatly to the growth.

Average annual production gains in CMEA countries in 1966-67 exceeded that of the preceding five-year period (1961-65) and the programmed figure for the current five years (1966-70). There is every opportunity of achieving a substantially higher rate of growth and surpassing the five-year targets. To this should be added that the economic reforms are bound to play a major part in raising and stabilizing the rate of industrial expansion. They will make for higher efficiency levels and faster technical progress.

STRUCTURAL PATTERNS

Let us analyze, first, the production structures of the CMEA countries as revealed in industry's contribution to the national income and the gross industrial and agricultural product, and also in the macrostructure and microstructure of industrial production.

STRUCTURE OF NATIONAL INCOME

(in percentages of total; prices of years indicated)

	Industry		Construction		Agriculture	
	1950	1966	1950	1966	1950	1966
Bulgaria	36.8	44.8	6.6	7.8	42.1	33.6
Hungary	49.1	57.1	6.8	10.0	24.4	21.1
GDR	55.9	63.9	5.1	5.2	12.3	11.9
Poland	—	51.6	—	8.9	—	20.3
Rumania	43.4	49.2	6.2	8.3	27.6	28.8
USSR	57.5	51.0	6.1	9.0	21.8	23.5
Czechoslovakia	62.5	65.8	8.7	9.4	16.2	12.6

The figures show that in this period the socialist countries eliminated the backward economic structure inherited from capitalism, and that the bulk of their national income comes from industry. This has become a stable feature, though in some countries we see a declining tendency, with a simultaneous increase in the share of construction and agriculture. By way of comparison it might be mentioned that in 1963 United States industry contributed 57.8 per cent of the national income, construction 7.3 per cent and agriculture 5.9 per cent.

The figures are further evidence of the dominance of industry in these countries, of their progressive production structures and of the growing maturity of their material and technical base. Of course, there are still differences (some of them substantial) from country to country, due to the fact that socialist construction started at different levels, but the important thing is the clear trend towards closing the gap and heightening the industrial level of all the socialist countries.

Likewise indicative are the data on industry's contribution to the total industrial and agricultural product. These are the pre-war (1937-39) and post-war (1962-65) figures: Bulgaria—24.8 and 76 per cent; Hungary 42 and 74.5 per cent; Poland—47.4 and 74.8 per cent; Rumania—39 and 57.8 per cent.

The accent in most socialist countries has been on priority development of pro-

ducer goods (division A). And that is understandable, for heavy industry is vital to economic development. Accordingly, until quite recently division A industries were expanding at a faster rate than consumer-goods industries (division B), with the result that in all CMEA countries, with the sole exception of Mongolia, producer goods accounted for a much higher proportion in total output.

That priority development of heavy industry should necessitate temporary sacrifices, was understandable. For a time the people of the socialist countries had to forego some of the good things of life. They were investing in the future, laying the groundwork of an industrial economy to assure rapid progress towards socialism and communism. And the investment has paid off handsomely.

Now, with more mature economies in the CMEA countries, there is a substantial evening-out of growth rates in the two divisions. With their strong and diversified production apparatus built in earlier years, they can devote more facilities to satisfying consumer requirements.

The growing maturity of the socialist economy is measurable in the structural changes of their industries. In most countries there has been rapid advance in such key branches as power, engineering and chemicals which largely determine technical progress throughout the economy. The process of structural change over the past six years is spelled out in the following table.

PERCENTAGE SHARE IN GROSS INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

		Power and Engineering Fuel		Chemicals	Total for three
Bulgaria	1960	2.0	12.4	3.8	18.2
	1966	2.3	17.8	5.1	25.2
Hungary	1960	4.2	25.1	4.4	33.7
	1966	4.6	27.8	7.2	39.6
GDR	1960	1.6	32.7	13.0	47.3
	1966	1.7	36.3	14.3	52.3
Mongolia	1960	3.1	2.5	3.5	9.1
	1966	5.3	2.0	2.6	9.9
Poland	1960	2.1	19.7	7.4	29.2
	1966	2.4	26.1	9.7	38.2
Rumania	1960	2.5	24.3	6.6	33.4
	1966	2.8	21.7	7.7	32.2
Czechoslovakia	1960	2.8	33.4	6.1	42.3
	1966	3.1	27.0	5.7	35.8

All the countries show a marked increase in the share of power and fuel, and most also in engineering and chemicals. Another noteworthy development is the evening-out of levels.

In present-day conditions, a rational industrial structure is a determining factor of economic growth. And while the socialist countries have done well in this respect, there is no room for complacency. It is a fact that in most socialist countries the primary-goods industries (raw materials, building materials, etc.) still hold a much bigger place than in the leading capitalist countries. This is due, to a considerable degree, to the trend — until recently dominant — towards physical expansion, which was bound to affect growth patterns. To correct this, the socialist countries are improving their industrial structures and sharply raising production efficiency.

Analysis will show that improving CMEA production structures will, as a rule, be achieved by evening out growth rates within division A, with priority expansion in engineering, chemicals and power. For instance, the share of engineering in gross industrial output is scheduled to increase from 26.5 per cent in 1965 to 30 per cent in 1970 and 33 per cent in 1975. The respective figures for the chemical and rubber-asbestos industries are 7.1, 9 and 11 per cent, and 2.7, 4.4 and 4.8 per cent for power and fuel.

In analyzing industrial development we should consider not only the macro- but

also the microstructure, which largely determines efficiency and technical progress. For, to take one example, modern and technically well-equipped power stations will, of course, produce much cheaper electricity than small uneconomical plants.

Much remains to be done in this field. A more rational and effective structure is necessitated by the needs of economic development, the worldwide technological revolution and, last but not least, the present stage in the economic race with capitalism. Consequently, in the current five-year period, and over a much longer span, the CMEA will concentrate on perfecting the microstructure of industry, with priority expansion in progressive lines of production and progressive techniques. For instance, more steel will be produced by oxygen-converter techniques; oil and gas will play a bigger part in the fuel supply; in chemicals the accent will be on more progressive types of production, etc.

EFFECTIVENESS INDICATORS

Structural patterns largely determine the degree of economic maturity. But no less an important indicator is effectiveness of social production.

The socialist countries' production capacity has increased enormously: 15-fold in the USSR in the past 50 years, and these are the figures for other countries (1951-66): Bulgaria—roughly 400 per cent, Hungary—more than 300 per cent, Rumania—

AVERAGE ANNUAL ACCRETION OF PRODUCTION FACILITIES

	All economy in relation to in- crease of nation- al income	Industry in relation to in- crease of gross industrial output	Agriculture in relation to in- crease of gross agricultural out- put
Bulgaria			
1951-1955	0.80	0.84	0.94
1956-1960	0.99	0.78	1.43
1961-1965	1.27	1.15	1.37
Rumania			
1951-1955	0.68	0.76	0.68
1956-1960	0.94	0.88	1.09
1961-1965	0.96	0.85	1.06
USSR			
1951-1955	0.92	0.91	1.15
1956-1960	1.02	1.03	1.13
1961-1965	1.16	1.15	1.26
Czechoslovakia			
1951-1955	0.82	0.78	0.96
1956-1960	0.94	0.83	1.40
1961-1965	1.21	1.08	1.40

about 300 per cent, and Czechoslovakia about 250 per cent. In some CMEA countries fixed assets more than doubled in 1956-67, and industrial capacity even tripled. This, too, is proof of the achievements of socialism in creating its material and technical basis.

However, with the rapid advance of the technological revolution, it is not only physical volume that counts, but also rational use of the production apparatus, which indeed is a determining factor in the effectiveness of social production.

And the criterion of effectiveness is the input-output relationship — the amount of product per unit of investment.

Needless to say, machines do not by themselves produce material values; in large-scale machine production they are produced by workers using modern equipment. Marx remarked that with the development of large-scale industry, the creation of real wealth becomes less dependent on working time and amount of labor than on the power of the machines employed — agents which themselves represent a powerful productive force.

The figures show that production facilities in relation to output in the four CMEA

countries have slightly increased over the past 15 years. In other words, a bigger amount of plant and equipment goes into a unit of output.

These data speak of a still inadequate use of the production machinery and, secondly, of the tremendous untapped potential of more effective social production.

Productivity of living labor is another important index of effectiveness. And in this respect the CMEA countries have made notable headway. The production machinery set up by the CMEA and the radical changes in the use of machinery and power have made possible a sharp increase in labor productivity. As a result, the CMEA countries today owe by far the greater part of the increase in their national incomes and industrial output to higher productivity of labor.

Analysis shows that growth of labor productivity in industry and throughout the economy in the socialist countries appreciably exceeds growth of employment. In 1967 labor productivity in the socialist countries was 85 per cent higher than in 1955, the CMEA countries registering a 99 per cent increase. Let us glance at the table below.

ROLE OF GROWTH FACTORS IN THE CMEA COUNTRIES

	Proportion of increase achieved through higher labor productivity (per cent)			Proportion of increase achieved through increase in personnel (per cent)		
	1956-60	1961-65	1966-67	1956-60	1961-65	1966-67
National income	90	92	92	10	8	8
Industry	73	61	74	27	39	26

It contains data showing that over nine-tenths of the increase in the national income is achieved through higher productivity of social labor. The large proportion of increase in the national income over the increase in industrial output—an increase achieved by raising labor productivity—is an indication of the favorable structural changes in the CMEA economy.

Party decisions and the economic plans of the CMEA countries provide guidelines for raising the effectiveness of social production. They call for a higher technical standard of production and higher quality of output, to be brought about by using the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, for a more perfected pattern of the entire economy, particularly industry, and for better socialist relations of production, in order to harmonize them with the growth of the pro-

ductive forces attained to date. An important measure from this point of view is the deep-going economic reforms in the socialist countries designed to raise the scientific standard of planning and management, encourage initiative by the enterprises and providing greater incentives for increased output and better quality. Lastly, the decisions and plans in question envisage greater and more effective economic co-operation between the socialist countries.

AGRICULTURE

Recent years have seen gains in agricultural production in the CMEA countries. In 1966 gross output of grain crops was 229 million tons, or 40 per cent more than the annual average for 1951 to 1965. Growth was achieved chiefly by raising yields. Technical crop yields were much

higher, and there was also an increase in the productivity of animal husbandry and in the livestock population.

Agricultural production has grown particularly in recent years. The fact that the socialist countries today are in a position to invest in agriculture on an enormous scale and to offer much greater incentives to the peasants, indicates that the socialist industry is now yielding ever greater accumulations, specifically for the advancement of agriculture. Indeed, in many CMEA countries the growth rate of capital investment in agriculture is higher than in industry.

Long-term plans provide for measures to ensure that agriculture fully meets the growing demand. Their purpose is to consolidate the cooperative and state farms. Furthermore, the socialist countries propose to put the whole of agriculture—every branch of it and every operation—on an industrial footing. They want to bring agriculture nearer to industry in the use of machinery and in labor productivity.

COOPERATION: AN IMPORTANT FACTOR FOR GROWTH

The international division of labor, a powerful productive force in this phase, is a gigantic catalyst of economic growth, especially in those countries whose national resources and market possibilities do not enable them fully to use all the advantages of the scientific and technological revolution. The socialist countries, putting this productive force on a qualitatively new socio-economic basis, soon demonstrated the advantages of the new, socialist type of international division of labor.

There were many hurdles along the way, nor are they few now. Before the war the economic relationships between the countries now part of the socialist community were so feeble that they had to be developed from almost scratch. Much time and energy had to be spent on the search for a cooperation machinery in keeping with socialist production relations. Indeed, this machinery is still in the making. These and other aspects explain why the expansion of trade between the socialist countries falls short of objective possibilities. The socialist world accounts for about two-fifths of world industrial and agricultural output and yet for some years now its share in world trade has marked time round about 10 per cent.

Nevertheless, the socialist countries, primarily those in the CMEA, have made definite progress in this area too. The CMEA,

established in 1949, coordinates the efforts of its members. Its establishment initiated a multilateral cooperation the success of which is beyond question. For instance, the foreign trade of the CMEA countries has increased roughly sixfold compared with 1950. Growth rate in the past decade has exceeded that of the national income—a sign of growing international integration. Trade between the CMEA countries today makes up about 70 per cent of their overall foreign trade. On the socialist world market these countries purchase 95 per cent of their imported machinery, 90 per cent of their oil, 98 per cent of their coal and about 80 per cent of their iron ore. This proportion of mutual deliveries of these important items is partly the result of the economic and political discrimination practised by the imperialist countries, but a much bigger factor is highly effective mutual cooperation.

The Soviet Union's past and present role in shaping and fostering economic relations between the socialist countries merits mention. During the phase of rapid industrialization in the European socialist countries the Soviet Union was the chief supplier of industrial plant and rendered them extensive scientific and technological aid in establishing new industries and in reconstructing old ones. The Soviet Union still provides the socialist countries with large quantities of the most diverse types of machinery and plant. Besides, to the socialist countries of Europe, the USSR is a stable source of raw materials, and secondly, an immense market operating on a planned basis where they can sell their industrial products. The latter circumstance is very important now that a grim battle for markets is going on all over the world. The Soviet Union is gaining in importance as a partner in production specialization and cooperation. Lastly, it has powerful and highly developed scientific facilities which relatively small countries could not maintain. By sharing its scientific achievements with the socialist countries in a fraternal spirit, the USSR contributes to progress in science and technology.

In carrying into practice Lenin's ideas about the significance of planning for the socialist community, the Communist and Workers' parties are taking steps to strengthen planning also in the sphere of mutual economic relations and to improve every form of economic cooperation. At present the CMEA is engaged in extensive preparations for coordinating economic development plans up to 1975 and for longer

terms. Life confronts the socialist countries with new and at times difficult problems stemming from the present stage of socialist development. This stimulates closer and more effective mutual economic relations, international specialization and cooperation in industry, joint research in those branches and industries playing the decisive role in improving the structure of the national economy. It also tends to perfect the machinery of price formation and the currency and financial machinery of the socialist world market.

The Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries always bear these problems in mind. And now these problems are to be examined at a summit conference on which the parties agreed at their Dresden meeting in the spring of 1968, reaffirming their decision at the Bratislava meeting in August.

FOR THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE

The maturity of the socialist economies is characterized to no small degree by the substantial gains made in raising the standard of living. Raising the standard of living is a complex process of increasing real wages and salaries and the incomes of the peasant cooperators, ensuring a rapid growth rate in retail trade and effecting progressive changes in the pattern of this trade, establishing and improving the system of public education, the health service, and housing.

Some of the socialist countries are ahead of a number of the economically developed capitalist countries in such important living standard indices as the number of students and doctors per 10,000 inhabitants, the number of flats per 1,000 inhabitants built annually and per capita consumption of some articles. There is an excellent social security system, free medical care and more accessible higher education in the socialist countries. But much still remains to be done to meet the growing material and spiritual requirements of both the urban and rural population. The Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries give priority to these matters.

The following figures are indicative: between 1955 and 1966 output of industrial consumer goods in the CMEA countries increased 130 per cent and the overall consumption fund, 100 per cent.

The following table suggests that growth rate in the consumption fund considerably exceeds that of population growth—a fact beneficial to per capita consumption.

GROWTH OF THE CONSUMPTION FUND BETWEEN 1955 AND 1966 (per cent)

	Total	Per capita
Bulgaria	222	202
Czechoslovakia	162	149
GDR	168	177
Hungary	180	174
Poland	185	159
Rumania	185	167
Soviet Union	197	166
CMEA Average	194	165

In addition to growth of consumption funds and to the elimination of inter-state differences in consumption levels, notable structural changes have taken place in the sphere of consumption where the share of some foodstuffs is decreasing and that of manufactured goods increasing. Meat, milk and sugar consumption is rising rapidly, and there is a steady increase in the share of durables. And while the socialist countries have still to catch up with the highly developed capitalist countries in this respect, the trend now established warrants the conclusion that changes for the better are taking place in the socialist countries.

Educational standards and workers' skills are, admittedly, a vital factor in economic progress today. In the industrially developed countries, it accounts for roughly one-third of the economic growth total. Needless to say its role depends in the final analysis on the efficiency of the educational system.

Along with the social revolution, the socialist countries have carried out a cultural revolution. Considerable investments have resulted in their having the world's foremost educational system. This far-sighted spending of a sizeable proportion of the national income, in the past a burden on the working people, is now yielding abundant fruit.

THE CMEA COUNTRIES AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE WORLD ECONOMY

The place of the socialist countries in the world economy is a criterion of the standard of development of their production machinery. An analysis of relevant data shows that they are advancing both quantitatively and qualitatively. The share of the socialist countries, especially the CMEA countries, in world industrial output (see table) is growing steadily, and the gap between them and the highly developed capi-

talist countries in terms of power and machine expenditure per unit of output and quality and technical standards of numerous items is narrowing.

From 1951 to 1966 the CMEA countries' share in the gross industrial output of the world rose by more than 70 per cent, exceeding the U.S. share by 10 per cent and that of the Common Market countries by 160 per cent.

**SHARE IN WORLD INDUSTRIAL
OUTPUT
(per cent)**

	1950	1960	1966
Socialist countries	20	36	38
CMEA countries	17.8	28.4	31
Other countries	80	64	62
U.S.A.	43.6	29.3	28.4
Common Market countries	12.5	12.8	11.8

These data reflect a qualitatively new situation in the world economy: the socialist system with its rapid progress is gaining stronger positions.

Estimates show that the share of the socialist countries in world industrial output will continue to grow. By 1975 it will range from 43 per cent to 46 per cent against 38 per cent in 1967. In the economic competition between the two world systems, the outlook for the foreseeable future is for a

more rapid buildup of the superiority of the socialist system in the sphere of industrial output over the group of highly developed capitalist countries.

* * *

To sum up,

First, the foregoing invites the conclusion that, despite all the difficulties, the CMEA countries have made important economic progress in an historically brief time. They have effected deep-going changes in their economies; they operate in an international socialist division of labor on a planned basis; they have noticeably raised the standards of living and have registered big gains in the economic competition with world capitalism.

Their powerful productive forces and their new socialist social relationships have enabled most of the CMEA countries to proceed to the next phase of building a comprehensive socialist society. In this phase the advantages of socialism as a social system will prove their worth much more fully, and its power of attraction for the peoples of the world will be enhanced. The working people of the socialist countries, led by the Communist and Workers' parties, are showing what they can do with the political power in their hands to further their interests and promote social progress and peace throughout the world.

Growing Czechoslovak-Soviet economic cooperation

WMR interviews F. Hamouz, Vice-Chairman of the Czechoslovak Government, and V. Novikov, Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

F. HAMOUZ

Question: What can you say about the role of the cooperation with the Soviet Union in the economic development of Czechoslovakia?

Answer: The cooperation with the Soviet Union is of fundamental importance for us. Without it, we would not have had the uninterrupted process of expanded reproduction in our country. In the past ten years, the Soviet Union has been for us, as far as the CMEA countries are concerned, the main and constantly growing market for our manufactures, specifically industrial plant and lathes, for consumer goods, and it is our biggest supplier of raw materials in exchange for industrial goods, primarily those produced by the manufacturing industry. The importance of the Soviet deliveries and of the Soviet market for us can be seen from the fact that last year 60 per cent of all our raw material and fuel imports came from the Soviet Union. Between 1960 and 1967 our total import of these items grew by 164 million rubles, while Soviet deliveries, especially those of oil, iron-ore and aluminum, increased by 175 million rubles. The growing deliveries of oil enable us to improve our fuel and power pattern and to modernize our economic structure as a whole. It should be noted that the growth of Soviet deliveries of basic raw materials and fuel

stems from a form of economic cooperation making for stability of our exchange. I can add that we extend credits to cover some deliveries.

Of special importance for our manufacturing industry is the volume and stability of Soviet orders. In 1967, for instance, the Soviet market absorbed 41 per cent of all our engineering exports. This, naturally, as is common in trade in engineering articles everywhere, involves a number of problems, in the first place those of quality and variety and the attendant problems of guaranteeing adequate utilization of our heavy engineering capacities oriented on the USSR.

What is still lacking in Czechoslovak-Soviet economic cooperation is a proper division of labor between branches and their sub-divisions. Participation in the international division of labor is vital to us, and we want our cooperation with the USSR to play an active role in this process. On the whole, however, the structure of our relations with the USSR conforms to the interests of our economy.

The latest economic agreements signed in Moscow (with the exception of readjustments concerning deliveries of oil and grain in 1969) fall within the framework of the talks on extending our economic cooperation. Under the agreement on the supply of Soviet gas and the laying of a gas pipe-

line on Soviet territory, Czechoslovakia has undertaken to grant a credit of 40 million rubles' worth of large-diameter steel pipe and heavy trucks, to be supplied before 1970. The Soviet Union, for its part, will begin from 1970, to supply us with gas in excess of the existing agreement and by 1980 the increase will amount to 3,000 million cubic metres. Thus the part of the pipe-line on our territory will be operating at almost its total capacity of 4,000 million cubic metres. Between 1971 and 1975 the USSR will be receiving from us annually 180,000 tons of large-diameter steel pipe. Among other things, the additional deliveries of gas will promote the development of our chemical industry.

The USSR has undertaken to deliver to Czechoslovakia, over 1972-75, two million tons of granulated iron-ore annually. This, the first step towards gradually changing the structure of Soviet iron-ore deliveries, will help raise the effectiveness of our iron and steel industry.

As I have said, a whole complex of talks on our cooperation in the post-1970 period is being prepared. The central organs in the two countries are working on the co-ordination of national plans and on coordinating plans for the development of science and technology. The branch groups of the inter-government commission for economic, scientific and technical cooperation in engineering, metallurgy and chemistry are drafting coordination, specialization and cooperation plans, with emphasis on deepening mutually advantageous division of labor to facilitate effective utilization of our heavy engineering capacities. It is also necessary to find such forms of cooperation which would help us accelerate the solution of important technological problems.

Question: How effective, in your opinion, is the import of raw materials and fuel from the Soviet Union? What are the prospects for jointly solving the problems of fuel and raw-material supply within the CMEA framework?

Answer: Each year we import some 20 million tons of Soviet raw materials and fuel. The fact that we have a common border (which means cheaper shipping and, consequently, lower prices) speaks for the advantages of such a large volume of imports. In addition, moreover, there are no middlemen, and no customs barriers; payments are made in our manufactured goods. Soviet raw-material deliveries are secured

for a long time, and most of them will continue to increase. It was, therefore, in our interest to grant credits to the Soviet Union, designed primarily for expanding production of non-ferrous raw materials and enriched iron ore and for oil and gas extraction. We regard these as profitable investments which, in addition, augment Soviet investments into the development of new deposits, frequently in remote areas.

As to a joint solution of the problem of raw materials and fuel, here is an example. According to a tentative estimate of power consumption in 1970-1980 made by the CMEA countries, six of them (Bulgaria, Mongolia, the GDR, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia) expect to be able to take care of approximately half the increase through raising home extraction and production of primary sources (one-fifth of the total demand), and the remainder through imports. This is to be accompanied by a fundamental change in the structure of these sources. For instance, the share of coal will fall by about half (in 1960 it was approximately 80 per cent), while that of liquid fuel will grow, reaching 40 per cent. Most of the import will be within the CMEA system, on the basis of credits. Some countries also propose to import some raw materials from the developing countries. On the whole, however, it can be said that the CMEA system will be able to ensure the development of the member-countries with the necessary power fuels and even to export part of them. That, however, is but the quantitative aspect. It is also necessary to secure the effective, cheap and timely extraction, production, transportation and utilization of power fuels. This task is being carried out at both the national and international levels (credits, cooperation in building atomic power stations, international oil and gas pipelines, etc.).

A contribution to the solution of this problem has been made by multilateral talks in CMEA committees, specifically through the agreement providing for a Central Dispatcher Board to coordinate operation of the joint power grids. The agreement is profitable for all its signatories.

Question: What, in your view, are the prospects for deepening specialization and cooperation between Czechoslovak and Soviet industries?

Answer: The conditions for specialization and cooperation, and their economic importance, are not the same for the two part-

ners, considering the size of their countries and the nature of their economies. International division of labor, specialization and cooperation are truly vital for our economy, for we cannot raise the technical level of our goods and the effectiveness of production single-handed. Besides, our home market is somewhat limited. The Soviet Union has, in fact, an integrally developed economy, and its market allows it to achieve a large degree of autarchy. But even so, the Soviet Union can benefit from specialization and cooperation.

We are anxious to develop specialization and cooperation primarily in the engineering industry, also in chemistry and in metal-making. World trends are such that it is vitally important for Czechoslovakia to raise the technical standard of its engineering industry, its effectiveness and competitive ability. By virtue of the natural conditions of Czechoslovakia, its production, scientific and technical possibilities, experience and manpower resources, the engineering industry will be decisive for our economic development, and the export of engineering goods will be responsible for meeting the growing import needs, including the need for lathes and industrial plant. The growing intensity and effectiveness of our economy enables us to change the structure of our imports, gradually shifting emphasis from raw materials to lathes and equipment. As has been noted, in 1960-67 our raw material and fuel imports went up by 164 million rubles. In the same period the import of machine-tools increased by 385 million rubles and now accounts for 31 per cent of all our import. Modernization of our engineering industry calls for narrowing down the excessively broad range and concentrate on those branches which are most promising as regards sales on world markets, including the Soviet

market. We anticipate that the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia's main partner in trade in lathes and equipment, will make a big contribution to modernizing our engineering industry.

As far as chemistry is concerned, Czechoslovakia will concentrate primarily on "qualified chemistry" (reagents, dyestuffs, medicines) and traditional rubber goods, and the Soviet Union on "classical chemistry" for the development of which we have no raw-materials base of our own.

The permanent working groups of the Czechoslovak-Soviet inter-government commission have completed preparatory work and drafted proposals for deepening specialization and cooperation. These groups can ensure division of labor already at a stage preceding production proper, and continue it at the stage of mutual deliveries. Moreover, they should discuss such questions as possible investments, profitability of production, and cooperation on third markets. Although the permanent groups started work only last year, this form of cooperation can be said to have justified itself. The Czechoslovak side has secured the participation in them of production-economic units and the most important enterprises. The inclusion of our enterprises in this cooperation is highly important from the viewpoint of our economic reform. If the agreements are to be binding and lasting, the principal buyers, too, should take part in the work of the permanent groups. The permanent groups should also take up such matters as improving the exchange of information about the situation on their markets, establishing service networks for exchanged goods and technical advice centers, and organizing new forms of marketing to correspond with progress in the economic reform in our countries.

V. NOVIKOV

Question: What are the principles of the Soviet Union's economic relations with Czechoslovakia, and how are these relations developing? What does this cooperation give to the Soviet Union?

Answer: The Soviet Union's economic relations with Czechoslovakia, as with the other fraternal countries, are based on internationalism, mutual aid, freedom of choice and complete equality of the sides. In promoting economic cooperation with Czechoslovakia and the other socialist coun-

tries the Soviet Union proceeds from the need to deepen the international socialist division of labor, to make full use of its advantages for economic development, for enhancing the well-being of our people and for consolidating the socialist world system.

Guided by these principles, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have achieved impressive results in their economic cooperation. It has grown greatly in recent years and has become more comprehensive, encompassing vitally important matters

favoring the economic development and technological progress of the two countries.

This year Soviet-Czechoslovak goods exchange will total 1,900 million rubles. Czechoslovakia is our second (after the GDR) biggest trading partner. The Soviet Union has for many years now held first place in Czechoslovakia's foreign trade, accounting for more than one-third of it.

Soviet deliveries cover most of Czechoslovakia's needs for industrial raw materials, fuel and agricultural goods. They account for almost 100 per cent of its imports of oil, 82 per cent of iron ore, 87 per cent of aluminum, 72 per cent of copper, 54 per cent of cotton and 90 per cent of wheat.

In turn, trade with Czechoslovakia is important for the Soviet economy, for Czechoslovakia supplies about 20 per cent of all our machine and industrial plant imports. In the past twelve years the Soviet Union has purchased several thousand million rubles' worth of Czechoslovak engineering goods, including 23,000 metal-cutting lathes, 177,000 tons of rolling equipment, 323 million rubles' worth of equipment for the chemical industry, 1,400 trunk-line and factory electric locomotives, about 1,000 shunting diesel locomotives, 16,000 trucks and 1,100 trolley-buses. These deliveries have contributed to the modernization of heavy engineering, metallurgy, light industry and the food industry, rail transport and other branches.

The Soviet Union also receives considerable quantities of Czechoslovak-made garments, knit-goods, footwear, furniture, glass and porcelain ware, motorcycles and other goods.

Mention should also be made of cooperation in developing certain branches of industry. For instance, in 1960 we concluded an agreement on cooperation between our iron and steel and non-ferrous metals industries, under which we received about 290 million rubles' worth of machines and equipment that enabled us to increase, since 1965, deliveries of aluminum to Czechoslovakia and since 1966 also copper, lead, zinc and iron ore. Under another agreement, signed in 1966, Czechoslovakia will supply oil-extracting equipment, while the Soviet Union will considerably increase, from 1971, deliveries of crude oil.

With Soviet aid Czechoslovakia has erected several industrial installations and has started new types of production, such as a hot and cold-sheet rolling mill in the East Slovakian Iron and Steel Plant, producing 3.7 million tons of rolled stock a

year, 88 km of railway track to the plant and 320 km of a gas pipe-line.

Scientific and technical cooperation is also well-developed, with our countries exchanging specialists, designs, and specifications and samples of new articles. On the whole, 8,900 Soviet specialists have worked in Czechoslovakia, while 13,000 Czech specialists have worked in the Soviet Union.

This cooperation has deepened of late. For instance, many research organizations operate with joint plans. At present 185 Soviet and more than 150 Czechoslovak organizations are jointly conducting research on 800 themes.

As can be seen from these data, cooperation benefits both the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Question: What is being done to coordinate national plans over the next five-year period? What criteria do you use in fixing prices?

Answer: To begin with, in coordinating plans our countries proceed from the common principles governing economic relations between the CMEA countries. The purpose of this coordination is to find the most effective way of promoting economic development, satisfying the requirements of the national economies, deepening specialization and extending the mutually profitable cooperation. It extends to production programs in branches of industry, scientific and technical cooperation and, in the final stage, drafting proposals for mutual goods deliveries.

At present we are completing the first phase of coordinating our plans for 1971-75, with 14 Soviet-Czechoslovak branch groups taking part. They have prepared recommendations for the mutual delivery of those goods in which the industries of our countries are to specialize. This work will be continued at the level of planning and foreign trade agencies; these will draft a five-year trade agreement and proposals regarding agreements on particular issues.

Of great importance in negotiating mutual deliveries is the choice of criteria in price fixing. The principles of price-fixing in trade between CMEA countries were unanimously approved in 1958, when the 9th session of the CMEA agreed that average world prices, with allowances for transportation costs, could serve as the basis. Current prices correspond to average prices on the main world markets for the

past five years. This approach rules out sharp fluctuations resulting from speculative, inflationary and other factors of an extra-economic order and not from actual conditions of production. Particular issues associated with fixing prices for some goods are resolved through consultation leading to a supplementary agreement.

Incidentally, profitability of trade cannot be judged, as some economists do, by prices for one or more commodities. Objective conclusions can be drawn only from an analysis of the overall trade. Taken in totality, the prices effective in Soviet-Czechoslovak trade are profitable for both countries. Moreover, they remain stable over fairly long periods, which is good for the planned development of our economies.

Question: In what way is socialist internationalism manifested in the Soviet Union's economic cooperation with the CSSR and the other fraternal countries?

Answer: In addition to what I have said, all our countries proceed from the principles of strict respect for sovereignty and national interests, complete equality and comradely mutual aid—principles hitherto unknown in the history of economic relations, especially between big and small countries. This advantage of the socialist community has been most instrumental in accelerating the economic development of its members.

Fully in keeping with socialist internationalism, the volume and structure of Soviet deliveries to other fraternal countries conform to the features of their economies and to their needs at every stage of their development. That is why, while being a highly developed industrial power, the Soviet Union supplies Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries with considerable

amounts of fuel and raw materials, which ensure steady development of their economies and their economic independence from imperialist states.

Understandably, expansion of the Soviet extracting industry to meet the needs of fraternal countries involves substantial additional investments and other expenditures, especially on transportation. Despite this, mindful of the interests of the fraternal countries, the Soviet Union is prepared to make these investments.

Also in keeping with socialist internationalism, production programs are so coordinated as to more fully occupy the production capacities of socialist countries with filling Soviet orders. For instance, we receive all our trunk-line passenger electric locomotives from Czechoslovakia, although we have our own capacities for their manufacture.

In some instances we supply our socialist partners with goods which are in short supply in the Soviet Union itself. I could cite other facts to show that the Soviet Union, guided by the principles of comradely mutual aid, has been helping socialist countries to cope with temporary difficulties and unforeseen circumstances.

Recently, in accordance with the wishes of the Czechoslovak government, talks were held which resulted in the Soviet side undertaking to supply Czechoslovakia with additional amounts of grain and crude oil in 1969 and to increase the delivery of natural gas in the next five years.

In conclusion, let me say once again that the economic cooperation between socialist countries is based on relations of a new type; its development promotes the economic and social progress of each country and the consolidation of the socialist world system as a whole.

The heroic struggle for freedom, independence and national unity, waged by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people with the active support and assistance of fraternal socialist countries and the world's peace forces, compelled the U.S. government to halt bombing and other attacks on the Republic as from November 1. Agreement has been reached in Paris for representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, the Saigon administration and the United States, to hold talks for a peaceful settlement.

Progressives the world over regard this as a signal advance towards a peaceful settlement, as the result of the courage and fortitude of the Vietnamese people united around their Working People's Party, the result of international solidarity, of the broad and determined resistance by Vietnam's friends and progressives everywhere to the dangerous and war-provoking policy of the imperialists. Their crimes in Vietnam, the heroism of its people, are vividly described in this article, written in October, by the Polish journalist Monika Warnenska.

Vietnam, 1968

1.

Flashes of blue from the searchlights pierced the sky. Slowly the Peking plane touched down at Hanoi, into the heat and darkness of the tropical night. My journey—five days of air travel, thousands of kilometres—was at an end. Again I was among friends—I could hear their voices in the darkness—back in Vietnam which had become part of my life. This was my fourth visit, and each time I saw the country anew, new facets of its life and courage. My first visit in the spring of 1962 seems a distant memory: war had cast its shadow on the peaceful landscape. My next visits, in 1965 and 1966, brought me into direct contact with the escalated U.S. attacks on the Democratic Republic and with life in the liberated areas of the south. Now, my first impression, firmly engraved on my mind, was of more war scars, more ruins.

We drove over Long Bien bridge that spans the Red River. I had crossed it

exactly a year ago on my way back to Warsaw. Obviously, the bridge was a priority American target and I asked: What if it is bombed? "We are prepared for that," Prime Minister Pham Van Dong told me, "just as we are prepared for more bombing of Hanoi." "We are prepared" was the answer given by transport officials in the capital.

