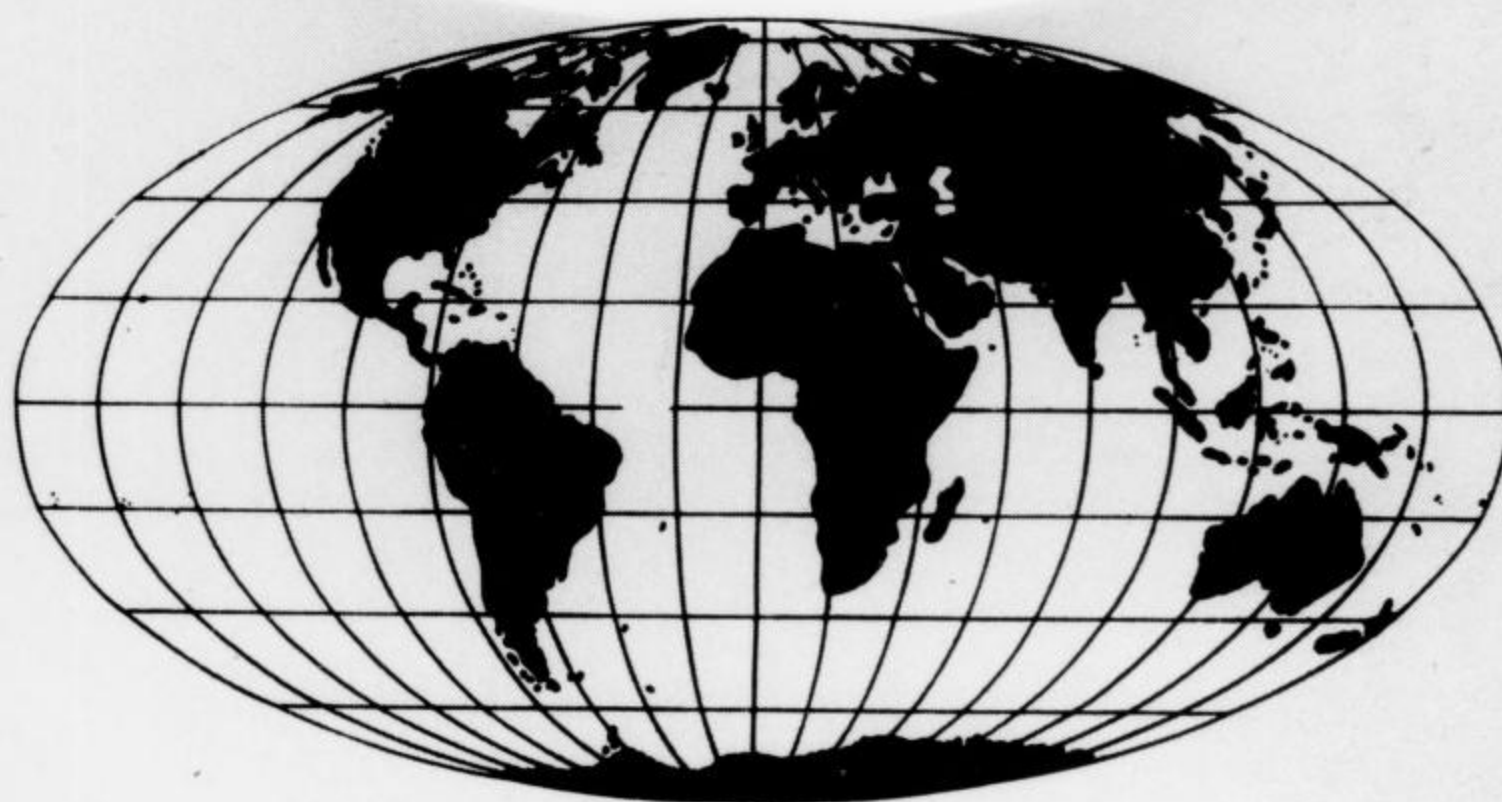


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

**Natural Science and Contemporary
Philosophy**

—P. Fedoseyev

**Revolutionary Process in Latin America
Today**

—R. Arismendi



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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For Unity of the Communist Movement

Dolores Ibarruri

THE working people and progressives everywhere are this autumn commemorating the centenary of one of the greatest events in the history of the working-class movement—the founding of the First International, or, as it was called, the International Working Men's Association.

The initiative that led to the founding of the International came from two great men of socialist thought and action, Marx and Engels, who dedicated to it their energies and all their revolutionary fervor. It was the first step towards overcoming the diffusion of the proletariat and uniting it in a truly militant international organization.

The first international workers' organization built on the principles of scientific socialism set forth in the *Communist Manifesto*, reflected the crystallization of a socialist class consciousness among the more advanced section of the proletariat in Europe and America.

The working class thus acquired a united international organization oriented on struggle for socialism, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and guided by the theory of socialism which was destined to revolutionize the world.

By that time it had become patent that the utopian views of the humanists which to some extent paved the way for scientific socialism were fallacious, though they still had their adherents.

With the establishment of the First International, Marxist socialism, which summed up and assimilated the best in German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism, found an avenue to the working people, gained ground among the intellectuals, and became a material force which no emergency laws could suppress.

Needless to say, the spread of Marxism did not take place automatically, without struggle. From the very inception of the International it was necessary unflinchingly to combat petty-bourgeois socialism—Proudhonism, which had struck deep root in France, as well as its ally, Bakuninism, the anarchist variant of this very same petty-bourgeois

socialism reflecting the anxieties of the petty bourgeois ground down by capitalism but incapable of rising to the level of the organized revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and hence ready to seize on any theory that promised the impossible—an immediate way out of his plight.

The Paris Commune, which, for the first time in history, overthrew the bourgeoisie and established rule by the proletariat, signified the defeat of petty-bourgeois socialism and the triumph of proletarian scientific socialism.

When the bourgeoisie, having drowned in blood this first proletarian revolution, was exulting at the fall of the Commune in the belief that proletarian revolutions had been ruled out for all time, Marx declared: "The principles of the Commune are eternal and cannot be destroyed; they will make themselves felt again and again until the working class wins its emancipation."

These words of the founder of scientific socialism were eloquently confirmed by the Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia and, later, by the emergence of the mighty camp of socialism.

In the light of the lessons of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels urged more emphatically the building in every country of a strong, militant proletarian party founded on the principles of democratic centralism and capable of leading the working class in the struggle for power. For one of the Commune's main weaknesses was the absence of such a party united ideologically and organizationally.

As capitalism moved on to the next stage in its development the need for such parties became increasingly apparent. The years from 1870 to 1890 witnessed an uneven but steadily accelerating growth of monopoly. And as the situation changed and the class struggle grew more acute, it became imperative for the working class to devise new organizational forms.

The First International educated the more advanced sections of the working class in the

spirit of the principles of scientific socialism and irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends in the working-class movement, and when it had thus fulfilled its mission, it was dissolved.

Under the direct influence of Marx and Engels parties were formed in most European countries and in the United States, parties which though still not completely free from petty-bourgeois and trade unionist influences, were, nevertheless, socialist proletarian parties. Consequently, the need arose to unite them in an international organization in the spirit of the proletarian internationalism which Marx and Engels had instilled in the First International.

And this was done. At a congress in Paris in July 1889, the Second International was founded. In the initial period of its existence, especially when Engels influenced its activities, this organization helped to activize the working-class movement.

But for all that the Second International, as regards both its spirit and activities, was far from being a true continuer of the traditions of the First International.

As William Foster shows in his study of the three Internationals*, it was incapable of a Marxist understanding of socialist international organization.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries were marked by a growth of opportunism in the working-class movement. The leaders of the Second International not only failed to combat the new danger but themselves began to propound this distortion of Marxist socialism. Gradually the socialist parties affiliated to the Second International drifted away from internationalism and turned into opportunist parties.

Besides the emergence of an aristocracy of labor in the working class, the stimulus to which was provided by the bourgeoisie, a no small factor contributing to this was the influx into these parties of a substantial number of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Arrogating to themselves the role of mentors and political leaders of the Socialist workers, they transmitted to the latter their own petty-bourgeois political ideas. They undermined the militancy of the working class and steered it not towards the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but towards compromise with the bourgeoisie, towards reformism and renunciation of proletarian revolution.

For this emasculation of the revolutionary, or, to be more exact, proletarian essence of

the parties of the Second International, the European proletariat paid with millions of lives lost in the first world war. The leaders of the Second International did not lift a finger to prevent the slaughter or to rally the masses to revolutionary action against the big bourgeoisie responsible for it.

But all was not lost. Trends and groups appeared in the working-class and socialist movement which fought to preserve the living spirit of the Marxist doctrine and to develop proletarian internationalism.

Early in the century, when the majority of the leaders of the Social Democratic parties renounced class struggle, considering the very concept of proletarian internationalism to be obsolete, the lists were entered by a new socialist party—the Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin. This Party held aloft the banner of Marxism and proletarian internationalism, imparting a new vitality to Marxist theory and reviving the revolutionary and internationalist traditions of the First International.

Drawing on the support of the masses and relying on them, utilizing the experience of the Paris Commune, waging a struggle against the Narodniks, Mensheviks, Trotskyites, Socialist Revolutionaries and other conciliators, the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin dauntlessly led the working class in alliance with the peasants in a victorious struggle for political power and destroyed capitalism in Russia. From that time on capitalism ceased to be the sole factor determining world development. Socialist ideas became flesh-and-blood reality. This ushered in a new era in man's history, the era of communism.