Unfortunately, their apprehensions were to come true. Hanoi and the bridge were savagely bombed in the late summer and autumn of 1967 and again early in 1968; yet the Americans could not paralyze traffic on the Red River. Nor did that surprise me, for I had come to know and admire Vietnamese resourcefulness in rebuilding and improvising, the ability to return blow for blow in active and passive resistance. And I knew that I would see more of these "night" bridges that disappear with the light of day. We moved slowly and carefully, much slower than a year ago. But the bridge was there—that was important,

open to pedestrians, motor and rail traffic. I recalled the famous Ham Rong bridge on the Song Ma River in Thanh Hoa province, the Hien Luong on the Ben Hai River which runs along the 17th parallel. The fighting there continues unabated and the echo reverberates in Hanoi.

There was something symbolic in this new meeting with the capital of heroic Vietnam. "What are they saying about Khe Sanh?" The question was put on my very first day in Hanoi. I said our people were informed of the American defeat by the press, radio and television.

The people here are kept informed of the fighting by wall posters and by special information boards in Hanoi with maps, photographs and charts of frontline operations. Many of the posters carried the ominous words "May Bay" (American bombers). Seen in context with the figures, they have a special meaning for the Vietnamese. A July 17 poster reported two American planes, an A-7 and A-6, downed in Ha Tinh province, bringing the score to 3,045. The figure grows from day to day, and will be substantially higher by the time this article reaches the reader.

There was more traffic in Hanoi than in July, and more children in the streets than last year—many had come back for the vacation period. School began on time, September 15, throughout the country; there were no delays on account of the war. Later on I was to see in Nghe An province, in the famous Fourth Sector subjected to round-the-clock bombing, teachers and senior-grade pupils digging trenches and building earth barriers to protect underground classrooms from bomb fragments.

Shops, cinemas, offices, bus and railway services function normally in Hanoi. And into this scene are injected the shrill sound of the alert and the bark of AA guns as an American reconnaissance plane, usually pilotless, appears over the city. Old shelters have been reinforced, new ones have been built, anti-aircraft training continues with the same intensity. Every day brings fresh reports of more bombing in the Fourth Sector, of attacks on densely populated parts of the Red River delta between the 19th and 17th parallels. Most of the targets, and most of the massive attacks, are in Ha Tinh, Nghe An, Quang Binh and Vinh Linh provinces. From the south come reports of hard-fought battles. Hanoi is calm and ready to withstand any attack: should the enemy resume the bombing, the capital will meet him in full force.

Places I had visited a year ago still bear the unhealed wounds of earlier air attacks. A chemist's shop near Small Lake, where there were many casualties in the August 1967 raids. One morning the Americans bombed this densely populated area just after the shops had opened for business. . . . They struck at Hue Street, a central thoroughfare, and rows of ruined buildings are mementoes of the attack. Also this inscription on one of the walls: "The Americans will pay for their crimes!" Last autumn, 20 people were killed during one of these raids. The number of gutted buildings in Hanoi has increased substantially over the past year. But the terror has not had the effect the enemy counted on.

This is what the Mayor of Hanoi, Tran Duy Hung, a children's doctor by profession, told me. "We have made a tremendous effort to disperse the population, particularly old people and children. Evacuation of Greater Hanoi was designed to assure the safety of a large part of the population and enable them to continue their studies and work and, of course, help in the country's defense."

I have already mentioned one of the most remarkable features of life in the Democratic Republic: schooling continues uninterrupted despite the rigors of the war. The credit for that must go to the teaching staff. Besides conducting classes they look after the evacuated children, helping them to live through these hard times. The magnitude of the effort can be judged from these figures: 175,000 children attended classes in Hanoi and Hanoi area in the 1966/67 school year, in 1967/68 the figure was 217,000, and at the beginning of the current school term it rose to 230,000.

Discussing the effects of the American bombings, Dr. Hung remarked: "Of the 102 villages around Hanoi, more than 70 have been bombed, some of them as much as ten times. All the suburbs have suffered. In August 1967, the southern part of the capital was attacked four times in three days. There were 36 bombings in May, August, October and November 1967. In 1967 we shot down 175 enemy planes and captured many of the pilots."

There are other remarkable things about Hanoi in this summer and autumn of 1968. The peaceful sight of Unity Park, with its tropical verdure more dense than when I first visited it six years ago. And with the words Hanoi—Saigon—Hue, Vietnam's three main cities, spelled out in an intricate flower design on its trim lawns. Young people strolling along the banks of Small

Lake. Crowded trams speeding on their way. A dust-covered mini-car and yellow-green camouflaged truck returning from the Fourth Sector. Quyen, my driver of last year whose courage and dexterity saved our lives during our wanderings through the country, told me about the latest American attacks. There was a note of warning in his voice and on his face signs of sleepless nights and dangerous encounters. He had gone through the previous Vietnam war. He told me of the new types of pellet bombs, of the delayed-action bombs and magnetic bombs dropped on roads and railways—a little more than 100 miles from the capital.

Very soon I would see the Fourth Sector. There would be more night journeys under skies lit up by sinister flames, and hurried descents into bomb shelters as the drone of enemy planes became louder. There would be ordeals without which I would never be able to tell my readers the truth about this fourth year of America's escalated barbarity.

2.

The late-summer sky was studded with stars and below us was the shimmering surface of the river, the Song Ma. My flashlight picked out an inscription on a roadside rock: "We will defeat the Americans!" In the darkness I could make out the contours of steel girders as we slowly approached the Ham Rong bridge, famed throughout the country as the Warrior Bridge. Now we were in Thanh Hoa province, on the approaches to the Fourth Sector. I can't remember what the country around here looked like by daylight. Surrounding us were rice paddies with islands of gutted buildings and patches of burnt-out grass. At lunch time next day, we could hear the echoes of distant bombing. Soon we were south of the 19th parallel, in the line of fire.

There was more devastation than I had seen last year—more demolished buildings, more bomb craters. I recalled Johnson's March 31 statement and the hysteria propaganda launched by America's psychological warfare experts. The picture they presented was a far cry from reality, but they knew that the European reader, listener and viewer had only a vague idea of Vietnamese geography and a still vaguer idea of the geography of escalation. People I talked to before leaving for Vietnam seemed to think that the war was practically over and that beginning with March

31 the U.S. air and naval attacks affected only a tiny portion of the Democratic Republic. The facts tell another story: *in this summer of 1968 Vietnam has been subjected to heavier bombing than ever before.* The only difference was that now the attacks covered a relatively smaller territory. Up to mid-May they included five North Vietnam provinces, on May 16 the number was reduced to four, but it was still a large and densely populated area rich in farm land.

In April, after President Johnson's announcement, the Americans carried out 37 bombing raids on Thanh Hoa, one of the biggest and most densely populated provinces, 140 km. south of Hanoi. They attacked nine agricultural and fishing centers, and there were especially fierce bombings of Quang Xuan, Nga Son, Dong Son, Ha Trung counties and the provincial center, Thanh Hoa, or rather what remained of the city.

I visited Tien Xua, a village in Dong Son county. At 4.45 a.m. on April 3, two American A-6-A planes dropped 14 demolition bombs of from 500 to 1,000 kg. Eight of them hit buildings, the rest fell on fields. Fourteen people were killed, including six children; 37 were wounded, including 14 children; 150 houses were destroyed, also the village church and school. That is the balance sheet of an attack launched three days after Johnson appeared on television to surprise America and the world with his "peace" statement.

That was in April. And here are some of Washington's "peace" moves in May, when it had already been decided to hold the Paris talks, and the U.S. press was lauding the President as a peacemaker: 14 raids, three massive bombings; on May 6, at about 10 a.m., an A-6-A plane dropped 18 magnetic bombs in the Vang Ha area, Nong Kon county; fortunately, the bombs were discovered and defused in good time; May 16, 2.30 p.m., an A-6-A plane dropped a container with 600 pellet "orange" bombs on the rice fields; there were no casualties, but much of the rice crop was destroyed.

In May American warships shelled Thanh Hoa province six times, and on May 7 an American warship intercepted and took prisoner a group of fishermen.

A pilotless plane was downed in Tho Xuan county on August 21. On September 6, during my stay in Tinh Gia, U.S. warships shelled a number of villages.

Bombs and shells are the accompaniment to Johnson's statement. More brutal and efficient weapons of death are being used

against Nghe An, Ha Tinh, Quang Binh and Vinh Linh, the densely populated provinces in the Red River delta.

3.

We were in Nghe An province, south of the 19th parallel, an area the Americans had been blanket-bombing since April 1. Our jeep moved slowly, with dimmed lights, avoiding the craters. In Thanh Hoa we could hear the echo of explosions; now we heard the drone of planes, rising to a crescendo as they dive bombed. To our left, beyond some low hills, we could make out clusters of flares. My companions, listening to the sounds of the night, could pinpoint the place where the bombs were falling.

We were nearing Vinh, the provincial center, part of the Fourth Sector, where the Americans had stepped up their air attacks. We were to spend many days there.

The jeep came to a sudden halt. The road was being repaired after the heavy bombing of the evening before. We searched for a detour, weaving in and out among the column of lorries. Two delayed-action bombs had been dropped on the approaches to the bridge. After a long wait we moved on. A cluster of flares burst in a dazzling pattern against the sky. Bomb explosions could be heard to the right and the left. The drone became louder, resembling the sound of a train moving at incredible speed. And then came the screeching howl soon followed by the crack of exploding bombs.

It was late night when we reached our destination. We put up in a peasant hut—a few bunks and a slit trench underneath to dive into in the event of an alert. But sleep does not come easily, what with the flashes of bursting anti-aircraft shells and the reflection of the flares outside the window. The bombing continued night and day—this was the reality of America's "restricted" attacks on the Democratic Republic.

In the first quarter of the year, U.S. planes made 477 raids on Nghe An province, and in the second quarter 3,703, during which about 44,000 bombs and missiles were dropped. In other words, the attacks had not diminished, on the contrary, they had become more ruthless. The enemy is bent on destroying every community and razing everything created by man. The targets are dams and dikes, irrigation canals—their banks are peppered with magnetic, pellet and delayed-action bombs. Many are

discovered and destroyed by sappers, the People's Militia and AA defense patrols, young shock-brigaders and peasants.

Bomb explosions accompanied every talk I had here. We returned on foot from a recently demolished village to the point at the edge of the woods where our jeep was to meet us after nightfall. Suddenly the air behind us is rent by an explosion and a geyser of mud and water wrapped in smoke spouts up from a rice paddy. A delayed-action high-explosive bomb that had buried itself deep into the earth burst a few dozen yards from us, at a spot we had passed only a quarter of an hour earlier.

Here is a description of an attack in Nghe An province recorded in my diary:

18.00. It has started: "For several days now they've been coming over at the same time," a Vietnamese who speaks a little French tells me. The sky is clear, almost cloudless. A pale moon. Overheard two flares, each trailing a plume of smoke. A dull thud, the earth trembles. A cloud of smoke and beneath it crimson flames. The long drawn-out whine of the planes: four F-4s are bombing a village some 300 metres from here. The alert gong, followed by the dry staccato chatter of the ack-ack guns. The planes describe perfect ellipses in the sky. One of these "Johnsons" drops in a diagonal line as it dives. A tongue of flame issues from around a corner nearby. Seven explosions one after another. The planes are coming in again for the bomb run. From two sides, with deafening screams. A clear velvety sky, blue hills in the distance. Another cluster of flares. Again clouds of smoke over the nearby woods. Two planes dive down at the point lit up by the flares. A dry explosion—this time it is a container with pellet bombs. Two AD-4 planes tear across the sky to verify the effect of the attack. And now silence reigns once more. The raid lasted twenty minutes. The road comes to life again, children and women trudge along.

Next day I looked at the results of the raids.

The hospital in L. district is housed in huts and dugouts, their walls half sunken in the ground. Earthen walls around the hospital afford additional protection from the lethal pellet bombs.

The director of the hospital, surgeon Vo Trong Thai, told me:

"We try to treat most of the wounded on the spot—first-aid groups are rushed to the scene of the bombings. But when necessary the wounded are taken to rural infirmaries or to the district hospital. The

more serious cases requiring major surgery are sent on to the provincial hospital."

The doctor leads the way over a road mutilated by bomb craters. The drone of planes overhead never ceases. In the surgical department, set up in a large dugout, I pause beside the first cot. The patient is a little girl of seven, Nguyen Thi Nam. A bomb splinter had hit her as she was entering the shelter, seriously injuring her elbow and left shoulder; both are in splints made of bamboo twigs. She was given first aid on the spot and then brought here by stretcher (a distance of five km.). Her father, a middle-aged thickset man, stands beside her bed.

"The bombs fell on our village at about 10 at night," he relates. "Nine people were killed, among them four children, and 14 wounded. My house burned to the ground. Three of my children were injured: my 12-year-old son was lightly injured, his wound was dressed on the spot, but my second daughter. . . ."

His voice trembles. The doctor whispers to me that little Nam's ten-year-old sister is in the next dugout being prepared for an operation for the removal of her eye injured by a pellet bomb.

Next to Nam lies a beautiful child of six, Hoang Thi Ho, from the same village. Her right leg was shattered by a bomb splinter.

"This must be your youngest patient?"

"At the moment, yes. But a month ago I had a boy of three, Quang Son, he had 14 splinter wounds."

Ong Can, who comes from the same village as these two wounded little girls, lost seven of his relatives, including four small children, in a single raid.

Another patient—42-year-old Nguyen Thi Hoa. The bandages on her hands are brown from iodine and red from blood. The left hand is damaged. The right is without two fingers. One of her two children, a 19-year-old girl, a nurse, was killed on the very spot where the mother was wounded. Nguyen was saved by a neighbor. She would have to spend at least a month in the hospital. After that an invalid for life.

Two other patients—18-year-old Tran Thi Can, is wounded in the right leg, and her 15-year-old brother has his hand in a cast. Three days ago their parents and the youngest child were killed in a bomb explosion. Two other small children, aged three and six, survived. Tran will have to look after them.

Another patient, 22-year-old Nguyen Thi Son, was wounded at the entrance to the

shelter. Her left leg had to be amputated.

Surgical operations are performed in an underground shelter. A woman with a stomach wound has just been carried out of there.

In the next barrack eye operations were being performed. There was Nguyen Thi Xuan (her younger sister was being treated in the surgical department). Nguyen's left eye is bandaged. Tomorrow it will have to be removed.

"Can't it be saved?" I asked the doctor. In reply he shook his head and pointed to another bed, ten-year-old Tran Thi Cue from the same village—wounded in the left leg and hands; her left eye had already been removed.

I asked Dr. Vo Trong what the hospital needs. They are badly in need of surgical instruments, plasma, dextran. But above all, three-wheeled carts which can be used to get to the scene of the bombings quickly and evacuate the wounded. They can be used on bomb-racked roads, where ambulances have difficulty in maneuvering.

Such are the work-a-day realities of Nghe An, one of the Fourth Sector provinces where the bombing was stepped up following Johnson's statement of March 31.

4.

Another Fourth Sector province, Quang Binh, last but one on the road to the 17th parallel. The first bomb was dropped here on August 5, 1964 and there have been daily bombings ever since February 7, 1965. The Americans are using bombs of every kind and calibre—demolition, pellet, shrapnel, delayed-action, surface and underwater mines, missiles, shells, napalm, phosphorous and other chemical substances to destroy crops and forests.

More than a million bombs had been dropped on the province by March 31, and U.S. warships fired more than 80,000 shells on coastal villages. The provincial center, Dong Hoi, has been virtually razed. No less than 19 cantons and 112 hamlets have been destroyed, taking a toll of thousands of lives, including many women, children, old people. Many of the survivors are crippled for life. The Americans destroyed 77 hospitals, 131 schools. The attacks are also aimed at the irrigation system feeding the rice paddies. Out of the province's 73 Buddhist temples, 63 have been bombed and 28 completely destroyed. The list can be continued: 50,000 homes reduced to rubble, thousands of hectares of rice fields burned out, numberless fishing boats sunk.

Such are the figures. But behind them is all the horror and barbarity of the war. I saw roads that no longer exist, fields pitted with shell craters, night lit up by the sinister glow of flare rockets, cars desperately trying to evade dive bombers. And there are the terrible sounds of war—the drone of planes, the dull thud of bombs hitting the earth, but also the crash of planes shot down. And these sights too: people seeking safety in the shelters, the constant battle against death, in which I, too, was involved in my travels to Quang Binh and Vinh Linh, where I had gone to see and report the war.

The Americans drop demolition and pellet delayed-action bombs on the rice paddies during sowing and harvest time. Phosphorous and incendiary bombs are dropped on barns and rice depots after the harvest. The irrigation system in Quang Binh, the result of years of effort, can be destroyed in a single raid. I shall never forget the indignation of a peasant when he told me of how the Americans destroyed the Cam Li dam:

"My house was burned down. But that is not so very important, for I can always put up a makeshift home. But this wanton destruction of the canals and reservoirs on which the rice crop depends, is a crime we shall never forget nor forgive."

For years Quang Binh farmers have been waging an uphill struggle against the shifting sands that smother their crops. Before the war they planted trees. Now American phosphorous bombs are destroying the trees along with the ripening rice.

In February, American planes carried out 3,000 bombing flights against Quang Binh, in March the number was 500, in April 7,000 and in May 10,000.

Quang Binh is a country of wide sandy beaches and green rice fields, but also of courageous and determined people, and these qualities have been fully revealed in repelling the enemy. Eighty American planes were downed between March 31 and July 1, 1968, and six fires were started on vessels of the American Seventh Fleet. The 3,000th American plane destroyed over the Democratic Republic was shot down in Quang Binh on June 25, 1968.

In travelling through the Fourth Sector I often recalled the words of a Polish song that in the fight against the enemy "every threshold becomes a fortress." That is true of Quang Binh, Ha Tinh and Nghe An and Vinh Linh—everyone here is a warrior, every bomb shelter, every remaining hut, a fortress. Every bit of land is fiercely

attacked, and fiercely defended. "The indestructible rear of the great front," is how President Ho Chi Minh described the province in his July message to its people. The "great front" is the embattled South, where the people, led by the National Liberation Front, are fighting back the American invader and in 1968 scored many important victories.

5.

What is the most characteristic feature of Vietnam in this year 1968? What lessons can one draw from extensive travels through this war-scarred country, from numerous encounters and talks with its people?

The war notwithstanding, life goes on in the North and in the liberated parts of the South. That applies to everything—industry, agriculture, transport, communications, the health service, education.

In this fourth year of American escalation, the Republic has displayed exemplary heroism in repelling the aggressor. In South Vietnam, the year has been marked by the extension of the battle area: the fighting has been carried from the jungle to the cities, from the frontline to the enemy's rear. And the enemy is being attacked at his own bases, built in the firm conviction that they were impregnable. The Americans, the puppet rulers in Saigon and the Saigon army have failed to stop this steady and mounting wave of NFL attacks. The enemy's war supplies, munition dumps, fuel depots, tanks and armored vehicles, are being destroyed faster than at any time during the war. In fact, the number of U.S. aircraft downed over the Democratic Republic and South Vietnam is bigger than the air force of some Western countries. American casualties have reached the hundred thousand mark, one-fifth of their total strength in Vietnam, and the casualty list includes three generals and many more senior officers killed. U.S. losses are incomparably higher than French losses in the first Vietnam war of 1946-54. The Americans have to call up more and more men, but America's manpower reserves are not inexhaustible. Protests against this dirty war are growing in the United States and, of course, in many other countries. Johnson might sink more billions of dollars into the war but this will not compensate the losses suffered by his armies.

Another significant features of the situation in South Vietnam is the progressive weakening of the puppet army and the

Saigon administration: even at provincial level it is factually paralyzed. The enemy's strength, political and moral, has ebbed markedly. America's allies, pressured to dispatch token contingents to Vietnam, now refuse to contribute more troops. In Vietnam the United States is stalemated, militarily and politically, as never before in its history.

All these new features were clearly revealed after the NLF New Year's offensive. The NLF forces continue to grow, more territory is being liberated, the supply of war material is being improved, more young people are joining the patriotic ranks, every fresh NLF attack is better prepared and more efficiently carried out.

The National Liberation Front is winning important positions in the towns. It has the cooperation of patriotic organizations representing social groups which only recently stood aloof from the mainstream of liberation, notably the Union of National, Democratic and Peace Forces.

It is now four years since the Tonkin incident of August 1964 which was the prelude to the American escalation begun on February 7, 1965.

The war in Vietnam probably has no precedent in history—a war unleashed by one of the world's mightiest powers against a small and poor people. In the early stages of the resistance, the Liberation Forces lacked modern weapons, training and experience. The U.S. air force controlled the entire country. The U.S. Seventh Fleet could shell the coastal areas with impunity. The Americans built up an overwhelming superiority of strength which, it appeared, guaranteed them sure success. Four years ago fighting Vietnam enjoyed sympathy and admiration everywhere, but this was tempered with misgivings, with belief even

that Vietnam could not resist for long. By the summer of 1968 no less than 800,000 tons of bombs had been dropped on the Democratic Republic, four times more, in terms of destructive power, than the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. For the first time in military history the Americans used bombs of more than one ton (in Korea they used mostly 300 kg. bombs). Also these figures: in 1967, 48 bombs were dropped for every inhabitant of Vinh Linh province; in some parts of Vietnam the ratio was four bombs per sq. km., not counting pellet bombs and artillery shells; B-52 Flying Fortresses have been used in attacks on the Fourth Sector; the Americans officially admit having used 10 million gallons of toxic substances.

And the Americans would like to escalate these figures. But now they realize that escalation is getting them nowhere, that the people of Vietnam cannot be brought to their knees.

The Americans tried to force Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese, but this did not bring victory. Nor could they find willing allies—they had to bring in their own forces. This year, 1968, brought a new wave of protest against their barbarity.

The war in this far-off country is a war against neo-colonialism, which in Vietnam has revealed its aims and the utterly ruthless methods of achieving them.

"As long as we are attacked, we have the right to defend ourselves," you will often hear these words in Vietnam. "Let them leave us alone, let them stop the aggression, and let them leave the country, they have no business here."

The events of 1968 have reaffirmed the truth of what President Ho Chi Minh said two years ago: "There is nothing more dear than freedom and independence."

Middle East: the tension continues

The tensions in the Middle East were the subject of repeated debates in the Security Council and at the 23rd General Assembly. World opinion, understandably, is worried over the way things are developing in this part of the world. Israel, continuing to occupy Arab territory and engineering provocations against its neighbors, is stepping up the terror in the occupied territories. The cease-fire line has become the scene of a whole series of incidents. The Israeli rulers refuse to abide by the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967.

What lies behind the tension?

The Israeli aggression has not achieved its chief purpose—her military success last year has not been translated into a stable military victory.

The Communist Party of Jordan declared in a recent statement: "Having failed to attain its chief aims in the criminal June war, the imperialist Israeli alliance is utilizing every opportunity for provocation and plots against the Arab countries . . ." The Jordanian Communists emphasize that "the U.S. policy of encouraging the Israeli aggressor, U.S. military and financial aid to Israel and support in the Security Council for its aggressive actions are aggravating the situation in the Arab East, creating another menace of military collisions."

Contrary to the plans of its instigators, the Israeli aggression has created a new political situation, one that does not favor imperialism and reaction and has a definite impact on internal processes in a number of Arab countries.

In the United Arab Republic, steps are being taken to unite the national forces in the reorganized Arab Socialist Union. Major political changes in the past few months have injected a new element into the Egyptian national liberation revolution — the enhanced role of the working class and peasantry in the republic's social and political development. The May referendum demonstrated the wide public support for the March reform program, introduced despite the international complications caused by the war.

In Jordan, the Communist appeal to consolidate the national, democratic and patriotic forces throughout the country, including the occupied West Bank, is meeting with warm response. Loss of part of her territory is, of course, a big blow to Jordan, but it has not forced her to surrender to the aggressor. In Syria, the reactionaries were unable to exploit the defeat of the army in the June war.

In Southern Yemen, the national regime is successfully countering foreign-backed plots to destroy the gains won by the people.

The Yemen Arab Republic is in its seventh year, despite dark forebodings by Western propaganda and attempts by the deposed Imam, al-Badr, to re-impose the monarchy.

In the Persian Gulf area, Oman patriots, although poorly armed, are waging a valiant struggle against British imperialism, which is using modern weapons to crush the liberation movement.

In this situation, the imperialists are ready to use every means to retain their foothold in the Middle East. This applies above all to the big oil concerns, but there are also other factors. The London *Eastern World* commented that the West's strategic aim is to retain its economic position and assure itself an operational base in the event of war against the Soviet Union.

Israel has been chosen as the vehicle of that policy of the U.S. and other imperialists. And they have used the Arab-Israeli conflict to deflect attention from the problems raised by their attempts to hold on in the Middle East. They believe they can condition public opinion to accept "minor incidents" and overlook the main issue, Israeli aggression, annexation of Arab lands and attempts to "legalize" the occupation by converting the cease-fire line into Israel's state boundary.

That, in fact, is the purpose of Israeli foreign policy. Tel-Aviv has been lodging one complaint after another in the Security Council in an effort to reverse its position from defendant to accuser.

The sharpening of Middle East tension has coincided with a series of subversive imperialist moves in other parts of the world. The Arab press has drawn attention to Israel's active part in the latest anti-Soviet and anti-Socialist propaganda campaign.

The U.S. decision to supply Israel with 58 supersonic Phantom fighter-bombers has encouraged more Israeli provocations. By supplying these purely offensive weapons, Washington has reaffirmed the anti-Arab orientation of its Middle East policy.

Egged on by this demonstrative Washington move, Israeli leaders, notably Prime Minister Eshkol, now boast that Israel has all the necessary ingredients for the manufacture of the A-bomb and is in no hurry to append its signature to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. This has been followed by reports in the Israeli press of the government's intention to acquire "its own nuclear deterrent."

The heightening of Israeli tension and

provocation goes hand in hand with intensified anti-Arab propaganda. The country is being kept in a state of war psychosis and every effort is made to kindle chauvinistic sentiment.

Progressive world opinion will voice its concern for peace and security in the Middle East at the Second International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples, to be held in Cairo in January. Chief organizer is Krishna Menon, chairman of the International Committee in Support of the Arab Peoples.

The mounting Arab solidarity movement, the strengthening of the Arab economic and military potential, heightened political awareness and activity of the masses, effective moral and material support from the socialist countries — these are some of the factors that doom to failure imperialist attempts to make the Middle East crisis a permanent feature of world politics.

Abou BAKR

Again reprisals in Indonesia

In October the world learned of the execution of three leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia: Political Bureau members Sudisman and Njono, and Wirjomartono, leader of the Djakarta Party organization. President Suharto rejected the clemency appeals of the three patriots, sent to the firing squad by a military tribunal.

And so, one more link has been added to the long chain of crimes perpetrated by Indonesian reaction which has chosen anti-communism as its political weapon. People still recall with horror the 1965 massacre, those terribly tragic days for the Indonesian people, when hundreds of thousands of Communists and democrats were slaughtered during the reign of terror.

In the three years since, reaction has methodically been pursuing a policy of "physical eradication" of communism in the country, extending its reprisals to include all who uphold progressive ideas, who do not agree with the policy of the Suharto government, who wish to see Indonesia return to the road of freedom, democracy and independence.

The savage persecution of progressives is the military-bureaucratic ruling clique's promissory note, so to speak, to its imperialist creditors.

The crimes of Indonesian reaction have outraged all who treasure the ideals of democracy, justice and humanism. Progressive opinion throughout the world has on repeated occasions sharply protested the policy of terror pursued by the reactionaries.

The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee sent an appeal on behalf of millions of Communists and the entire Soviet people, emphatically protesting against the death sentence and requesting that the lives of the Communists be spared. "The responsibility," states the appeal, "for the disastrous consequences of such a policy which damages first of all the interests of Indonesia, rests with those who are interested in maintaining the frenzy of anti-communism in the country and sending the finest representatives of the Indonesian people to the block."

The statement of the French Communist

Party, the text of which was handed by its representatives to the Indonesian Embassy in Paris, said in part: "The latest executions, since the wholesale repressions of 1965-66, the danger of others and the reprisals carried out by the Army in different parts of the country, have aroused the wrath of progressive public opinion in our country." Communist parties and democratic organizations in other countries have likewise voiced their indignation.

The President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Ludvik Svoboda, in a cable to General Suharto requested him to spare the lives of the Indonesian Com-

munists and other citizens sentenced to death. Similar appeals were made by statesmen in other countries.

The Indonesian rulers, however, chose not to heed the voice of world public opinion. The execution of Comrades Sudisman, Njono and Wirjomartono is further proof of their flagrant violation of the elementary principles of justice.

By giving the order for the latest reprisals they have taken upon themselves a heavy responsibility to the people of their country, to progressive world opinion.

L. N.

Party of Hungarian Communists: Fifty years old

B. BISZKU

I.

This date, which is being marked throughout the country, opened a new page in the history of the Hungarian people, in the history of its working class.

The Hungarian working class established its first organizations in the sixties of the last century. These fought for purely economic demands. Soon after, it formed its political organizations which fought class oppression and championed socialism. Subsequently the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary was founded which played an historic role in the organization, education and political struggle of the workers.

With the appearance of monopoly capitalism at the turn of the century, the class struggle in Hungary entered a qualitatively new phase. As part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Hungary fought in World War I on the side of the "Central Powers" which had started the imperialist war and lost it. The devastation caused by the war added to the country's many difficulties, rooted in the system of land-ownership and its attributes of feudalism, industrial backwardness and complex national problems.

Unequal to the situation, the Social-Democratic Party, whose leadership at the time inclined heavily towards reformism, was unable to offer the people a program of action, to show them the way out of the crisis. The Great October Socialist Revolution was an inspiring example to them. It made possible the Hungarian bourgeois-

democratic revolution. However, because of its narrow class base, the revolution could not satisfy the vital and just demands of the working class and the peasantry, the demobilized soldiers and the families of the men killed in the war, could not resolve the country's many problems.

The founding of the Communist Party was therefore an organic requirement of the working class and no less so for the country's development. The new revolutionary vanguard was joined by the soldiers who had returned from Soviet Russia after the collapse of the monarchy, by the Left in the SDP who realized the need for a break with reformism and for establishing a Communist Party, and finally by worker-internationalists and young intellectuals from the group of "revolutionary socialists." Bela Kun became the head of the Party.

The establishment of the Communist Party split the Hungarian working-class movement, but only formally and temporarily. Formally, because the Party embodied all the revolutionary traditions of the class struggle that had taken shape in the Social-Democratic movement, and temporarily because the Party's power of attraction soon spread to the Social-Democratic masses, and many of their organizations united with the Party and subsequently, at the time of the Soviet Republic, the two parties fused.

The establishment of the Party marked a turning point in the working-class movement. For the first time it now had a party

based on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, a party which championed the interests of the working-class and gave leadership to its struggle. This was the first step towards creating the conditions for carrying out a socialist revolution. Four months after it was founded, the Communist Party led the working class to victory, to the triumph of the proletarian revolution in Hungary. A Soviet Republic was proclaimed and the dictatorship of the proletariat, of workers and peasants, was established.

Indicative of socialism's power of attraction in the country was the participation not only of the workers and peasants in the struggle for the Soviet Republic, but also of the vast majority of the intelligentsia (teachers and other sections).

Space does not allow for enumerating the achievements of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in the economic, social and cultural spheres. The 133 days of its existence enriched the Hungarian and international working-class movement with invaluable experience. One aspect of this experience—may be, the most important—was that the victory of the Hungarian Soviet Republic dealt a telling ideological and political blow at the bourgeois and reformist Social-Democrat theorists. After the October Revolution, many of them had declared that proletarian revolution and Leninism were a specifically Russian phenomenon, and that the experience of this revolution had no international significance. The first proletarian dictatorship in Hungary proved that the theory of Marxism-Leninism, scientific summation of the laws of social development, and particularly those concerning the transition from capitalism to socialism, is a science of universal significance.

Another important aspect of the experience of the Hungarian Soviet Republic concerns the international and national features of the proletarian revolution. It is a generally accepted fact that the armed attack of international reaction played the main role in the defeat of the Republic. Soviet Russia could not come to its armed assistance owing to the unfavorable balance of world forces at the time. This was the decisive reason why the Republic fell. Of course, certain internal factors also played a role. As a consequence of an incorrect approach to the agrarian question (although the big landholders were expropriated, the peasants did not receive any land), the political base of the proletarian

dictatorship—the alliance of workers and peasants—had been weakened. The organs of power were still staffed with Austro-Marxists and Right-wing Social-Democrats who were in collusion with the bourgeoisie and undermined the unity and power of the working class from within. No consistent struggle had been waged against the Republic's enemies. All this was to serve as a big lesson for the Communists and working class of Hungary in subsequent battles.

And so, because of the unfavorable balance of forces in the world at the time, socialism and the proletarian revolution in Hungary were put back 25 years. The Hungarian working class and the international Communist movement paid dearly for this. The lessons of the Hungarian Socialist Republic's defeat teach us that the balance of world forces is decisive in preserving the gains of socialism, that due account must be taken of the internal and external conditions essential to the victory of socialist revolution and peaceful construction.

With the defeat of the Socialist Republic there began the darkest period in the history of our people and the working class. Wreaking vengeance, the bourgeoisie and landlords unleashed counter-revolution and a reign of terror. For 25 years Horthy's fascist regime hounded the working class, doing everything to deprive it of its political vanguard, hounded Left Social-Democrats and progressives, and when the war came sent thousands to be slaughtered in the fascist trenches.

But for all its terror, the counter-revolutionary dictatorship failed to crush the working class which, undaunted, carried on its revolutionary struggle. It is noteworthy that in September 1930, eleven years after the defeat of the proletarian dictatorship, thousands of people demonstrated on the streets of Budapest against the regime. The Communists were always in the van of the class battles. Even though the Party suffered heavy losses, even though its contact with the masses sometimes weakened under the pressure of the counter-revolution, and even though sectarianism occasionally made itself felt in its work, it fearlessly continued to fight for the working class and the people.

The Party's work acquired new content when the Seventh Congress (1935) of the Communist International charted a new strategy for the world Communist movement in the fight against fascism. The Party's subsequent program met with wide response among workers, peasants and in-

tellectuals. Its main points were: an end to exploitation, intensified by the war; withdrawal from the aggressive fascist bloc; immediate cessation of the war against the Soviet Union; establishment of an independent, free and democratic Hungary. Although there was no co-ordinated nationwide resistance movement, numerous armed units operated in different parts of the country, harassing the German fascists and their satellites. Composed for the most part of Communists and Social-Democrats, of members of other parties and non-party people, these detachments subsequently fought side by side with the Red Army, helping it to liberate our country.

That was in October 1944. By April 1945 Hungary was completely liberated, and once again, for the first time after 25 years of underground struggle, the Communist Party was able to carry on its activity in normal, legal conditions.

II.

By liberating Hungary, the Soviet Union gave its people the possibility to carry out democratic transformations and advance towards socialism. For the peoples of those countries of Europe and Asia which the armies of the capitalist world had entered, these possibilities were blocked.

The Soviet armed forces destroyed or put to flight the main forces of the Hungarian ruling bourgeoisie, the officers' corps of the fascist state and its organs of coercion. The political battlefield was thus considerably cleared, but the Communist and other democratic parties which, incidentally, were able to organize themselves thanks to the support of the Communist Party, were left with the terrible legacy of devastation and chaos, the aftermath of fascist rule and the war.

Then came the post-liberation years of rehabilitation, under the leadership of the Party. The big estates were divided among the peasants; factories, mines and banks were nationalized and the economy placed on a firm footing. During 1946-49 industrial production doubled, living standards improved, the social and cultural face of society perceptibly changed. The Party gained in prestige and consolidated its leading role. It was not simply a process of rehabilitation but of revolutionary transformations the socialist features of which were there from the very beginning, becoming more evident as the Party gained in prestige and popularity.

Needless to say, this process was anything but a smooth one; it proceeded in conditions of a sharp struggle in the international arena and on the home front. Our people had to repel the imperialist attempts to intervene in our internal affairs, had to contend with the tenacious and active resistance of the ousted ruling classes. But this was done without armed clashes, by combining the means of state power with mass support. Thus the Hungarian working class came to power the peaceful way, in a close alliance with the peasantry, and by uniting around this alliance the intelligentsia, all the progressive, democratic and patriotic forces of society. The cornerstone of this peaceful development was the Party's essentially correct home and foreign policy, the dedicated activity of the revolutionary forces who, although still in the minority in the election lists, constituted the majority of the country's organized forces. Thanks to its untiring explanatory work, the Party was able to win over the workers and peasants in its struggle against the bourgeoisie.

For the second time since 1919 it was proved that the power of the workers, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is not just a slogan, a scientific concept, but a social reality to ignore which, or incorrectly interpret, might lead to serious consequences. It was only after important changes had taken place in property relations, when the factories and banks had become public property, only after workers' rule had become a reality, that the Party leadership realized that our people's democracy should fulfil the functions of proletarian dictatorship. This mistake was soon remedied. But a much bigger mistake was committed—one that had fatal consequences—when, after having realized the need for proletarian dictatorship, the Leninist postulates to this effect and on the Party began to be grossly violated. This was the beginning of the internal crisis in the Party, the effects of which were not immediately apparent, but which gradually accumulated, finally leading to a critical situation in our society.

Our Party had to contend with Right and "Left" deviations in its ranks way back in the days of illegality, and it was not always able to overcome them in those difficult conditions. In the immediate post-liberation period it turned its attention to pressing government and economic tasks, and many of its leading figures, overestimating the achievements in these spheres, became conceited, dizzy with suc-

cess and abused their positions of authority.

As a consequence of the personality cult, the Party leadership made a number of mistakes. It did not pay due attention to the conditions of the working class, ignored the demands of other sections of the working people, did not lend an ear to their views. It did not study and correctly assess the actual situation in the country, did not take into account its specific features, set arbitrary unrealistic targets in economic development, agriculture, etc. In the sphere of Party life, Leninist norms were violated, especially with regard to democratic centralism, and the right to criticize. The leadership became indifferent to really winning over, through political educational work, the politically active sections of the people, to relying on the support of the people. All it demanded was blind obedience. But what shocked Party members and sincere supporters of the system most were the gross violations of socialist law, the fact that the leadership applied the proletarian dictatorship's functions of suppression against honest people dedicated to the country and who, consequently, began to fear their own state power. These violations took the heaviest toll among Communists, many leading Party figures paying with their lives.

Despite these mistakes, the working people of Hungary, the Communists, continued with the job of socialist construction.

In 1956 the crisis in the Party came to a head, erupting into the most acute of class confrontations—an armed attempt to carry out a counter-revolution.

The second big factor that brought on this state of affairs was the activity of Imre Nagy and his group who pursued a revisionist policy, and subsequently took the path of class betrayal.

Throwing in their lot with various internal reactionary trends and with the imperialists, the group of plotters formed an illegal organization in preparation for a coup. A big role in the counter-revolution was played by the capitalist and landlord reaction, many of whom were operating illegally in the country, while the bulk was mustering in West Germany. A decisive role was also played by international imperialism whose objectives went beyond Hungary.

And so, with the backing of the revisionists and the active support of the imperialists, the counter-revolutionary elements

mounted their rontal attack on workers' rule.

The counter-revolution was crushed by the working class and the people loyal to the socialist system, with the fraternal internationalist aid of the Soviet Union. The significance of this fraternal internationalism fully manifested itself throughout the entire period of the defense and rehabilitation of the socialist system that followed. The defeated counter-revolutionaries and revisionist traitors raised a hue and cry about "Soviet occupation," about "foreign intervention." But the vast majority of the people realized (although many of them only after much reflection), that it was to their defense that the Soviet armed forces had come, that it was these forces that had saved them from the carnage of civil war. The class enemy and his revisionist cohorts were eventually totally defeated and the Party emerged the stronger from the biggest crisis in its history.

The counter-revolution and the suffering it brought our people and the Party, taught us an important lesson. Apart from everything else, it helped to dispel the illusion that the transition from capitalism to socialism is a smooth process. Victory over the class enemy does not automatically remove for all time the threat of bourgeois restoration. Even after the foundations of socialism have been laid, the Leninist principles regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat still have to be applied. We have in mind the Leninist postulate that proletarian dictatorship does not mean only coercion, and coercion in the first place. It means democracy for the vast majority of the people, but quite definitely not for the forces of reaction, for the enemies of socialism.

Our democracy is a proletarian, socialist democracy, different in its class character from bourgeois democracy. It is important to stress this in the case of our country which in the past did not know what democracy actually meant, even the bourgeois variety. We therefore had to evolve a democracy of a new type. Our democracy, I repeat, is democracy for the people and not for those opposed to the people. It is important to stress this for another reason: as events have shown, imperialism has not abandoned its hopes of recovering the countries that have taken the socialist road.

After the armed revolt was defeated, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party soberly analyzed the root causes and nature of the counter-revolution. It realized that unless

this was done, and unless the masses understood what the root causes were, it would be impossible to consolidate and further develop the workers' power. This analysis underlay the process of consolidation that then set in. Successfully combining revolutionary coercion against those who violated the law, with explanatory work among the ideologically confused, and following a series of measures to rectify the mistakes of the past (rehabilitation, annulment of obligatory deliveries, modification of our economic policy), the process of consolidation, of restoring the legal socialist system, proceeded much more rapidly than expected. It showed that the idea of socialism had taken deep root in the working class, among the people generally. We were able, thanks to the country's economic and political consolidation, to further promote socialist production relations, reconstruct agriculture along lines acceptable to the peasants, and thus lay the foundations of socialism.

With the collectivization of agriculture the worker-peasant alliance acquired a new content and became more firmly established. This alliance is the basis on which we are reinforcing our socialist unity as the safeguard of our socialist gains, independence and against the danger of imperialist aggression.

We have made considerable headway in yet another important sphere—in the economy. We have done much to reduce production costs, raise labor productivity and improve the quality of goods. In view of the many shortcomings in this sphere our Party, like those of the other socialist countries, decided to critically re-examine the entire economic mechanism. With this end in view, the Central Committee decided in May 1966 to overhaul the entire management system. We are confident, in the light of the experience gained since the reform, that it will put our planned socialist economy on a still more solid footing.

We are taking effective measures—partly independent of the new economic mechanism, but mostly linked with it—to broaden and deepen the democracy of our system. We consider this one of the most important questions. We have no illusions on this score: we know that anything that weakens the socialist power cannot, consequently, strengthen socialist democracy, and that therefore, forms and decisions corresponding best to the profoundly humane content of socialism make for more judicious application of the instruments of

power and inspire people to greater activity. Democracy must be promoted if socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat are not to be weakened, if their strength is not to be undermined.

III.

In all its activity our Party proceeds from an objective assessment of the internal and international situation, from the experience of the past, especially since the liberation.

Our Party has learned from its mistakes how important it is in every instance realistically to assess the level of development, the economic, social and scientific factors. We can elaborate a scientifically-substantiated policy, corresponding to the interests of the working class, only provided every detail is taken into account and appraised in a Marxist way, comparing our own experience with that of other countries, with the specific conditions in which the different parties are working. We must keep abreast of theory, any lagging behind in this sphere would affect our practical policy and the country. It would result in overestimating our forces, in believing that our state and society are more developed than actually is the case, in underestimating the forces of imperialism. A policy based on such an erroneous strategy would be divorced from reality. Of course, the reverse could happen, but in either case the consequences would be equally damaging.

It would be incorrect, for example, to judge of the level of the socialist development of our society solely on the basis of the changes in property relations (although we fully recognize the fundamental importance of these changes). We are aware that the socialist character of property relations does not yet spell socialism. Much has to be done after socialist property relations have been established: the productive forces have to be developed and industry and agriculture modernized before we can speak of the complete building of socialism. Much has to be done also outside the production sphere: workers' rule must be strengthened and its organs perfected, greater participation of the people in running the state needs to be ensured, and the political consciousness of the population raised to a higher level. Particularly important are the political tasks, for once workers' rule is firmly established, once it is supported by the masses, it will be that

much easier to solve problems. And, conversely, if this power rested on an unstable base, if its ties with the masses slackened, its success would likewise not be durable.

And so the building of socialism is anything but smooth sailing, and is taking much longer than we originally expected. We have no illusions that mistakes will not be made in directing this very complex process, or that our measures will be perfect and carried out on schedule. However, if the Party leadership charts the right course—and provided the Party and society have the possibility to pinpoint the contradictions that unavoidably surface in the process of society's transformation, the solution of the tasks charted will promote its development and preclude upheavals.

Our Party is, with the support of the people, constantly working to achieve harmony between socio-economic relations and the socio-political system. We are, to this end, broadening our democracy while at the same time perfecting our system of economic management. It is from this angle that we are critically re-examining the concepts concerning the relations between the Party and the state, the development of the organs of state power, government, and the working of administrative bodies.

In tackling this job we do not assume that democracy is a supra-class principle which must somehow be "linked" with socialism outwardly. The cornerstone, the source, the nutritive soil of socialist democracy, is the socialist social system itself. We do not, therefore, agree with the thesis that there is a "democratic socialism" and a "dictatorial socialism," and that the first is something entirely new. Even when at certain times, owing to objective factors, the coercive aspect of socialism is its dominant feature, it is still democratic by its very nature (not for its enemies, of course). Any violations of socialist democracy, however, have always been alien to the nature of socialism. Socialist democracy is an essential attribute of socialism, a feature of the workers' power. How fast it develops and to what extent depends on the development of socialism in the respective countries.

In our view, the touchstone of socialist democracy is not whether there is, or is not, a multi-party system in the socialist countries concerned. This is not intrinsic in the general laws of socialist construction, but is determined by the socio-political conditions, traditions and requirements of

the country in question. In Hungary, owing to historical circumstances, the one-party system arose right after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, and the appearance of a multitude of new parties at the time of the counter-revolution, and the attempts to revive the Social-Democratic Party, were clearly and undoubtedly a reactionary feature. In some of the other socialist countries the existence of more than one party is, again, due to certain national features. But the leading force in society in those countries can only be the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party of the working class; whenever reactionary forces succeed in questioning this, the position of socialism is jeopardized.

In our country, as elsewhere, the question of the leading role of the Party is the subject of much discussion. Our Party has always stated that it does not exist for itself, but for the working class, the people; that it does not stand above them, but is together with them, fighting for their interests. In other words, the Party's aim is not to dominate the people, but to serve them. It does so by concerning itself with their interests in all spheres of life, furthering these interests with their participation, acting not through coercion, or the issuing of orders, but through political persuasion. This does not mean that the Party turns over leadership of the working people to other forces, or that it merely observes the course of development in the country from the sidelines. We do not share the view that the Party should only express its opinion on the various problems of society, the economy, administration, cultural life, that it should not have a say in how to tackle them. We believe that such a "purely consultative role" would be tantamount to the Party relinquishing its responsibility in giving practical effect to the interests of the working people. In our opinion the Party, and it alone, should do this, as the guiding spirit of the power of the working class.

The leading role of the Party in our country is not expressed in positions of any importance being held only by Communists (we have proclaimed the principle that non-party people are eligible for any post, except Party posts, if they are politically, professionally, and otherwise equipped for the job), but in the fact that every organ of our society is expected to act in the spirit of the Party's Marxist-Leninist policy and to implement this policy. Just how the Party's projects are carried out in the various spheres of endeavor depends on the

work of the respective Party committees, on the Communists working in them and, of course, on the work of the public organizations and non-party people dedicated to socialism. For them, as for the entire Party, correct realization of the Party's decisions is a matter of honor and pride. We therefore give our non-party friends every help.

In its work at national and local levels, the Party proceeds from the fact that as they tackle the tasks put forward by it, the people thereby realize the objective interests of the nation. It can happen, of course, that one or another section of the population, a sizeable part sometimes, does not immediately realize that its objective interests are reflected in the aims set by the Party. In such cases the Party takes into account the sentiment and subjective opinion of the masses without whose support it cannot accomplish its tasks, and through political explanatory work tries to change them, to enable them to see that the principles proclaimed are the correct ones, that these correspond to their interests. A case in point is the political work we carried out in 1959-1961, when we secured the victory of the producer cooperative movement, putting it on a firm footing. The best forces of the working class and the Party were sent to the countryside to explain to the peasants, the smallholders, the advantages of large-scale farming. On repeated occasions our representatives visited them in their homes, arguing the case until a common language was found. The fruits of this circumspect and patient political work are now evident in the full confidence reposed in the Party by the peasants. The rise in agricultural production, in living standards, conclusively proved to all concerned that the Party had acted correctly when it proposed passing over to large-scale farming, subsequently affecting this transition together with the peasantry.

The Central Committee considers it its duty to inform the members and the public of decisions taken on matters of public importance, and to explain the essence of these decisions. Anxious to find the best possible solution, the Party first discusses the matter with the bodies concerned, and only after this is the decision given the green light. That is how the economic reform was drafted, for example. Its principles were first elaborated at top-level commissions of specialists and then submitted for public discussion. All relevant suggestions were incorporated into the draft, after

which the reform was finalized and put into effect.

We want this dialogue with Party members and non-party people to be an organic part of our work, to be a constant check-up of this work. In our opinion, this kind of method is essential if we want to make a scientific analysis; it focuses attention on the contradictions and conflicts that arise as our society advances, and which we are anxious to resolve. One way of doing this is through discussions in the Party organizations. We welcome this, for we are emphatically opposed to any administrative pressures being brought to bear on people who hold different views which are not necessarily contrary to the principled standpoint of the Party.

At the same time, however, we firmly uphold and promote in every possible way the ideological, political and organizational unity of the Party, aiming that the entire Party—from its Central Committee to its branches and individual Communists—carry out the tasks deriving from its policy, in unison and in accord with the spirit of its decisions. Our Party is not a conglomerate of various ideological and political trends and groups, holding different views. It is a community, guided by a single Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy, acting as an entity. How important this is we know from experience which showed what happens when dogmatism and revisionism infiltrate into the Party. We are therefore, as before, fighting on two fronts: against pseudo-revolutionary, sectarian dogmatism and against defeatist revisionism. We cannot make concessions to any trends whose representatives want to divert the Party from the Marxist-Leninist path, whether "to the Right," or "to the Left."

The entire history of our Party and our experience show that the concept of the Party as a party of the Leninist type is ever valid and immutable. Our task, therefore, is unswervingly to defend the ideological-political and organizational unity of the Party, collective leadership and inner-Party democracy, to ensure that democratic centralism is the underlying principle of Party activity and that the Leninist norms of Party life are steadily promoted. We reject each and every petty-bourgeois interpretation of the role of the Party, whether reformist or anarchist, since both are equally outdated, and lead to disorganization. Mistakes and distortions occurred in our work every time we departed from Leninist principles. And,

conversely, it was the correct application of these principles that made possible the achievements of the past 12 years. Guided by these principles which we are applying creatively, we are looking for forms and methods in our work which will correspond most to the growing requirements of the nation.

The Party's most notable achievements in the past 50 years is the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist transformation of property relations, development of the productive forces, the moulding of a socialist consciousness, the laying of the foundations of socialism, the democracy of proletarian dictatorship, the democracy of socialism, the elaboration and successful implementation of a policy promoting the building of socialism in Hungary.

IV.

Our Party arose as a patriotic and international party, and in the 50 years of its existence it was invariably successful when patriotism and internationalism were brought together in its policy.

Our experience has shown that defense of national interests and proletarian internationalism are closely interwoven. It is impossible to give true expression to the national interests from nationalist positions, or, to put it differently, the policy of the Party can be a national one only to the extent that it is internationalist, for the working-class cause and the cause of progress and socialism are indivisible. Our enemies are fighting us on an international scale. The liberation of the working class has always been connected with the international class struggle, and the working class has become the recognized leader of its people not least of all because of its sense of responsibility for general progress. And conversely, the Party and the working class cannot expect to measure up to their international obligations if they adopt an attitude of national nihilism; the working class of every nation can most effectively promote the general cause of progress and socialism if it applies the general laws of the class struggle, with due consideration to the specific conditions in its own country, if it evolves forms and methods of struggle that fit in with these conditions. To oppose national interests to proletarian internationalism would violate the interests of the working class and peoples of the world, as our experience has shown.

The Party pursued this principled policy even when it was hounded and suppressed, when reactionary nationalism held sway in our country, and when the fascist government tried to isolate the Party from the masses by accusing it of being unpatriotic. This charge was exposed to the hilt, for it was the Party that headed the struggle, at the height of the senseless war against the Soviet Union, for national independence, for a free and democratic Hungary. It was the Party that, as a result of the liberation battles fought by the Soviet Union, and taking advantage of the favorable international situation, extricated the country from the national catastrophe into which it had been hurled by the former ruling classes.

It was the Party that also after the liberation upheld the true interests of the nation and general human progress in a long struggle against the reactionary nationalistic trends. Even though fascism no longer acted openly, it was a hard fought struggle, since all kinds of "modified," "moderate" variants of nationalism, but not the less dangerous for all that, continued to exert their poisonous influence on social thinking. The revolutionary change that brought with it the victory of proletarian dictatorship and the country's identification with socialism, created a solid base for socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. It is thanks to this revolutionary transformation that ever bigger sections of the people began to see that national interests went hand in hand with progress, socialist patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

As noted earlier, we made mistakes, particularly in the fifties, in the process of building socialism in the political, economic and cultural spheres. Mistakes engendered by the personality cult, fanned the survivals of nationalism. This enabled all the counter-revolutionary forces in 1956—from fascists to revisionists—to appear under the false flag of "national unity" against people's rule, against the basic interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation, against socialism.

Thanks to the policy of the Party and the workers' and peasants' government, the emphatic condemnation of revisionism, sectarianism and dogmatism, and the internationalist aid rendered by the Soviet Army we were able to dispel, relatively quickly, the illusions bred by this false national unity. Indeed, what sort of national unity could there be between the

supporters of capitalist restoration and the supporters of socialism? The Party pinpointed the essence of the matter when it posed the question thus: National unity, but with whom, for what purpose and, ideologically, what kind? By issuing the slogan "All Hungarians are brothers!" and similar watchwords the reactionaries aimed to conceal the class principle. We vigorously combated this counter-revolutionary demagoguery.

Because it posed the question correctly, the Party was able relatively quickly to expose and repel the anti-Soviet and nationalistic trends. In the light of historical development and our experience Party members are now more clearly aware of the interconnection between patriotism and internationalism and the obligations following therefrom. In our day the concept of proletarian internationalism has acquired a new content; in present conditions this concept means strengthening the positions of world socialism and the unity of the socialist countries, supporting the working class of the capitalist countries, rendering assistance to the liberation movements, the fight for peace and progress and against the threat of imperialist aggression, against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Deep, however, are the roots of nationalism.

There is no denying that we had illusions in this respect: we thought that with the establishment of workers' rule and with the abolition of exploitation, the weeds of nationalism would automatically wither away. In reality, however, nationalism can be overcome only in the course of a conscious and systematic struggle in the spheres of ideology, the economy, politics and culture.

The main form in which reactionary bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism continues to express itself is that of anti-Sovietism. This is hardly surprising, since it is also the weapon of the imperialists who have to face the fact that the Soviet Union with its immense economic and military potential, its political prestige as a great socialist power, and as the most experienced contingent of the working-class movement, is the most stable base of the international working class, of the forces of peace and progress. The Party therefore holds, as it always has done, that the essence of proletarian internationalism is friendly, comradely relations with the Soviet Union. It is our firm opinion

that there cannot be an anti-Soviet Communism.

International imperialism is trying to use the idea of national sovereignty as a weapon against the socialist countries, and when these countries strengthen the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, coordinate the economic policy of the member-countries, expand mutual ties, this does not mean that they act against the national sovereignty, for their purpose is to make their economic potential more effective, to accelerate its development for the well-being of each and for the socialist community as a whole.

Undoubtedly, real or imaginary, transient contradictions can crop up also among the socialist countries. However, we believe that these contradictions can be overcome, if we proceed from the community of basic interests, from the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and if we show a sense of responsibility for the common cause of socialism. In the present complex international situation, when imperialism has succeeded to a large extent in exploiting the grave difference in the world Communist movement, it is the responsibility of all the socialist countries and all the Communist parties, more than ever before, jointly to uphold and consolidate the positions won by socialism.

* * *

Looking back on the 50 years since the founding of our Party, we can say that it has steadfastly championed the cause and the interests of the working class. Its 50-year history, like the history of the Communist world movement, is a history of unceasing, bitter class struggle against the bourgeoisie, against imperialism, a struggle in which the Hungarian Communists passed through many trials and suffered many reverses. But the Party unfailingly pulled through, rallying its forces again and again for fresh battles. Victories were sometimes followed by defeats, correct actions by mistakes and failures. But the most important thing is that the Party invariably learned from its mistakes and corrected them, never deviating from its historic mission, from the road taken by its founders in 1918.

Our Party, with which the class enemy thought it had finished more than once, is presently the ruling party in Hungary, the leading force of our victorious socialist revolution. Enjoying the confidence of the

people, it is guided by the desire to continue, to the best of its ability, to do

everything for the ultimate triumph of the great cause of the working class.

50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Austria

FRIEDRICH HEXMANN

The Communist Party of Austria celebrated its 50th anniversary in November 1968. Its history has been eventful and at times heroic. Nevertheless, we are still a small party compared with the Social Democratic Party. This is due largely to the conditions of development of the Austrian working-class movement.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

A modern industrial working class emerged relatively late in Austria. It was not until after the monarchy had been defeated in the wars with Italy (1859) and Prussia (1866) that industrial capitalism forged ahead and with it a working class displaying radicalism in the fight against the exploitation of early capitalism. The revolutionary ideas of Marxism linked up with this fast-growing industrial proletariat. At a unity congress of the Party, held in Hainfeld in 1889, the militant working-class movement opted for Marxism, and Social Democracy began to make rapid progress, which earned it high praise from Frederick Engels. However, the rapid economic growth of capitalism over a relatively long period of peaceful development soon gave rise to reformist and revisionist phenomena in the SDP.

The departure from Marxism in Austria-Hungary took place in special conditions and was more marked than elsewhere. The ruling classes of the country, confronted by a militant working class, had been weakened by the rivalries between the bourgeoisie and the nobility, between capi-

talism and feudal landownership, and by strife in the various parts of the multinational state. In these circumstances the Austrian Social Democrats developed a distinctive method of using the national discord and dissent among the ruling classes, a method which brought the working class important gains earlier than in other capitalist countries.

However, this essentially correct tactic of using contradictions within the ruling classes as a component of the revolutionary struggle led the Social Democratic leadership to compromise and opportunism. The ideology of compromise ("from reform to reform") was substituted for revolutionary objectives, and the slogan of national autonomy for the right of nations to found independent states. The departure from Marxism was glossed over with the varnish of a pseudo-radicalism, made possible by the relative weakness of the rulers. Pseudo-radicalism, drawing on the Social Democrats' gains, made it easier for the contending forces in the Party and the working class to cooperate.

That is why the formation of a Left wing in the Austrian SDP was delayed, unlike its counterparts in other countries. However, the nominal organizational unity of the SDP and the presence of a Left-wing resulted in the working class beginning to take seriously radical slogans and shaking off the strait-jacket of SDP influence. Cases in point were the workers' "hunger rebellion" in 1911 and their actions in January 1918, July 1927, February 1934 and October 1950.

FOUNDING THE PARTY

In the fourth year of World War I, which exacted untold sacrifice from the people, the contradictions between social chauvinism and opportunism disguised as war patriotism, on the one hand, and the potential revolutionary forces of the SDP and the working-class movement, on the other, came out into the open. Outwardly it seemed as if the working class had become reconciled to its burden, but the discontent came to the surface under the impact of the October Revolution.

In January 1918 a strike prepared by a group of Left Social Democrats, future Communists, broke out in the industrial area of Wiener Neustadt. Like a forest fire, the strike spread to the whole of Austria-Hungary and ended by paralyzing all industry. Almost simultaneously mass strikes began in Germany. In a matter of days, under the influence of the Left radicals, the strikes developed into action for an immediate end to the war. Then came the Cattaro mutiny of 6,000 sailors, who hoisted the red flag on 40 warships. Revolutionary action and action for an immediate end to the war were made possible by the weakness of the executive authority in the cities.

The SD leadership exerted all its influence to bring the incipient movement under its control at a time when the government had promised to conclude peace and increase the meagre rations and when the Cattaro mutiny was being passed over in silence.

The strike showed that the working class had accumulated tremendous revolutionary energy and that even the small group of Left radicals was capable of generating a vast mass movement and of guiding it. The strike also showed that the working class could not win without a revolutionary leadership linked with the masses, without an organized revolutionary party.

The monarchy was badly shaken by the January strike and by further military reverses. The inevitable downfall came in October 1918: the empire broke up into parts which became national states. On November 12, 1918, the Austrian Republic was proclaimed.

On November 3, 1918, the organizers of the January strike virtually founded the Communist Party. The founding of the Communist Party, while not carried through to the end, gave organizational

expression to the split between reformists and revolutionaries in both the SDP and in the working-class movement generally.

While in other countries strong Left groups had formed in the Social Democratic Party long before or during the war, in Austria the formation of a strong Left was delayed because of the pseudo-radicalism. Nevertheless, the founding of the Party was premature. The founders of the Party failed to take advantage of the ferment in the working class, of the spontaneous mass movement in the early post-war months, nor did they secure the support of the strong Left groups in the SDP. Instead, yielding to "revolutionary eagerness," a small group of men proceeded to found the Party.

The young leaders of the Party pinned all their hopes on general revolutionary propaganda. They imagined that the revolutionary upsurge would of itself lead to the maturing of political consciousness. Lacking experienced cadres, the Party was unable to retain for long those workers who had joined it.

Lenin commented on these weak points of the newly-founded Communist Party as follows: "In Austria, communism has passed through an extremely difficult period, which it seems is not quite over yet—growing pains, the illusion that by proclaiming themselves Communists a group can become a force without waging a profound struggle for influence over the masses, and mistakes in the choice of people . . ." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 359). The weaknesses and mistakes of the period when the Party was founded hampered its development for a long time.

THE PARTY DURING THE UPSURGE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The upsurge in the revolutionary movement which began immediately after the war faced our young Party with difficult tasks. The fight was moving fast towards its culmination. The point at issue was whether Austria would be a socialist Soviet republic or a bourgeois republic. The proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic electrified the masses. Their readiness to follow the Hungarian example was seen in the great railway strike. It was only with difficulty that the Social Democratic leaders curbed these revolutionary outbursts.

Whenever the SD leaders were unable through demagoguery to restrain the working

class they resorted to terror, as on June 15, 1919.

To express solidarity with the Hungarian Soviet Republic, which found itself in danger, the Communist Party called for a mass demonstration on June 15, 1919. But on the eve of the demonstration the government ordered the arrest of the CP leadership and numerous trade union delegates. Next day, when the demonstrators demanded the release of those arrested, the police opened fire, killing 20 and gravely wounding over 100 people.

This act of violence, designed to intimidate the workers and isolate the Communists, failed in its purpose. Party membership and influence grew. Powerful demonstrations of solidarity with the Hungarian Republic took place. Hundreds of volunteers — Communists and revolutionary workers—rushed to the aid of their Hungarian brothers. They defended the Hungarian Soviet Republic in the ranks of the Austrian battalion led by Comrade Rothzigel.

The historical opportunity for the working class to take power during the upswing of 1919 was missed because of the Social Democrats' opportunism. The SD leaders did not deny that the working class could take power also without civil war (some units of the Army and the auxiliary police were controlled by the workers). They rejected the idea of taking power, arguing that a worker-peasant government would be defeated through military intervention by the Western powers or by an allied blockade and economic disruption.

While the hope of a victorious proletarian revolution in Germany and Central Europe was not fated to be realized, the upsurge in the revolutionary movement during and after World War I gained a respite for the newly-established Soviet Republic. A component of the revolutionary movement was powerful solidarity meetings of the European working class, held mostly in common with the Communists, under the slogan "Hands Off Soviet Russia," and aid to the Soviet Republic during the 1921 famine. The "ten days that shook the world"—the first victorious proletarian revolution—in their turn, enabled the working class of Europe to become conscious of its strength and led to an increase in its role and to important social gains that were a by-product of the revolutionary struggle. International solidarity calls for joint sacrifice and for joint struggle, but it also leads to joint gains.

The newly-founded Communist Party suffered for a long time from an excess of radicalism—a false reaction to the attitude of the SD leadership. One manifestation of this radicalism was that in the early years of the republic the Party urged the electorate to abstain from voting. Furthermore, the Party directly linked the fight for economic interests with the slogan of establishing a Soviet republic. This tended to isolate it from the majority of the working class and made it easier for the SD leadership to maneuver.

A crisis set in in the Party when, in 1921, a relative stabilization of capitalism began. The need to readjust the Party to new tasks, to organize mass actions for better conditions and social progress, to carry forward the united front policy while abiding by revolutionary principle, gave rise in our Party as in others to a discussion which developed into factional strife, sectarianism and opportunism. Doubts were voiced even about the Party's *raison d'être*. The situation was complicated by the fact that due to mistakes made when founding the Party, people with Social Democratic ideas, petty-bourgeois vanity, and self-seeking elements had joined the Party.

Factional fights began in 1923, and their effects were felt right up to 1927. The sound core of the Party, however, rallied behind Comrade Johann Kopenig, who at the 1924 Congress was elected its Chairman.

In the strenuous process of ideological formation, the Party overcame the factionalism and drew the conclusion that only by adhering to revolutionary principle would it be able to stand its ground in the day-by-day struggles and reshape its tactics without lapsing into opportunism, that the road to socialism could not be travelled without the Communist Party and without defeating reformism, and that democratic centralism, signifying subordination of the minority to the majority, should be its organizational and political principle.

REFORMISM LEADS TO DISASTER

Our Party, strengthened organizationally, strove to rouse the working class to fight the fascist menace, but it came up against a stone wall of illusions. The Social Democratic leadership told the workers that all they needed was to poll 300,000 votes to win power. The SD congress adopted a resolution to the effect that unless the bourgeoisie submitted to the de-

mocratically expressed will of the people its resistance would be broken by force. Yet it was precisely after the greatest electoral victory of the Social Democrats in April 1927, when they gained 228,000 votes, that reaction struck its first blow.

On July 15, 1927, tens of thousands of workers came out into the streets to protest against an infamous court decision acquitting a member of the Heimwehr who had shot a worker. The police opened fire, killing 100 demonstrators and wounding 1,000. For the working class this was its first telling defeat.

In 1933 the reactionaries, profiting by Hitler's advent to power, were making ready to smash the workers' organizations. Their premises and those of the Schutzbund were raided almost every week. In March of that year Parliament was dissolved on an absurd pretext. Under the impact of these developments the workers began to shed their reformist illusions, and Communist influence increased. The Party grew in numbers and won the support of a larger electorate. But the fascist danger was growing faster.

Reaction's next blow was against the Communist Party. The Party was banned on May 26, 1933, and many of its functionaries were arrested. But, having foreseen this, it proceeded with redoubled effort to organize underground resistance.

Meanwhile the government, backed by international reaction and first of all by Italian fascism, was completing its preparations for the forcible suppression of the workers. During the demonstration of February 11, 1934, leaders of the Heimwehr said in so many words that they would soon get the job done. On the following night police and Heimwehr units tried to force their way into the Workers' House in Linz. Armed workers—members of the Schutzbund—resisted, touching off fighting which on February 12, 1934, spread to Vienna and other cities. The Schutzbund units, forced to defend themselves, fought gallantly, although left without command or leadership. Only Communists supported them wherever they could. After three days and nights of fighting the reactionaries bombarded the strongpoints of the working people. History had shown once again that in the long run the working class has to pay with blood for the reformists' betrayal of class interests.

The February fighting had a powerful effect on the working class even though the workers were defeated. For it was the

first armed action by the working class of a European country in more than ten years, it indicated a changed political situation and the readiness of the workers to fight back the fascist menace. The February battles in Austria were followed by the French workers' struggle against reaction, by the formation of the Popular Front government and the courageous fight against fascism in Spain.

In Austria these battles evoked hatred and contempt of the people for Austrian fascism, with the result that it never made deep inroads among the people. The long struggle waged by the small Communist Party against reaction and the corrupting influence of reformism had borne fruit. Many members of the Schutzbund and of the Social Democratic Party saw for themselves the harm caused by reformism, which the Communists had combated for almost two decades. This realization impelled many to join the Communist Party.

The Party's strength at the time is seen, among other things, in that 2,000 Communists, Socialists and revolutionary workers fought in Spain in the Austrian battalion of the International Brigade. Over 700 Austrian anti-fascists fell on Spanish soil.

The experience gained by our Party in the struggle, the oft-disputed possibility of waging an armed struggle in common with the Social Democratic workers to restore democratic rights and freedoms, and of concluding temporary alliances with socialist organizations during underground work found expression in the new views on Communist strategy and tactics, in the united front policy, elaborated in 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

THE FIGHT FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The Party's aim was united action by the working class against fascism, for democratic rights and freedoms. We reached agreement with the Revolutionary Socialist organization, a Left group within the Social Democratic Party that had broken with reformism. The prospects for a united militant working-class party seemed good, but indecision in the Revolutionary Socialist leadership dragged out the negotiations and doomed them to failure.

The 12th Congress of our Party (held in Prague in September, 1934), at which the unity of our old and new cadres was de-

monstrated, concentrated on organizing a united anti-fascist struggle against the mounting Hitler danger to Austrian independence. Soon, the upholding of Austrian independence became the central task of all our policy and activity.

The fascist slogan "Two countries, one nation" (meaning, of course, the German nation) weakened the popular will to fight for the country. Our Party worked hard to bring home to the people that the historically evolved Austrian nation had for more than 100 years been developing, politically and economically, in complete separation from Germany. Austrians, we emphasized, had every right to their own independent state. Much of the credit for working out this political line should go to Alfred Klahr, a Central Committee member who gave his life in the battle for independence.