Following the collapse of the Second International owing to its leaders' policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie during the First World War, Lenin initiated the organization of the Third International as successor to the traditions of the First International. The new International was destined to unite all parties and groups remaining faithful to Marxism and ready to fight for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Third International was founded in 1919 and existed until 1943. It carried out its mission to the full, helping to establish Communist parties in most capitalist countries. If after the First World War the revolution succeeded only in Russia inasmuch as it alone had a Marxist-Leninist Party, during and after the Second World War the existence of Communist parties in most countries could not but lay its decisive impress on the overall march of events.

*See William Z. Foster, *History of the Three Internationals*.

During the Second World War the Soviet Union again demonstrated its militant, revolutionary, socialist essence and foiled the evil designs of fascist and imperialist reaction; the Soviet people thwarted the plans to wipe out the world's first socialist state and prevented the reactionaries from turning back the wheel of history.

Thanks to the valiant efforts of the Soviet people and their army, a number of European and Asian countries, big and small, differing from one another as regards level of economic and cultural development as well as in other specific features, were able to free themselves from capitalist oppression and take decisive steps towards a new life and a new social order. The fact was brought home to the peoples that socialism is a necessity, a tangible possibility capable of realization in the immediate future.

* * *

Ours is the epoch of rapid advance towards communism, a time when socialism is winning new ground in Europe and Asia, when the victorious Cuban revolution has implanted it on the American continent and when it is becoming the main center of attraction for the peoples of Africa who have thrown off the colonial yoke; a time when the Soviet Union, having embarked on the building of communist society, is on the way to becoming the strongest industrial power in the world. Yet at this very time a dissonant note has been struck in the socialist camp. It emanates from the leaders of the Chinese Party who are flagrantly distorting the revolutionary principles of Marxism and hurling abusive epithets against the leaders of Communist parties who do not agree with their sophisms and their contradictory and adventuristic policy.

The Chinese leaders regard with disdain the aspirations of the peoples who want peace and loathe war; they flout the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings of Communist and Workers' parties they themselves signed at the time. They assail the Soviet Union's peace policy which is aimed at safeguarding humanity against the danger of war and promoting the democratic and socialist development of the nations.

The theoretical sophisms of the Peking leaders are fallacious to the core. For every worker and every progressive, socialism is the embodiment of freedom from capitalist exploitation and stands for a better life for all, the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to medical care, to secure old age. But the Maoists turn these simple truths which are understandable to every

working man into insoluble conundrums.

Evidently the Chinese leaders are not too clear as to what socialism should bring to the peoples, judging by the fact that they qualify the steady rise of the living standard of the Soviet people and the peoples of other socialist countries as impermissible "bourgeoisification," i.e., condemn that which is the most convincing testimony to the real meaning of socialism, the proof of what it gives to the working masses.

In view of the absurd concepts of socialism used to dupe them, the working people of the CPR are entitled to ask: if socialism cannot put an end to the chronic hunger experienced by our country for centuries, if it cannot enable us to live like human beings, if we can dream of achieving equality only through poverty and death, why should we work for socialism?

Socialism means peace. And the Soviet Union has been working for peace ever since its inception. The Communist parties and progressives generally all over the world are fighting for peace today. Not for peace in the abstract and at any price, but for peace in the Leninist sense, i.e., a peace which would make secure the achievements of the socialist countries and enable the peoples of all other lands to wage a successful struggle for social and national liberation.

The Peking leaders advocate "permanent war"—the Chinese variant of the Trotskyite "permanent revolution" thesis—as the quickest and easiest way to socialism regardless of the fact that in our day a world war would signify the devastation of whole countries and cost the lives of hundreds of millions.

In keeping with this reckless and absurd idea, the Peking leaders have militarized the life of millions of men and women, offering them the prospect not of a decent living and happiness, not of what socialism should bring to all peoples, but of regimentation, war and death.

The Chinese working people and Communists who have not lost their common sense may ask: why did we fight against national and foreign capitalism which was directly responsible for our poverty and for the wars that pauperized our people and led to the enslavement of our country if we ourselves consider war a means for achieving the Mao Tse-tung kind of socialism which changes nothing in our lives?

What has happened to our Chinese comrades? Do they really fail to understand that their so-called ultra-revolutionary talk and extremism are utterly reactionary and can

only turn the masses away from socialism?

In 1918 Lenin ridiculed those in the Bolshevik Party who were opposed to peace although peace meant a breathing spell for the peoples and offered an opportunity to consolidate the revolution. He observed that the "Lefts" were ignorant of elementary axioms of theory and suffered from the "itch for revolutionary phrasemongering," which he considered one of the greatest dangers for the Party and the revolution. Yet is this not the very disease from which the Chinese leaders are suffering today?

The predilection for revolutionary phrasemongering that has impelled the Chinese leaders to concede the inevitability of a nuclear war likely to destroy half of humanity leads them, whether they want it or not, to the positions of the more aggressive imperialist circles, positions marked by a hostility towards the Soviet Union and the Communist parties that is characteristic of reactionaries everywhere. Is this how Marx and Lenin understood proletarian internationalism?

The factionalist policy of the Chinese leaders is aimed at splitting the Communist movement, at undermining the parties which reject this suicidal policy which is alien to Marxism-Leninism. It has created one of the gravest situations the Communist and working-class movement has ever faced since the days of the First International so distant in time, yet so close to us in spirit.

Who stands to benefit from this line, who can rejoice at the Chinese leaders' crude attacks against the CPSU and the leaders of Communist parties who reject their policy of disruption and disunity? Only the enemies of communism, only political degenerates for whom all means are fair in fighting the Communists, only the anti-Communist organizations of imperialism; it is their work the Chinese leaders are doing when they slander and smear the Communist parties and especially the CPSU.

The leaders of all Communist parties and above all the parties of the socialist countries—and this is something the Chinese leaders should not forget—bear an enormous responsibility for the people in all countries, for the future of the nations, of all humanity.

The victory of socialism throughout the world depends in no small measure on their pursuing the correct policy and adhering to the correct line of action. Any attempt to weaken or undermine the unity of the Communist movement is not only a crass political mistake fraught with the danger of peri-

ous consequences, it is also a crime against peace and the security of the peoples, a crime against socialism.

The greater the cohesion of the Communist movement and the stronger the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries, the more help they can render the peoples who are fighting for their freedom, the greater the influence and the more decisive the role played by the working class and the Communist movement in the world arena, and the easier it will be for the masses in the capitalist countries to carry on the struggle to improve their conditions and to combat the aggressive designs of the reactionaries.

And, conversely, disunity and disruption make the revolutionary movement vulnerable in the face of enemy attacks.

It is enough to note what quarters welcome the Chinese leaders' attacks and slander against the Soviet Union and eagerly spread this slander to appreciate how erroneous and pernicious their policy and methods are. This policy and these methods have nothing in common with the standards that should be observed in relations between people and organizations united by common aims and working for a common cause.

When the political opponents of the German Socialist August Bebel applauded his speeches he asked himself: "What stupidity have you committed now, old Bebel?" The confused minds of the Chinese leaders, protected as they are by an armor of apocalyptic formulas handed down by the "prophet," have not yet mastered this approach.

It would be naive to think, however, that the Peking leaders are not aware that their anti-communist activity camouflaged by lip-service to Marxism-Leninism is grist to the imperialist mill.

These leaders have no illusions on this score. In fact, they are persisting in this activity because, apart from everything else, it is a way of currying favor with the big capitalist powers interested in seeing a split in the Communist movement.

The polemic begun by the Peking leaders which they use to sling invective and slander and not as an avenue of theoretical and political discussion is something that can only be regretted. It tends merely to heighten the aggressiveness of the imperialists and to encourage them to embark on new maneuvers against the socialist camp and the Communist movement, for the imperialists believe that the Chinese leaders' disruptive policy might well prove to be the Achilles' heel of communism.

The policy of the Peking leaders is not the policy one expects from the government of a socialist country. It is a policy of great-power chauvinism reflecting hegemonistic tendencies, a gravitation towards unmistakable racialism, a desire to divide the peoples according to the color of their skin, to counterpose the Asian and African peoples to the European. None of this is compatible with Marxism-Leninism, of which the Chinese leaders pretend to be the champions.

Time and again one asks oneself: what is the underlying reason for this drive against the Communist movement generally and in particular against the Soviet Union's policy of peace, which the overwhelming majority of the peoples support?

The Chinese leaders' arguments are unconvincing and their distortion of the facts only too obvious.

Perhaps the crux of the matter lies, apart from their striving towards hegemony engendered by a nationalistic approach to China's population problem, in the fact that living in a country separated from the Western world by a lag of two centuries in economic development they proposed to overcome this backwardness by taking an erroneous path, rejecting the experience of the Soviet Union.

In defiance of economic laws, they strove to overtake the other socialist countries on the road to communism by means of the "big leap" and the "people's communes."

Their plans failed because they could not but fail. For a country where feudalism was abolished over vast areas only recently, these were unrealistic plans. And today the Chinese leaders are trying to shift the responsibility for their miscalculations onto the shoulders of others.

Swinging from one extreme to another, they now say that it will take at least four or five generations to build socialism in China.

Such political irresponsibility does no credit to the Peking leaders. If Mao Tse-tung's plans failed, why not admit the mistakes and correct them, why not chart the correct way forward, drawing on the example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which have been able to rectify erroneous trends and decisions and even to retreat when necessary in order later to forge ahead at an even faster pace?

But the Peking leaders not only refuse to learn from anyone; on the contrary, they are out to teach everybody, even those who could give them useful lessons. In their political blindness they have forgotten that the Com-

munist movement emerged from its infancy long ago and needs neither spoon-feeding nor self-appointed guardians.

Apart from other no less serious and questionable motives, the failure of their erroneous economic policy is one of the reasons for their campaign of vilification not only against the economic and political line of the Soviet Union but also against all Communist parties which do not agree with the Peking policy and which, taught by the experience of the personality cult period, no longer takes things on faith, without a critical analysis of the postulates offered them. These parties would like to see the Chinese comrades display the same revolutionary honesty and resolve which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union demonstrated at its Twentieth Congress.

So long as the Peking leaders adhere to their present positions the entire Communist movement with few exceptions is bound to oppose them since their policy hinders the struggle for peace and against imperialism and retards the peoples' advance towards socialism.

Let those not gloat who assume that the present differences on the pressing issues of the day and on the methods and tactics to be employed are symptoms of an incurable disease capable of causing the disintegration of the Communist movement. Let the wishful thinkers cherish no illusions.

The polemic started by the Chinese leaders—and conducted by them in a way that has nothing in common with political discussion—against those who do not agree with their viewpoint, or their efforts to win the support of groups and organizations for their erroneous policy, will not prevent the world from advancing towards socialism.

This conviction of ours stems not from any belief in fatalism but from a scientific examination of the process of social and economic development. But this does not mean that we should sit back with folded arms in the face of the disruptive activities of the Peking splitters and wait for nature to take its course.

We shall continue to carry on a vigorous struggle for the unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement because this unity will hasten the victory of socialism.

But to carry on a resolute and irreconcilable struggle against all open and disguised enemies of international Communist unity does not mean that we ourselves should cling to one and the same immutable positions.

Nothing is more alien to Marxism-Leninism than dogmatic narrow-mindedness, which

paralyzes the will and blinds people to what is taking place in the world generally and in each country in particular, turning Marxism-Leninism into a collection of lifeless formulations, the soil in which political speculation, opportunist in some cases and demagogically radical in others, is bred.

Our advantage over the dogmatists is that we are able to adapt our tactics to the changing situation.

Genuine defense of unity and cohesion in the Communist movement presupposes an alertness of thought which makes it possible to grasp the new; political flexibility without which it is impossible to keep in step with the times; adaptation of tactics—without losing sight of the basic goal—to the changes taking place in the extremely complex and fluid situation now prevailing in the world. We always bear in mind that what was timely yesterday may prove outdated today.

The existence of the socialist camp creates opportunities for the advance of peoples to socialism which were utterly unthinkable before the October Socialist Revolution and for a long time after it.

The influence of the socialist camp is growing and extending to social groups and strata once hostile to socialist ideology.

The masses are unquestionably becoming more and more revolutionary; more and more people are evincing a growing interest in socialism as a system standing for progress, advanced culture, a better life for all, the dignity of the human being and of labor, and the deepening of the national character of each country in the overall context of international solidarity offering a sharp contrast to the capitalist relations of rivalry, armed clashes and subjugation of some countries by others.

The various socialist trends are drawing closer on the basis of scientific socialism. In the interests of the victory of socialism we must facilitate this process, putting an end once and for all to dogmatic insularity which tends to alienate many progressive people from us. We must work in a frank, broad-minded way to help the diverse groups and trends to draw closer to scientific socialism, we must facilitate the breakdown—sometimes painful—of obsolete concepts and ideas rooted in the minds of individuals and entire nations. Unless we do this, others are bound to channel the process along lines by no means favoring communism.

When we speak of the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism, we do not suggest that the monopoly oligarchies will

relinquish political and economic power without resistance. There are political operations which can be performed only with the scalpel of mass struggle, above all struggle waged by the working class, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia.

Nor do we forget the middle class, the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, of whom there are millions in all countries. These millions have been deeply shaken; distortion of facts and slanderous propaganda have instilled in them a fear of communism. It is imperative to win these people over to socialist ideas by showing to them through living examples that socialism offers them every opportunity for creative activity.

Our defense of the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement necessitates posing, theoretically elucidating and boldly solving the problems of struggle in every country, using all forms of action in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist principles common to the entire movement, in active solidarity with all Communist parties, with the entire Communist movement.

Our understanding of our duties as Communists differs from that of the Peking leaders. Unlike them, we do not see the equality of the Communist parties as a matter of one party publishing a specified number of offensive articles attacking another and the latter replying with an equal number loaded with identical invective.

The unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the equality of the parties (which the Chinese leaders are questioning without the slightest justification) is founded on the loyalty of the parties to the fundamental theoretical theses of scientific communism, on regular coordination of views and tactics in the decisive areas of struggle with a bearing on the development of the revolutionary process both on a worldwide scale and in the various geographical regions.

Under no circumstances does this cohesion presuppose the responsibility of any Party for the actions or policies of the Communists of other countries undertaken without its knowledge or elaborated without its participation. But if some Party embarks on a policy harmful not only to its own country but to the Communists of other countries, if it causes damage to the entire Communist movement, the other Communist parties have every right to voice their disagreement, to dissociate themselves from the errors of others.

Proletarian internationalism involves many responsibilities, but it does not demand clos-

ing one's eyes to mistakes causing harm to the common cause. This is why we took a resolute stand against the activities of the CPC leaders, whose disruptive policy violates all standards of internationalism and causes inestimable damage to the unity and cohesion of the Communist parties and all other socialist and democratic forces, creating serious difficulties for many parties and especially for those, like ours, which are compelled to function in illegal conditions. The Peking leaders are seeking to restore in the Communist movement authoritarian, despotic, anti-Leninist methods and to transform the Communist parties into fanatical sects divorced from life, from the interests of the peoples and the cause of socialism.

Political activity of the type carried on by the Chinese leaders has always been reprehensible. Today, taking into account the issues at stake and the fact that the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence is now more vital than ever before not only to the working class but to all humanity, this kind of activity must be doubly condemned.

In the struggle associated with the advance of socialism and the decline of capitalism, and also in the fight for democratic and social reforms, we have many actual and potential allies whom we cannot afford to lose.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the fact is that the Chinese leaders, for reasons difficult to understand either from the standpoint of humanity generally or from the standpoint of the revolutionary, of the Communist, are seeking to checkmate the Communist movement in its efforts to mobilize the peoples to prevent a new world war and preserve peace.

This is an intolerable state of affairs from which only the enemies of communism stand to gain. How can it be ended?

The natural way—and one whose value has already been proved and on which most Communist parties are agreed—is the convocation at an early date of a meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties at which the Chinese Communists could set forth their views and themselves ascertain at first hand

the opinions of the other parties.

History generally and the history of Marxism-Leninism in particular shows that great revolutionary ideas come to the fore in long and bitter struggle, in heated debates between the proponents and the opponents of these ideas.

When the Chinese leaders first came out against the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 meetings and themselves urged the convocation of a new meeting of the parties, we supported the proposal. We are in favor of calling such a meeting now too, when it has been definitely decided to begin preparations for it, whereas the Chinese leaders have turned against the idea. We believe that this is the only way to go fully into the blunders and mistakes, that only at such a meeting will it be possible to arrive at agreed decisions and to take the edge off the present differences in the international Communist movement.

A conference of the Communist and Workers' parties is an urgent necessity. A thorough debate is never a waste of time. Such a meeting is essential for examining and comparing viewpoints, methods, tactics, mistakes and successes, achievements and failures.

Even if full agreement is not reached on all the questions at issue, I am certain that discussing them at such a meeting (even if differences of opinion remain) will help to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement.

On the centenary of the First International which has had such an impact and of which the international Communist movement is the true heir and continuer, every Communist Party is forcefully confronted with urgent tasks of more than transient significance. First, there is the task of preserving and strengthening the unity of their ranks, of struggle against all factional and disruptive activity. Second, there is the task of uniting all the forces in each country which in one or another form support socialism, the task of overcoming the division in the working-class and socialist movement. The solution of these tasks would accelerate the progress towards a new society, a new life.

Some Aspects of the Revolutionary Process in Latin America Today

Rodney Arismendi

THE centenary of the First International is being observed at a time of revolutionary upsurge. The October Revolution which advanced the Bolshevik Party to the fore as the recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement determined the place of our epoch in history as the epoch of the world socialist revolution, of that great revolutionary process in which all the liberation movements — anti-imperialist, democratic, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly — merge into a single stream. The past century has inscribed on the pages of history the names of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the founders of a theory that is changing the world, the theory that has led to the emergence of the powerful system of socialist states, and which is guiding millions in all corners of the globe in their construction of, or struggle for, a new society. The essence of that doctrine is proletarian internationalism, the unity of the principles of the world Communist movement, that unity which the CPSU is today, as yesterday, staunchly and steadfastly defending.

Latin American revolutionaries are observing the centenary of the First International at a time when socialism has already reached our continent too, when its torch is burning brightly in Cuba, when the wind of world revolution is beginning to be felt on our own continent, when hundreds and thousands of people in Latin America are fighting with the membership card of the Communist Party close to their hearts. And it seems to us that the time has come to consider and discuss some of the current problems of our revolution.