The Communist slogan of combining the fight for national independence with the fight for social and political rights played a decisive part in extending the independence fight, in organizing the heroic Resistance movement and ultimately in the rebirth of the Austrian Republic. During the Second World War the Western Allies foresaw for Austria a place in a Danube federation or status as a South German state; the USSR, however, insisted on restoration of the Republic, and a clause to this effect was included in the Allied statement on Austria signed in Moscow in October 1943.

A Party Conference held in August 1937 emphasized that in the fight for independence the Communists should strive for an alliance of all the democratic and patriotic forces and not just for a united working-class front.

Meanwhile, the drama of the country was unfolding. Encouraged by the policy of the pro-fascist government in Vienna and by the appeasement policy of the Western Powers, which saw Hitler Germany as an instrument for war against the Soviet Union, the Fuehrer decided that the time had come to annex Austria. In February 1938 Chancellor Schuschnigg, yielding to Hitler pressure, brought National-Socialists into the administration. This triggered off a Communist-led patriotic movement that prevented a fascist takeover, whereupon Hitler used his military machine to crush Austrian independence and statehood.

In the early days of this Nazi barbarity and during World War II, the Communists alone held aloft the white and red flag of

Austria and the red flag of the working-class movement. The night the Wehrmacht invaded Austria our Party issued this appeal to the people: "The fight continues! A free Austria will rise again by its own strength and with the help of the world peace front." The 1938 Party manifesto calling for an alliance of the working class and all the democratic and patriotic forces contained this pledge; "We dedicate our lives to the liberation of Austria, to the fight for the happiness, dignity, freedom and peace of our people."

And true to that pledge, half of our Central Committee members and thousands of rank-and-file Communists gave their lives in the Resistance, in all its diverse forms, from agitation and sabotage to guerrilla warfare, or were done to death in the Hitler death camps. The Resistance had to contend with the fact that for quite some time the Nazis were able to mislead a large part of the people; they were able to do so because the idea of a Greater Germany, propagated for years by the Social Democrats, still had a strong grip on the people. In fact, one of the old chauvinistic Socialist leaders, Karl Renner, welcomed the Anschluss during the fraudulent referendum staged by Hitler. But in time resistance to the Nazis gained in strength; the ferocity of the Hitler terror helped to reawaken the national consciousness of the people.

Participation by the Communists, Socialists, Catholics and other patriots in the Resistance was a big contribution to Austria's liberation and her national independence, both of which became possible thanks to the armed forces of the Soviet Union and its allies.

AGAINST NATO IMPERIALIST PLANS

Vienna was liberated by the Soviet Army in April 1945 and the independent democratic Republic of Austria was proclaimed on the 21st of the month. In the Provisional Government which followed the Communists held three portfolios.

The bourgeoisie was powerless; the machinery of government was not functioning; there was no executive authority; the Nazi rulers had fled; the economic chaos was incomparably greater than after World War I.

In this situation the Communist Party advocated democratic unity under the leadership of the politically strengthened working class, to rebuild the economy and

found a democratic state. For a time prospects for this unity and for relatively peaceful transition to socialism were bright.

But things changed rapidly with the growth of American and British influence. The cold war was now having its effect. The People's Party, and more especially the Socialist Party, insisted on elections to the National Council in return for agreement to join the Provisional Government. This was at a time when a large part of the population was still under the sway of fascist ideology. The Communists had to agree to prevent division of the country (there were four occupation zones).

Elections to the National Council were held in November 1945, at a time, that is, when Nazi-inspired hatred of the Soviet Union and communism was still fairly strong and was further augmented by yet another dose of anti-Soviet propaganda. As a result, the Communist Party polled only five per cent of the vote. Anti-communism, the stock-in-trade of the Socialist Party, benefited the bourgeois People's Party, which won an absolute majority in the National Council. And so the prospect of progressive development was cut short.

The People's Party and the Socialists formed a coalition government which immediately became the vehicle for restoring capitalism, the process being accelerated by the generous flow of American capital. Monetary manipulation played havoc with small savings accounts and cut into real wages. For the second time in the history of the Republic, the Socialist leadership had blocked the way to socialism.

Austria's future became a pivotal issue. Revival of capitalism was part of the American plan to turn Austria into a bridgehead against the East. And this policy, supported by the coalition parties, impeded the negotiations for a state treaty and the withdrawal of the occupation forces.

Our Party's policy at the time was to stop the plundering of the working class and to win for it more social rights. The struggle culminated in the mass strikes of October 1950.

The Communists were the only organized force to oppose Austrian involvement in the U.S.-controlled Nato alliance. Austria's freedom and independence, her liberation from the American bloc, we maintained, could be achieved only through a political solution. And the only possible political solution, we emphasized, was neutrality. At first, the government par-

ties, particularly the Socialists, were dead set against neutrality, even accusing the Communists of treason. Anything, the Socialists argued, was better than neutrality, even a prolonged occupation.

Neutrality became a national issue. And although vehemently opposed by the two government parties and by the Anglo-American and West German capitalists, it was acceptable to the people. When the Soviet Union proposed a state treaty based on perpetual neutrality, the opposition realized that further objections would only expose their real aims. The treaty was signed in Vienna on May 15, 1955 and was warmly welcomed by the people.

POST-NEUTRALITY DEVELOPMENTS

After the signing of the treaty our Party had to face a difficult test. The criticism of dogmatism and of the personality cult by the 20th Congress of the CPSU was exploited by the other parties for renewed attempts to destroy, or at least weaken, the Communist Party by smuggling in a new variety of revisionism. They believed that the time for "softening up" the Communist Party had come with the counter-revolutionary rising in neighboring Hungary, foiled thanks to the intervention of Soviet troops. Some people in our own ranks sought to undermine confidence in the Party and in the Soviet Union. But the Party vigorously combated the penetration of hostile revisionist ideology, and though organizationally weakened in the course of this struggle, it retained its ideological and political unity. The ideas enunciated by the 20th Congress of the CPSU became the guiding ideas of our Party.

Its 17th Congress (1957) showed that all Party organizations supported the internationalist and anti-revisionist position of the leadership. Two Central Committee members who adhered to revisionist views resigned from the Party. In a penetrating analysis of the situation, Comrade Johann Koplening said that the Party had to overcome dogmatic mistakes, but at this juncture revisionism was the chief danger. The draft guidelines of Austria's road to socialism were submitted to the Congress and the final version was approved in 1958. To a certain extent the guidelines were linked to the concept of a relatively peaceful way to socialism, which the Party had wanted to follow in 1945 through a policy of democratic unity. And so, the Party again drew attention to a peaceful road, but this time in new conditions.

Discussion with the revisionists was continued at the 18th Congress (1961). Again the Party had to combat revisionist interpretations of its united front policy, relations with the Socialists and the peaceful way to socialism, which, of course, has absolutely nothing in common with revisionism. The Congress resolution said that the theories advanced by some Party functionaries would, in the final analysis, lead to the dissolution of the Party as an independent force.

In common with other parties, we had to draw the necessary policy conclusions from the rapidly changing international situation. Discussed at our 19th Congress (1965), these conclusions were set out in a "statement on perspectives" adopted after a long discussion among the membership. The statement defined the party's immediate goals and more precisely formulated its orientation on a peaceful transition to socialism. Our orientation is predicated on the changed alignment of world forces resulting from the rise and consolidation of the socialist world system. Naturally, this furnishes no guarantee that socialism will be achieved peacefully; it only urges diverse forms of the class struggle for stage-by-stage restriction of capitalist power, and this can be achieved only by overcoming the resistance of the exploiting class.

At this Congress Comrade Koplenig, who had devoted 40 years of his life to the working-class movement and its Party, requested that he be relieved of his functions as Chairman and Political Bureau member. Comrade Franz Muhri was unanimously elected Chairman and Comrade Koplenig Honorary Chairman. Other older comrades, too, made way for younger men on the Central Committee.

In connection with the 1966 National Council elections, it was decided, after a compromise had been reached between various viewpoints, to put up candidates only in one of the 25 constituencies and to call for a Socialist vote in all the others to prevent a People's Party majority. This decision, necessitated by the circumstances, was made only for these elections. However, it did not produce the desired result: discredited by its cooperation with the People's Party, the Socialists lost 100,000 votes and the People's Party formed a one-party government.

Many changes have taken place both in Austria and the world since our 19th Congress. Far from receding, the tensions, the

war danger and the arms drive have increased. The imperialists have combined war against the national-liberation movement with a differentiated approach to the newly independent countries and with new methods of political and psychological penetration of the socialist countries. On the other hand, monetary crises and the economic depression, which has partly affected Austria, have dispelled the myth of "organized capitalism," adding to the general feeling of uncertainty.

The strengthening of capitalism in the past few years should be seen against the sharp rivalry on the European market. For Austria, with its capitalist government, this has meant a concerted attack on the nationalized industries (closures, lay-offs, etc.), further economic subjection to foreign, primarily West German, capital (through share-holding in nationalized industries) and reactionary attempts to curtail workers' rights.

This, however, has not prompted the Socialist leadership to review their policy. On the contrary, they have virtually converted their party into a liberal party which has renounced whatever remained of its Austro-Marxism, class struggle and socialist aims. At its last Congress earlier this year it adopted a program envisaging capitalist integration, freedom for big capital, higher profit margins to encourage industrial development in preference to social progress, and a standstill in social policy. This bourgeois ideology of "partnership with capital" is designed to weaken working-class resistance to the capitalist onslaught.

Our 20th Party Congress (scheduled for January) will draw the necessary conclusions from the new stage of development. The Party sees its task in combating the spread of bourgeois ideology in the working class. The class contradictions are bound to demolish ideological barriers. But the Party will have to review forms of joint action with Socialist and non-party workers against reaction, in the fight on social and political issues and for achieving stage-by-stage aims in the new, more complex conditions. The technological revolution, which has not by-passed Austria and has aggravated the contradictions between the capitalist countries and between labor and capital, poses still another problem for our Party. We must make it our job, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, to bring home to the working class the need to replace capitalism, which, having out-

lived its social usefulness, is unnatural and dangerous to society. This must be done in a peaceful, but at the same time revolutionary, way.

* * *

Born in the great struggles of 1918, tempered in the armed struggle of 1934, our Party has gone through much in the past 50 years. It has known the joy of victory and the bitterness of defeat. It has fought in widely different conditions, legally and illegally, has addressed the people from the parliamentary rostrum, has organized big mass movements, up to and including armed action. It has been able to combine the specific struggles in Austria with

active internationalism. And we fully appreciate that only the might and achievements of the Soviet Union and the socialist world system have enabled us to call for a peaceful path to socialism. The Party has constantly strengthened its ranks, overcoming reformism and sectarianism.

The knowledge that, despite a relatively small membership, our Party has always taken the initiative on major political issues and has accumulated much experience, national and international, inspires us in the tackling of our immediate and ultimate tasks. And in this the Party can rely above all on the positions it has won in the factories and in the communities; this will lead it out of isolation and produce a new unity of action.

For social rights, democracy and socialism

(Meeting with Mannheim workers)

Members of the Editorial Board of *World Marxist Review* met recently with a group of workers from Mannheim for a discussion on the conditions of West German workers and their fight to improve them.

Taking part in the discussion were:

Hans Schellenberger, factory council member in one of the big Mannheim plants, delegate of the Metalworkers' Union.

Werner Abele, factory council member in an engineering works, Metalworkers' Union delegate and member of the Mannheim City Council.

Richard Georgi, factory council member, Metalworkers' Union.

Dr. Werner Petschick, journalist.

Herbert Mies, active in public life in Mannheim.

The Editorial Board was represented by *Helene Berg*, (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), *A. Gedo*, (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party), *J. Kowalczyk*, (Polish United Workers' Party), *A. Avanesjan*, (Iranian Peoples' Party), *I. Norlund*, (Communist Party of Denmark), *E. Zucker-Schilling*, (Austrian Communist Party) and *G. Oehman*, (Left /Communist/ Party of Sweden).

The discussion was opened by Chief Editor *K. Zarodov* who extended greetings to the delegates and spoke of the interest displayed by readers of the journal in the working-class struggle in the Federal Republic of Germany.

I.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS

Introductory remarks on the subject under discussion were made by *Herbert Mies*. The effects of the technological revolution, *Mies* said, are felt not only by the working class, but by the entire community. In discussing its implications for the workers we must therefore take into consideration its socio-political and socio-economic aspects.

The West German bourgeoisie see in the technological revolution a means of strengthening the existing property relationships and of buttressing their political power. In this respect the Grand Coalition government through its economic and social policy has done much more than any of its predecessors.

Mannheim, a big industrial center in the south-west of the Federal Republic, is an old, and at the same time young, industrial city. It has a population of 324,000, of whom 77,000 are employed in industry. Large enterprises include the Daimler-Benz automobile works (more than 10,000 workers), and the Braun-Boverri electrical engineering plant with 7,000.

There is also the big Lenz farm machinery plant, now a subsidiary of the American John Deere firm, and the Bopp und Reuter structural-elements plant employing 2,500.

Engineering, automobile manufacture

and shipbuilding make up the core of the industrial structure.

The working class is well-organized, with trade union membership in industry ranging from 80 to 90 per cent.

In speaking of our problems there is no need for me to stress that the government's economic policy benefits chiefly the big concerns interested solely in military contracts and maximum profit. And it is hardly necessary to prove that very large numbers of the workers are not getting a fair deal; properly speaking, this is impossible under the present system.

Significantly, the past two years of the Grand Coalition have seen a sharp decline in earnings. Time and piece rates have been cut, rationalization measures have affected earnings, social benefits have been lowered and rents and income tax have gone up. In fact, a whole system has been worked out to reduce wages and social service expenditure.

What we have, in other words, is a situation in which the rich have become richer and are exercising more power, while the share of the working class, both in terms of gross national income and absolute earnings, is steadily diminishing.

The following figures are indicative: gross national product increased 7.4 per cent in the first half of 1968, and profits 20 per cent, while nominal wages were up only four per cent. But the rise in real wages is far below that figure, due to cuts in welfare benefits and job rates, and higher prices. The rise in real wages is generally estimated at 2.8 per cent.

Recent developments have made it clear that despite the relatively high standard of living gained by the workers, the Federal Republic is a far cry from the much talked of social-equality and welfare state.

You are probably aware of the attempts to play down social conflicts by such slogans as "social partnership." Little is heard of that slogan today when, with Big Business increasing its profits, the workers find themselves with thinner wage packets.

The Social-Democratic ministers now talk about "social symmetry," "coordinated action" and so on. But behind these catchwords lies a very definite social and political program.

The idea is to exploit the technological revolution and the arms drive for the purpose of strengthening and extending the existing correlation of forces and property relationships, to divert the workers' attention from the nature of capitalist society,

to provide an effective counterweight to the mounting conflicts in industry and in public life generally and, last but not least, prevent the spread of socialist ideas.

Our job is to counter this "integration" talk with our own slogan of workers' solidarity and unity against monopoly capital, for better conditions, more political rights and a bigger say by the workers in economic matters, from factory to government level. In short, the "integration" slogan must be countered with class solidarity and struggle.

The integration concept finds expression in the "coordinated action" policy proclaimed by Social-Democrat Economics Minister Schiller. What he wants is cooperation, even partnership, of employer federations and the trade unions on economic and social policy.

The recession in West Germany in 1966-67 has been checked temporarily and the economic picture is brighter. Unemployment has declined, industry has a backlog of orders, and employers are exerting pressure on workers to agree to overtime.

The Social-Democratic leaders attribute the present pickup to the wisdom of Economics Minister Schiller. Workers who only a year ago were in danger of losing their jobs and now, with business activity at a high level, feel more secure, are inclined to agree that the credit should go to Schiller.

However, the position today differs from that of two years ago. The effects of the recession are still felt, and there is a feeling that the present stability will not last forever and that the system provides no guarantees of security.

And precisely in the present conditions of economic growth and high employment (in fact, there is a shortage of labor) hard battles are being fought in industry. In recent times, there have been strikes in three of the big Mannheim plants, and more are in the offing.

There is plenty of explosive material in the government's policy of making the workers bear the burden of armaments, private and government investment; this, plus the frantic speedup—the cause of many conflicts—enables many workers to realize that the trouble lies with the social system. Each conflict makes clear the close link between government policy and the actions of the employers.

The emergence of a new Communist Party in West Germany is, in my view, a development of first-rate importance. The Party's inaugural Statement says it will

fight for democratic interests, which it links with socialist economic and political demands. The Party will offer a clear alternative to the policy of Big Business and its political parties.

The Statement emphasizes that the ruling class cannot solve the vital social and human problems in the interests of the people, notably the problems posed by the technological revolution. I will quote the relevant passage in the Statement:

"The newly constituted Communist Party calls for a democratic economic policy envisaging worker participation in management as a first step towards curtailing monopoly power. This would provide a safeguard against employer arbitrariness. We urge a policy that would assure steady economic growth and full employment. This entails democratic economic planning and administration in the interests of the people. We call for an active policy on wages and extension of social benefits by cutting down arms expenditure and monopoly profits. We are convinced that the present social insecurity cannot be eliminated nor the problems of technological development solved unless the big concerns are deprived of their dominant position in the economy. We believe that the demands advanced by the trade unions, as set out in the program of the Trade Union Federation, for public ownership of key branches of the economy and key industrial plants, meet an urgent need."

Hans Schellenberger: I would like to fill in a few details in the general picture given by my friend Herbert Mies.

At the beginning of this century the Social-Democrat Party in Mannheim was strong and consistently Left-wing. This tradition was maintained after World War I, when we built a strong Communist Party in the city. We had to face the onslaught of reaction and fascism and many of our best comrades were killed by the fascists.

After the last war, Communists, Social-Democrats and all the democratic elements anxious for a social renewal joined forces. The economic picture changed, too, with a new alignment of forces and a new pattern of capitalist relationships.

In those days no serious question could be solved, or even discussed, in the factories without Communist participation. That is true now, too, after the banning of the Communist Party—discussion of economic, social or purely industrial matters, especially in trade union branches, is inconceivable without the Left forces taking

part. And this despite the fact that the Communists have to surmount formidable difficulties. Mannheim's militant traditions are still very much alive.

Question: What has been the impact of technological advance on productivity, exploitation and speedup? What part does physical exertion play in the increased productivity?

Werner Petschick: Last year during the recession productivity rose on the average 11.5 per cent although overall production dropped by two to three per cent, and employment, too, declined. The conclusion, clearly, is that the higher productivity was obtained through the new technology and greater exploitation of the worker. As yet there are no tested scientific data on the share of each.

However, it can safely be said that exploitation has risen sharply. This is evidenced, among other things, by the growth in the number of incapacitated workers, far more than in any other capitalist country. Something like 40-45 per cent of West-German workers are forced to quit their jobs for health reasons before reaching pension age. The accident statistics, too, are proof of the increased exploitation.

A word about automation. I think we can say that the physical load, and manual labor generally, tend to decline with the technological revolution, but there is a much greater psychic and mental burden. Proof of this is the growing incidence of heart diseases among industrial workers, many of whom have to retire at a comparatively early age. This is especially so on automated assembly lines where the nervous strain is so great that at the age of 45 many are no longer fit for the job.

In the Federal Republic the trend is towards partial automation; the completely automated shop is the exception rather than the rule. Overall automation entails much bigger investments and, for the time being at least, employers find it cheaper to use labor power than to introduce costly machinery.

Question: How does the degree of automation in the Federal Republic compare with the United States?

Werner Petschick: Available data show that the Federal Republic is behind the U.S. in this respect. For one thing, the U.S. makes much wider use of computers. One reason is the much greater degree of

industrial concentration in the United States, which enables the Americans to employ the new technology on a larger scale. Besides, there is more government intervention in American production—for instance government subsidized research and development. But the Federal Republic is ahead of the U.S. in other areas of state-monopoly capitalism. Preparations are under way for wider employment of computers. Old models are being modernized and new ones designed for use in relatively small enterprises of from 3,000 to 5,000 workers.

Question: What do the technological revolution and automation involve for the worker?

Herbert Mies: I would point to two main consequences, technological unemployment and lower earnings. To this should be added intensified speedup with all its effects on the worker.

Lower earnings and speedup signify greater exploitation in major branches of the economy. The fight at factory level to prevent the burden of technological revolution being shifted on to the worker develops into a fight for higher wages and retention of the social gains. The talk on the shop floor is that the worker is being turned into a trained monkey with just enough knowledge to tend the assembly belt. This is one way of protesting against the growth of exploitation. The situation poses many questions and factory committee members must find the answers.

Werner Abele: Investments under Schiller's economic policy are designed to introduce new plant and equipment requiring little or no skilled labor. This means that many of the things which previously determined a man's wages and income—skill, training, experience—have lost much of their significance. The worker becomes an appendage of the machine, his skill loses its value, and employers are quick to exploit this to depress wages.

I might add that the high level of mechanization, automated lines and the intensified tempo have resulted in a situation where a man who has worked 20 or more years on a two or three-shift job is no longer fit. Most workers are in dread of the new machines. They cannot cope with them, and yet they've got to work somewhere. What is the solution? Well, the management finds out if other jobs are available, and even if the worker is re-

employed, he earns, as a rule, 1-1.5 marks an hour less.

Herbert Mies: The Lanz Plant, for example, is now changing over to natural gas. This, the beginnings of an overall structural change, will mean re-allocation of labor and lower wage standards.

Richard Georgi: A few years ago the Daimler-Benz management tried to subdivide jobs so that each worker would perform a simple operation not requiring any particular skill. The idea, of course, was to cut wages. For now, in setting the rate for any particular job, management can say: It does not require any special skill or knowledge. For example, a lathe operator used to produce a finished part; now all that is expected of him is to remove the shavings, all the rest is seen to by the shop mechanic. The worker's job has been simplified to a bare minimum.

Hans Schellenberger: I would like to dwell on some of the problems posed by rationalization.

We have a differential wage scale, and while there is the Constitutional provision about equal pay for equal work, it has never been observed: women get 20-30 per cent less than men for the same job. Their place is in the zero category, on the zero rung of the wage scale; laborers can go as high as category 8, skilled workers are in category 9, and specialists in category 10, the very top.

In the metal trades, the standard hourly wage for skilled workers is 3.64 marks. But as a result of struggle and favorable conditions the men get much more, what we call the extra "effective wage." With this "effective" wage a skilled worker can earn from 5.20 to 5.40 marks an hour. But during the recession basic rates, effective rates and welfare benefits were cut.

After long and tortuous negotiations, the unions finally managed to reach agreement on a new wage scale. It was to have come into force on July 1, but was postponed to October 1 and has since been postponed again, because wage adjustments are not working out in a way that suits the employers.

The new wage scale is based on what is officially described as analytical job appraisal. This has caused much discussion on the shop floor. For rationalization is drastically reducing the need for skilled workers with long experience, which means that top-category rates are being cut. On the other hand, there is to be a higher basic rate, 4.20, 4.40, even 4.60 marks an

hour instead of 3.64. But the effective wage will be somewhat lower.

It should also be borne in mind that rising prices and higher rents are making holes in family budgets. And things will become worse as income taxes goes up. The metal workers newspaper gives the example of a worker with two children, that is, a family of four, earning 900 marks a month. His wages are up six per cent, but he will have to pay 24 marks more in taxes. Or these figures, cited in the same issue of the paper: total taxes paid by wage and salary earners have risen from five to six per cent, while the total taxes paid by the rich have actually declined—further confirmation that the workers bear the brunt of the tax burden.

There is also this factor, which has a direct bearing on the worker: he will have to make a bigger contribution to insurance. The net result is that from 30 to 33 per cent of his wages will be deducted. For example, a man making 1,100 marks a month (including overtime) will pay out about 330 marks.

II.

FOR THE WORKER'S RIGHTS, FOR PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT

Question: What about factory councils and their powers? Can the councils protest dismissals? How are they elected?

Herbert Mies: Actually there are two councils in the factories, the factory council which acts for the entire personnel, and the shop stewards council elected by the union members on the ratio of one to 25 workers. The shop stewards are responsible for carrying out union policy and activity.

In practice the two bodies work in close cooperation and both reflect the political composition of their members and their political influence on the workers.

Hans Schellenberger: This year we have been resisting management attempts to cut our social benefits (old-age pensions, extra holidays, etc.).

Organization and unity play a big part in this struggle. Wherever Communists, Social-Democrats, Catholic and non-party workers cooperate they can, through the shop stewards, counter and even anticipate management attacks. Both councils and their members enjoy protection under the Factory Law, but this has not prevented victimization of shop stewards.

I would cite this example: factory council members cannot go into the shop and call upon the men to down tools. That is expressly forbidden by the Factory Law, and a factory council member infringing the law can be held responsible for the stoppage and might be sacked. The shop stewards, in contrast, can call upon the workers to take strike action, and in most cases will be backed by the factory council. But the factory council member can visit the shops, record grievances and pass them on to management. This procedure for processing grievances offers opportunities for upholding the workers' interests.

So far, neither factory councils nor any other body representing the workers and their unions have been allowed a share in management. Yet this is the supreme demand of all our workers. All our experience in Mannheim—and this has been impressed on the workers—indicates that without concerted action by the workers there can be no stable employment nor guaranteed social and economic rights. And this understanding leads to criticism of the capitalist system. Participation in management and more rights in the factory are crucial demands of the movement.

Herbert Mies: Factory council members have to deal with the new problems posed by the technological revolution.

They must be conversant with rationalization techniques, management attitudes, must have a good knowledge of the economic mechanism. For they are constantly confronted with new forms of exploitation, new wage systems, problems which in the past concerned only one factory, but now extend to the entire economy.

Werner Abele: The new wage agreement, described here by Comrade Schellenberger, should be seen as the beginning of a new policy over which the unions have no control. Henceforth, the responsibility for fixing wage rates will lie with the factory council.

This is how it works: all wage issues will go before a parity commission of three management and three factory-council members, and it can safely be predicted that a worker dissatisfied with his wage rating will put all the blame on the factory council. This adds a new dimension to the council's functions.

Richard Georgi: I would like to deal in some detail with the new wages arrangement and its impact on the labor-management struggle.

There are now 20 wage-scale criteria,

subdivided into 10 active and 10 passive indicators to measure the workers' ability, knowledge, skill, experience, agility, nervous and muscular exertion and responsibility for the job assigned. Also taken into consideration are dirt, dust, noise, accident risks, susceptibility to colds, etc. Naturally, the employers try to manipulate these indicators to lower wages, whereas we on the factory councils try to prevent that.

How does the scheme operate? Shop managers and foremen draw up a detailed job-rating and submit it to the management members of the parity commission who, in turn, pass it on to the labor members. And here we are faced with a serious problem—the skill and competence of factory-council members. The older men, who have had the proper training, are able to find their way through the maze of a highly intricate system. But workers who have had little or only sporadic training—and that is usually the case in the smaller factories—find it hard to argue their case effectively. In the big factories the council members are as a rule skilled workers and are thus able to get better terms than their colleagues in the smaller enterprises.

At our plant many jobs were eliminated and about 2,000 workers faced redundancy or transfer to other jobs. Our council discussed the situation and was able to work out acceptable solutions. Most of the re-employed workers retained benefits despite the recession.

The big plants are of cardinal importance in the trade union struggle. Begun at some important enterprise, it rapidly spreads to others. For when the men from a leading plant insist on better conditions they usually get them. In other words, the big plants offer better opportunities for successful wage and social-benefit campaigns. Workers transferred to other jobs are paid compensation and if they have worked at the plant for more than 25 years they are entitled to their former earnings over a period of two years. Of course, these are sops, designed to ensnare the workers.

For a fuller picture we must go beyond the Daimler-Benz plant and consider the situation in the whole of the Baden-Wuerttemberg area. The Daimler-Benz concern is closely linked with other industries and together with Flick, Quandt and Abs dominates economic life and has a part in all business manipulations. The money paid out in concessions to workers at one

factory comes back in extra profits at another. These concessions are but part of employer tactics.

Now about rationalization. Piece workers are divided into categories. A skilled worker earns from 100 to 105 per cent of the basic rate, but most workers do not come within the skilled category and their earnings are much lower. Overtime is paid at 30 to 40 per cent above the basic rate, but only after the job has been time-studied. We are told, for example, that since new machinery has been put on a given job, the rate must be reviewed. A time study is made and a new rate is set.

This is where the factory council comes in. We have the right to check time studies and, after checking, by our own stopwatch, we sit down with the management efficiency expert to "bargain out" a new rate for the job. The management man will, of course, try to prove that the job calls for only 10 per cent above basic, which means a 30 per cent cut. We will produce our own calculations to show that the rate should be close to the 40 per cent mentioned above. For we know perfectly well that the worker is exerting every ounce of energy to meet his quota. In most cases negotiations result in a compromise, but sometimes we have to take strike action to get even that.

Werner Abele: Only the factory council enjoys legal status, the shop stewards have still to win that. In fact, the law does not allow them to meet as a body, although in most Mannheim factories this is disregarded. In my factory, the shop stewards meet once a month during working hours and report back to the men. But that is not legally sanctioned, and should the employer forbid these meetings, there is nothing we can do about it. Attempts to curtail the rights of shop stewards have invariably come up against militant resistance from the workers. In some cases the men downed tools, in others it was enough to hold a protest meeting. The important thing is that the workers are always ready to stand up for their rights.

Election procedure for the factory councils is prescribed by the Factory Law. In practice, however, procedure differs from factory to factory, especially with regard to the political aspect of the elections.

A slate of candidates is drawn up by the trade union. Candidates can also be nominated by shop stewards and shop collectives, though this is rarely done, at any rate in Mannheim. After the trade union

presents its slate, the Social-Democrats and other parties enter the campaign. The Communists, who are widely known among the workers, do not run their own candidates. After that the election campaign starts in real earnest, with each party putting out leaflets to boost its candidates. This gives the elections a distinct political coloring.

Richard Georgi: Comrade Abele's description does not apply to all factories. For instance, in our own we are now, for the first time in ten years, voting for individual candidates, not for a nominated group. Slate elections, which were introduced in 1958, tended to impair working-class unity. Individuals who did not subscribe to trade-union policy tried to worm their way into the factory council. They called themselves "Christian wage earners," and for many years we have had some on the factory council and among the shop stewards. At one point they put up a "Christian wage-earner" slate, and won one seat, which they were able to retain in subsequent elections. Besides, there are what we call "protest voters." In short, elections follow a different pattern in different factories. Personally, I think they would have more pronounced political implications if public opinion outside the factories was involved.

We had to form a coalition with all viewpoints supporting the Metalworkers' Union. The loss of one seat on a 25-member council does not really matter, though at first we feared this might affect united action in the shape.

As members of the factory council we are responsible for safeguarding the interests of all wage earners. And this, of course, has its political angles. Every political group has its supporters and is eager to promote its own policy.

What can be said of the Communists? There are many on the factory councils, but none in the Bundestag or on the City Council. In the factories, however, the Communists have won the trust of their fellow workers, and that is the important thing.

The right of council members to veto dismissals exists only on paper. This was forcibly brought home to us last year when the management decided to discharge 400 workers. They said to us: "We have to fire 400 men and it is your job as the factory council to see that the decision is carried out." Of course, we had no desire to do their dirty work and we informed the workers that they were being fired by the management, and that our job was to see that the hardship was reduced to the mini-

mum. That was the only possible line we could take.

We could not change the number listed for discharge, but we could change the names. For example, we were told of a man with three children, and we suggested that he be replaced by a younger single man.

Sure enough, management seized on that to make out that the younger man was being sacked on instructions from the factory council. This — and many more examples could be cited — shows that our veto rights remain only on paper. And let me tell you that we were anything but happy when we met to discuss these mass layoffs.

Question: Can the factory council litigate?

Richard Georgi: Yes, but only through the labor court. If the management proves that business conditions force it to cut production, the court will support it. And the boss can always find a plausible pretext to get rid of "redundant" workers, though we have our representatives in the labor courts.

Question: Can a council member be dismissed?

Werner Abele: No, not according to law, unless his behavior is such as to justify dismissal without prior notice. The law is quite explicit on this. Yet council members have been dismissed, mostly for political reasons. The boss can always be relied upon to think up a pretext. For one thing, he can start court proceedings against "politically undesirable" council members and, regardless of the results, this is sufficient cause for dismissal. The labor court will back him. One of our workers was paid heavy damages, but was not reinstated.

Herbert Mies: I can add some recent cases.

A well-known Communist Council member was discharged for "bringing politics into the factory." This man was active in the movement against the emergency laws, took part in the Easter marches and other political demonstrations. We have been fighting for his reinstatement, but so far without success. When the case was tried by a labor court, the management representative said: "We are prepared to pay high compensation, but on the understanding that this man will never again work in our plant."

A short while ago I learned of the victim-

ization of a prominent woman council member. This time, too, the charge was political—using the election campaign to “carry the political struggle into the factory.”

These two incidents highlight the problem facing the Communists: how to combine the fight for socio-economic demands with increased political activity. For the law expressly forbids political activity in the factories and the only solution, therefore, is continued struggle. In fact, at some factories political alertness among the workers is so high that the management does not dare victimize the activists.

Werner Petschick: More examples could be cited of council members being fired on similar charges. There was one case in Weiden, North Palatinate, of men being discharged for trade union recruiting and distributing union literature. This is prohibited by a special decision of the federal labor court, but where we have a strong organization management does not venture to apply the clause.

III.

UNITED ACTION—THE MAIN FACTOR IN THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY AND A SOCIALIST FUTURE

Herbert Mies: It is generally agreed that effective defense of the workers' interests depends on the degree of organization, on the activity of militant political and trade union organizations, on the method used to press the workers' demands.

Mannheim workers can be divided into three main political trends: Social-Democrat, Communist, and to a certain extent, Left Socialist. The Social-Democrats are the most influential party in West Germany. And if their Mannheim organization stands somewhat to the left on some issues, it is only because of the sentiment among the membership and lower-level functionaries. In fact, its attitudes are greatly influenced by Communist and Left-Socialist activity.

When we are asked what are the chief objectives of our organizational work, we reply: united action, stronger Communist influence, greater activity in the unions, factory councils and among the shop stewards. And we can record progress in promoting united action by Communists and Social-Democrats, though relations between the two are anything but smooth.

Hans Schellenberger: I am a member of the Mannheim regional committee of the

newly established Communist Party. We know, of course, the working-class struggle cannot be confined to trade union work, or to the shop stewards and factory councils. The need is to organize the workers politically. And here our experience has shown that the ban on the Communist Party greatly impeded direct influence on the workers, and this is very much the case now too. But re-establishment of the Party opens up new prospects. Its inaugural Statement says: “The Party will counter attempts to weaken the working class spiritually and organizationally and bring it under the tutelage of Big Business; it will help the workers appreciate their position and social and political interests. Only a party based on the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin can show to all our people, particularly young workers and students, the way to change, the way to democratic progress and socialism.”

Communist-Social-Democrat cooperation in the factory can be organized on economic issues on which the two parties hold common views. There are many pointers which show that they can work together on various political issues.

Herbert Mies: We appreciate the fact that in organizing the workers we are extending their alliance with other sections of the working people. This is especially important in Mannheim, where we have succeeded in forming, at any rate in embryo, an alliance of workers and intellectuals against the emergency laws. There has also been cooperation of workers and students. And though there were many conflicts, we did manage to work together on common issues. This encourages us to continue our effort for new forms of alliance, such as joint committees of workers and representatives of other sections of the people for the attainment of common goals.

The fight for participation in management is decisive for united action in support of social, economic and political demands.

And we understand participation to mean not only more rights for the workers in the factory, but also giving the workers a bigger say in the country's economic and political life. And on this the interests of workers, intellectuals and students, who want a bigger part in running the universities, converge. More, the interests of the workers coincide with those of the farmers and artisans, who want a share in administering the economy and the big concerns. And so, the fight for participation has acquired crucial importance.

Question: What part do the workers and intellectuals play in the political struggle, for instance in the movement against the emergency laws?

Herbert Mies: Generally speaking, direct participation by workers and their active political commitment, are less than that of the intellectuals. But the workers did take a decisive stand against the emergency laws, so much so that all the unions and the Trade Union Federation had to join the campaign.

Werner Abele: I would like to dwell on some of the aspects of the anti-emergency law movement in Mannheim. The campaign, naturally, disclosed the divergent views of Communists and Social-Democrats on a number of issues.

The strength of the campaign and its tenacity differed from factory to factory. Delegations from several factories called on the unions to hold a protest demonstration and the Trade Union Federation had no choice but to comply. However, it turned out that the leaflets calling for the demonstration were only partially distributed at some factories and not distributed at all at others. In some factories the workers came out en masse, in others work continued. Workers in our two trade union strongholds, Daimler-Benz and Motorenwerke Mannheim, marched with red flags and appropriate slogans, but most of the Motorenwerke workers did not respond.

The students took over the demonstration and prevented the Trade Union Federation representative from speaking. Half the audience at the rally was against the students and there was little unity.

Things got worse on the following day. There were rumors of strikes in some factories. Each factory had to decide for itself whether to strike or not. Then there was the threat of an attack on the Trade Union House. An urgent call was sent to the Motorenwerke for a demonstration to defend Trade Union House against the students. The men were urged to take part, but only a small group, 80 out of a total of 3,000 workers, responded.

Richard Georgi. I fear what Werner Abele said here is true. But even so I must stand up for the young generation. After all, it was young people who on the decisive day of the third reading of the draft of emergency legislation stood outside the gates of the Daimler-Benz plant.

They stood there last spring during the movement for new tariff rates, distributing leaflets that read: "Comrades, don't let

your right be taken away! See that the preliminary vote permitted by the tariff commission is taken on the premises of the plant. Don't take the vote outside. Vote on the premises!" This was followed by action and I must say that many veteran workers who passed by those young people, mostly students, gave them a friendly pat on the shoulder, saying: "That's the stuff, you're doing the right thing."

But on the day of the third reading, when the students again came to the plant gates some workers displayed an unfriendly attitude.

The incident brought out a certain contradiction between workers and students which calls for explanation. In West Germany, the workers are ready to fight for their demands. The trade unions, by getting the workers to fight for their demands, achieve considerable success. But all too often the economic demands are seen as something separate from political ones. And in appraising the attitude of the workers to the younger intellectuals the important thing is, as I see it, that the workers still do not support purely political demands.

What was the attitude of the workers in our plant? The factory council there is made up of Social-Democrats and Communists. We conferred on how to win the workers' support. We and the shop stewards carried on a common policy. This encouraged the workers and they began to insist that the district leadership of the Trade Union Federation should hold a meeting in Mannheim against the emergency laws. The Federation, the metalworkers, and other unions made a statement about the debate on the emergency legislation and took a stand against those laws, saying that they could be used to do away with trade union rights.

I cannot say, however, that the top leadership of the unions was very firm in declaring for action. The pressure came from below, from the workers and students, who in Mannheim united to some extent. But we felt that it wouldn't do merely to discuss things in small groups, so we formed an active group, made up mostly of Daimler-Benz workers. Things went well. Nobody asked who was a Communist and who a Social Democrat. The workers drove up to the Trade Union House where the district leadership of the Federation was in session. Some 60 or 70 of us went in overalls. The representative of the Metalworkers' Union told us that he was not prepared to engage in talks under pressure

from the street. We replied that we wanted action and not talk. We knew how the workers felt, and we wanted the Federation to officially put itself at the head of the movement and to issue a call to the workers to take action. And we succeeded.

It wasn't difficult to get the workers to leave the plant. But not all of them went to the meeting. Many went home. En route to the square we passed the Motorenwerke plant where the workers stood at the windows looking at their fellow-workers from the Daimler-Benz, Strebelwerk and other, smaller plants.

In the Alter Messplatz square the students who had had no chance to speak, managed nevertheless to attract attention. I saw there workers who rarely express an opinion on political matters and are rarely active but who were now so enthusiastic that the trade union and we, the members of the factory council in the plant, main organizers of the action, lost control of the situation. The forces leaning towards radicalism and even towards hostility to the unions gained the upper hand.

We realized, of course, that we had to prevent the adoption of the emergency legislation. But we could not stand by and see our trade union being ousted over the action.

We called to account some of our members who had played a special role in the events, including some Trotskyites.

What I have said shows how complicated the situation is when there is no workers' party to take a clear and unambiguous stand against the negative phenomena, a party which, we are sure, will appear in parliament sooner or later to uphold the workers' interests. This is one of the big hopes and chances of the newly-founded Communist Party.

Question: Is there any difference between the policy of the union leaders and the Social-Democratic leaders?

Werner Petschick: It has been said in a different context that much has changed in the policy of the SDP since it entered the Grand Coalition. Most of the unions are still to the left of the Social-Democratic Party but the SD leaders are trying to involve them in the state-monopoly system. This was particularly obvious during the recent union congresses where the economic policy of the Grand Coalition was supported and where capitalism was no longer criticized by the leadership as distinct from the past or, at any rate, wasn't

criticized as sharply as before. The metalworkers' congress gave approval to the so-called coordinated action. What is implied is periodical meetings of spokesmen of the employers, the Federal government and the trade unions at which special attention is devoted to problems of wages and an effort is made to "overcome" the social antagonisms.

Hans Schellenberger: The workers' campaign in Mannheim against the emergency laws was affected by disagreement between the Social-Democratic leaders and the unions. Last spring when the movement against emergency legislation showed a strong upward trend, especially during the Easter march against the Bomb, people were inclined (and encouraged by a decision of the majority of the Federation executive) to continue the action against the emergency laws to the point of holding public demonstrations.

The anti-Bomb march in Bonn on May 11 was preceded by talks and an assurance was given that the marchers would be addressed by Otto Brenner, Chairman of the Metalworkers' Union. The workers were quite militant. Then came the retreat. The Bonn demonstration split, we had to hold our demonstration in Dortmund, which, it was expected, would be addressed by Otto Brenner. Then there were talks at lower levels with union spokesmen in the enterprises and with the Federation. A delegation was sent to Dortmund to organize the action in such a way as to enable those who attended it to go on to Bonn. During the meeting in Bonn many of the buses that had left for Dortmund from all over southwest Germany arrived there.

But after that both the union leaders and members of the Mannheim district leadership of the Federation began to give in to the idea of submitting to the exigencies of coalition partnership, that is, of complying with the request of the Social-Democrat leaders and thus check the movement. Attempts were made to do this wherever possible. I need hardly add that this told on the workers' sentiments.

The metalworkers' congress in Munich was clear proof that the workers realized the dangerous nature of the emergency laws and that they know their rights. Speakers at the congress and the resolutions adopted by it stressed the need to fight against the emergency laws and to oppose them if enforced. Many delegates were furious at the bland statement made by Willy Brandt at the congress: "The emergency laws have

been enacted," he said, "and yet we continue to enjoy freedom."

Brandt's statement also made a big impression on the workers, especially Social-Democrats, many of whom had expected the militancy to continue. But as a result of the activity of the Right Social-Democrats, the movement against the emergency legislation was divided.

In June and July, following the adoption of the emergency laws, some comrades expressed their dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms. In one of the plants the production council put their signatures to a call issued by the initiating committee for a legal Communist Party which said the workers needed such a party to fight against the coordinated action of "consolidated" capitalist society.

Herbert Mies: Communists enjoy considerable influence in the enterprises and it is safe to say that their influence has grown of late. In many places people in the unions recognize the Communists precisely because they are Communists. Thanks to the Communists and to those Social-Democrats still socialist-minded, it has been possible to get the unions to take action on some fundamental political issues. During the past weeks and months political life in the Federal Republic has become relatively more active and noteworthy political actions have taken place involving not only students but the unions, and not only Communists but Social-Democrats.

Among the Social-Democratic ministers Schiller is the one whom the unions trust most of all. Schiller earns rounds of applause at most union congresses. And exploiting that, the Social-Democrat leadership, in carrying on the dialogue with the unions, puts forward a very simple argument which has its effect on the workers, specifically in Mannheim. You can see for yourselves, these leaders say, that we did the right thing when we entered the government. We have managed to head off the worst. See how our ministers and our parliamentary group are working—always upholding the interests of people. We have succeeded, they say, in dispelling the fear of unemployment. Of course, things are still in a bad way and your portion of the cake is too small.

By this device the Social-Democrat leaders succeed in winning over the union leadership and numerous unions.

What is the task of the unions today? It must be defined anew because the situation is such that the socio-economic struggle is assuming an increasingly political charac-

ter. The unions can no longer stand outside politics and uphold only socio-economic interests.

Question: How do the unions view cooperation with the intellectuals and the farmers?

Werner Petschick: We in the unions are all for an alliance with the intelligentsia. We notice that more people among the intelligentsia, notably the technological intelligentsia, are joining the ranks of the working class. I will not go into this, but I can say that more and more engineers, foremen and other members of the technological intelligentsia are joining trade unions, so that we can say that our alliance with them is growing.

Alliance with the farmers is a more difficult matter. The working class displays a certain dislike for the farmers. This is partly an emotion reaction to problems of the postwar when, in a situation of food shortages, the farmers were somewhat better off. Workers believe that the taxes which they pay enable the farmers to enjoy extra benefits and improve their conditions, while the farmers, they say, are not prepared to "sacrifice" anything for the workers.

Herbert Mies: A few more words about the alliance of the working class and the intelligentsia. We—and not only we, but also the best among the intellectuals—have made headway in this matter. However, to the extent that we succeeded in uniting workers and intellectuals against the emergency legislation, we encountered virtually for the first time the ideological and political problems which of necessity confront an alliance of this nature.

While the workers' political outlook is determined mainly by socio-economic factors, that part of the intelligentsia active in progressive movements is greatly influenced by political and social knowledge. This means that as far as progressive political awareness is concerned, the intellectuals are more advanced than the bulk of the organized workers. A problem bearing on the relations between workers and students is that the workers are ready to fight for their social and economic demands, and also for a solution to those political problems in which they see a link between their economic conditions and political development. The emergency laws were a case in point. But the workers are not prepared to subordinate their concrete fight for economic demands to the general political struggle.

Although most workers resent some elements of Bonn policy and of the present social system, they are not ready for political struggle as yet, not even in those enterprises which are relatively active politically. Workers and students have found little common ground on this, and I must add that both sides have not only stressed what they have in common, but also poured oil on the flames of their differences.

We Communists are striving to foster the incipient relations of an alliance. But it is difficult and, besides, we find ourselves thrown back somewhat owing to the activity of the ultra-Left, meaning not only Trotskyites.

While there are not many in Mannheim who could be regarded as Trotskyites, they do manage to influence some of the socialist-minded students. I'm not saying that the active students are Trotskyites. No, we are careful not to label anyone by saying he is a Trotskyite or anarchist.

To return to relations with the peasantry. They are complicated by the fact that the Mannheim workers traditionally dislike the farmers.

Many workers feel that the small farmers' existence is in jeopardy. A few days ago it was reported that their numbers would be reduced by 1,500,000 towards the 1980s. During the past years, some two million peasant cultivators have been forced off their plots.

The workers visualize the solution of the peasant problem as a simple transition to large-scale or cooperative farming. The peasants, for their part, do not deny the need to take account of certain exigencies of modern technology, nor do they reject the idea of cooperative farming. But they are most anxious to survive as private farmers. That is why we could now secure peasant support for the idea of an alliance with the working class only if we correctly combined defense of their status as private farmers with an effort to organize them along cooperative lines, which would make it possible to carry out the technological revolution in the countryside as well. The workers have difficulty in appreciating this approach, they want cooperative farming or nothing. This is what makes the problem of an alliance with the farmers so complicated.

The Social-Democrats have always taken a hostile view of the peasants because their party has never had to tackle the problem of the worker-peasant alliance, nor has it given serious thought to the issue of

power, the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism.

We Communists, on the other hand, suffer from the shortcoming that so far we have been unable to vindicate the idea of the worker-peasant alliance. We align ourselves with the workers, we are told, and that's enough: that is the important thing and the rest can go hang.

Question: What about the Communists, how are they organized in the enterprises?

Herbert Mies: We are for Communist groups in the enterprises. As regards the forms to be chosen for them, that's a different matter.

Communists in the Mannheim enterprises are trying directly to influence the political attitude of the workers in an effort to deepen their class consciousness.

Factory bulletins are a valuable instrument. The employers dread them. Of all the publications brought out by the Communists, it is to the factory bulletins that the employers' associations, the special press of the monopolies and bourgeois information agencies pay the greatest attention.

Question: Is the youth movement making progress?

Herbert Mies: We believe that in our country the student movement with its democratic and socialist nature is a highly progressive phenomenon. We must therefore take a positive attitude to it. In other words, we are against "writing off" the students, some of whom hold ultra-Left views. In this movement we see the growth and maturing of forces which are very important for the political evolution of our country.

The student movement presents us with a challenge. It poses big socio-political questions for us, and it has advanced new forms of action.

What is positive is that the students exert "pressure" on the workers, in the unions and in the Social-Democratic Party. But in this connection we must engage not only in political and ideological discussion, but also we must expose some forces because active in the student movement are also anti-Marxist, anti-labor and anarchist groups and even groups of provocateurs. These people are influenced by the Chinese leadership. Pseudo-Marxist literature and publications of the Communist Party of China are on sale at every newsstand. Un-

der the impact of this literature, the students' healthy critical attitude to the workers degenerates into outright opposition against the working-class movement and their criticism of the unions becomes a struggle against the unions.

Our job is to bring political clarity into the student movement. But in any case we shall have to dissociate ourselves from particular student actions, from this or that form of struggle used by them. We should always be prompted by a desire to help the students to the right position, to bring them closer to the workers.

The students are presently going through a process of differentiation and what might be called, paradoxically enough, edification. We see this in their drawing closer to us. We encourage this tendency. We must pose the issues in a new way and carry on the argument in a new way. But the important thing now is whether we are going to carry on this argument or evade it. We think there can be no question of evading it.

As regards Socialist Youth, this is an organization of young workers but not a Communist Youth League. It was founded on the initiative of young workers attracted to socialism and Marxism.

IV.

QUESTIONS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Question: How do you see the main trends in the ideological struggle?

Herbert Mies: For us a most important ideological task is to promote the workers' class consciousness, to bring socialist views to the working class and make it socialist-minded. This presupposes a most determined ideological fight against attempts to integrate the workers into the capitalist system. We oppose all "integration" theories, such as the theory of "social partnership" or the theory of "social symmetry" and "coordinated action" advocated by Schiller. This, however, is but one aspect of the matter. Another is that we should link this fight with the putting forward of demands meeting the interests of the working class.

In their mass, the workers are indifferent to the fundamental political issues. This makes it very important to shape ideological work in such a way as to go from socio-economic to political analysis. It is on this basis that we succeed in arousing interest in political matters. How do we do this?

Declining income is associated with the arms race in one way or another. Lack of social rights is linked to curbs on democracy—under the emergency laws, for instance. Discussion of these issues helps the workers to see the interdependence of the social and political position of the working class. There is a growing awareness that the general trend of socio-political development is wrong. We see this as a fresh opportunity for socialist propaganda, for making the working class interested in socialism.

To foster class and socialist consciousness, it is essential steadfastly to elucidate the various aspects of building the new society in the socialist countries, the theoretical problems of socialism and communism, and so on. These questions are always before us. To be sure, they arise in all capitalist countries, but they are particularly acute in our country because one part of Germany is dominated by highly developed state-monopoly capitalism while the other part is a socialist state. And since the socialist countries, in particular the German Democratic Republic, have solved many of the workers' problems better than the Federal Republic, we, naturally, take advantage of this.

We often say that the GDR "sits in" on many talks on wages. The fact is that both employer and employee take account, each in his own way, of how social problems are solved in the GDR. The influence of the GDR is felt in the campaign to improve the educational system, promote social security, medical care and vocational training, win co-management, etc.

Werner Abele: Ideological integration should not be seen as something apart from "coordinated action." I should like to say a few more words about how this question was handled at the congress of the Metalworkers' Union.

There is no doubt about Schiller's success at the congress. He was the Minister who in most cases turned the arguments of the trade unions into his own—unlike Brandt who drew applause only when he spoke about foreign policy. Schiller's success came as a surprise to me since it was known that the delegates—90 per cent of them S.D. members—had been elected at the height of the campaign against the emergency laws, in other words, they had participated in this campaign.

When the question of "coordinated action" came up for discussion the union was against taking part in it. Three times the proposal was put to the vote and each

time the tally was wrong. This triggered a long discussion which caused much confusion, nobody knowing whether he was voting for or against the motion. Ultimately it was carried by a narrow majority.

Regarding ideological integration I should like to mention the following which has a direct bearing on the question of political consciousness. At a recent meeting of the Mannheim municipal council to discuss new gas charges it was decided to cut them by 23-25 per cent for the big consumer, 11-15 per cent for the medium consumer, leaving unchanged the charges for the small consumers of whom there are several tens of thousands in the town. We qualified this as "anti-social" and proposed that the small consumer get the same rebate as the medium.

Our proposal was rejected, the Mayor claiming that one of the most important jobs of the municipal council was to ensure stable employment. On the following day, the paper of the Social-Democratic Party appeared with the headline: "The big pay the bills for the small." I've already mentioned what actually happened. So you will see that this propaganda stunt is also part of the ideological and practical integration of Social-Democrat activists in the present system.

Richard Georgi: On his way to work in the morning the worker usually buys Springer's *Bild-Zeitung* in the belief that it will help him understand events, that it will provide him the news he needs.

We must combat the propaganda, the arguments of this paper which is at a very primitive level, counter it with our own propaganda and explain to the workers that reading *Bild-Zeitung* is a waste of time, that they would get more from reading progressive papers, listening to what the reconstituted Communist Party has to say, that the trade union papers carry articles which reflect the problems of the day more truthfully.

We should cooperate with Social-Democrats and religious workers, and on this basis represent the interests of the working people, show them who is their real enemy, that he is in the camp of monopoly capital.

Question: How are you combating neo-nazism?

Herbert Mies: The recent elections to the Baden-Wuerttemberg Landtag showed that the National-Democratic Party sharply increased its vote in the typically workers'

centers of Mannheim. This party received an unusually big vote there, although this was regarded as the traditional stronghold of the Social-Democrats and the Communists. For us this was a big blow. The question is often put to us—how did the NDP gain such a foothold in these districts, why did workers vote for it? This question has still to be studied. This is essential if we are to work successfully among these workers and wrest them from the influence of neo-nazi representatives.

Of course, there are workers who are still nazi-minded. This manifests itself in different ways, in particular, in the attitude to foreign workers, to the mass actions by the workers and students.

True, the mass of the NDP voters are not nazi-minded. Most of them vote for this party because they are dissatisfied with one or another aspect of political and social life, because they are disillusioned with the present government parties. In Mannheim with its traditional working-class movement this is a matter we cannot afford to overlook. Even though there are factories and districts in which the NDP would not venture to appear, the fact is that the election showed that it gained influence even there.

Among the organized, and also unorganized, workers there is much dissatisfaction with the policy of the government parties. The NDP has made political capital out of this. But its influence in the workers' districts is not something irreversible. Our pressing ideological task is to explain the character and policy of nazism and neo-nazism. This must be done if we are to combat it successfully and weaken its influence.

What is the working class' attitude to the dangerous developments in the Federal Republic? The big ideological problem is that in their mass the workers are not alive to the dangers of German imperialism. Their half-hearted participation in the campaign against the emergency laws showed this. Many illusions hold sway, or more correctly speaking, there is a great underestimation of the real danger German imperialism would represent once it gained possession of nuclear weapons. The prevailing view is that the Federal Republic would not dream of starting a war, that to do so would be suicidal.

In a sense, the emergency laws have created the prerequisites needed to expose the dangers inherent in German imperialism. Many workers are beginning to fear that these laws might strike at democracy,

lead to the curtailment of democratic rights, to a military dictatorship. But these are the views of workers who have come in contact with the propaganda of the progressive forces. For the most part, the attitude of the working class on the decisive issues is determined by the propaganda media of the big bourgeoisie, especially by such big concerns as Springer. A very sizable part of the *Bild-Zeitung's* readership consists of workers. This may be said to be an indicator of their political thinking.

In our ideological activity among workers we think every possibility should be used, beginning with educational work in the unions, the publication of newspapers and journals, and ending with socialist study or workers' circles in the towns. To date, very little has been done in this respect and the problem now is to develop ideological work on the widest possible scale.

Werner Petschick: I should like to note yet another aspect of the problem—the prevalence of anti-Communism in the working class.

As you know, anti-Communism dates back decades in this part of the country. Instilled in the minds of the working class by fascism, it has remained with many. True, new factors have appeared with the rise of the GDR. Whereas some ten years ago it was still possible to influence public opinion with stories about "starvation" in the GDR, and much more in this vein, today this sort of stuff is no longer effective. Enemy propaganda has taken this into account. It is therefore linked with the "new eastern policy" which carries greater weight with the trade unions and with the working class generally. This was apparent in particular on the question of contacts with the trade unions in the socialist countries. Some two or three years ago most unions rejected these contacts, the argument being that there are no trade unions in the socialist countries but only some kind of "auxiliary instruments" of the system.

However, contacts have now been established, since most workers, despite anti-Communism, favor mutual understanding and international cooperation.

Following the events in Czechoslovakia, Right trade union leaders like Ahrendt, President of the Miners' Union, Stenker, President of the Postal Workers' Union, and Buschmann, President of the Textile Workers' Union, advocated contacts with the trade unions of the socialist countries, including the GDR. They want to use such

contacts—and this was mentioned at the congress of the Metalworkers' Union—to "soften" public relations in the socialist countries and in this way clear the way to counter-revolution.

Left union leaders, for their part, advocate in this connection the so-called convergence theory. They hold that by more extensive planning in the capitalist world, the FRG included, it will be possible to bring the two systems closer. We must combat this theory.

Meanwhile nationalistic propaganda resorts to the incredible argument that "we do not vilify our home." This is the leit-motif of the nationalists, especially when the Communists remind them of German fascism's and militarism's crimes during World War II. It is surprising how through the mass communication media many workers are induced to believe that such exposures are tantamount to vilifying their people.

Part of the working class has begun to understand capitalist reality better as a result of the 1966-67 economic recession. We attach considerable importance to explaining that the "breakdowns" in society and the consequences of the scientific-technological revolution are in most cases not due to mistakes made by some government, for example the Erhard government, but that the various anti-social and reactionary tendencies come with state-monopoly capitalism.

The Right forces also speak of reforms, but reforms that would leave the existing system intact. The employers' associations suggest, for instance, reorganizing the entire educational system. They would like to carry out these "reforms" together with the trade unions, and thus retain their power. We, however, urge democratic reforms which would, as stated also in the programs of the trade unions, transform the economy and society. The same applies to the demand for nationalization, or as we put it here, to make the big enterprises public property. In this connection we attach special importance to the movement for worker participation in management. We regard participation not as relations of partnership, but as a step towards restricting the power of the monopolies.

Hans Schellenberger: In the past 20 years, and particularly in the years following the ban on the Communist Party, our ideological work was not always up to the mark. This is all too evident from the reaction of public opinion to the manipulations

of the press in respect to the working class.

It is true that wherever Communists do speak, whether in the trade unions, or at meetings of workers and their delegates, they exert a certain ideological influence in resolving socio-economic problems in a progressive spirit. But this is not enough. What we had hoped to achieve some years ago with the establishment in Mannheim of the Marx Society did not materialize because the Society, unfortunately, did not receive the necessary support.

We know that many of our Social-Democratic comrades were very doubtful about the Grand Coalition. Some of these doubts still remain. At an SPD delegates' conference in Baden-Wuerttemberg last spring, most of the delegates voted against the Coalition. Their standpoint was rejected, however, by the Executive and by the SDP group in the Landtag. Although rank-and-file Social-Democrats still incline to hold the SDP ministers responsible for the consequences of the Grand Coalition's policy, many illusions still prevail. Many Social-Democrats declared that they would leave the party if the leadership approved the emergency laws. But there were also statements supporting the Coalition Government. Even so, we are in a better position today than before to speak to the Social-Democrat workers about the disastrous consequences of the government's policy.

To give an example. During the municipal election campaign some of our friends in the Left Democratic bloc attended a Social-Democratic meeting at which district secretaries and candidates were present. Questions were asked about the social position of the town's citizens. The replies were somewhat superficial and the older Social-Democrats present repeated the questions, much to the embarrassment of the platform, for they did not know how to answer them without revealing that they were not in the least concerned about the interests of the workers, in other words, the interests of the bulk of the population.

I should like to say in conclusion that we no longer attack the Social-Democrats as we did in the past. We don't want to give them the pretext to say that, "you Communists say, 'Down with Social-Democracy' but fail to see the danger coming from the Right." We therefore impress upon our members that it is not the Social-Democratic workers they should take issue with but the fatal policy of the leaders. We will be able to change this policy only if we act together for our basic demands, act

together to transform capitalism into socialism. Once we get the workers and Social Democrats to understand this, then they will understand the need to fight for common demands. And once this is achieved we shall be able to carry out our ideological work more effectively.

Question: The dialogue between Marxists and believers plays a role in the international movement. How are you handling this?

Werner Petschick: Besides the Christian Trade Union Federation, we have the German Trade Union Federation whose members include Christians and non-Christians, Socialists and Communists. Cooperation with the Christian workers is thus effected within the trade unions. We lay particular stress on the importance of this cooperation, and vigorously oppose the attempts of the Christian Federation to set up a splinter organization. These attempts are not meeting with any response in the working class either. The German TUF has a membership of 6,400,000, the Christian Federation—100,000. It has lost the strong positions it had among the miners and metalworkers; they having joined, for the most part, the respective unions affiliated to the German Federation.

Impetus has been given to cooperation with Christian workers since they and their unions, and also both churches—the Catholic and evangelical — now want to join forces with the German Federation following the hapless experiment of their own Federation.

The various youth organizations, including the Union of Catholic Working Youth and the Union of Evangelical Industrial Youth, are taking a keen interest in social problems. At the recent congress of the Union of Catholic Working Youth, the social system in West Germany was sharply attacked; the speakers supported the demand to give workers the right to participate in management. A similar debate is going on in the Evangelical Church. For nearly seven years now its Council has repeatedly expressed its readiness to discuss the question of worker participation, and has drafted 18 statements to this effect. A bitter struggle is going on behind the scenes between evangelical workers and employers. To the workers broader participation means restricting the rights of the employers; the latter, for their part, want to establish a system of partnership that is based essentially on principles of "joint responsibility" and "cooperation."

These problems were discussed, for example, at the recent Nuremberg congress of the Action Society of Evangelical Workers of Germany.

Question: How do you conduct Marxist-Leninist propaganda in West Germany?

Herbert Mies: As you know, socialism, Marxism and Leninism are debated everywhere nowadays. Mannheim is no exception. It has become the fashion among progressives and people close to socialism to identify themselves with Marxists. This is characteristic of many active in political life. The reason for this is that the aggravation of political and social conflicts in the Federal Republic has called in question its socio-political development. Marxism-Leninism provides the answer to many of the vexing questions. Students and young workers are evincing a greater interest in debating the basic political issues, including Marxism-Leninism. This is a positive development and has stimulated socialist propaganda.

There is another aspect to the matter: since everyone can now "declare" himself a Marxist, this has naturally made for all kinds of "Marxisms," for a variety of interpretations. I mention this because we are at present waging a very sharp ideological struggle, explaining, in particular, what is real Marxism-Leninism, what is socialism, and how to achieve it.

The Communists are putting out their own Marxist-Leninist propaganda. But they are also cooperating with some Social-Democrats in putting out other publications. Among the better known of these is the journal *Marxistische Blätter*, which is widely read by workers, intellectuals and students. This journal tackles from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint the new problems facing the working class of our country.

Together with other socialist forces, the Communists are anxious to discuss these problems, holding symposiums to this end. These are usually sponsored by educational societies. Among the problems recently debated were state-monopoly capitalism, social classes and the class struggle.

The Communist initiative for public discussions on repealing the ban on the Communist Party was linked with an analysis of the political scene which made it possible to go beyond current political issues and debate fundamental socio-political problems.

Communists have addressed thousands of students at most universities in the Fe-

deral Republic—and more than once at many of them. On several occasions students refused to listen to anyone else but Communists. At these meetings discussion centered mostly on the strategy of the working-class movement, that is, on theory, ideology and strategy.

In their mass, the students are not oversympathetic towards us; all they're interested in is having a dialogue with us. But to us the all-important thing is that this interest is mounting. We therefore go to the campus even when it is not smooth sailing.

The fact remains, of course, that we are making an impact only on a small section of the people. We must, therefore, explore other avenues for ideological work. The reconstituted Communist Party will, naturally, try to fill the vacuum. Educational work in the trade unions offers good possibilities.

We do not confine ourselves to purely socio-economic matters, but go further afield, into the political and theoretical spheres. The trade union leadership, needless to say, will try to propagate pseudo-Marxist or pseudo-socialist ideas among the workers. But the important thing is, who is conducting the educational work. This is where Communists can do much to diffuse genuine socialist ideas, linking them with current ideological problems, and in this way helping toward a socialist understanding of the processes.

Question: How well acquainted are the workers of the FRG with the experience of Germany's revolutionary struggle? How are the traditions of this struggle used today?

Werner Petschick: I regret to say that the working class of Federal Germany knows very little about the history of its movement. Of course this is due to the circumstance that those in the 30-40-year age group did not personally experience the events preceding 1933, and have been left ignorant of them.

It is only of late that there is a growing interest to know more about the history of the working-class movement, stimulated by the heightened interest in Marxism. The eight-volume *History of the German Working Class Movement*, put out in the GDR, is of considerable help in this respect. This work, which is studied with interest also by many trade union members and students, is helping us to awaken a sense of history, to revive the traditions and forms of struggle of the German working class.

In general, the research being done by the GDR's Marxist scholars is invaluable in our theoretical and ideological work.

Herbert Mies: I should like to add a few more words about the revolutionary traditions. For a town like Mannheim I'd say that the new generation of workers is not particularly receptive to them. Much of the blame for this lies with us. Continuity of traditions cannot be secured only by reverting to the past. When a worker wants to know about the problems of today and is told, instead, about the militant actions of the past he is likely to be short with us. Therefore, when we talk about revolutionary traditions we link this up with the present. Students and other sections of the population do, it is true, ask questions concerning our history. They want to know, for example, how events developed in Mannheim in 1918 when a Soviet republic was proclaimed there, what were the forms of struggle of the working class.

Of course, the progressive, older generation of workers has retained a sense of tradition, as the following fact shows. Some months ago Mannheim named one of its squares after the well-known Communist anti-fascist resistance fighter, Lechleiter. It is quite likely that tactical considerations of the Right-wing Social-Democrats played a role here. They may have reasoned that at a time when the whole world was speaking about the rise of neo-nazism in the Federal Republic, it would not be a bad idea to give the impression that Mannheim honored the memory of its anti-fascist resistance fighters. However that may be, the significant thing to us is that many workers, even though of the older generation, have not forgotten the days of the big class battles, especially those before 1933.

But our propaganda of these traditions still falls short in many respects. The current ideological and political discussions in the working class or the dialogue with the students and other groups show that the problems of today and the morrow cannot be clearly explained without drawing on the historical experience of the working-class movement. Popularization of this experience is a pressing problem.

Next year, we mark the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Germany and the 50th anniversary of the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Certain forces, some of them hostile to the working class, try to include Luxemburg and Liebknecht in their camp, to use their works and their memory to justify their policy, their anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist concepts, to make these leaders of the German proletariat the principal witnesses for the prosecution against us, against the Communist Party in the Federal Republic and against the German Democratic Republic. We must correctly explain the role of these leading figures of the German working-class movement and the historical path traversed by the Communist Party of Germany.

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At the close of the discussion Chief Editor K. Zarodov thanked the visitors from Mannheim for their information about the West German working class, its problems and experience of struggle, and expressed the hope that the material of this discussion will be useful to those in the capitalist world who are actively fighting in the factories, in the trade unions, in the ranks of the people, for democracy, for socialist perspectives.

Bonn's eastern policy: substance and illusions

GERHARD KEGEL

Imperialism can derive but little comfort from the way the world balance of forces is shaping out. The United States is bogged down in a hopeless aggressive war in Vietnam. Protest and racial hatred are rife in American cities. The capitalist currency system, based on the U.S. dollar and sterling, is in a feverish state. This year, for the first time in history, money markets in several capitalist countries suspended dealings in dollars and pounds. The illusion so assiduously spread by bourgeois politicians that permanent and controlled inflation can ward off economic crises, has collapsed.

NATO and the European Economic Community are both afflicted with crisis fever. Imperialist contradictions come to the surface more frequently. Israel's war against the Arabs has not produced the results the imperialists expected and hoped for. Two NATO countries, Greece, now under a fascist regime, and Turkey, were on the verge of war. France was the scene of powerful class collisions. Youth and student ferment seems to be a built-in feature of the situation in France, West Germany and in other capitalist countries.

More examples could be cited of imperialism's instability and of the continued deepening of capitalism's general crisis.

In these circumstances the imperialists would like nothing better than a chance to mount an offensive, even if on one sector of the front, to shore up their positions. This is having its impact on imperialism's global strategy.

EUROPEAN VARIANT

And the term global strategy encompasses a wide range of methods employed by U.S. imperialism in its ideological, poli-

tical, military and economic campaign against the socialist forces and progressive movements in every part of the world. U.S. imperialism is endeavoring to maintain and extend its world positions, to arrest the steady advance of socialism, halt the national and social liberation movements and, if possible, cancel out the progressive changes that have taken place in the world, including the new international alignment in favor of socialism. Such is America's global strategy, which, it would seem, it is determined to carry through at any cost. Its methods are, first and foremost, intervention and counter-revolution directed against all the socialist and other anti-imperialist and democratic forces. The means employed vary—from barbarous aggression against the Vietnamese to new tactics in relation to the European socialist countries, known in U.S. imperialist parlance as the "policy of wooing Eastern Europe" or "bridge building."