I. TRANSITION TO MAJOR REVOLUTIONARY BATTLES

Prior to the victory of the Cuban revolution, Latin America, despite the vastness of its territory and its strategic position in the modern world, was often regarded as a remote province hardly within the practical orbit of the world socialist revolution. To many, indeed, the possibility of socialism in

Latin America appeared to be rather a matter for the distant future than an immediate practical prospect. But the Cuban revolution sounded the bugle call proclaiming to the world on behalf of our continent that Latin America had entered the lists in the decisive battles of the age. The aggressiveness of North American imperialism and the unhesitating solidarity of the Soviet Union and the socialist system, placed the Caribbean island at the crossroads of international politics where the issue of war and peace was being decided.

The powerful impact of the Cuban revolution on the entire continent showed how acute the problems of the Latin American revolution had become and how urgent it was to find a workable solution to these problems. Generalities no longer sufficed. Working hypotheses were now subjected not to academic criticism but to the severest test of all — the test of daily life. What is needed today is a thorough analysis of socio-historical development, an elaboration of the strategic and tactical concepts applicable to the *particular* conditions of a *particular* country, and last but not least, clarity of perspective. We are living on a continent in a state of ferment, at a time when the decisive historical role is played by the world socialist system. For us Latin American Communists this is more than ever the time for that combination of sober reasoning with emotional fervor which Lenin counselled. The role of the vanguard forces is immeasurably enhanced in view of the grim trials ahead.

On the international plane, we Latin American Communists benefited greatly from the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which accurately defined the balance of world forces and noted the significance of the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. This was a frontal attack against dogmatic complacency and it helped to prepare the Communists both politically and psychologically for the many "vicissitudes" of revolution, the sundry departures from the "established rules" (such as the movement led by Fidel Castro). Contrary to the arbi-

trary assertions of the Chinese leaders, we must say that whatever mistakes the Communist parties made they can in no way be attributed to the Twentieth Congress; on the contrary, these mistakes were the result of an inconsistent appraisal of the theses set forth by that Congress. On the other hand, it may rightly be said that without the analysis of the fundamental problems of the revolutionary movement made by the Twentieth Congress and without the affirmation of the spirit of true internationalism, Cuba and with it our own revolution would be exposed to some devastating blows.

In the past five years the Latin American countries have been the scene of a tense struggle. The masses in Chile, for example, are putting up a stubborn political fight. The blood of students has been shed on the banks of the Panama Canal. The people of the Dominican Republic have unfurled the banner of struggle for independence. The revolutionary forces in Venezuela are waging an heroic fight. The Guatemalan guerrillas have shown that they cannot be destroyed. Argentine workers have displayed their mettle by occupying enterprises. In Uruguay the past year has witnessed a series of general political strikes and other forms of mass struggle. Class struggle has sharpened in Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru and Brazil.

This brief enumeration alone is evidence of the irresistible advance of our revolution. At times perhaps it appears less dramatic than in the Asian and African countries. Nevertheless here too questions associated with liberation from imperialism are finding practical solution, whether the movements in one or another country are still at the stage of the accumulation of forces or whether they are already confronted with a revolutionary crisis.

In this connection it is worth while dwelling, if only briefly, on the specific features of the present stage in our continental struggle. The Cuban revolution was a pointer to, and an accelerator of, the upswing of the revolutionary process; it ushered in a new stage in this process, as was confirmed also by the Caribbean crisis, whatever the Chinese leaders might say to the contrary. But beginning with the spring of 1963 the top circles in the United States, thwarted in their design to invade Cuba, precipitated a number of coups, culminating in April 1964 in the putsch in Brazil. Uruguay was threatened with a similar coup in June, and the same danger exists at present in Argentina. The elections in Chile have been followed by a

tense situation throughout the country.

The question arises: has the rise of anti-imperialist, democratic and popular movements which mounted so swiftly after the victory of the Cuban revolution passed its peak? Perhaps, as some contend, a "black five-year period" of imperialist and reactionary offensive has begun?

Those who imagined that the revolutionary process on the continent would be a triumphal march are likely to be discouraged by the increasing bitterness and ferocity of the struggle. We, on the contrary, believe that we are now on the way to major revolutionary engagements; a period which will, naturally, be marked also by attempts on the part of the U.S. imperialists to launch a counter-offensive. However, this grim period is at the same time a period of new crisis for U.S. imperialist policy, a further narrowing of the social and ideological base of its domination and an intensification of the antagonisms which are bound to hasten the objective processes of the revolution.

This situation demands an effective response from the potentially revolutionary classes and social strata to the counter-attacks of reaction; the role of the working-class party in building a front of national liberation and its ability to take independent action as the vanguard of the movement must be enhanced until it becomes the decisive factor. Victory depends in growing measure on our ideological preparedness and on our tactical initiative, on our sagacity in determining when the decisive stage in the revolutionary development has been reached, and on the quality of our leadership. *In a word, the victory of the continental revolution directly depends on our ability to find paths of struggle adequate to the actual conditions, and to master all forms of struggle and social actions.*

II. POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR ANALYZING THE SITUATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Can the foregoing be corroborated by objective socio-economic analysis?

To visualize the general trend of development one must proceed from a number of basic premises. In the first place, we have in mind the changes in the material basis of Latin American society, changes associated with capitalist development which is proceeding in all the countries of the continent (especially in Mexico and South America) though in a distorted form (inasmuch as no radical change has taken place in land tenure

and imperialist domination has not been abolished). These changes must be taken into account in analyzing the present political and economic relations between Latin America and imperialism. And finally, these tendencies should be examined in the light of foreseeable world developments presaged by the antagonism between the socialist and capitalist systems.

Influence of International Factors

Let us begin with the last (but not least) of these factors. Clearly the second half of the sixties will be years in which the policy of peaceful coexistence will be put to the test. But it will also be a period of steady change in the world balance in favor of socialism. The building of communism in the USSR and the consolidation and expansion of the socialist camp will have their effect on the entire international situation. The help rendered by the socialist countries to the newly-emerging states will increase, as will their ability to oppose aggression and the export of counter-revolution. All this will be at once a decisive factor in preserving world peace, and a powerful stimulus to the liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries and the transition to socialism by those peoples who are now carrying out a national-democratic revolution. Capitalism will be caught more and more in the toils of its general crisis.

On the general plane we proceed from the assumption that the revolutionary perspective will broaden for all peoples. Threats against Cuba can neither prevent socialism from being built on the island nor dispel the influence exerted by the Cuban revolution on the minds of Latin Americans. One can safely say that not only will the objective need for revolutionary reform on the continent continue to grow; we believe, in addition, that the trend among some sections of the Latin American bourgeoisie to loosen the stranglehold of the United States will likewise grow. As the opportunities for American imperialist penetration diminish, these circles will strive for a more independent foreign policy, and the problems of foreign trade and independent economic development will become more acute. We believe that one should not see only the negative aspects of the events in Brazil (the discouraging ease of the "gorilla" victory); it is well to remember that the coup was preceded by a period marked by objective trends toward a more independent foreign policy (facilitated by the easing of world tensions and the role

of the socialist camp). To lose sight of this fact would tend to narrow our own tactical possibilities. The case of Brazil, however, is striking evidence of another aspect of the current processes. Unable to reconcile itself to the existence of Cuba, U.S. imperialism retaliated, as might have been expected, with naked violence and brazen arrogance.

One can say that the world process which is placing revolution on the agenda in Latin America simultaneously heightens the "sensitivity" of U.S. imperialism, imparts a sharper and more zigzag character to the processes in the Latin American countries. South America is acquiring increasing importance for Washington, and it is safe to assume that the aggressiveness of the latter will grow in proportion.

There is no need to draw any fatalistic conclusions on this score. Under certain conditions — given the favorable operation of political, historical and geographical factors and a weakening of resistance on the part of the ruling classes — the course of world developments may enhance the possibility of a peaceful path of revolution in one or another country. Who can deny for example that under certain circumstances, including the existence of an anti-imperialist government in Brazil or Argentina, such a possibility might exist for Uruguay? Of course, the realization of this possibility always depends on the balance of forces within the country. There is nothing fatal about the outcome in Brazil either. On the contrary, all the conditions were there for progressive evolution, and for foiling the imperialist conspiracy as well.

But we should never forget that U.S. imperialism will stop at nothing, including "gorilla" putsches, to change the situations in its favor.

The prospects of world development give us grounds for feeling stronger and more confident. However, we must always bear in mind that both before and after victory the struggle will be bitter and complex. The enemy will give us no respite, he will be deterred neither by legal standards nor moral principles.

Critical Aggravation of Socio-Economic Situation

A deepening structural crisis of Latin American society is the determining factor of socio-economic development on the continent.

In most Latin American countries production relations are already predominantly

capitalist (production for the market based on the employment of wage labor). However, the deformed capitalist development in our countries with the preservation of latifundist ownership and economic domination of imperialism aggravates the instability of their economy and tightens the knot of socio-economic contradictions — both those peculiar to the capitalist mode of production as well as those engendered by foreign domination and the specific character of land tenure. Added to the limitations of the home market is the complete dependence on the foreign market. The latter is determined not only by the role of our countries as exporters of raw material, but also by the fact that industrial development in the past has tended to fetter our countries economically. The point is that in all countries (even those in which metallurgy and engineering are to some extent developed), industry, and with it a large part of the state sector as a whole, depends on the import of equipment and raw material (capitalist reproduction in the Latin American countries suffers from a serious discrepancy between Group B—domestic, and Group A—foreign). Industrial development has strengthened the position of the local bourgeoisie and the proletariat which in a sense has consolidated the socio-economic basis for the struggle for greater independence and has extended the area of friction with imperialism. But the economic contradictions in each country have deepened; their dependence on the monopoly-controlled foreign market is greater than ever; the consequences of the non-equivalent exchange have become more acute; the consequences of the outflow of the fruits of national labor absorbed by the international monopolies make themselves felt still more; and further obstacles are created to internal capitalist accumulation, already kept to a minimum by the limitations of the home market. The trade and payments balance of most Latin American countries mirrors all the contradictions of their economy.