The change-over to this differentiated policy, resulting from the new balance of world forces in favor of socialism, was first suggested by the late U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Towards the end of his life he had come to realize that his policy of "rolling back" socialism in Europe by armed force stood no chance of success.

Accordingly, American imperialist policy was reoriented. Of course, it still allows for military conflicts that do not entail too dangerous a risk: U.S. imperialism grossly miscalculated when it launched the aggression in Vietnam.

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The change-over to this differentiated policy, resulting from the new balance of world forces in favor of socialism, was first suggested by the late U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Towards the end of his life he had come to realize that his policy of "rolling back" socialism in Europe by armed force stood no chance of success.

Accordingly, American imperialist policy was reoriented. Of course, it still allows for military conflicts that do not entail too dangerous a risk: U.S. imperialism grossly miscalculated when it launched the aggression in Vietnam.

Where it believes that engineering a conflict is too risky, where it does not venture to intervene directly, it tries to get its allies to fight its wars. This was demonstrated in the Middle East, but the

Israeli aggression against the Arabs has been anything but a success for Washington's global strategy.

Lastly, in areas where the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact can crush any military aggression (for instance, in Europe), the U.S. and West Germany have cooperated in elaborating a "new Eastern policy." Its core is psychological warfare, systematic efforts to corrode the socialist countries, though this does not preclude support of attempts to destroy the socialist system by violence. Imperialism, in fact, uses violence even against bourgeois-democratic rights, as graphically demonstrated by the military-fascist coup in Greece. The purpose of these differentiated methods, whether in Vietnam, the Middle East or in Europe, is one and the same, namely, to retain and expand imperialist domination and exploitation by all means.

In an article headed "The Third Round," in the October 1963 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Walt W. Rostow, a top Washington advisor, referred to the German problem as the crucial factor of U.S. foreign policy. If this problem is to be solved in the interests of imperialism, if it is to help weaken the socialist positions in Europe, the United States must "be patient" in its strategy and tactics. At the same time it should permit restricted cooperation and continuation of the arms drive, but use flexible tactics, through economic and other measures, to sow discord and division in the socialist camp.

The U.S. government once held that socialism in Europe could be hurled back by frontal attack, by "liberating" the smaller socialist countries, severing them from the USSR and thereby isolating the latter. Now it is trying to achieve the same end by more flexible tactics which, at any rate in the initial stages, would preclude a military collision with the Soviet Union.

In other words, the aims are the same but the methods differ. Now the idea is to employ a combination of political sabotage, economic enticement and cold-war technique. In Europe, these new "flexible tactics" extend all the way from armed frontier provocations to economic aid, from cloak and dagger to the kiss of death.

Reorientation of U.S. policy has produced the theory of limited wars, that is, wars which, the U.S. imperialists think, will not lead to a world thermonuclear conflict. The theory was taken over by the West German revenge strategists and adapted to

their purposes. That was confirmed this March by General Thilo, Commander of the Second Bundeswehr Corps, and notorious for his crimes in South-East Europe in World War II.

He blandly told the Munich press club: "A Vietnam-type limited war in Europe is not unrealistic." That, too, is a component of the "new Eastern policy."

Walt Rostow suggests that West Germany should wait for the opportune moment to achieve its aims without running a fatal risk. There have been similar statements from leading West German politicians, Strauss, Kiesinger, Brandt and others. But the methods of this flexible Eastern policy have found their clearest formulation in the statements of Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, Washington's top anti-Communist expert. Writing in the West-German *Blaetter fuer deutsche und internationale Politik*, Bernd Hartmann rightly remarks that in formulating the "new Eastern policy" Bonn has borrowed much from Brzezinski. The same applies to Barzel, an outspoken Christian-Democrat revanchist, Social-Democratic Foreign Minister Brandt, Strauss, Baron von Guttenberg both with nazi leanings, and Bonn's own anti-Communist expert, Professor Mehnert.

It is therefore only proper to dissect some of Brzezinski's theories.

His strategy and tactics, devised on the instructions of two U.S. Presidents, are expressly directed against the European socialist countries. The purpose is to isolate and destroy the socialist German Democratic Republic, disorient and split the socialist countries, sever Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia from the Soviet Union and, gradually, bring them closer to the European capitalist bloc with a view to their final integration.

Brzezinski made a thorough study of these countries, concentrating on what, in his opinion, could incite certain groups of the population, and eventually the whole country, against the USSR.

His main lever—and it has been taken up by all the West German revanchists—is petty-bourgeois nationalism, which has not yet been finally overcome in the socialist countries. The authors of the new Eastern policy are not at all disturbed by the fact that they denounce nationalism as obsolete in relations between capitalist countries, notably the U.S. and West Germany, but vigorously promote national narrow-mindedness in the socialist countries, using hoary anti-communist arguments to en-

courage and inflate petty-bourgeois national prejudices.

Brzezinski relies heavily also on "de-ideologizing" relations between the imperialist and the socialist states. He does not, of course, suggest that the imperialists stop injecting their own inhuman ideology. No, the people and governments of the socialist countries should, in the course of the "de-ideologization" process, forget about class struggle, of which the confrontation between the imperialist states and the socialist community is a vital element. "De-ideologization" is a misnomer for attempts ideologically to disarm and weaken the socialist countries, thereby helping imperialism reverse the balance of world forces.

That, too, is the object of the "convergence" theory, of which Professor Brzezinski is a fervent advocate. There is no point in fighting for socialism, (according to this theory), or in trying to abolish capitalism. In both cases, the Professor tells us, we are knocking at an open door. For the United States has absolutely no objection to communism, though it is not ready to accept "totalitarian communism." Furthermore, ours is not the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, but rather of transition from the 'industrial to the technochronic era.' If we were to follow Brzezinski's logic, we would have to accept that there was no transition from feudalism to capitalism, merely transition from the agrarian to the industrial era without any ideological or class struggle. The only country that has entered the "technochronic era," the professor maintains, is the United States, and any nation that wants to make progress must look to the U.S. for guidance. Marxism-Leninism, Communism, Communist and Socialist parties, the class struggle, the working class, the capitalist class—these, Brzezinski tells us, belong to a distant past and play no part whatever today. Indeed, the professor is sure that communism has long been dead.

All these professorial disquisitions are designed for those people in the socialist countries who are not conversant with Marxism-Leninism and are under the sway of a petty-bourgeois philosophy. Such people comprise a section of the population that is ready to accept bourgeois ideology and can be exploited to help penetrate the socialist countries and prepare the ground for counter-revolution.

Brzezinski openly calls for the destruction of socialism in the GDR and its aboli-

tion as a state. More, he tells the West-German revanchist leaders how this can be achieved.

Aware that Bonn's revanchist policy conflicts with his own policy of wooing the socialist countries, he advises Bonn to at least waive its demand for revision of the Oder-Neisse boundary and declare the Munich *diktat* invalid from the outset. This, he thinks, would help U.S. and West German imperialism infiltrate Poland and Czechoslovakia. And some West German politicians, disappointed by the futility of their "new Eastern policy" are inclined to follow his advice. Needless to say, they have no intention of dissociating themselves from Bonn's revanchist aspirations. For them it is only a matter of a tactical maneuver, as was recently made clear by Social-Democrat Foreign Minister Brandt.

EASTERN POLICY AND IMPERIALIST TRADITIONS

The originator of Bonn's "flexible Eastern policy" is Professor Grewe. Grewe, like the present Federal Chancellor, Kiesinger, was a confidante of Ribbentrop; his assignment was to produce legal, moral and political justification for Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. He drew up the principles of the new policy in the days of the Erhard administration, and the then Foreign Minister, Schroeder, tried to put them into effect.

Roughly, Grewe's reasoning went something like this: the nuclear powers are anxious to avoid a nuclear war, but that should not be taken to mean that there will be no war, or that the menace of war will cease to be a political weapon. But, Grewe argued, though the nuclear balance inhibits the nuclear powers, medium-sized states still have a wide margin of action.

Decoded, this means that a medium-sized state, the German Federal Republic, say, or a small but strongly armed state like Israel, can go much farther than the United States, for all its nuclear capability, in provocation, border conflicts, outright aggression, or aggressive revanchist policy. For the nuclear powers keep close watch on each other. Accordingly, Bonn should see to it that military aggression against the German Democratic Republic is regarded not as an act of war—which would immediately bring in the members of the two alliances—but merely as a police action. Bonn's claim to represent the whole of Germany could be the "legal basis" for

this type of restricted war. As for Poland and Czechoslovakia, Bonn could always fall back on its claim to parts of their territory. And let it be added that in its "new" policy Bonn clings to that claim just as tenaciously as to its claim to speak for the whole of Germany. The new Eastern policy is supposed to achieve mutual understanding, but only on the prior condition that the socialist countries will ignore Bonn's revanchist aims.

There are other elements in Grewe's Eastern policy. Inasmuch as, in this age of nuclear weapons, one must be careful to avoid hot wars, it is especially important to intensify the cold war. And for Grewe cold-war methods include military alliances, recruitment of non-aligned countries, economic aid, intimidation, propaganda, infiltration, coups, and a long catalogue of subversive activity.

Grewe considers propaganda an effective means of weakening the enemy (i.e., the socialist states) by demoralizing its population, supporting and assisting subversion, undermining the prestige of the socialist countries in the eyes of world public opinion, and so on. It will thus be seen that Grewe had elaborated all the basic elements of Bonn's new Eastern policy and in this respect can justifiably claim priority over Kiesinger and Brandt. Schroeder tried to apply the Grewe principles but without success. After the demise of the Erhard government, the men of the West German monopolies evidently came to the conclusion that the new Eastern policy would stand a better chance of acceptance if laced with a nebulous Social-Democratic ideology and presented by a top-ranking Social-Democrat, rather than by the erstwhile Nazi diplomat and SS man Schroeder.

And so the assignment went to Brandt. Briefing him in July 1967, Christian-Democrat Minister von Hassel said: "The Federal Government's desire for understanding with our Eastern neighbors does not imply a basic change in Eastern policy, only its re-statement in new terms and with new accents."

This was amplified a year later by Kiesinger at a Christian-Democrat rally in Munich. The Federal Chancellor announced that his government was resolved to change the status quo and would never "surrender" to existing European realities.

Shortly before his appointment to the chancellorship, Kiesinger set out Bonn's demands in an article contributed to the *Suedostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter* (No.

1, 1966), a publication of the so-called South-East German Cultural Union. "The aim towards which we should work," he wrote, "is to strengthen the West, secure the return of the severed German, Slav, Hungarian and Rumanian territories through peaceful political methods." And Kiesinger has not abandoned that imperialist and expansionist illusion. Nor has his Finance Minister Franz Josef Strauss. In his book, *Project for Europe*, Strauss outlined a comprehensive strategy for a "European world power" controlled by the West German imperialists and militarists and extending from the Atlantic to the Black Sea.

The Social-Democrat ministers have taken on the job of lending to Bonn's expansionist Eastern policy a camouflage of detente by adding Social-Democrat phraseology and invoking the progressive role of their party in the days of Bismarck. Hence we find Brandt touring the world at the behest of Kiesinger and Strauss to tell all and sundry that West Germany is not committed to a policy of revenge and rearmament, that there is no neo-nazism, that the emergency laws are not designed to prepare the ground for revenge—in short, that all Bonn wants is peace, detente and friendship. What is more, in his press articles and in statements Herr Brandt hints at proposals to the GDR for mutual respect of frontiers and renunciation of the use of force in their relations. Actually, Bonn has never made any such proposals.

Meanwhile, the Strauss-Kiesinger government is making it abundantly clear, through its official representatives, that it has no intention of renouncing any of its revanchist demands—the claim to speak for the whole of Germany, boundary revision, nuclear weapons. Even Bonn's allies do not venture to suggest that giving Hitler generals and revanchist politicians direct or indirect control of nuclear weapons would contribute to European security. And so that it should never enter the head of anyone in West Germany that the government is really anxious for a detente; all the revanchist organizations, the neo-Nazi party, prominent Christian-Democrat and Social-Democrat politicians and, of course, Strauss and his Christian-Social Union, have been stoking up revanchist sentiment, with the knowledge and the support of the government. We have only to recall a speech delivered in June by Dr. Becher, the Sudeten-German leader who demanded that Czechoslovakia return the factories to their former Sudeten-German owners.

While Brandt, in his capacity of Foreign Minister, assures everyone that the Federal Republic has no territorial claims on Czechoslovakia, his cabinet colleagues are demanding publication of a memorandum drawn up by West German lawyers purporting to prove—of all things—that the Czechoslovaks are themselves to blame for the partition of their country in 1938. According to this document, the seizure of Czechoslovak territory under the Munich pact was not annexation, but “belated application of the national principle.” Germany’s sovereign rights to the Sudeten area, the document says, are based on a multilateral act and can not be abolished by a unilateral act.

Brandt deplores the fact that the GDR, the Soviet Union, Poland and the other socialist countries see the new Eastern policy merely as a cover for the old policy. But his colleague, Strauss, in *Project for Europe*, urges using “cultural and economic ties, tourism, sport exchanges and other appropriate means” to draw the peoples of Eastern and Southeastern Europe closer to the capitalist West. Brandt speaks of economic aid to the socialist countries, and Strauss reveals its real purpose: “Economic cooperation should not help strengthening the communist regimes. It should be tied to definite projects designed to bring these countries closer to the West than to the East. The communist regimes should be eliminated gradually, a process we should aid and abet.”

And with the same engaging frankness Strauss writes in the official *Aussenpolitik*: “We should use all modern propaganda techniques to inject our ideas into the public mind in the communist countries to achieve a psychological effect . . . and make their peoples willing or unwitting vehicles of Western ideas, and cultivate a feeling of general dissatisfaction as the precondition for internal change and non-violent revolution. There are compelling reasons, and good opportunities, for such a western psychological war.”

Kiesinger made some revealing additions to Brandt’s talk about a detente.

Addressing a conference of the Christian-Democrat Union in Exile earlier this year he said there was no predicting how long it would take for the Bonn image of Germany, i.e., within the 1937 boundaries, to become a reality. But, he added, obviously alluding to the Israeli attack on the Arab states, “History is much more imaginative than any of us or all of us. We

should therefore be prepared for a solution to come sooner than we hope. And when it comes all we need do is to act in accordance with the requirements of the world situation.” He was even more specific in relation to the German Democratic Republic: “We want to localize and eventually cure the disease (socialism in Germany and the German socialist state—G.K.) by patient therapy. Such is our will.”

Not long ago Brandt told the Austrian Foreign Policy Society in Vienna that the Federal Republic had no territorial claims (cf. Federal Government Press and Information Bulletin, June 12, 1968). Apparently he meant—and this follows from the tenor of his statement—that Bonn would have no territorial claims beyond the 1937 frontiers, at least for the time being. But he was speaking deliberately in vague terms calculated to create the impression among the credulous and ill-informed that Bonn was prepared to accept the existing boundaries.

Addressing the Social-Democratic congress, Brandt spoke about “recognizing or respecting the Oder-Neisse frontier pending a peace treaty.” A few days later he declared there could be no renouncing any of the “legal aspects,” including the 1937 frontier claim.

In a recent speech to the People’s Chamber, Walter Ulbricht pointed to the similarity between the central elements of Bonn’s (and Brandt’s) “new” policy and the Locarno policy of the then Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann. Ulbricht showed that Bonn’s present eastern policy was a new edition of Locarno.

After their defeat in World War I, the German imperialists resorted to subtle tactics in their efforts to restore the 1914 boundaries. They preached mutual understanding and detente, tried to lull other states into a feeling of security, made token concessions to the Western powers, but always left the door open for expansion in the east. A cardinal element of that policy was the Locarno Treaty. Germany, Stresemann told the Western powers, did not insist on border revision; in fact, she was working for reconciliation, cooperation, non-aggression, and similar noble aims. This was attended by a spate of statements—none committing Germany to anything concrete—calculated to reassure her northern and eastern neighbors. She concluded arbitration agreements in which the frontier prob-

lem, the key to security, was deliberately, and adroitly, by-passed.

And so, Stresemann was at pains to emphasize his government's peaceful intentions towards East and West. But in private confidential conversations he struck a different tone.

Shortly after the Locarno Treaty, on November 22, 1925, he made a confidential speech at a meeting of the Executive of the German People's Party. The verbatim report of his address has now been published.

Explaining the implications of Locarno, Stresemann said:

"Let us take the question of regaining Germany's eastern territories. Of course, the League of Nations will not put the matter to a vote—should or should not Poland return the Corridor. The Corridor issue is merely a lever we can use at an opportune moment: everything else will be determined by the overall world situation. But the fact that there is such a lever and that, at the right time, we can demand the return of the Corridor, is of the utmost importance. But what if Poland should find herself in difficulties? What was the position of the German eastern lands prior to Locarno and after Locarno? Had we ventured to take action against Poland prior to Locarno the French alliance would have functioned automatically and the French army would have crossed the Rhine. Germany would have been doomed to inaction. But let us look at the picture now, after Locarno. Should a situation arise obliging Europe to come to the aid of Poland in one way or another, the fact that Germany has good and cordial relations with the world powers who will decide this question, will be of crucial importance."

Stresemann remarked that in his efforts to restore the country to its 1914 boundaries he had to "dampen the ardor of the rebellious Right." Brandt and Kiesinger often tell the representatives of socialist countries that they should regard Bonn's eastern policy favorably, otherwise there could be a turn to the Right in West Germany. That, too, is a maneuver borrowed from Stresemann.

And also this passage from Stresemann's secret speech: "What is the position in regard to our northern frontiers? Denmark has suggested an arbitration treaty. In negotiating it we shall follow the same principle as in the arbitration treaties with our eastern and south-eastern neighbors, namely, that it must not contain or imply

recognition of frontiers or preclude the possibility of war." The link between Stresemann's policy which Brandt approves, and the Eastern policy of the present Bonn government is obvious.

What is more, Brandt has taken over Stresemann's tactics. Speaking in Mainz on May 10, on the occasion of Stresemann's 90th birthday, he cited passages from the secret speech and expressed his full agreement with the Stresemann policy, adding, however, that Stresemann's reservations about the East did not imply the use of force. Proof of that, he said, is "contained in the arbitration treaties with Germany concluded not only with France and Belgium, but also with Poland and Czechoslovakia."

That formula is further proof that Brandt is deliberately trying to mislead European opinion about the real aims of the Bonn coalition government. For Stresemann said the very opposite—he was always careful to maintain the demand for boundary revision in Eastern and Northern Europe as a lever in unleashing German imperialist aggression. Similarly, the Bonn Government and its present Foreign Minister, Herr Brandt, speak of the non-use of force but carefully bypass revanchist demands—a lever to be used whenever they believe the time to be ripe.

As Walter Ulbricht pointed out, Stresemann's part in producing this "lever" to unleash aggression against Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland played into the hands of Hitler who used it to unleash world war.

The march of world events clearly shows up the hollowness of West Germany's Eastern policy.

But the Bonn revenge faction and their Social-Democrat Foreign Minister obstinately refuse to learn from history. That is evident from Kiesinger's recent policy statement to the Bundestag and from the debates — actually a display of shadow boxing—that followed. Kiesinger said that the present Eastern policy would be continued, and much more aggressively.

In short, the revanchist policy and Brandt's maneuvers will be operated on a much larger scale and supported by more arms building. That applies in particular to the unlawful and absolutely unrealistic claim to speak for the whole of Germany, with all the dangers this holds out to European peace and security.

And yet it should be crystal clear that attempts to attain these revenge aims can

but lead to war. The Social-Democrat Ministers, and Kiesinger himself, affirm that they do not want war. But the demand to extend Bonn's sphere of domination, with all its militarist and imperialist implications, to the German Democratic Republic and the demand for a return to the 1937 frontiers, not to mention other demands, are the highway to war.

At any rate, we should act on the premise that in operating this "flexible" and "new" Eastern policy Bonn does not preclude recourse to the threat of war and to the reality of war. And it does so in the hope that, with the cover and active support of the United States, German imperialism will fare much better than it did in World Wars I and II. Direct or indirect control of nuclear weapons, possibly within the framework of a West European military alliance, should, Bonn thinks, give it a much better chance.

Anyone who wishes to dig down to the real purpose of Bonn's Eastern policy, or to see through the maneuvers that are part of it, should compare Bonn's professions of peace with the basic elements of its policy of revenge. And this should lead one to ask:

Is Bonn ready to accept the Oder-Neisse line and the frontier between the GDR and the West German Federal Republic? Yes or No? If the answer is No, then how can

there be any talk of Bonn relinquishing its policy of revenge.

Is Bonn prepared to proclaim the Munich *diktat* null and void from the very outset? Yes or No? If the answer is No, then how can there be any talk of Bonn abandoning its revenge aspirations towards Czechoslovakia.

Is Bonn prepared to give up its claim to speak for the whole of Germany and abandon the Hallstein doctrine? Yes or No? If the answer is No, then how can one talk about Bonn abandoning its revanchist policy.

Is Bonn prepared honestly to renounce all claims to nuclear weapons and join a European atom-free zone? Yes or No? If the answer is No, then how can one talk about Bonn abandoning its revanchist policy.

The socialist countries and their peoples cannot afford to allow the exponents of Bonn's Eastern policy to maneuver and resort to Social-Democrat double-talk in order to avoid a clear "yes" or "no" answer. On the issue of detente and the elimination of potential war centers we can accept only an unambiguous "yes." Any attempt by the Bonn politicians to juggle with meaningless phrases, as Brandt has been doing, can only be interpreted as an unambiguous "yes" to the old revanchist policy of German imperialism.

Problems facing Latin American intellectuals

V. TEITELBOIM

Fresh flareups of the student movement are reported in a number of Latin American countries. Mexico is going through the biggest and most turbulent student revolt in decades, involving the bulk of the student body. There have been many casualties, some in the fight for civil rights and freedoms, and not merely for purely student demands. The students are giving voice to the thoughts and aspirations of most Latin Americans. Filled with heroism, prepared to meet all odds, they have demonstrated their civic maturity and have written a glorious page in their country's history. Indeed, they have generated qualitative changes in Mexican politics.

Nor is Mexico the only example. No Latin American country is exempt from this student ferment and from the demonstrations that are part of it. In Uruguay the students are standing shoulder to shoulder with the workers in a struggle that has already taken the lives of many young people. Chilean students are fighting a battle which has already injected a new permanent factor into Latin American life. I have in mind the political awakening of university professors and researchers who have now joined the movement for university reform, the origins of which go back to the events in the Argentine University of Cordova half a century ago. They are guided by the credo: the scientist should always face realities, serve his people and work for social change. The movement is assuming wide dimensions.

There is also this important feature: the university, traditionally a center of culture, a classical "factory" producing trained cadres for the ruling classes, is now being drawn into political activity, becoming part of the militant popular movement for fun-

damental change. And many faculty members, now matching the revolutionary word with the revolutionary deed, see their future in socialism and are joining the Communist Party.

GROWTH OF SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS

The growth of socialist consciousness is not a simple or direct process. Many intellectuals go through what could be described as a preparatory stage. For some it is passive non-conformism, for others it is outright revolt, and there are ample causes for both. Discussing the position of Latin American writers, the Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa emphasizes: "American reality naturally provides numerous reasons for writers' dissatisfaction and disobedience. For we live in a society of injustice, ignorance, exploitation, crying inequality, misery, moral, cultural and economic alienation . . ." This harsh diagnosis comes from a non-Communist, but Llosa has a clear understanding of the future. He draws the material for his novels from life, and suggests that other writers "reveal, directly or obliquely, through the portrayal of events, eye-witness accounts, even dreams, fantasies, allegories and nightmares, that this reality is a 'shabby concoction' and has to be changed." In other words, like many of his colleagues, Llosa is passing from depiction of a collective tragedy to an appeal for action to strike at its roots. His books are part of revolutionary reality, they are revolutionary weapons. His understanding of the historical perspective has convinced him that "in 10, 20 or 50 years the time will come for our countries, as it already has for

Cuba, to live in social justice—the time when the whole of America will break free of the empire that is robbing it, will be free of the oligarchy that is exploiting it, will be rid of the forces that are humiliating and oppressing it.” And he clearly states that the only solution—the only realistic and possible one—is “for Latin America to acquire, as soon as possible, a feeling of dignity and begin a new life in socialism that would liberate us from the horrors of our present anachronistic situation . . .”

Another writer, known for his shrewd understanding of the Latin American spirit and psychology, Julio Cortazar of Argentina, sums up his own career in these words: “. . . I have always accepted socialism as desirable and even necessary, but now I have come to the view that it is *the only modern doctrine based on humanism, on the elementary ethics* that are so grossly ignored in the society in which we live. *Socialism is founded on the simple, and at the same time incredibly complex, principle that humanity will only justify that name when it puts an end to exploitation of man by man* . . . And ever since I came to understand this vital fact of the human existence, the search for socialism has become my life’s duty and mission.”

This duty and mission, with all the moral responsibility and urge to action entailed thereby, have led many Latin American intellectuals to take a critical view of their position—they have had enough of the rhetoric and lies designed to conceal injustice. And many are abandoning their ivory towers, casting aside ingrained myths about the artist living in a world of his own. They have no desire to squander their talent in “smoke-filled cafes or old-world taverns.” Latin America, they believe, must cease to be a vast spiritual backwoods and advance to emancipation and unity. And to contribute to that, they are joining with the people, participating in the revolutionary movement which, they feel, will assure full development of national culture and furnish the conditions for absorbing all the achievements of world culture.

THE INFLUENCE OF MARXISM AND OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The vanguard of the young working class and the intellectuals associated with it were the first to appreciate that independence, political emancipation, economic

development and a flourishing national culture that serves the people could be attained only through revolution. This new approach was the result of the penetration of Marxism in the latter part of the 19th century. However, Marxism came to Latin America not as a mature and practical doctrine, but rather as an ideology absorbed, avidly but slowly, by the young proletariat and its intellectual allies. One of the latter, the Chilean historian Benjamin Vicuna Mackenna, wrote in 1870 that the founding of the International was in itself a revolution, a big advance towards socialism, the harbinger of a revolution that will confront the exploiters with the organized workers who will deliver the knockout blow to the entire system of exploitation.

When the people won power in Russia two intellectuals, Jose Ingenieros of Argentina and Lima Barreto of Brazil, spoke with praise of the “maximalists” then the common appellation for the Bolshevik Party. Political organizations were started in various parts of the continent, soon followed by the emergence of Communist parties. Some of them were the result of a split in the old Socialist parties, others the result of a majority decision to convert the parties to communism.

Ever since then Marxism has exerted a growing influence on our intellectuals. They recognized that the old social system and the old way of life were living out their day. Subsequent developments were to confirm this prevision, for socialism became the dominant system on one-third of the earth’s surface, and most colonial nations were breaking out of imperialist control. Intellectuals began to realize that revolution was on the agenda: Cuba was the first to blaze the trail into the future.

Latin Americans saw the triumph of socialist revolution in a large part of the world. Today they witness another revolution, in technology, though it nearly always comes to Latin America as an imported commodity. The mass media have brought our people into direct contact with the rest of the world, something quite impossible in the early years of the century. The Latin American of today is in much closer and more direct touch with, and more directly affected by, world issues. In short, the Latin American intellectual of this closing third of a century is a much more active citizen of our age of storm and change, and he is fully aware that *finis* can be written to the continent’s drama—its economic backwardness and poverty—only by de-

posing the ruling oligarchy and—more important still—breaking the stranglehold of American imperialism. And U.S. imperialism keeps close watch on Latin America, that inexhaustible source of valuable and cheap raw materials and Washington's military and political hinterland. Washington is very much concerned over what happens in this southern hinterland. It regards our countries with the same distrust as Rome regarded the dangerous and resentful outer marches of its empire. Now more than ever before, Washington fears a Latin American revolt, involving both workers and intellectuals. Marti and Rodo, the great 19th century thinkers, warned of U.S. attempts to "swallow" Latin America. Intensified plunder of our continent since then has intensified anti-imperialist sentiment among our intellectuals.

U.S. imperialism hates our intellectuals because they so effectively expose its policies. And the U.S. has sought to neutralize the intelligentsia or buy it over with dollar sops, and in some instances it has succeeded. The imperialists are also trying to impose university control.

There is admiration for those Americans who have come out against the rulers in Washington, solidarity with the Negroes, student and youth protesters, all who demand withdrawal of the U.S. aggressors from Vietnam. But our intellectuals are not falling into the trap set by the imperialist machine.

THE STUDENTS

In Latin America, as elsewhere in the world, the very concept of the intellectual has undergone radical change. We know that the technological revolution influences not only engineers and technicians, but also people in the realms of art and literature, and, of course, the university students.

In our countries students with working-class or peasant backgrounds are a rarity. The educational pyramid has a very broad base, the mass of illiterate or semi-literate people who at most can boast of two years' schooling. At the apex are the universities, accessible only to a small middle-class minority. Yet despite its class character, and the fact that university education is a costly privilege, many students are affected by the conflicts that are part of our time. Some are depressed by lack of personal and direct contact with production, though many of them do not have to work their way through college. And yet we find the

students sharing in the intellectual revolt, protesting against social injustice and the spiritual paucity of the world they live in. They are aware of the need, sometimes consciously, sometimes spontaneously, to change the existing system and way of life. Some never go beyond youthful extremism or nihilist and anarchist attitudes, or are content to assert their rights as a generation. But many accept Marxism-Leninism and see their future in inseparable ties with the working class. They join the ranks of the revolution, unhesitatingly and permanently.

In Chile as in other Latin American countries, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League draw their members from mines, factories and farms, but a sizable segment comes from the universities, and nearly always at the height of the struggle. Without overlooking other important aspects of the new situation, we should devote special attention to the fact that our cities, swollen by the influx of peasants, have become the scene of anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary youth actions. You will find a youth demonstration jeering Nixon, or burning an effigy of Uncle Sam, or pulling down the Stars and Stripes. Mass participation, courage and militancy are distinguishing features of these demonstrations. In many instances they are conducted jointly with workers. The youth has an inexhaustible fund of enthusiasm and, if applied in support of the popular movement, it becomes a viable revolutionary factor.

Ideological controversy and discussion are, doubtlessly, a distinctive feature of political life today. No party, no student group, and no intellectual can shy away from these discussions, from the need to take a clear stand on vital issues. And on the most vital issue of all, the Latin American revolution, we have a wide range of strategic and tactical concepts. Revolution is central to all the discussions, which also touch on the problems of the world Communist movement, new trends in the arts, literature and philosophy, the continent's cultural future and, needless to say, politics and economics. In fact all facets of the superstructure have become the subject of spirited debate.

For we are living in a period of dialogue and confrontation of attitudes. Far from shunning discussions, the Chilean Communists take an active part in them, seeking answers from class positions and in conformity with their ideological principles

to many of the questions presently agitating the people.

In every Latin American country the spirit of criticism pervades all ideological discussion. There is a constant search for solutions to the problems of our countries and the world. And still another feature—the keen interest in contacts, exchange of views and experience, the urge to understand oneself and one's place in the general scheme of things. In short, the interests of the present-day Latin American go far beyond his country and continent.

THE LATIN AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS

The intelligentsia is becoming an ever wider social strata. Of course, within this strata there is a wide divergence of ideological trends and shades and this necessitates diversified ideological work. In some countries professionals are held in high esteem, their numbers are growing and there appears to be a clear division into differing categories, especially with the emergence of new professionals.

However, the position in education is anything but satisfactory. The number of university and college students is less than one per cent of the continent's gainfully employed population. People with specialized secondary-school training make up less than three per cent, with more than two-thirds of them either school teachers or bookkeepers. "Intellectualization" of manual labor has been a slow and tortuous process. According to some estimates, less than 10 per cent of the continent's 54 million workers and artisans are classified as skilled, and 35 million have had no training whatever. In agriculture, barely 0.1 per cent have higher or secondary training, and 80 per cent are classed as unskilled.

Little more than one million of the continent's 250 million inhabitants have had a complete or partial university education; 30 million have had three years schooling, and 37 million less than three years. Out of 8.7 million with secondary school education, 4.7 million did not take the full course, and only 1.8 million can boast of a secondary technical education, in many cases incomplete. For workers and artisans the figure is a mere five per cent. Even among executive personnel only 10 per cent are college graduates.

Nor is that the whole picture, for we have to take into account the quality of the education. And in this respect Latin

America is behind, particularly in research, applied science and technology. There is a widespread demand for gearing education to national requirements, and for university reform. The Chilean Communist Party has been championing these demands and this has gained for it considerable prestige: prominent Party members have been elected to executive positions in higher education, something quite new in Chile.

In working for educational reform, we should not lose sight of our ultimate goal of changing the social system, which would make it possible to work out fundamental solutions for all our educational problems. But we should always be in touch with reality, always be mindful of the needs of today and tomorrow. We must assume responsibility for the future of education, a problem that brooks no delay in view of the population explosion—by 1980 the continent's gainfully employed population will have increased to an estimated 120 million. This will mean a larger number of industrial workers and more university graduates—official and conservative estimates speak of an increase of 70 per cent. But in tackling these problems we shall have to contend with the existing system, which is obstructing and hampering educational expansion. If it proceeds at the present pace the gap between economic and educational development, and the gap between Latin America and other capitalist (not to mention socialist) countries will be wider still, unless, of course, there are fundamental structural changes.

The sole exception, the one bright spot in the bleak picture is Cuba. Cuba has made significant progress in elementary education and in other areas, provides grants for most students, is rapidly abolishing adult illiteracy. Cuba shows what socialism can do in a continent where more than 50 million adults are unable to read or write, where half the child population does not attend school, and of those who do attend only one in five finishes the course; adults average no more than one year of school, more than half of the school teachers lack adequate training. And also these figures: children in the 5-14-year age group make up approximately 25 per cent of the population, whereas in some European countries the proportion is only about 15 per cent. Such are the statistics of the Latin American tragedy.

Far-reaching changes in the allocation of labor are predicted for 1975. Agricultural employment will decline and non-agricul-

tural labor will increase by as much as 58 per cent, with a substantial increase in white-collar workers, in the services and in government employment. A degree of economic expansion is inevitable, accompanied by mechanization both in industry and office work. Progressive reforms will doubtlessly pave the way to rapid development in education, public health, transport and communications, which, in turn, will require larger numbers of white-collar workers. Today, however, their proportion is much smaller than in the industrialized countries.

In 1965 it was no more than 2.7 per cent, compared with 5-10 per cent in the developed countries. There is also a considerable difference in Latin America itself. Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, Chile and some other countries have a comparatively larger proportion of professionals. The figure for Chile is 53,000 university-trained specialists in a population of nine million. The largest group are school teachers (12,000), followed by lawyers (8,500) doctors (5,800) and engineers (4,400). The figures are indicative of the traditional pattern of our society and reflect its economic backwardness and the persistence of 19th century trends. The picture is much the same in many other parts of the continent.

Latin America is experiencing a crisis. Taking place is a general revaluation of values, ideas and customs carried over from earlier generations. The workers are challenging the very existence of capitalism, and many have joined the struggle to replace it by socialism. Similar sentiments are widespread among intellectuals and the more progressive sections of the population. Ideological struggle, clearly on the agenda, is becoming sharper all the time. There is a never-ending discussion of such problems as the generation gap, the role of the youth, the university movement. We Communists regard the latter as an effective and dynamic force and have made it our aim to link it up with the struggle of the working class and the people.