As might have been foreseen, this situation led first to stagnation in the economy and later to its regression. The crisis of the socio-economic structure deepened. In many countries production began to decline. Moreover, until quite recently this situation was marked by a steadily worsening agrarian crisis, by chronic stagnation in the *extractive* industries (with the exception of oil) balanced, however, by a simultaneous development of the *manufacturing* industry. Throughout the recent period, however, indices of annual growth continuously declined as com-

pared with the period of the Second World War and the first postwar years when they rose to as high as 10 per cent. At present expansion has slowed down to the point of stagnation, and in some countries, has dropped below that point. According to the report of the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) to the Economic and Social Council (July 1964) per capita income did not increase in 1962 and showed a tendency to decline in 1963. Growth of "domestic production of goods and services" (per capita) amounted to only 2.5 per cent annually in 1959-61 and fell again in 1962 and 1963. Some time ago ECLA at its meeting in Mar del Plata gloomily observed that the Latin American economy displayed "inability productively to absorb the natural growth of labor power and the manpower made redundant in agriculture," that "too high a concentration of urban population" was accompanied by the formation of "large groups standing aloof from production," that "with the growth of productivity in agriculture this tendency will increase," and that this "contradiction can only be resolved through a more rapid rate of capital accumulation." Mr. Prebisch in his report pointed to one of the chief reasons for the negligible increase in capital which was leading to stagnation or decline in economic development: *fifty per cent of the population consumes only two-tenths of the gross product, while five per cent consumes nearly three-tenths!*

This state of affairs is due primarily to the concentration of means of production in the hands of a small minority. But this is only one aspect of the problem; another aspect is the scale of the imperialist plunder. In the period between 1950 and 1961 the inflow of foreign capital to Latin America (including reinvestment) amounted to 9,600 million dollars. The gap in prices paid for primary products and imported manufactured goods for the same period increased by 17 per cent, costing Latin America some \$10,000 million. Lastly, the transfer of funds abroad (profits, repayment of loans, interest on loans, licences, etc.) amounted to a total of \$13,400 million.

So far we have drawn on Mr. Prebisch's statistical data. However, *International Financial Statistics* (organ of the International Monetary Fund) considers that in the period between 1951 to 1961 our countries lost some \$20,500 million as a result of non-equivalent exchange. According to the data of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development the foreign state debt (payable in hard currency) amounted to

\$1,741 million in 1950, \$3,606 million in 1955 and \$9,100 million in 1963. In 1962 Latin America had to pay out the sum of \$1,200 million on these loans. The International Bank estimates that in 1965 the corresponding sum will amount to \$2,200 million. We could cite any amount of statistical evidence of this kind.

Against this background all aspects of the socio-economic crisis stand out in bold relief: the financial crisis, the diminishing gold and currency reserves, the fall in the value of the national currency, the growth of budget deficits, rising prices on the home market, unemployment and sharpening of the class struggle. These processes and tendencies (which for reasons of space we can only touch upon briefly) testify to the depth of the structural crisis and the beginning of a new phase of the growing economic instability in most Latin American countries.

The antagonism between our peoples, on the one hand, and imperialism (chiefly U.S.), the latifundists and the big anti-national bourgeoisie, on the other, tends to become keener. Growth of the productive forces brings them into increasing conflict with the antiquated production relations. This aggravation of contradictions, which is the objective basis of the Latin American revolution, will in all probability hasten the maturing of a new political crisis, already presaged by the frequent coups not to speak of the wave of popular actions now sweeping Latin America.

Narrowing of Social and Ideological Basis of U.S. Domination

It is this situation that caused a new crisis in Washington's Latin American policy, and which is responsible for the swift failure of the Alliance for Progress, so aptly described by one American commentator as a "dead horse." In October 1963 the *Chicago Daily News* expressed itself on this score in terms reminiscent of an epitaph. The idea was a good one, said the paper; the trouble was that the Figueras-Betancourt-Lleras axis turned out to be unable to act as a counterweight to Fidelism. Not one of the three performed the miracle that would have brought the hungry and oppressed Latin Americans to their doors. On the contrary, they lost whatever influence they had.

The Alliance for Progress was intended as something in the nature of a bribe to the ruling classes in Latin America, a means of buying their support for aggression against Cuba. And apart from various other

internal factors which made the success of the Alliance dubious from the start, a big role was played by the circumstance that after the Caribbean crisis the conviction hardened on the continent that the Cuban revolution had come to stay. Then came the assassination of Kennedy. But even before that, beginning with the spring of 1963, a wave of "gorilla" coups had occurred. The Brazilian coup was the crowning point, so to speak, of the bankruptcy of the Alliance for Progress. Mr. Kubitschek, the trumpeter of the Alliance, ardent champion of the "theory of development," and inspirer of the Pan-American operation who went to the trouble of finding such a poet-cum-economist as Schmidt to lend wings to the enterprise, is today as much an exile as any "Red." It is true that Mr. Kubitschek at one time declared the Alliance for Progress a failure, but it is equally true that his present persecution is a startling example of the irony of history.

The coup in Brazil was a heavy blow for the entire continent, but at the same time it turned the spotlight on the crisis of the policy of subservience to Washington pursued by the top rulers. It added to the danger threatening all our peoples, but at the same time it demonstrated the weakness of North America's political positions in Latin America. The prospect of an aggravation of all the contradictions and a further shrinking of the social and ideological base of its domination is the price imperialism will have to pay for this success. All this adds fuel to the fires smouldering in this part of the world. And this places an added responsibility on the working-class parties of Latin America. We should like to say a few words on this score.

Some Points About Ideology and Tactics

1. Lenin not without irony pointed out that "from the fact that the birth of a child can be expected nine months after conception" it does not follow that it is possible already now "... to determine the exact hour and the moment of the birth, or the position of the child or the condition of the mother during birth and the exact degree of pain and danger both the infant and the mother will experience."* This is an undeniable truth, but it requires one addition: for the birth to be successful much will depend on the revolutionary parties. The condition for success is the unity of the working class and the people, and the ideological and organizational consolidation of the Party.

*V. I. Lenin. Tenth Anniversary of Pravda.

2. The Eighteenth Congress of our Party formulated the following principle which, we believe, is still valid for the Uruguayan Communists: when the objective conditions for the revolution have matured, there are two pitfalls which revolutionaries must be careful to avoid. The first is the danger of petty-bourgeois adventurism, the belief that some recipe, some isolated or spectacular action will always and under all circumstances speed up the development of revolution. The other — a shameful affliction for revolutionaries — is the loss of revolutionary perspective, the danger of being deaf to the rumbles which herald the hour when the destiny of the working class and the masses is to be decided. Both evils (which for the sake of convenience might be called petty-bourgeois extremism, in the first instance, and opportunism or hidebound adherence to forms of struggle relating to periods of slow social development, in the second) can best be cured by *the systematic formation — within the framework of the mass struggle and taking account of all possible forms of the movement — of a powerful socio-political army of revolution.*

3. The more violent and aggressive the policy of U.S. imperialism becomes, and the narrower its social base, the broader and more flexible (instead of more sectarian and infantile) should be the tactics of the liberation movement and the tactics of the working-class party. The essence and main objective of our policy is to fight U.S. imperialism, to isolate imperialism and the social classes and groups who do its bidding. And this means that we must be able to combine our principal and primary activity—the struggle for working-class unity and for winning over the majority to our ideology, for an alliance between workers and peasants and for unity of the urban middle sections with the proletariat — with a policy which would serve to ensure the neutrality or the adoption of a more favorable attitude to the revolutionary movement on the part of elements from other classes who are today upholding democratic freedoms, economic development, an independent foreign policy, i.e., upholding that which U.S. imperialism is trampling underfoot.

Revolutionary fervor and the political and psychological training of cadres for revolutionary action also presuppose a sober political weighing of pros and cons, a correct appraisal of each stage in the struggle, topical slogans capable of turning the revolutionary vanguard (with its close ties among the

masses) into a tangible factor of the political process.

4. The prospect of bitter struggles demands that revolutionaries fully master all possible forms of struggle (and not confine themselves to registering their agreement with a particular formula.) This is essential in order to be in a position under all circumstances to pass from one form of struggle to another.

5. Thus life makes imperative unity and clear thinking on the part of the Marxist-Leninist parties on our continent. This is not only our internationalist duty, it is the demand of our national reality, for ideological and tactical problems are now assuming cardinal importance. Moreover, the disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders are creating added difficulties for us.

On the *ideological* plane, the theses of the Chinese leaders come dangerously close to some of the most threadbare concepts of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism in Latin America, whether it is a question of counterposing the Latin American revolution to the world socialist system and the Soviet Union or denying the leading role of the working class and striving to isolate the Marxist-Leninist parties. The Cuban experience and the statements made by Fidel Castro have dealt hard blows to these concepts. But though their proponents have retreated, the concepts have not disappeared. For they reflect the ideology of those social groups which, while opposed to imperialism and being potential allies of the proletariat, at the same time refuse so far to accept Marxist-Leninist ideology and proletarian internationalism. The Chinese campaign, which is essentially a revision of Lenin's teaching on the world socialist revolution, has revived these tendencies. It has thus become a factor retarding the building of the national-liberation front and causing ideological disunity in the camp of the Latin American revolution.

From the standpoint of *tactics*, the phraseology of the Chinese leaders supports the old ideas and methods castigated by Marx, Engels and Lenin — their derisive attacks against those who use parliaments for revolutionary purposes (their attitude on this question amounts to a revival of the polemics between the "Left" Communists and Lenin), or their disparagement of the struggle for immediate demands, in defense of democratic liberties and legal status for the revolutionary working-class movement. Today Chinese garb is being donned by petty-bourgeois radicals who in the matter of

methods of revolutionary struggle adhere to moth-eaten ideas about the "inspiring effect of direct action," ideas imported into the Rio de la Plata area half a century ago by anarchistic sects. Contrary to the Marxist orientation on mass action, these groups maintain that "direct actions" carried out by a handful of bold men can rouse the people and hasten the social revolution. These concepts are akin to Blanquism or to the antiquated Socialist-Revolutionary and populist idea (borrowed today by the APRA youth and certain nationalistic petty-bourgeois trends in Latin America) that the leading role in our revolution belongs to the peasant and not the proletarian masses. In this formula sectarianism, phrasemongering, superficial counterposing of some forms of struggle to others are combined with an anti-Soviet line. It is worth noting that of late (influenced by groups with Trotskyite leanings) its proponents have begun to indulge in thinly-veiled criticism of Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders, accusing them of having "capitulated to the Soviet Union."

From the standpoint of *Party organization*, the policy of the Chinese leaders is aimed at undermining unity (both on an international and national plane), at supporting all those who are bent on disrupting the Communist parties organizationally and ideologically.

The best antidote to this scurrilous campaign is of course the militancy and firmness of each party, and effective fulfilment of its functions as the vanguard. But this does not relieve us of the duty of cementing the unity of the international Communist movement, of carrying on the ideological struggle which the Latin American revolutionary process has placed on the order of the day.

III. FOR GREATER UNITY OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

Regardless of whether the transitional period which Latin America is now experiencing can be considered the beginning of a new stage of the struggle or not, one thing is clear: we are on the eve of a difficult period, a period of rapidly changing situations, of sharpening social and national struggles and mounting perils, but a period, nevertheless, of new prospects for the Latin American revolution.

This once again highlights the need for strengthening the fraternal bonds between the Marxist-Leninist parties, for more effective mutual assistance between the working-class organizations and the national-liberation

movements on the continent. Apart from being a matter of principle, this is necessitated by the needs of the moment. Let us point to two of these.

Unity of the Revolutionary Process

U.S. imperialism has one overall strategic plan for the whole of Latin America: a general counter-offensive against our peoples. This is confirmation, as it were, of that unity of the continental revolutionary process which we have endeavored to emphasize here and which is determined in large measure by our common dependence on North American imperialism. Latin America comprises a substantial part of its "invisible empire." In order to ensure its continued exploitation of the continent, the United States has set up a military-political superstructure combining some forms of economic domination with military and police actions coordinated on a continental scale. The former is based chiefly on the influx of U.S. state-monopoly capital. Through the Inter-American Defense Council, military missions and special schools (for combating "subversive" activities) in Panama, the United States and also in the Argentine and Brazil, U.S. imperialism directs the general operation for organizing repressions, provocations and espionage throughout Latin America. Through these channels it is seeking to turn the national armed forces into a kind of foreign legion charged with the functions of an army of occupation in their own countries. Herein lies the secret of the synchronized execution of the "gorilla" putsches. All this must be taken into consideration not only in elaborating our policy in each country but within the broader framework of the joint strategy and joint actions of all the Latin American parties.

The Struggle Necessitates a Variety of Tactics in Each Country

In view of the unevenness of social development and the difference in the levels of the revolutionary process in the different countries we cannot afford to be disunited; *there is a compulsive need for still closer unity, for regular and more frequent exchanges of opinion, fraternal mutual assistance among the Marxist-Leninist parties and the working-class and popular movements of the continent.* This would give us a clearer understanding of common problems, enable us to avoid exclusiveness and arbitrary counterposing of the experience of the different parties.

Latin America today is a school of instructive experience in the most diverse spheres — achievement of working-class unity, the methods of building up the united front, legal and illegal, parliamentary and partisan forms of struggle, methods of effective underground work and genuine feats of heroism performed both with and without arms. Some of these methods have been crowned with success, others have ended in failure; some have given us cause for regret, while the correctness of others has been corroborated by experience. But all of them help to avoid seeing the entire continent through the eyes of one's own country only. Lenin's warning is very much in place here: "Each country contributes its own valuable and original features to the common flood, but in each individual country the movement suffers from one or another limitation, one or another theoretical or practical defect on the part of the individual socialist parties."* It is only by assimilating the experience of all — by critically applying it on a national plane and particularly in concrete political circumstances—that we can acquire at once an integral concept and the tactical ability to lead the masses forward and advance the revolutionary process.

It is easy to see, moreover, that the mighty flood of the Latin American revolution cannot be forced into the artificial framework of a single tactical pattern. On the contrary, swift and sudden changes in the situation in the different countries underscore the need to adapt tactics accordingly, to bear in mind that in some cases one tactical approach is bound to predominate and in other cases, another, and that, as Lenin taught us, what are today the principal forms of struggle may tomorrow become secondary. It is because of this differentiated approach that Communist tactics in Costa Rica differ from those in Venezuela; in Argentina, from those in Uruguay; in the Dominican Republic, from those in Bolivia; in Chile, from those in Brazil or Ecuador. Any attempt to manufacture universal stereotyped tactics in these conditions would inevitably result in a superficial formula remote from the practical purposes of the revolutionary movement and doomed to failure.

Tactics of the Proletariat According to Marx, Engels and Lenin

As we observe the centenary of the First International it is worth while returning once again to Lenin's synthesis of the tactical

principles contained in the works of Marx and Engels. It could be summed up in the following basic premises: 1) tactics always require a concrete approach, "an objective consideration of the sum-total of inter-relations of all the classes of a given society without exception," the degree of development of each society and its inter-relation with other societies; 2) this approach must be dynamic: one must be able to see not only the past and the present, but also the future course of events; 3) it must be dialectical, and not the approach of the "evolutionists" who see only slow changes"; "twenty years are no more than a day in developments of great magnitude," Marx wrote to Engels, "although later there may come days in which 20 years are concentrated"; 4) it is necessary "... to take account of this objectively inevitable dialectics of human history, on the one hand utilizing the period of political stagnation or of sluggish, so-called 'peaceful' development in order to develop the class consciousness, strength and fighting capacity of the advanced class, and on the other, directing all this work of utilization towards the 'final aim' of the movement of this class and towards the creation in it of the faculty for the practical accomplishment of great tasks in the great days in which 'twenty years are concentrated'."*

Thus, Lenin laid particular emphasis on the dialectical connection between the period of accumulation of forces and revolutionary situations. It is clear that one cannot speak of a long period of peaceful development as applied to Latin America today, inasmuch as both the objective conditions on the continent and the general peaceful course of development determined by the enhanced role of the socialist camp and the deepening of the crisis of capitalism *makes the maturing of the revolutionary situation more and more dependent on the ability of the vanguard to lead the masses in struggle, on the flexibility of its tactics, the energy and militancy of its actions.*

The Eighteenth Congress of our Party pointed out, for example, that in Uruguay we are going through the period of gathering forces. But even within the framework of a society like ours, the duration of this stage cannot be estimated in advance with any degree of exactitude, the transition to the next and higher stage of the struggle depends in the long run on our ability at the present time to unite and educate the ma-

* V. I. Lenin, *Inflammable Material in World Politics*.

*V.I. Lenin. Karl Marx

majority of the people and to win over the majority of the people, and to win over the majority of the proletariat to our ideas. In Uruguay, of course, legal forms of struggle take priority. However, the changing objective factors — the attitude of the reactionaries, for instance — are also likely to accelerate the process, but only on condition that we have the support of the masses.

IV. WHAT IS THE DIALECTICAL CONNECTION BETWEEN THE PERIOD OF "GATHERING FORCES" AND THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION?

The recent threat of a coup d'état in Uruguay brought us face to face with this problem.

The news of a contemplated Army-Police conspiracy of a Right-wing nature found the country in the throes of bitter class battles, a deep-going economic crisis, and ruled by a government whose weakness had become obvious to all. Alarm seized the majority of the population. And although some anti-putsch sentiment existed in government circles, in the big traditional parties and in the army, the working-class and popular organizations which had attacked government policy were keenly aware of the danger. From the first, the Communist Party, the Left Liberation Front, the United Trade Union Center, the Federation of University Students and other organizations voiced their alarm at the threatened coup. In less than a week hundreds of meetings of workers, office employees, teachers of elementary and higher schools, and students were held. They combined struggle for their demands with defense of democratic freedoms, and declared their determination to fight on all sectors against the "gorilla" plot. This readiness to fight was backed up by a huge demonstration followed by a 24-hour general strike involving half a million workers and students. This vigorous popular reaction took the initiative out of the hands of the putschists for a time.