Of course, we do not subscribe to the idea that the generation struggle, and not the class struggle, is the motive force of history. But we are not oblivious to the new forms of the youth movement. True, some of them are highly unconventional and might appear extravagant. But these superficial features should not be allowed to obscure the substance of the movement, its enthusiasm and vigor, youth's eagerness to change the world. And

these, we believe, are not incompatible with the basic task of the revolutionary proletariat or with the leading role of the Communist parties. The latter should do everything to find ways and means of using this youthful energy—at times chaotic, over-emotional and extremist in its manifestations—for united action. In doing so we should warn the youth against the false slogan of "youth power." It should be our job to furnish convincing answers to the vexing problems posed by the present social system, including such problems as family relations, and conflicts which, in an atmosphere of dismay, confusion and disorientation, are apt to reach explosive dimensions. All this makes it imperative to analyze phenomena in various spheres of life and train a new type of intellectual capable of working out solutions to the numerous problems of present-day Latin America.

AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST POSITION

In these circumstances, naturally, work in examining and formulating the corresponding revolutionary tenets and propositions must of necessity cover the most diverse realms of science. At a time when the ideological struggle is being stepped up and with imperialism making repeated attempts to penetrate into all spheres of life and to regain its foothold in the spiritual sphere, we must not lose sight of the need to repel this offensive.

At the Cultural Congress in Havana in January 1968, the process of transition to anti-imperialist action by the vanguard intellectuals of Latin America clearly emerged. The congress likewise revealed the intelligentsia's and the people's heightened awareness of the struggle being waged by the people of Vietnam, their rising anger at the U.S. aggression. The congress continued the splendid militant tradition characteristic of the Latin American intellectual of the past, clarifying the relations between culture and national independence; the moulding of an all-around man; the intellectual's responsibility for the problems of the underdeveloped countries; problems of culture and the mass media. It also discussed questions of art and scientific and technical endeavor in the context of the requirements and reality of Latin America.

The Chilean Communists have to win the hearts and minds of the people over whom the monopolies and imperialists are trying to gain ascendancy through their

propaganda, either brutal or subtle. Also smooth-tongued reformism, and those who sing the praises of the "miraculous" curative properties of the "third way" are trying to do the same. We must not shirk our responsibility for the destiny of the country's literature and art, its scientific and cultural development which must benefit all the people. It would be erroneous to think that we are the only ones acting in this direction. Moving with us are many kindred forces. The balance sheet will show that the contribution made by the Chilean Communists, by their friends and sympathizers and by progressive intellectuals has stimulated the revival of many aspects of Chilean culture, revitalizing literature, the fine arts, music, etc. We contributed also to the rebirth of the country's rich folklore which many had erroneously regarded as dying out. Not only renowned men of culture, but also the mass of creative youth are taking part in the popular movement. Culture has become the concern of the many.

DELICATE MATTER AND FALSE THEORIES

We do not forget the truth that literature and art are an infinitely delicate matter which develop according to their own laws not applicable to other spheres of activity. These laws do not allow for sociological over-simplification, do not tolerate sectarian attitudes. At the same time, we regard literature and art as forms and instruments for exploring the human mind, as instruments of human knowledge, as true expressions of the individual, a people, a country and the world. All this compels us to spurn the temptation to turn our backs on reality and evade the crucial issues.

Our concept of the Communist intellectual working in literature and the arts is that of an active figure who combines his creativity with the social struggle, that is, a creator of two kinds—that of the artist and the revolutionary who creates works of art and, at the same time, the new world in the transition from the twilight of capitalism to socialism.

Of course there are many intellectuals in Latin America who are still confused. Dogged by insecurity, frustration and loneliness, they do not see that the world is moving towards a revolution which has triumphed already on a sizeable part of the globe, and which is fermenting in the

depths of the capitalist system rent by contradictions.

Since the process of writing, painting or music, in a word, the process of creation, is nearly always considered an individual undertaking, some artists incline to subscribe to the "theory of solitude," to proclaim the individualism of their profession. But the fact is that there are few professions that call for such a high degree of synthesis of world developments, of man in his historical setting, of real life.

At times some of the intelligentsia — either because they overestimate their powers, or are adroitly prompted to do so by the ruling class which needs to disguise itself to continue in power—present themselves to public opinion in Latin America as an *exclusive* social group, independent and standing above classes.

The intelligentsia, as we know, being an intermediate social stratum, does not constitute an independent class. It usually performs skilled, but not productive labor. It does not see how its labor is priced on the market, especially in the under-developed countries. Thus, the intelligentsia forms a part of the exploited, a part of the people, particularly in countries like ours, suffocating in the stranglehold of imperialism which fetters their material and spiritual development, in the stranglehold of the feudal survivals and of the oligarchies which impose a virtual dictatorship over the mass media.

And so the intellectual in our society is among those who are subjected to maximum exploitation. His position can be likened to that of the convict. Most of them can devote only their spare hours to their vocation, in many cases secretly, for such activity is scorned as being parasitic, sheer idleness, as a mania—sometimes harmless, sometimes dangerous. Art and culture in Latin America are not considered articles of prime necessity.

Despite this, many intellectuals still entertain all kinds of illusions about their role and place in life. Many of them still slavishly worship the past, subjectively clinging to it in a vain attempt to halt the process of proletarianization. Contributing to their illusions is the fact that their status continues to be ambiguous, being partly petty-bourgeois and partly proletarians, as they pursue their professions. Also contributing to their false concepts is the system which tries in every way to accentuate and extol the individualistic

tendencies of intellectuals. They are flattered, given minor privileges the significance of which is exaggerated, the formal difference with the workers being underscored at the same time.

However, the process of political awakening among people of mental labor is gaining ground. It could not be otherwise, considering that they come face to face with life, with the need to fight for better conditions, or simply to regain their standard of living (and the march of civilization brings with it new requirements which soon become a natural thing and are taken for granted).

In the course of this struggle the intelligentsia gradually begins to use means, weapons and forms of action characteristic of the industrial workers who, being more keenly aware of their position, having more experience and, able to wage an organized and united struggle, are an example for the intelligentsia. Diverse sectors of working people engaged in mental labor (teachers, students, doctors, university professors) are more and more taking to strike action. The lessons of the class war, often bitter ones, the identity of tactics and common needs assimilated and tested in social battles, in the fight for demands, making a political impact and clarifying things, act as a powerful means of combating petty-bourgeois chimeras. This helps to dispel the illusions nurtured and fostered by official propaganda, illusions engendered by the uncertainty that stems from the dual position of the intellectual.

Latin American life itself is mercilessly shattering the myths of those who think they are the "salt of the earth" because they create spiritual values. This reality is telling them in the lucid language of prose that they are working people and that in capitalist society they share the same fate as their "unrecognized" brothers. Like the worker, they do not work for themselves. The intellectual—the creator for whom his work has, as Marx put it, a profound human and spiritual meaning, feels that his labor does not usually provide for his material needs, and that he has to spend the best part of his time and energy in activity distasteful to him. Engaged in this activity he vegetates while enriching others, or spends his days in a civil service with which he is often at odds. His talent is consumed by drudgery in a bureaucratic apparatus. This intellectual is partly engaged in clandestine and unremu-

nerated activity and, although realization of this wounds his pride, he is a semi-proletarian because of the way in which he earns his livelihood. He fully fits Engels's definition of the proletariat in his note to the English edition (1888) of the *Communist Manifesto*: "By proletariat we mean the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live."

Thus, living and suffering day after day in this society, and victims of a reactionary superstructure, growing numbers of intellectuals are arriving at the conclusion that they must give their social answer, must take a definite political stand and begin to act.

Every ruling class wants the intelligentsia to serve its ends. But as history has shown, particularly at crucial moments when preparations for revolution are under way, many intellectuals surmount the barrier of their origin and, displaying real heroism, go over—secretly or openly—to the side of the most advanced revolutionary class. The intelligentsia is an ally of the proletariat and the peasantry. But its role is not simply one of "enlightened" fellow-travellers or learned standard-bearers. It is an indispensable detachment of the army of the people. Its form of struggle is sometimes specific, its weapon nearly always its profession. And it is thanks to this that the clear and resonant voice of those who have dedicated themselves to the liberation struggle is frequently heard on our continent.

THE COMMUNIST POSITION

Our enemies allege that the Communists are opponents of freedom in general, and freedom of creation in particular. Neither the one nor the other is true. In a society that is divided into classes, the individual never has been and never will be free. Although he thinks he is his own master, he is in fact a slave. He lives in definite historical conditions which hamper the attainment of actual freedom. Even more: the individual himself is a split personality. As a consequence of the exploitation of the majority by the minority, of the division of labor, every individual finds himself in a dual position: on the one hand he is an individuality, on the other, a subordinate person tied to a salary, working to be able to subsist and continue working for another. There takes place what Marx des-

cribed as the separation of man as an individual from man as a member of his class, in other words, alienation. Can the person who has to work all his life not in his vocation but to enrich another, consider himself his own master: Can he be said to be free? Hardly. He is the slave of another. Today this kind of slavery is called "freedom" and "Western civilization." It is the Communists who want to destroy the roots of slavery, that is, the regime of class exploitation and enable man to attain freedom, the freedom that is forged in the historical process. The transition from the realm of necessity to that of freedom will be effected essentially through the machine which will perform man's work, releasing his energy and enabling him to give rein to his spiritual abilities, and to enjoy the process of creativity and aesthetic values.

It is also alleged that the Communist Party of Chile will establish a dictatorship over the writer and the artist, will impose on them the subject, style and form of creation they must follow. The charge is an utterly false one. Take, for example, Pablo Neruda. Neruda's creative versatility is infinite. He writes about the celestial and the terrestrial. Along with "An Ode to a 50-Megaton Bomb" he publishes his "Hundred Love Sonnets" and "Extravagario," a book brimming with humor and bold experiments. Neruda is a member of the Central Committee of our Party. The Party does not tell the author what subject he should write on. He decides on this himself, following the dictates of his conscience and what interests him, but ever guided by the desire to create profoundly and to give his maximum.

Our Party wants the Communist artist to be a true artist, comprehensive and profound, ever concerned with the individual, the mass, society. Their aspirations should be his aspirations. Art is not the product of the "absolute spirit," or some "divine revelation," just as it is not a supernatural inspiration. It is the product of human consciousness in the broadest sense of the word; and consciousness in turn can only be conscious being which is the very process of life. Life determines the conscious-

ness, the creativity of the artist. The spiritual complexity of a work of art always reflects a definite historical process, is related to life and the sensibilities of the artist, to his talent or genius. The artist perceives the world and expresses its most important aspects. No talent can create a work of art out of nothing. It is in this sense that the struggle and social experience, opening the door to life to the artist and bringing him closer to the people, inspires his muse.

Our Party does not want a literature or an art made accessible by lowering their quality. Our Party wants the Communist artist to be among the best of the best, to produce works bearing the hall-mark of maturity and depth.

Sometimes—and this is a good and positive thing—the artist feels the need to participate directly in the struggle, using his art as his weapon. That is why Picasso drew his "Dove of Peace," sending it to all corners of the earth, painted his *Guernica*. That is why Neruda is creating perennially topical works, wielding the weapon of true artistic perception. It is to this that we should aspire, to art of the highest calibre.

Our Party has gone far ahead in this respect. When first we joined the Party way back in 1932, it was considered almost a "sin" or a "petty-bourgeois deviation" to engage in writing. The writer or artist pursued his vocation in secret, or gave it up altogether. We have now, fortunately, overcome this absurd sectarian attitude and narrow-mindedness. The Party today regards and appreciates creative work as political activity of prime importance, as the most important work the Communist artist can do. And the writer for his part knows that the Party is proud of his work, that it applauds his creative endeavor. And to those who like to denigrate us, representing us as a band of ignoramuses, we can say: our ranks include—along with the country's finest workers and peasants, finest women and youth—teachers, professionals, artists and writers. They are among the best of the best and, in many cases not only the pride of Chile, but of many, many other countries.

The intelligentsia, true helpers of the Communist Party

(From the experience of the Plovdiv organization,
Bulgarian Communist Party)

KOSTADIN GYAUROV

The technological revolution and the intensified world socialist-capitalist contest have greatly enhanced the role of the intellectuals in socialist society. It expects them to make an increasing contribution to scientific, technological, economic and cultural progress and to play their part in exposing the exploitive substance of modern capitalism.

The Ninth Communist Party Congress (1966) gave an appreciative assessment of Bulgaria's intellectuals, emphasizing their part in raising educational and cultural levels. The congress decisions are of particular importance today, for international reaction would like to turn intellectuals against socialism. The anti-communists, who bank on the disintegration of socialist society, in particular on what they call erosion of the intellectuals, are working on the assumption that the continued advance of socialism is bound to widen the gap between the working class and the intellectuals. Their purpose is to tear the intellectual away from the working class and the Communist Party by plugging the idea that he is part of a social elite.

This reactionary strategy, however, comes up against the objective laws of socialism and the scientifically-grounded policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties. Bulgarian reality shows that, with the growth of socialism the unity of the intelligentsia with the working people becomes stronger, not weaker. This is explained by the socio-economic unity of socialist society and its accompanying process of steady obliteration of differences between mental and

manual labor. There is also the rapid growth in numbers of intellectuals and in the general level of education and culture, as shown in the following figures:

	Number of persons with higher education	%%
1946	55,238	100
1965	173,319	314

	Number of persons with secondary education	%%
1946	276,694	100
1965	898,328	325

The objective laws of socialism do not operate automatically. Their successful application requires active, scientifically-grounded work by the Marxist-Leninist parties, the guiding political force in building socialism.

We are living in a world of sharp class conflict, a world in which the U.S. monopolies are making an all-out effort to win over, or simply buy over, the more talented representatives of modern science and technology, literature and the arts. This is accompanied by ideological and psychological pressure, by ceaseless attacks conducted under the smokescreen of "pure" democracy, "liberalization" — even refurbished anarchist, racist, cosmopolitan and nationalist bourgeois slogans. But whatever the slogan, the purpose is always the same—to instil pessimism, to turn the intellectual against the Marxist-Leninist parties, exploit his patriotism and inculcate the idea that patriotism and socialist internationalism are incompatible.

Ever since its inception the Bulgarian Communist Party has devoted special attention to work among intellectuals. We need only mention the efforts of Dimitr Blagoyev, Vasil Kolarov and other Party leaders.

The Bulgarian intellectual, traditionally progressive, has always played an active part in the fight for national liberation. Heroes of that struggle, men like Khristo Botev, Lyuben Karavelov, Angel Kynchev and many more, shining examples for our people, were an inspiration in the fight against fascism and capitalism.

And thanks to the democratic traditions formed during the years of Bulgaria's Renaissance, which dates back to the 18th century, and to the persevering effort of our Party, the great majority of our intellectuals remained true to the people during the trying years of fascism. The Communist Party owes its influence among the intelligentsia largely to its ability to win over many prominent intellectuals with proletarian and petty-bourgeois backgrounds.

One of the traits of the Bulgarian intellectual—and this applies in particular to Plovdiv, the country's second biggest city—stems from the peculiarities of our historical and cultural development.

The purpose of this article is to acquaint the reader with the tradition, character and orientation of Party work among intellectuals in Plovdiv and the Plovdiv area.

DEMOCRATIC AND REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS

In common with the rest of the country, progressive ideas began to take shape among Plovdiv's intellectuals during the Renaissance. Plovdiv gave the country Botev and Levsky and other leaders of the Renaissance movement. These men brought to Plovdiv an appreciation of our national culture and helped to spread it among the people. Even before liberation from the Turkish yoke, Plovdiv was an important publishing center and for a long time the home of Ivan Vasov, the founder of modern Bulgarian literature. It was here that Zahari Stoyanov began his revolutionary and literary career. Among other famous writers and artists who at one time or another worked in Plovdiv, mention should be made of Konstantin Velichkov, Petko Slaveikov and Angel Bukoreschlijev. Plovdiv prides itself on having been the first city in our country to hold an art exhibi-

tion, the first to found a school of drawing, and the first to establish a professional theatre.

The Plovdiv Communist Party organization reveres the name of Dimitr Blagoyev, the founder of our Party who played a decisive part also in founding the Plovdiv Party organization, and in 1897 he started the Party's theoretical organ, *New Times*. Another name that holds a special place in the history of our Party organization is that of Vasil Kolarov, widely known also for his work in the international Communist movement.

Throughout the 75 years of its existence, the Plovdiv Party organization has always paid special attention to work among the intellectuals. And even in the early days of the movement, the majority of intellectuals sided with the people and actively shared in their struggle. Most of the 1919 Plovdiv Commune leaders were intellectuals, and intellectuals played a conspicuous part in the mass anti-fascist resistance movement and in the socialist revolution. Significantly, 19 per cent of the partisan force operating in the Plovdiv area were professionals and students, and the figure will be bigger still if we count members of Party Committees and of the Youth League who helped the partisans.

After the revolution our intellectuals took up the work of building up the economy and culture and shaping policy. The rapid economic expansion required ever-increasing numbers in the economic, administrative and cultural fields. The April 1956 Central Committee meeting was a definite turning point in training these cadres. These are the relevant figures: in 1956, there were just over 16,000 people with higher and specialized secondary education; in 1967 the figure was 31,568 of whom 9,886 had a higher education. Also this figure: the number of engineers and technicians rose from 4,399 to 10,919 over the same period.

WORK FOR SOCIALISM— THE INTELLECTUAL'S SUPREME DUTY

Socialism offers the intellectual limitless opportunities for creative work under Communist Party leadership.

We are always conscious of the specific nature of mental work, of the intellectual's spiritual interests and of professional and other specificities.

Engineers, technicians and economists make up by far the largest group of pro-

professionals. And upon their work largely depends the success of our economic up-building. The Eighth Party Congress introduced a new system of economic management aimed at more efficient operation, higher profitability and productivity. This new and more democratic economic system, plus better organization at factory level, wider research and critical analysis of results, offers greater opportunities for our engineers, technicians and economists—indeed its success depends on their participation and initiative. Their experience and knowledge have been a major factor in improving factory management, applying new techniques, devising better organizational models, and so on.

Our extensive construction program opens a wide field for *architects and building engineers*. Their imagination and skill have enabled us to find a happy combination of national tradition and modern architecture, to make good use of the Plovdiv landscape and preserve the more valuable ancient buildings in reconstructing the city.

Plovdiv has a reputation also for efficient farming and much of the credit for this must go to our *rural intellectuals*, men and women who are products of the revolution.

They are helping to put agriculture on a still higher level, accelerate technical progress, improve crop structures, and industrialize farming operations.

But there is also this important aspect of their work—the spread of culture and education conducted through rural cultural centers of which there is at least one in every village. And here, too, we can draw on a long-standing democratic tradition, for even before the revolution these local centers or reading-rooms as they were then called, were courses of enlightenment. Now their work has been enlarged to include libraries, amateur art, lectures, music classes, etc. One of the reasons for their popularity is that they preserve and carry forward our rich cultural heritage.

Our rural intelligentsia is helping to erase the difference between town and countryside. In fact, housing conditions in some villages approximate those of our cities, and this explains why migration to the towns is now at a minimum.

Since the revolution Plovdiv has become a major cultural art center, second only to Sofia, the capital.

Art workers fully subscribe to Party policy, and maintain close contact with the

Party committees. We can speak of a new generation of writers, actors, singers and musicians. Frequent visits to villages and factories, some for more or less long periods, keep the artist in touch with the people and enable him the better to understand and depict the men and women building the new society.

Artistic activity has made rapid progress in recent years. This is evident at our annual May festivals, which attract performers from other countries too. The program includes an international festival of chamber music, new plays, Verdi memorial concerts and art exhibitions. And this besides the two annual exhibitions and autumn culture festivals held in connection with the International Trade Fair.

Our music and drama groups are vehicles of aesthetic education, especially among the youth. Working in cooperation with the schools they have in the past two or three years been carrying out a long-range program of popularizing classical and modern music and drama.

The Ninth Party Congress drew up a comprehensive program of cultural work in the countryside. It should be borne in mind that most of our villages have facilities for theatrical performances and symphony concerts, and last year we arranged 159 such performances. The Plovdiv art gallery has arranged exhibitions of its paintings in rural communities, and some villages now have their own art galleries.

Needless to say, this has had a beneficial effect both on the cultural standard of our rural population and on improving the repertoire of our drama groups.

Plovdiv Region is now the country's second biggest scientific center, with five higher educational institutions and seven research institutes.

The number of research workers is now about 900, of whom nearly half are Party members. They have proved of valuable assistance to the regional Party committee, the People's Council, factories and farms, in such matters as industrial concentration and specialization, allocation of manpower, efficient plant operation, etc. Much of this work is done by the voluntary part-time groups sponsored by the Party committee and the local council.

We can record a marked improvement in higher-school instruction, the result, in the main, of measures drawn up by the regional Party committee.

School teachers make up a large group of our intellectuals. They number 7,252,

or 23 per cent of all professionals. More than 71 per cent have had a higher education, and about 30 per cent are Party members.

We make a special point of encouraging internationalist, patriotic and aesthetic education in the schools.

Teachers are active also in public affairs, helping to popularize Party policy, particularly among the farming population, directing village cultural centers and participating in political work.

Plovdiv now has the second largest student population—9,251. Our oldest college was founded 21 years ago, and the youngest only four years ago, so that we cannot speak of any long-standing tradition. However, this has not prevented the students from becoming the militant socialist vanguard of our youth.

They enjoy good facilities—new buildings, hostels and canteens have been opened in recent years; some 40 per cent of all students receive government grants, 41 per cent live in hostels and about 50 per cent get their meals in student canteens. More hostels are under construction. To this should be added the fact that every student can look forward to an interesting and fruitful career, to creative labor side by side with the workers and peasants of his country.

METHODS AND FORMS OF PARTY WORK AMONG INTELLECTUALS

One of the big problems now being tackled by the Party organization is how to differentiate and improve the quality of Party work to accord with the interests of various groups. We are now in a better position to solve this problem because in the past few years we have recruited a large number of young specialists. Out of a total membership of 46,000, 8,560 have had a higher or specialized secondary education. This figure represents about 20 per cent of total Party membership and 27 per cent of our intellectuals. Party organizations are thus in a position more efficiently to deal with economic problems and more closely differentiate their ideological work among intellectuals.

At present, about 70 per cent of full-time Party functionaries are men and women with specialized education—engineers, scientists, teachers, doctors, art workers.

Another problem is how to encourage more initiative among groups of intellectuals and to overcome a formal approach

to economic and cultural problems and to stimulate a higher sense of responsibility among them. Much has been done in this respect in the course of fulfilling the 9th Congress decisions on further democratization of culture, its closer association with the people. In this context, we are employing new organizational forms, such as community, city and regional culture councils, which enjoy certain administrative rights in promoting and popularizing culture and arts. We have societies catering to technicians, economists and scientists.

We have always tried to provide maximum facilities for systematic study of the social sciences. Party units, and also the city and regional organizations have devised a variety of forms for this, catering to different professional groups, educational levels and interests. The following are the main forms of this work:

1. Lectures and talks on ideological problems. These include annual lecture cycles for Party and non-party intellectuals on general political problems and the specific questions of culture and the arts in Bulgaria and in other countries.

2. A popular and fruitful form is the evening Party university and evening Party schools which each year enroll 1,200 people, more than half of them teachers, artists, engineers and other professionals. Last year we added a new course for musicians and actors.

3. Another innovation is the theoretical conferences and discussion sessions in colleges and research centers devoted to the philosophical foundations of the sciences. The basic method here is independent study, following by annual seminars.

4. The 200 theoretical seminars now functioning in Plovdiv Region deal with such subjects as Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific communism and communist education.

Bulgarian intellectuals have always maintained close contact with workers and farmers.

But we can also say that our intellectuals maintain close contact with the Party, through regular attendance of committee secretaries at membership meetings, joint examination of the work of one or another engineer or artist, informal meetings to discuss topical questions, etc. Every year, on the eve of Slavonic literature day, May 24, the Regional Party Committee arranges a get-together with workers in literature and the arts. Besides, of course, Party functionaries maintain close person-

al contact with workers in various fields of intellectual endeavor, and discuss with them Party policy. Party leaders and members of the government are frequent speakers at meetings of student and youth organizations.

Secretaries of the regional and city committees meet with groups of intellectuals nearly every week and regularly attend staff meetings of research institutions, theatres, etc.

There is ample evidence that these multifiform activities among intellectuals have, particularly in recent years, been productive of good results.

In this article I have tried to show the positive aspects and results of our work in order to share our experience with other parties.

But that should not be taken to mean that there are no shortcomings, no difficul-

ties or unsolved problems. Some intellectuals are inclined to stand on the sidelines, so to say, away from the practical problems of socialist construction, others display a lack of understanding of their civic duty, are not always consistent in their class judgments of social phenomena. Foreign anti-communist propaganda presents another difficulty; some intellectuals are influenced by Western trends. However, these negative aspects are but a by-product of our development. In their overwhelming majority our intellectuals, deeply socialist, stand united on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and are wholly devoted to the Communist Party. In this we see one of the guarantees of Plovdiv's economic and cultural development and of the continued growth of our socialist intelligentsia, a loyal and militant detachment of the people.

Political activity among youth in Britain

GEORGE BRIDGES

The Establishment in Britain, ten or twelve years ago, were wont to complain, or boast, that youth here was "apathetic," "delinquent" and/or bored with life. Political activity by young people was confined in the main to spasms around election times. The Young Conservatives, totalling 250,000 members in 1950, and Young Liberals were mostly social organizations with little political content. The Labor Party youth organization had only an intermittent existence and the Young Communist League was only a few hundred strong.

The late fifties changed all that. The break-up of the Cold War ideology, the menace of nuclear annihilation, the emergence of a fighting Left, the renewed growth of the Communist Party and the possibility of defeating the Tory government began to loosen the political stale-

mate. National liberation in the third world, the Cuban Revolution, the sputniks reflecting victories of socialist construction, forced new thinking onto the Establishment and had effects on the new generation. The generation of British youth born after 1945 were brought up in a very different world from all previous generations. A world in which the bedrock of bourgeois ideology—the world domination of imperialism—is crumbling. A world in which the new dynamic socialist revolution and national liberation become the main feature of our time. What does this mean? That now allied to the natural rebelliousness of youth, its energy and idealism is a world in which the main ideological propositions of British society are eroded.

Britain as the center of world imperial-

ism—has gone with the Suez fiasco and the flirtation with the EEC. Religion as a basis of ideology and morality—ended with the beginning of the space age. According to an *Observer* survey 1967, two-thirds of today's generation in Britain will never go to church even for birth, marriage or death. The monarchy, revered institution of British imperialism, is "in danger of losing touch" according to Prince Philip. So with God, Queen and Country discredited, bourgeois ideology has precious little to offer idealistic youth.

Economically too, respite the relative stability of post-war British capitalism and the so-called "affluent" society, teenage youth's portrait of "too much money to spend" is unrelated to reality. The average weekly wage at 18 years, £8 for boys, £5 for girls, is less than half the adult average. When living at home this can mean more money in youth's pocket than for previous generations, but problems become acute once family responsibilities or leaving home are involved. With about 20 per cent of all marriages involving both parties as teenagers, and a majority of marriages where one of the couple is a teenager, running a home on low wages is an acute difficulty. Since one-third of such marriages involve an immediate child, very often there is only one bread-winner. Further, youth never qualify for municipal housing, can rarely afford high-rental accommodation, and mortgages to buy a house are out of the question, so 90 per cent of all teenage marriages begin married life with in-laws.

The education system, based on a tripartite, class-divided system, brings a sense of hopelessness to the majority of working class youth leaving school. While youth unemployment has been a recurrent problem over the last decade, especially in 'development' areas, just as important is the question of lack of trade training and dead-end jobs. Only 40 per cent of males get jobs with any kind of supervised training and only 12 per cent of girls.

In a sport-minded nation, sports facilities are among the worst in the Western world, particularly with regard to swimming pools, indoor athletics facilities and all-winter training. The Youth Service, recognized as needing millions more pounds to solve even the minimum needs, is under-staffed and starved of money; lack of leisure facilities, especially on the large new housing estates, contributes to problems of delinquency and boredom.

Without the vote until after the age of twenty-one, youth lacks any sense of participation. In a situation where the institutions catering for youth, from schools, colleges and universities to social organizations like Church youth clubs and Boy Scouts, are run on completely authoritarian lines, division between youth and Establishment ideas of society is deepened.

The persistence of economic and social problems linked with the breakdown of bourgeois ideology has brought about the phenomena of youth and student political activity as an important political factor of our decade.

The mass movements of the early sixties, the CND, anti-apartheid, anti-imperialist actions, brought hundreds of thousands of youth into political activity for the first time. Above all it was the idealism and scepticism of the young generation which helped sweep the Tories from power in 1964. The youth political organizations had begun to take on a new face; the Young Conservatives had lost two-thirds of their membership in the fifteen years between 1950 and 1965; the Labor Party Young Socialists, reconstituted in 1960, had reached a membership of fifteen to twenty thousand; the Young Liberals were changing to become a more political, less social organization; and the Young Communist League had grown from a few hundred to five thousand strong.

Campaigning organizations of youth like the YCND attracted the support of hundreds of thousands of young people.

So the mood of youth when the Labor Government came to power in 1964 was one of hope and involvement.

Developments in the four years since then have brought about a qualitatively new situation amongst young people in Britain, which is paralleled in many other parts of the world. The four years of betrayals of youth's hopes by the social democratic government has brought a bitter harvest. Alienation from the system, with loss of hope in the possibility of the Labor Party bringing any radical changes, has given rise to a "revolutionary mood" to many active in youth politics.

Revolutionary posters, protest badges, rebellious forms of dress and social conventions—these are indications of the new vogue.

Hardly a week passes now in London without hundreds, and just as often thousands, of mostly young people demonstrating against government policy.

Student protests, sit-ins, occupation of universities, etc., hit the headlines.

Just as it was Communists that, despite their goodwill towards a Labor majority, first warned against the consequences of right wing policy, and first came out to demonstrate opposition and initiate struggle, so the role of Communists and the Young Communist League has been more and more recognized in the youth movement. Whereas even as recently as the early sixties, the YCL was unable to officially participate in many broad movements, by June of 1966, at the initiative of the YCL, the Youth for Peace in Vietnam was set up. Campaigning around a program of dissociation by the British Government, ending of the bombing, recognition of the NLF and a settlement based on the Geneva Agreements, this initially brought together the YCL, the YCND, the Young Liberals and unofficial representatives of the Labor Party Young Socialists. After two years it has conducted a number of activities and now brings together nineteen youth and student organizations.

Since that historic development, the growth of unity in the youth movement has been rapid. From virtual isolation, the YCL is now recognized as an integral, important and often indispensable part of the youth movement. Dialogues with Young Christians at official level, nationally and locally, are now well established. The British Preparatory Committee for the Ninth World Youth Festival involved almost thirty British youth and student organizations as well as sponsorship from a very wide range of public figures. Thirteen youth organizations came together to fight the Allied Travel Board's ban on representatives of the Free German Youth (GDR) coming to Britain. Another eleven organizations joined an ad hoc committee to work for a demonstration in support of the Southern African freedom struggle. The outbursts of racialism in Britain by right wing Tory leaders early this year brought a hostile response from a similar wide range of youth organizations.

Previously, Establishment youth organizations, the young Christian groups, the Young Liberals, charity organizations, began to take a radical stand on important questions.

All these developments brought a crisis within the British Youth Council, set up in opposition to the World Federation of Democratic Youth at the height of the cold war, and financed by the Foreign Of-

fice. Last year its representatives were active in Britain and in the World Assembly of Youth fighting for a radical approach based on international friendship and co-operation, peaceful coexistence and opposition to racialism and imperialist aggression. However, Establishment representatives, relying on appointed adult representatives of youth organizations like the Boy Scouts, ousted the progressive leadership, and defeated the application for membership of anti-imperialist youth organizations. This has led to a crisis within the BYC which gives rise to the possible emergence of a very broad, radical British youth committee, independent of the government agencies.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam, in Britain as throughout the world, has been the most important influence on the Left development amongst the youth. Significantly in April of this year, at the initiative of the YCL, an ad hoc committee for the holding of a demonstration on July 21 was set up under the slogan "Victory to the Vietnamese People — Freedom, Independence and Peace." This also brought together the majority of socialist, peace and revolutionary groups for a more advanced line of solidarity with Vietnam. This brought on to the streets of London, during the height of the holiday period when students had gone down from the colleges, 15,000 young people in a militant demonstration. This was followed by the even broader and much larger "October offensive" as part of the movement against the Vietnam war in Britain.

During this period the development of the Young Communist League has not been all positive. Although able to mount exciting, imaginative campaigns, such as the £5,000 collected in ten weeks for equipment for Vietnam, and able to co-ordinate much of the activity of the Left youth organizations, the membership which shot up from a few hundred in the late fifties to the 5,000 mark now tends to be static around 5,000. This arises from objective problems regarding the Left mood of youth and its activity in Britain.

The central problem of the new Left mood amongst young people is the attitude to the working-class movement and the way forward faced with a right-wing Labor Government. The deep-rooted support for social democracy and reformism amongst the adult Labor movement has been an obstacle which Communists would gladly see swept away. Adults traditionally con-

duct their political activity on the Left, within or in association with the Labor movement. But youth start from outside, from the broad peace and democratic movements. This is at once an advantage and a weakness. The advantage is that they approach political questions free from the Cold War and reformist pre-conceptions of their elders, and thus the lack of inhibition in uniting with Communists and opposing government policy—in advance of the position of the adult movement. On the other hand the rejection of the Labor right-wing, the right-wing domination of the trade unions, and the anti-youth features of the Labor Party bureaucracy can easily degenerate into anti-trade union, anti-Labor movement, anti-Left and eventually anti-working class, anti-Communist and anti-organization trends.

This feature, against the background of the frustrations of social democratic government, is the classic breeding ground for ultra-Left expressions, especially in a situation where the clear way forward, represented by the program of the Communist Party, does not yet have a wide enough impact.

So, parallel with the positive features of youth activity and youth unity, there has been an upsurge of ultra-Left expressions. The Trotskyite Young Socialists, with a membership of several thousand, can hold conferences and demonstrations involving hundreds of young people. The remnant of the official Labor Party Young Socialists is heavily infiltrated by rival groups of Trotskyites. Anarchist and other anti-political trends can thrive and take thousands of young people down the narcotic and "hippy" blind alley. Violence and provocation for its own sake becomes a new vogue. A little drunk with their own success, and feeding on disillusion with the Labor movement, the Trotskyites can discuss a completely independent existence, change their strategy from one of long-term infiltration to one of "revolution now."