The June events and the fact that the threat of a coup has not been fully eliminated compels us to give some thought to some of the aspects of this experience. True, the basic aim of our tactics in the period of gathering forces consists in mustering our strength, organizing and uniting the working class and the people. But this objective will not change should a more critical situation arise, as for instance, in the event of the need to combat tendencies toward a reactionary coup. In this case, too, success will depend primarily on the actions of the

masses, on their understanding of the motives of our struggle and on their sympathy and support for the more politically active contingents of the proletariat and the middle sections. However, this primary condition (mobilization and class consciousness of the masses) may prove to be insufficient to isolate the more reactionary elements and to induce them to abandon their putschist designs. The working class and the population generally are faced today with a problem which has confronted the peoples of many other Latin American countries at various times. I refer to the capacity swiftly to pass over from one form of struggle to another, whether it be a question of preserving the popular movement which may be forced underground, or of offering armed resistance to the enemy.

What are the problems that arise in a country in which a revolutionary situation, as Lenin defined it, does not exist, a country whose popular movement is going through the period of building up its forces, in the event of reaction resorting to violence against the masses, e.g., in the form of a "gorilla" putsch? Does our readiness to employ "all forms of struggle" mean in situations such as this merely organizing resistance of the masses along with creating or preserving organizational forms to carry on underground work?

According to the classical concepts, if no revolutionary situation exists in a given country, the seizure of power by peaceful or non-peaceful means is not the first point on the agenda. The question of armed struggle is primarily a political question which must be decided depending on the concrete circumstances. For the revolutionary forces to launch armed struggle, three conditions at least are required: a) a revolutionary crisis; b) the correct choice of the moment to pass over to actions defined by Lenin in his article "Marxism and the Uprising"; c) winning over the majority of the working class and the population.

In the period of the accumulation of forces no such conditions exist. However, in the face of a threat of a "gorilla" coup with no mass support, the political conditions can mature rapidly. In this case the front of the people's struggle in defense of their freedom will at the first stage be broader (as regards the position of the different classes and social strata and the level of political consciousness of the masses essential for their participation in the struggle) as compared with the correlation of forces in the period of the classical revolutionary

situation. In this sense the reactionary coup could play the part of a catalyzer, an accelerator of the process of gathering forces, when, as Marx said, "twenty years are as one day." However, even when reaction takes the initiative in the use of force, the choice of methods of struggle continues to be subordinated to the political situation, depending in particular on the sentiment of the masses. The use of one or another method at this juncture depends, thus, to a large extent on the adequate preliminary preparation, on the necessary cadres and on the fighting initiative of the revolutionary vanguard capable of carrying the majority of the working class and the people with it.

The answer to the question as to what forms and methods of struggle should be used can never be given without taking account of the role of the masses in this struggle. However, we believe that this answer must of necessity take into account the possibilities of struggle in all areas where the enemy engages us. If Blanquism is disastrous and adventurism irresponsible, then it is equally disastrous to postpone a counter blow until *all* the conditions for *launching the struggle for power on our initiative* have matured. The heroism of a small group of men ready to sacrifice their lives but not forming part of the mainstream of popular action in this case is not enough; however, certain conditions for counter action by the workers always exist (demonstrations, general strike, demonstrations combined with mass self-defense, diverse actions by thousands of people roused to struggle by some event and ready to plunge into the fray, etc.), action which in such cases serves as a test of the militancy of the working-class party.

And the militancy, initiative and prepared-

ness of the working class and the people generally acquire a qualitatively new character when the vanguard finds the political and technical means enabling it to take the lead at the moment when the enemy strikes at the people's cherished aspirations and when the outcome depends on fighting with arms in hand. . . .

Hence if to expose an isolated vanguard to the enemy fire and sacrifice the finest revolutionary cadres would be foolhardiness, then the retreat and surrender of positions in default of fighting initiative or proper preparation must also be regarded as complete capitulation. Of course, no one can guarantee victory under such circumstances, particularly when the enemy possesses the advantage of having the initiative. But an enemy victory won without a serious struggle is a demoralizing factor that can considerably complicate the subsequent political activity of the vanguard which suffers the consequences of both a "physical" blow and loss of prestige. It is precisely in this connection that Lenin recalled what Marx said about surrender without struggle demoralizing the proletariat far more than a crushing defeat.

And of course there are defeats *and* defeats: some defeats become the prelude to victories, others leave the workers and the popular movement weakened and discouraged for years.

In any case the problem of the transition from the period of gathering forces to the armed struggle is a practical question in Latin America today, one that requires thorough discussion and a dialectical approach, probing ever deeper to the roots of things and linked more and more with the contemporary situation.

Montevideo. July, 1964.

The Communist Party of Venezuela and the Present Situation

Carlos Lopez

The Background

TO OBTAIN a proper understanding of the Venezuelan scene and the policy of the Venezuelan Communist Party at the present stage, a brief excursion into recent history, especially the period beginning with 1958, is in order. On January 21-23 of that year the military dictatorship established in 1948 was overthrown by a popular uprising supported by a large section of the armed forces.

The ousting of the Jimenez dictatorship and the winning of democratic freedom ushered in a new stage in the struggle waged by our people. True, the class character of the government was not essentially changed. The big bourgeoisie had little difficulty in imposing its line on the provisional government, and the machinery of state continued to function much as before. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly the unity achieved during the January battles was not backed by any strong mass organization; secondly, the degree of militancy was not the same in all parts of the country, and thirdly, the proletariat and its class organizations and Party had not yet recovered from the blows inflicted on them in the course of the struggle against the dictatorship. Last but not least, neither the working class, nor the Communists, nor any other revolutionary force had any clear idea with regard to the future development of the revolution, and specifically, on the question of the conquest of power.

These shortcomings have since been fully recognized by the revolutionary forces of Venezuela, and especially by our Party. But it took three years of struggle before we realized wherein we had erred.

The history of the relations between the Betancourt government (which came to power after the December 1958 election) and the popular movement prior to the spring of 1961 falls roughly into three stages:

a) the stage of the organization of the masses and the struggle for their immediate demands, when our Party opposed government policies inimical to the people;

b) the so-called *turning point* (beginning with May 1959) when the Communist Party urged a sharp turn in government policy if the ruling groups really wished to save the country from going back to the old methods of repressions and to govern "on behalf of the majority of the nation and in its interests";

c) the stage of naked government repressions against the working people, when the popular movement was forced to go over to self-defense in order to protect mass demonstrations and safeguard its organizations. This stage (which lasted throughout 1960) was marked, particularly in the latter part of 1960, by such government actions as firing upon demonstrations of unemployed, pursuing a hostile policy toward students, engaging in raids and murders in an effort to retain control of the mass organizations, carrying out wholesale arrests of revolutionaries and taking an openly hostile attitude to Cuba in support of United States policy.

It was at this stage of the struggle, in March 1961, that the Communist Party held its Third Congress. The Congress noted that the Betancourt government was pursuing a reactionary, anti-national policy, that it was resorting to violence and that the effort made to get rid of Jimenez had been largely in vain inasmuch as power had fallen into the hands of the old camarilla. The Congress stressed that within 20 months of its establishment the constitutional government had proved itself a complete failure and the country was now in the throes of a profound political crisis.

The popular movement was thus faced with the necessity of examining the prospects of the revolution and its paths of development, as well as the problem of political power. The Third Congress gave the following answers to these questions.

"1. The strength of the enemy (U.S. imperialism—C.L.) compels us to concentrate our fire against that enemy, by drawing upon all our reserves however small, uniting all possible allies and neutralizing the remainder of our enemies by taking advantage of the inter-imperialist contradictions, whether be-

tween individual countries or between imperialist groups.

"2. We must realize that the anti-imperialist struggle will be of relatively long duration, since we cannot hope for a swift victory in a single action.

"3. We must realize that U.S. imperialism will not voluntarily relinquish such a tasty morsel as Venezuela. The U.S. monopolies will resort to every means in order to retain their grip on Venezuela. Hence the people must prepare in their turn to employ all means of struggle and to be ready to make the necessary sacrifices to ensure victory in the struggle for national emancipation. In this connection whether the Venezuelan revolution will be violent or peaceful, whether it will involve bloodshed or not will depend not so much on the will of the patriotic forces as on the aggressiveness of their enemies."

The Congress outlined the tasks confronting the people. The chief tasks were "to put an end to U.S. imperialist domination, win complete independence and sovereignty for our country, abolish latifundism, which is an obstacle to our progress and to democracy in the country.

"Before these basic tasks can be accomplished it is necessary first: to remove from political power all public, civilian and military elements subservient to U.S. imperialism and representing the survivals of feudalism, and to replace them with a revolutionary government enjoying the support of all classes, all patriots in the nation and in the armed forces anxious to see the program of national liberation, democracy and independence carried into life.

"The main problem is that of the conquest of power. Unless this is clearly understood it will not be possible either consciously to direct the course of the revolution or to influence it."

The Third Congress gave a new stimulus to the activity of the Party, initiating a fruitful discussion of the question of the conquest of power by the people. Since that time all our ideological work, conducted against the background of the revolutionary struggle waged by diverse classes, has been bound up with the task of explaining the congress resolutions to the people and impressing them with the need to go over to new and more effective forms of struggle.

A Few Words About the Economic Situation

Our Party sees Venezuela as a semi-colo-

nial, semi-feudal country with a deformed economic structure.