Despair with the right-wing also finds another expression. Young radicals, and even socialist-minded youth, became cadres of the Young Liberals, youth organization of the third party and thoroughly capitalist, gave it a "left" face and recruited thousands of youth. Many of the young militants in the CND movement, giving up the battle to change Labor's policy, turn to collecting charity for the third world, Oxfam, etc. This turn from the working

class is partly the price of years of neglect by the British Labor movement of youth. Only a handful of unions have any kind of youth structure at all. The general life of the trade union movement, its style of work, is usually unattractive for youth. The Labor Party has historically had contempt for its youth organization which has had a spasmodic existence and has repeatedly been closed down by the hierarchy.

With the issues moving youth to action being mainly of a moral and political nature, rather than economic, the organization and involvement of working-class youth has lagged behind. The mass of politically active and radical youth, not predominantly from the working class to begin with, find barriers to involvement with the Labor movement. This problem is not just one for the Young Communist League and the young Left, which is also affected by the factors at work, but for the whole Left to solve, if the current upsurge of youth activity on the Left is to have a permanent value.

Students, too, have paralleled these developments. Three hundred thousand of the 400,000 students are members of the National Union of Students. Organized activity of all kinds is general in student life. Large numbers are working and living in daily contact. Pressing problems of over-crowding, poor facilities, low grants (average £3 to £4 per week), academic authoritarianism, reactionary curricula have come together with deep-rooted dissent with bourgeois ideology so that students have experienced waves of militant protest, particularly during this last academic year. As with the BYC, struggles within the student field are challenging the Establishment's grip on the National Union of Students which could have important repercussions throughout the whole student world. Organizations like the Radical Student Alliance and the Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation have brought together many of the students in struggle, in both of which Communist students have played a part.

The emergence of students as a political force is a relatively new phenomenon in Britain and one that is disturbing the ruling class. Action on student questions has been linked with actions on issues such as Vietnam and militant demonstrations have been held against leading government figures involving violence, arrests and disciplinary action. Living for three or four years in a transitory, artificial environ-

ment, coming 75 per cent from middle-class origins, less reliant on discipline and unity, some students have developed ideas of themselves not merely as a revolutionary force, but as the revolutionary vanguard. Arrogant and adventurist ideas of students "teaching" the workers how to wage class struggle and make revolutions are peddled by the ultra-left. Of course these ideas are gleefully taken up and popularized by the capitalist mass media. Communist students in contrast pose the aim of winning the mass of students for progressive ideas, for action on student and general questions, and for students to become allies of the working class in the fight for socialism.

One of the concrete results of the new upsurge among youth has been the recommendation of the government-appointed Latey Committee that full citizens rights should be given at 18 instead of a diversity of ages as at present (usually 21). This has been accepted by the Government which has also proposed to Parliament to lower the age of voting from 21 to 18. While this will bring a new impetus and importance to the work of youth political organizations, without many more far-reaching changes it is unlikely of itself to win back the allegiance of disillusioned youth. However, progressive youth organizations intend to use the new political power of three million extra voters to bring further pressure for Left changes and action on the demands of young people.

What needs to be done in the two or three years before the next General Election is to bring the youth revolt into the campaign within the Labor movement for Left policies and Left leadership. The ideas of "youth power" or "student power" must

be linked with the necessity of workers' power. The young workers must be organized, brought into struggle and the leading position in the youth movement. The broad Labor movement, the trade unions and the Communist Party must be far more conscious of the need to direct the energy of youth into positive channels. Ultra-left ideas must be actively combated and the patient explanation of what revolution in Britain actually means must go on.

Up to its National Congress in April 1969, the Young Communist League will be striving to achieve some advances in this work. *Challenge*, the YCL monthly magazine, will be holding a conference in November for young workers on the question of trade training, youth employment and the effects of automation. Thousands of leaflets aimed at young workers will be distributed in work-places. A memorandum arguing for basic changes in the quality and quantity of trade training and apprenticeships will be produced by the YCL.

The fight against racialism and on the issue of Vietnam, the building up of our revolutionary youth organization will further occupy our time. Last and not least, we believe the unity built before and during the World Youth Festival, can bring the progressive youth organizations in Britain closer together amongst themselves and nearer to the mainstream of revolutionary youth throughout the world represented by the WFDY and the IUS. In this work we are confident of the support and active help of the Communist Party which also has a responsibility to the youth of Britain. We have seen, and have helped to create in our country, a generation of rebels. We carry on our work with the aim of "turning rebels into revolutionaries."

Encyclopaedia of a scientific world outlook

Frederick Engels' "Anti-Dühring" 90 years old

B. NIVENS

"A wonderfully rich and instructive book," so wrote Lenin, apropos of Engels' *Anti-Duehring*, a book which analyzed "highly important problems in the domain of philosophy, natural science and the social sciences." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 25.)

The book examines the three components of Marxism—philosophy, political economy and socialism—and their interconnections, assigning each component a separate section.

Anti-Duehring appeared in Leipzig in the second half of 1878 and soon became popular among workers as an encyclopaedia of proletarian ideas. Since then it has been re-issued in edition after edition in many languages.

Coming in the wake of *Capital*, "the most formidable missile ever aimed at the bourgeoisie," *Anti-Duehring* is inspired from the first to the last line by uncompromising struggle against attempts to counter the harmonious scientific theory of Marxism with an eclectic hodge-podge of mostly petty-bourgeois philosophical, economic and political ideas and concepts. Engels' work is a devastating critique of Herr Eugen Duehring, an ideologue of the petty-bourgeoisie, and his followers among the German Social Democrats. Engels does not merely argue with his opponents, he sets out one by one the fundamental ideas of the doctrine elaborated by Marx and himself over many years, a doctrine in which philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism form an indivisible whole and which has furnished the work-

ing class with a sure ideological weapon.

It hardly needs saying that many new problems have appeared in the past 90 years. Lenin, his followers and all the Marxist parties have been carrying forward the science of the proletariat in keeping with the actual historical conditions. Nevertheless, the basic arguments of Engels against reformism, anarchism and other varieties of petty-bourgeois "revolutionism," against a vulgar, oversimplified concept of materialist dialectics and scientific socialism, are as valid as ever. Consistent, principled struggle against all the effects to undermine the pillars of Marxism, upholding and carrying forward the scientific world outlook—such is the main purpose of *Anti-Duehring*.

THE SCIENTIFIC NATURE OF MARXISM

Duehring claimed that he had produced a new philosophical system "embracing the principles of all knowledge and will." This system, as he saw it, had to be a "natural system," an essentially materialistic "philosophy of reality." In reality Duehring's philosophizing turned out to be an unprincipled conglomeration of contradictory propositions borrowed from diverse doctrines, including idealistic ones.

For the founders of Marxism allegiance to their scientific ideology of the working class was of paramount importance, and no quarter was given to anyone betraying these principles or making concessions on key theoretical or political issues for the sake of transient advantages. We know of

Marx's negative view of the Gotha Program, which he criticized for its departures from scientific socialism. Engels was no less critical of the philosophical eclecticism of Duehring and his supporters among the German Social Democrats. "It is not nature and the realm of humanity that conform to these principles," he wrote, "the principles are valid only insofar as they are in conformity with nature and history. That is the only materialistic conception of the matter, and Herr Duehring's contrary conception is idealistic, makes things stand completely on their heads, and fashions the real world out of ideas, out of schemata, schemes or categories existing somewhere before the world, from eternity. . . ." (*Anti-Duehring*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, p. 54.)

Engels' emphasis on the need to distinguish between two lines, two parties, in philosophy — materialist and idealist — is particularly important today. Lenin, arguing with the followers of Mach, who contended that they were above both idealism and materialism, repeatedly pointed to *Anti-Duehring's* solution of the fundamental philosophical question as an example of a genuinely scientific approach combining objectivity with partisanship.

Attempts to deny the existence of two parties in philosophy or to dismiss the struggle between them as an anachronism are widespread in modern bourgeois philosophy and assume different forms in the different schools or trends (neo-realism, neo-positivism, critical realism, etc.).

Progress in science and technology and class and revolutionary struggles, indeed, history itself, are providing increasing confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Nevertheless, many idealist philosophers are still hopeful of vindicating idealism by adapting it to scientific achievement. Idealist philosophy in our century abounds in irrational trends exerting quite a strong influence over the ideology of capitalist society. These trends are invariably anti-materialist. They include the "philosophy of life," existentialism, pragmatism, neo-Thomism and "dialectical theology."

Hence the continuing validity of Engels' conclusion that idealism and bourgeois ideology must be combated no matter in what disguise they may appear.

Twentieth-century science, which is mastering the atom, making its way into outer space, mastering the laws of transmitting and processing information and the mean-

ing of vital phenomena, bears out Engels who foresaw that the alliance of natural science and materialist dialectics would grow stronger. Dialectical materialism is the only philosophy measuring up to modern scientific progress and social practice. Engels made this deduction after sifting an immense amount of evidence in natural science and after analyzing the history of philosophy.

"It is possible," Engels says in *Anti-Duehring*, "to arrive at this recognition (the dialectical conception of nature) because the accumulating facts of natural science compel us to do so; but one arrives at it more easily if one approaches the dialectical character of these facts equipped with an understanding of the laws of dialectical thought. In any case natural science has now advanced so far that it can no longer escape dialectical generalization." (*Op. cit.*, p. 21.) This generalization was given by Lenin, and, in our day, in Marxist works on the philosophy of natural science.

The scientific character of Marxism is confirmed by the development of natural science in our day of the scientific and technological revolution and, above all, by the record of social struggles: the gains of the socialist system and the anti-imperialist forces generally, the weakening of the imperialist camp, and the defeats suffered by the numerous refuters of the ideology of the working class.

Marxism has demonstrated its profoundly scientific nature in its doctrine of the laws of development and the reconstruction of society along revolutionary lines. *Anti-Duehring* elucidates the vital problems of social development from the beginnings of class society to the building of socialism.

Marxism maintains that "the ultimate causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch." (*Ibid.*, p. 367.)

The materialist conception of history put an end to the domination of idealism in people's views on society and man and made sociology a real science. The materialist explanation of the origin of modern class society delivered a crushing blow to the Crusoe concept of Duehring, who abstracted himself from all social relations. His model represents society as the sum

of isolated individuals who are not linked with one another by objective social relations. It implies that in society the links and relations arising between individuals are purely moral or legal.

Engels criticized Duehring's Crusoe example, stressing that there are no above-class, abstract individuals in a society based on exploitation. Hence every scientific social theory designed to show the objectives of social change, and the means of bringing it about should proceed from recognition of the primacy of the objective, material conditions of the life of society and, secondly, from the existence of classes and different, including opposed, class interests.

Some theoreticians of our day claim that recognition of the class, ideological nature of Marxism is incompatible with the affirmation that it is scientific. They hold that ideology, unlike science, which seeks objectively to reproduce reality through a set of concepts, is aimed at upholding and justifying the interests of definite social groups even when this clashes with truth. They insist that social life and the social sciences are being "de-ideologized," arguing that ideology has lost its significance as a means of social orientation for individuals and social groups and classes, and should give way to "genuinely scientific," "objective" methods of organizing and directing social relationships.

In reality the ideological factors are as valid now as they were when *Anti-Duehring* was written. So long as there is a worldwide struggle to abolish relations based on the exploitation of man by man, to do away with the social and national inequality born of them, a struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, against bourgeois ideology, the progressive forces will require a program for this struggle, a program expressing their interests and defining their ultimate goals. Marxism has always been the scientific basis for such an ideological program because it performs the function of establishing the historical role of the working class and politically orientating this class on the basis of a scientific knowledge of the life of society.

Anti-Duehring shows how scientific principle and the ideology of the working class are fused in Marxism. The forerunners of scientific socialism, unaware of the link-up between their concepts and the specific historical conditions, exalted them to the level of absolute, extra-temporal truth. Marx and Engels, however, proceed-

ed from an objective analysis of contemporary society. "Modern socialism," Engels writes, "is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition on the one hand, of the class antagonisms existing in the society of today between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wage-workers; on the other hand, of the anarchy existing in production." (Op. cit., p. 27.) And again (p. 32) "to make a science of socialism, it had first to be placed upon a real basis."

This was accomplished by Marx's two great discoveries: his materialist conception of history and his disclosure of the secret of capitalist production by discovering surplus value. "With these discoveries socialism became a science." (Ibid., p. 43.)

Today Marxism, which has proved true in a century of struggle, which Lenin carried forward in the new historical conditions, and which the Communist and Workers' parties are successfully developing and applying, is attracting the attention of millions more working people throughout the world.

MATERIALIST DIALECTICS: THE REVOLUTIONARY CORE OF MARXISM

Engels fought for the triumph of revolutionary materialist dialectics, against metaphysical theories that lose sight of real conflicts and struggle.

Marxism has been under attack right from its beginning. One criticism which is fashionable today is the alleged dogmatism of Marxism. While the arguments advanced in support of this charge vary, they are all spearheaded against materialist dialectics and the doctrine of the laws of social development.

Materialist dialectics is said to be "unscientific" on the ground that it errs on the side of logical contradictions and that the laws established by it do not lend themselves to the test of practice. Historical materialism and scientific socialism are described as "a blind faith in the automatic operation of the laws of social development" and as "forgetting man with his needs and abilities."

Duehring was vehement in attacking dialectics and the doctrine of the unity of opposites. He held—and many bourgeois philosophers still do — that generally speaking contradiction is nonsense. Duehring failed to appreciate that reality itself is contradictory, and that one can comprehend and transform reality only if one

takes account of its contradictory nature.

Arguing with Duehring, Engels shows that social opposites make up a relative unity so long as they exist within the framework of an historical entity. The role of these opposites, however, is dissimilar in the given historical, transient unity. One may be progressive and revolutionary, another can be conservative and non-progressive. Such, for instance, is the case with the historically transient and relative unity of the working class and bourgeoisie under capitalism. However, this by no means implies that the workers become "integrated into the capitalist system," as some theorists maintain today, saying that in the developed capitalist countries only some social strata can avoid becoming integrated into the existing system. Among these strata, we are told, are sections of the youth, some intellectuals, and the so-called "declassed elements"—that is those who "have lost all hope" and who "emphatically reject" the system.

This concept stems from a misunderstanding of the dialectics of capitalism, from failure to see the progressive aspect of the contradiction, an aspect determining the perspective of the entire system. The founders of Marxism-Leninism and the march of history show that this progressive aspect finds embodiment in the working class, which by its very nature is opposed to capitalism, a system based on the exploitation of wage labor. The forms of the exploitation may change but not its essence. The workers owe the gains which they have won in the capitalist countries, gains cited by the advocates of "de-revolutionization," to their organized class struggles and to the rise in labor productivity made possible by the advances in science and technology, not to any "metamorphosis" of capitalism.

The powerful organized actions by the working class in many capitalist countries and the aggravation of social problems and antagonisms, including those engendered by the scientific and technological revolution are yet another refutation of the myth of the integration of the proletariat. The fight for social progress, the material prerequisites for which are there already, logically calls for a revolutionary break-up of capitalism. And this can be accomplished only by a united and organized working class allied with the great mass of other working people.

With the triumph of the October Revolution in 1917 the antagonism between

working class and bourgeoisie assumed a new quality by becoming a struggle between two opposed socio-economic systems. And with the rise of the socialist world system socialism and the anti-imperialist forces allied with it now exert a decisive influence on the content and trend of historical development.

Practice shows again and again that the fundamental, global contradiction of our time is that between the growing socialism and the historically doomed imperialism. Socialism, going from strength to strength as the decisive force of our day, shows the peoples a real way out of capitalist slavery on a world scale. This makes it all the clearer that those who ignore or who underestimate this fundamental contradiction and the ways of resolving it established by Marxism-Leninism, cannot consistently serve social progress.

The chapters of *Anti-Duehring* on the fundamental laws of dialectics give the lie to those critics who claim that Marxism accepts these laws dogmatically, and that they cannot be tested. Engels proves these laws to be true not only by analyzing their genesis in the historical and logical aspects of the development of philosophy, but also by revealing their methodological and cognitive value for theories bearing on nature and society. Modern science, which creates theoretical models of hidden processes—models having no direct connection with observation data—and which freely uses mathematical methods and conceptions, is keenly aware of the necessity of a methodology enabling it to link its theoretical constructions with experience and practice and revealing the possibility and the necessity of this linkage.

To Engels belongs the credit for stressing, as early as the 1870s, the methodological and cognitive value of dialectics, which he regarded as a theory and a method of solving methodological and general theoretical problems. Materialist dialectics, fruitful fulfilment of this function, particularly evident in our age of the scientific and technological revolution, is the clearest refutation of all the claims to the effect that dialectics is unscientific and that its laws cannot be tested.

Engels proves that disregard for dialectics leads the social analyst to abstract, objectivist concepts and conclusions. Objectivist abstraction expressed itself, specifically, in Duehring's attempt to deduce moral and legal relations applicable for all times and all situations from the relations

between Crusoe and his man Friday. For Engels moral standards and behavior are conditioned by a concrete historical situation and by class affiliation, and he examines the historical evolution of morality with the transition from one socio-economic formation to another. The idea that one can create an "eternal morality" while living in the "old class society" is an illusion. "And while he (Duehring—B.N.) thinks he is framing a doctrine of morals and law for all times and for all worlds, he is in fact only fashioning an image of the conservative or revolutionary tendencies of his day—an image which is distorted because it has been torn from its real basis and, like a reflection in a concave mirror, is standing on its head," Engels concludes. (Op. cit., p. 134.)

The non-historical approach to morality is typical of such an influential trend in modern idealist philosophy as existentialism. It concentrates on the freedom and responsibility of the individual, a problem it solves in an extremely irrational and subjectivist way. Existentialism finds this freedom in the solitary ego, the individual whose personal relations determine his social relations. Freedom is the source of all values and, since it is rooted in the metaphysically and irrationally conceived nature of the individual, the source of moral values and objectives is found outside history. Existentialism is caught in the dilemma: **either lifeless abstractions**, or individualism leading to arbitrariness and adventurism. The abstract and formal interpretation of freedom leads to the dissociation of morality from politics, and this could result in passivity, in the substitution of moral condemnation for political action and struggle.

Marxism proves the indefensibility of the existentialist doctrine of freedom and morality not only by disclosing the dependence of these categories on the socio-economic conditions of the life of society, and hence the fact that they are historically conditioned.

Marxism took a qualitative leap forward compared with any other philosophy by providing a scientific class theory of social action and social change. This theory, based on socio-historical practice as the source and criterion of scientific truths and all social values, points the way to these values, including freedom. This way consists in combining scientific socialism with the working-class movement, in reconstructing society along socialist lines.

Marxism does not preach ideals unrelated to life, it is neither a moralizing doctrine nor a utopia; it is a theoretical expression of historical necessity. Marxism has proved that to emancipate the individual does not mean completely relieving him of all obligations to society but creating new social relations and obligations based on public ownership. It follows that the problem of man, of his emancipation and development is inseparable from the socialist reshaping of society. Only under socialism "will man himself, with full consciousness, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom." (Op. cit., p. 391.)

Now freedom is not some kind of subjectivist license to do as one pleases; it is, *Anti-Duehring* points out, a cognized social necessity. The important thing is that Marxism speaks of freedom for the masses, not for small groups of "critical-minded" individuals.

In *Anti-Duehring* and other works, Engels emphasizes that dialectics regards leaps, i.e., the transformation of one quality into another, not as a single momentary act, but as a process which, in social life, can cover an entire era of history. The winning of freedom by the working people is a result of consecutive socially organized changes effected according to the objective conditions and laws of social life. Attempts to ignore these laws, to disregard the movement of society, like the tendency to skip indispensable stages of social development, have invariably ended in failure, disappointment, even despair.

This is not to say, however, that one should sit back and wait for the old system to die and for the birth of a new one. Engels did not count on the automatic operation of the laws of history. Marxism has elaborated the sole scientific theory of revolutionary transformation of society indicating the true role and possibilities of man's conscious activity. This activity can influence historical development if it proceeds from concrete analysis of the real, primarily socio-economic, processes and requirements of social development, of the actual conditions, and if it is supported by a massive social force objectively interested in social change. An understanding of the objective content of the social

processes enables the revolutionary forces to accelerate historical development.

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Marxism teaches that the working class is that social force objectively interested in establishing a socialist system. The fact that the working class occupies a central place in the life of society is added proof of the workers' objective interest in abolishing capitalism, an interest proved not only through scientific analysis but by the entire history of the working-class movement. Production, that is, the creation of material and cultural wealth, is impossible without the working class, which in many countries constitutes the majority of the population.

Under socialism the role of the working class increases inasmuch as the workers are afforded far greater opportunities of furthering their aims and interests, which coincide with the fundamental objectives and interests of socialist society. The significance of the working class will grow as new laws of social development are cognized and as socialist relations are consolidated in various spheres of social life.

Engels emphasized the necessity for the proper control of known social laws if the proletariat is to attain its goals. "It depends only upon ourselves," he wrote, "to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own ends." (Op. cit., p. 385.)

This exigency can be met under socialism because socialism provides the objective conditions for transforming social knowledge and social practice into a single meaningful process encompassing every sphere of public life. This process can now be guided because the international working-class movement has in the course of its development taken a qualitative leap by creating a new type of organization, the Communist Party. The Communist Party guides the material, ideological and political aspects of social life according to social laws that have been or are being cognized. Rational and effective guidance of the life and development of socialist society has enhanced the leading role of the Communist Party.

Anti-Duehring, one of the classics of Marxism, shows beyond all doubt that one cannot be revolutionary in the abstract sense, genuine revolution is historically justified and warranted. Revolution is the

indivisible unity of science and the art of politics in the best sense of the terms.

The attitude to revolution as the science and art of class struggle presupposes proper understanding of the role of force in the development of society. This explains why the classical Marxist postulates in *Anti-Duehring* concerning Duehring's theory of violence are of lasting value.

Duehring's position on the question of force is highly inconsistent. On the one hand, he overrated the role of force, seeing it as the main factor in social development. On the other hand, he failed to see the progressive role of revolutionary violence because he was not cognizant of the ways and means of social development.

Engels refuted Duehring's viewpoint on force replacing it by a consistently scientific view of the role of force in human history. Rebutting Duehring's contention that the political system fully determined the economy, he showed that a particular political system comes into being because there exist corresponding economic relations and that the fate of political power hinges in the final analysis on how far it meets the requirements of socio-economic development. These conclusions are valid today too. Whatever the means of coercion at the command of modern capitalism, it cannot stop social progress with their aid, cannot abolish the objective laws determining the revolutionary replacement of capitalism by socialism. The conclusions drawn in *Anti-Duehring* effectively rebut the concept of force as the sole means of reshaping society. Marxist-Leninists emphatically reject the idea that war, arms, unorganized rebellion, can in themselves solve all the problems of eliminating imperialism and consolidating socialism.

The organized strength of the working people and their firm resistance to capitalism enable them to wrest rights and freedoms even under capitalism. These gains provide new opportunities in the struggle to better the conditions of the working people and thoroughly reshape society. However, the modest extension of rights and freedoms gained in the capitalist countries, including the most developed of them, is far from undermining the foundations of capitalism. These rights and freedoms in no way affect the many truly decisive levers of power. Whenever the capitalists feel that their rule is seriously threatened they ignore the "rules of the game" established by bourgeois democracy and resort to naked violence.

The reinforcement of the machinery of coercion used by capitalist society against the working people implies that the capitalist system cannot be changed unless the working people have the strength to bend the reactionaries to their will. In all the socialist revolutions, whatever the conditions in which they took place, the working class has held strong political positions and has won real power by using the most diverse forms and methods of struggle.

Needless to say the working-class movement, equipped with Marxism and distinguished by profound humanism, prefers the mildest possible forms of coercion. Communists declare for a peaceful path of the revolution where the conditions favor this. Only when the outgoing classes resort to violence are the working people constrained to retaliate. And it is important to bear in mind the fundamental Marxist postulate about combining peaceful and non-peaceful means, about the multiformity of revolutionary force, which is not confined solely to an armed uprising. Each party chooses the most effective methods of struggle suggested by the situation.

Experience shows that for a long time after the establishment of working people's power the anti-socialist forces resist the new system in the hope of restoring capitalism. Counter-revolutionary activity against the socialist state and the gains of the working people pursues aims contrary

to historical progress and its laws. Whatever the shibboleths advanced by the anti-socialist forces, their activity can be most damaging to the material, spiritual and political achievements of society, and can retard its progress. It is therefore the direct duty of revolutionaries staunchly to uphold socialism and to nip enemy intrigue in the bud. The same is true of the defense of socialism against the aggressive designs of reaction on an international scale.

* * *

In the exceedingly complex social conditions of today, Marxism-Leninism is the sole guide enabling the Communist and Workers' parties to understand and control the march of events. Marx, Engels and Lenin, the founders of this science, have left an ideological heritage which has been guiding the revolutionary activity of the fraternal parties.

The necessity for creatively carrying forward Marxism with due regard to the specific conditions in the various countries, far from ruling out, presupposes the application of the fundamental principles of the ideology of the working class, which experience has proved to be unshakable. Many of these principles are examined with the utmost thoroughness in *Anti-Duehring*. And this explains why Communists turn to this work again and again as they wage their battle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

Killed in action

Last October, **Ciro Trujillo**, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia and one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, was killed in action in the Boyaca department.

A peasant by birth, **Ciro Trujillo** first joined the political struggle in 1948 when reaction and violence swept the country. It was the time when the dark shadow of military dictatorships loomed over the continent, when a complex and painful stage began in the political life of Colombia—the stage of unrelenting struggle by the people. To the repressions and violence unleashed by the Pinilla dictatorship the people replied with revolutionary violence, forming self-defense detachments — the core of the future guerrilla detachments. **Ciro Trujillo** was in the forefront of this armed movement led by the Communist Party.

Soon after he became active in the political struggle, **Trujillo** was made a member of the Central Committee of the Party. Before long he was sent as organizer of the peasants to **Tierradentro**, a rural region in the south-eastern part of the Cauca department, inhabited mainly by Indians. There he organized, in the early part of the 50s, a self-defense movement, and a Party organization which was his principal aim.

In 1957 when the military dictatorship was overthrown after ten years of struggle, the oligarchy raised the flag of reformism, announcing “a plan under which the Army would help the peasantry.” The U.S. command, meanwhile, became busy taking aerial pictures of the territory and training anti-guerrilla troops. In 1964 the Valencia government, carrying out the Pentagon-elaborated “Laso Plan,” mounted an offensive against the self-defense peasant movement in the Marquetalia province in the heart of the Central Cordillera. Under the leadership of the legendary guerrilla leader, **Manuel Marulanda Velez**, Central Committee member, this movement, supported by the self-defense movement in **Riochiquito**, became the core of the guerrilla move-

ment in that part of the country, and from there it spread to other regions. In October 1965, the U.S. military mission, determined to crush the resistance of the peasants, issued orders to encircle the guerrilla area in **Riochiquito** and destroy it. A new guerrilla front appeared, led by **Ciro Trujillo**.

In May 1966 units of the Revolutionary Armed Forces were established in the heart of the Colombian mountains, and **Ciro Trujillo** became a member of the General Staff. The armed detachments operating in **Marquetalia**, **Riochiquito**, **El Pato** and **Guayabero**, and the September 26 Movement, combined their forces, ushering in a higher stage in the struggle of the Colombian people. Once again **Ciro Trujillo** is sent to organize armed actions, this time in the **Quindio** and **Valle** departments and later in the **Boyaca** department. The flames of the armed struggle spread to the densely-populated areas of the country.

Many lost their lives in this struggle. The names of **Jacobo Prias** (“Charro Negro”), **Alfonso Castaneda** (Richard), **Henoc Leal** (Diamante), **Isaias Pardo** and many, many other Communists rank together with the names of such patriots as the priest **Camilo Torres**. Although the preventive war waged by imperialism in Colombia is taking a heavy toll, it has not been able to destroy the guerrilla movement or the peasant organizations which have taken deep root in the countryside. Last September, the Central Committee of the Party, reviewing the guerrilla struggle, stressed that “this struggle is indomitable, and will continue, we are convinced, until an end is put to reactionary violence.”

The death of **Ciro Trujillo** is further proof that the “civil” government of **Lleras Restrepo** is waging a shameful war against its own people. The death of this outstanding people’s leader is not the result of some episode, and least of all should it be taken as a sign that the armed struggle is on the wane. On the contrary, it proves how justified this struggle is, how indomitable and unswerving was its leader, the son of a

peasant, who challenged the regime of terror and violence.

In an attempt to solve the structural and constitutional crisis besetting the country the oligarchy resorts to violence as a "panacea." Its answer to the rising tide of the class struggle is: "Don't spare the bullets." How the "gorillas" plan to run the country was made amply clear at the Inter-American meeting of Army Chiefs in Rio de Janeiro, where the Commander of the Colombian Army informed his Latin American colleagues that "the armed forces of Colombia are operating according to plan, the main purpose of which is to prevent realization of the Havana Tricontinental Conference decisions, and those of the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Colombia." He also acquainted his colleagues with the "Andes Plan," also known as the "ten-year anti-Communist plan."

In the light of the recent military coups in Peru and Panama, links in Washington's policy of violence in Latin America, it is obvious that the people's struggle, led by men like *Ciro Trujillo*, is not something episodic, but the defense line of the battle our peoples are waging against their enemies.

The Pentagon's mailed-fist policy is reflected in Colombia in the brutal, inhuman measures taken against the population. Courts martial summarily mete out sentences. More than 600 political prisoners are held in prisons in Bogota, Chaparral, Neiva, Ibagua, Armenia, Bucaramanga and other cities. Prisoners are subjected to fiendish torture in an attempt to extract confessions from them.

Among the political prisoners are Comrades *Jose Miller Chacon*, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth League, *Augusto Lara*, editor of *Voz Proletaria*, central organ of the Communist Party, and *Domingo Taborda*, a deputy of the Party of the Liberal-Revolutionary Movement of the People. They have been in prison for many months now on charges framed by the secret police.

It was against this monstrous system of lawlessness and injustice that *Ciro Trujillo* fought in the ranks of the armed movement, headed by the Colombia Communists. Today this movement has spread far and wide, has given new hope to the working masses. The government forces are attacked by guerrillas in the south, the center and in the north of the country, they have to mount anti-guerrilla operations in the departments of Huila, Caqueta, Cauca, Quindio, Valle del Cauca, Santander, Bolivar and Boyaca. The military dispatch reporting the death of *Ciro Trujillo* stated that his detachment operating in the southeastern part of the Boyaca department had as its objective the establishing of a guerrilla front in a strategic area linking the east with the central and southern parts of the country. His death, a heavy blow to us, inscribes a new page in the history of the Party which is rallying the forces of our people to fight for their country's liberation.

Ever in the line of action, *Ciro Trujillo*, continuer of the great cause of *Sandino*, of Latin America's fearless fighters against the domination of the latifundists and U.S. imperialists, carried forward the torch of revolution which will never be extinguished, for it has become flesh and blood of the people. In its announcement of the death of this hero of our people, the Central Committee of the Party stated: "*Ciro Trujillo* died in the fight against the enemies of the Colombian people. The Communist Party, of which he was a leading member for many years, lowers its banners in mourning as it makes this sad announcement. To honor his memory and avenge his death all people's fighters should by their actions and unity help accelerate the revolutionary process and the defeat of the militarists and bourgeois-landowning oligarchy, and thus open the way to a new and independent Colombia led by workers and peasants, by the finest sons of our people from whose midst came this indomitable fighter."

Jaime GONZALES

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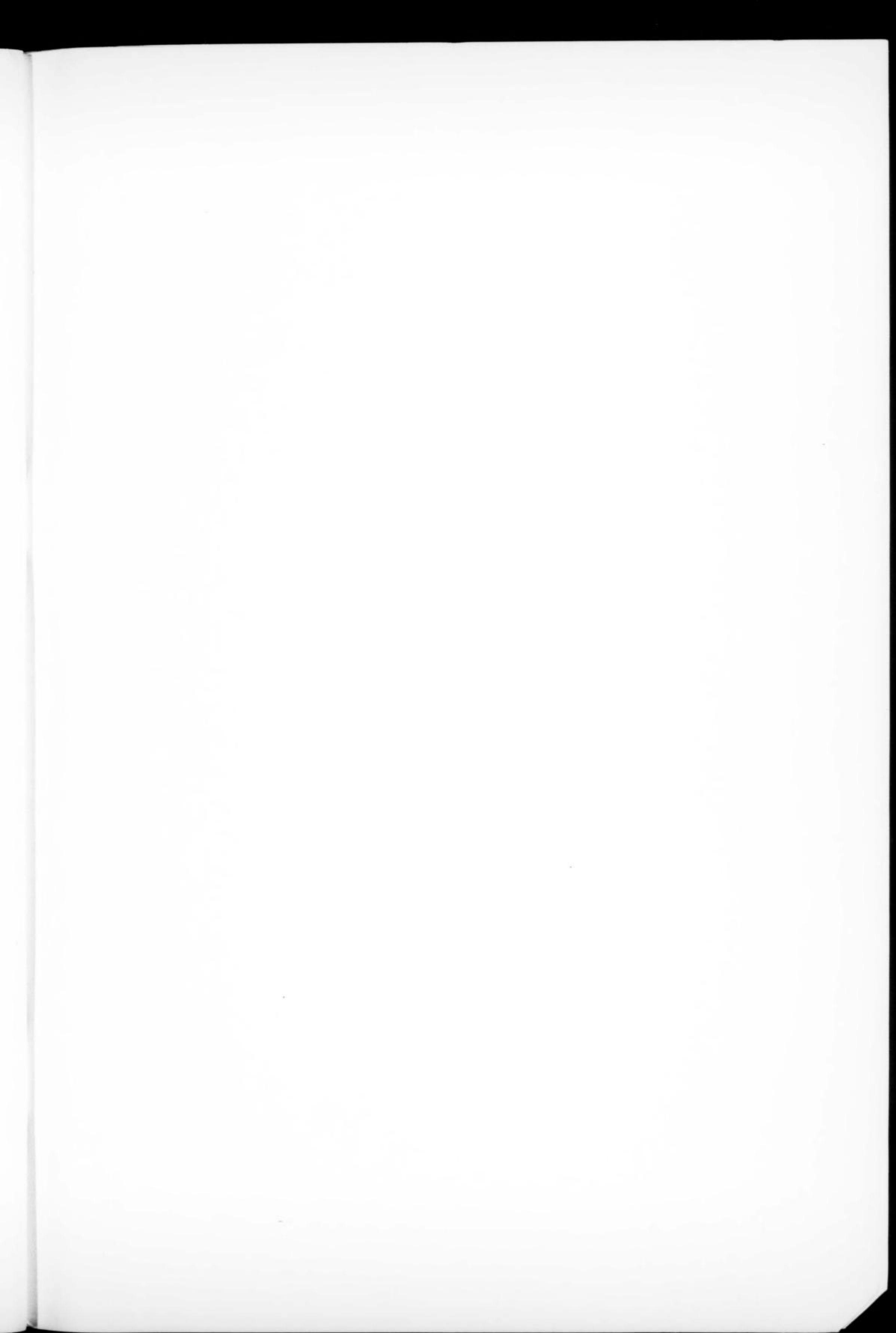
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