Generally speaking, the economy can be said to be dominated by foreign capital. More than half of the total U.S. investment in Latin America is in Venezuela. According to official data, foreign investments in the basic branches of the economy in 1961 amounted to: 18,708,450,000 bolivars in the oil industry; 994,680,000 in mining; 631,060,000 in processing; 108,260,000 in construction; 703,890,000 in trade; 151,710,000 in banking; 79,150,000 in insurance and 150,110,000 in services.

The total of foreign capital investments amounted to 21,527,310,000 bolivars, of which 12,000,000,000 fell to the share of the United States and 6,000,000,000 to Britain. According to statistics, more than 90 per cent of the foreign capital is invested in oil and iron ore extraction, a fact which reduces the role of our country to that of supplier of raw material for the imperialist "metropolis".

Foreign investment yields extremely high profits, in some cases as much as 30 - 50 per cent. Since these profits are exported, it is impossible to build up the necessary internal accumulations, and the ensuing acute shortage of capital has retarded industrial development.

Oil extraction is the main channel of imperialist penetration in our country. Concessions held by foreign companies cover an area of 6.5 million hectares, of which 71.4 per cent belongs to Standard Oil. Oil is produced at the rate of 3.5 million barrels a day. Ninety-five per cent of the oil is exported. Venezuela is one of the world's biggest oil exporters. However, the number of workers employed in the oil industry has been steadily declining—from 61,000 in 1948, to 45,000 in 1957 and to no more than 34,000 at the present time.

The presence in Venezuela of two powerful oil groups (Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell) has given rise to tense situations in our country on more than one occasion. Friction between the two rival groups is now keener than ever, with the prospect of Royal Dutch Shell being granted a concession to work the rich deposits recently discovered in the eastern part of the country. It may well be that, as on previous occasions, this rivalry will have serious political repercussions. Extraction of iron ore is also on a big scale. The greater part of the ore—13 million tons annually—is exported to the United States. After Canada, Venezuela is the second biggest supplier of iron ore to U.S. firms. The system of working the deposits is excep-

tionally profitable for the imperialist monopolies.

North American imperialism virtually controls our foreign trade. In 1962 some 42.4 per cent of our oil, 78 per cent of the iron ore and 82.3 per cent of the cocoa were exported to the U.S. Imports from the United States amounted to 52.5 per cent of our total imports, the lion's share consisting of food and beverages. Our entire system of foreign trade is based on an agreement granting privileges to U.S. goods and enabling the North Americans to regulate at will the purchase of basic items of Venezuelan exports.

The United States siphons off our national income also through insurance policies, foreign agencies, freight charges, banking deposits, etc. In all, about 25 per cent of our national income flows out of the country into U.S. coffers. Underdeveloped Venezuela continues to subsidize U.S. economy.

In agriculture, pre-capitalist production relations based mainly on latifundist ownership of the land, predominate. About 71 per cent of the landholders own only 2.3 per cent of the land, while 1.5 per cent possess 78.7 per cent. Some of the biggest landowners are the oil companies. Venezuela has 320,000 share-croppers and tenant farmers who cultivate plots of up to three hectares. To these should be added 100,000 small and 60,000 middle peasants. These groups make up the bulk of the country's labor force and live in wretched poverty. At the opposite pole are the 3,422 big latifundists who own more than 17,000,000 hectares, an average of 5,093 hectares each.

This state of affairs enables the latifundists to squeeze extortionate rents from the tenant farmers and sharecroppers; on the other hand it is the chief obstacle to the development of the productive forces in agriculture. The peasants use primitive implements, the soil is poorly fertilized and practically no irrigation work is carried on.

This, in turn, leads to an extremely low productivity in most branches of agriculture, appalling poverty in the countryside and necessitates the importation of a large quantity of products, a fact which explains why agrarian reform is opposed not only by the latifundists but by the foreign monopoly exporters as well.

Armed Struggle, the Road to Venezuelan Revolution. Plenary Meeting of CPV, December 1962

After March 1961 several events of major importance occurred in Venezuela: the mass

demonstrations in October-November 1961; the big transport strike in January 1962 which shook the country and assumed features of an armed revolt; the splitting of the popular movement by the government party and the brutal repressions against this movement, the imprisonment of thousands of democrats; the mutinies in the armed forces in Carupano and Puerto Cabello in May and June 1962; the virtual banning of the Communist Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement; another split in the government Democratic Action party and the formation of a broad parliamentary opposition which deprived the government of the majority in Congress; the devaluation of the bolivar and rise in the cost of living; the abolition of almost all democratic liberties and, lastly, the elections in 1963.

It was against this complex socio-political background that our Party worked in this period. The imminent fall of the government, and its betrayal of the people was obvious to all. Many of those who took part in the popular movement were murdered, the prisons were filled with people and the remaining democratic freedoms—freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, etc., were wiped out. The prediction of the Third Congress of our Party that the reactionaries would stop at nothing in their struggle against the people was fully borne out.

This was the situation in which the Central Committee of our Party met in December 1962. It again underscored the anti-national and anti-democratic character of the Betancourt-Copei (Social Christian Party) government and reaffirmed that the Party's task was to replace it with a democratic and patriotic government that would unite the overwhelming majority of the population—the working class, peasantry, intellectuals and students, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Pointing out that the primary task was to unite and coordinate the actions of the democratic and patriotic forces, the meeting called for a united front of all classes and their parties pledged to a new government program—albeit limited but with clearly defined objectives.

Proceeding from a sober assessment of the situation, the experience and lessons of five years of struggle, the December meeting came to the conclusion that in the conditions prevailing in our country, a struggle for power by the democratic and patriotic forces and for the eventual defense of that power made recourse to *armed force* inevitable. Needless to say, in the course of the long and difficult struggle needed to achieve these

objectives all forms and methods of struggle should be used, but the principal form would be that of *armed force*.

The meeting therefore called upon our Party and the other popular forces to begin building up a people's army which would unite all patriots for the battle to liberate the country from the foreign yoke, overthrow the present government, and carry out a program of structural reforms.

Lastly, in view of the elections scheduled to be held in late 1963, the Central Committee drafted the general lines of the Party's policy in the election campaign.

Inasmuch as the Communists are by no means opposed in principle to participating in elections during the development of the revolutionary process, the Central Committee resolved:

1) to use the elections to deepen the crisis of the Betancourt government;

2) to combat any rigging of the elections by the government, and demand equal rights for all to take part in the elections;

3) to appeal to all democratic forces in the country to defeat the government by nominating a single opposition candidate for the post of President.

These decisions served our Party as a program of action throughout 1963 and for the early part of this year. In April 1964 a meeting of our Central Committee reviewed the results of this activity and elaborated a line for the coming period.

April CC Meeting. Results of Elections

In the first place the meeting analyzed the political lessons to be drawn from the elections held on December 1, 1963. It recognized the correctness of the Party's election policy both throughout the campaign as well as at the final stage, when the Communists appealed to the masses to refrain from voting. Unfortunately, we did not succeed in achieving the desired degree of unity of the opposition forces. This, however, was the fault not of the Communist Party but of the so-called "legal opposition" trends which were unable to abandon their narrow group interests, each upholding its own to the detriment of the others. This anti-unity policy reflected the general orientation of that part of the leadership of the parties which are playing into the hands of U.S. capital and the domestic oligarchy, an orientation indicative of the sentiments of the wavering and conciliatory elements and the atmosphere of corruption that permeated their ranks. The net result was that we had four opposition

candidates running for President. And this enabled the government to win the elections. Had the opposition acted in unison, the government candidate could have been defeated, as is borne out even by the falsified election returns.

As we had predicted, the elections were a swindle. By resorting to police violence and bringing the machinery of state into play, the government was able to induce large numbers to go to the polls. The voting however was a heavy blow for Betancourt's policy: the Democratic Action vote dropped from 49 per cent in 1958 to 32 per cent.

For the popular forces, and especially for our Party, the election results were a grave setback, due in large measure to the attitude of the legal opposition parties and to the government repressions.

Among the mistakes committed by the revolutionary forces the Central Committee pointed to the tardiness in issuing the appeal to the voters to refrain from participation in the elections. There were not a few such errors, all of which contributed to the negative results of the elections. However, as the meeting stressed, the Party had suffered a *temporary* setback, and the success of the reactionaries contained the seeds of deep-going contradictions. Subsequent developments would reveal — as indeed they are already doing — these contradictions.

The December elections proved to many what we had long since contended, namely, in a country controlled to such an extent as ours by North American imperialism, elections could not be the way to the changes urgently needed by the people; that in the long run imperialism, using all the means at its disposal, could always impose the candidate it preferred. The elections also showed that the leaders of the petty bourgeoisie and the well-to-do sections are prone to compromise and, in some cases, even to betrayal.

Political Line and Tactics of the CPV at the Present Stage

The April Central Committee meeting confirmed the general line of our Party concerning the use of force in the revolutionary denouement of the Venezuelan situation and armed struggle as the basic form of the development of the revolution. The theoretical postulation of this line is of the utmost importance, in view of the efforts of the present government and its accomplices to foster all kinds of illusions among the people, to sow confusion and to prevent the forma-

tion of a broad opposition front. To this end they have begun to talk about the need for a "government of mutual understanding," promising to carry out agrarian reform and similar measures. At the same time, the ruling party is trying to establish contact with the leaders of the legal opposition offering them government posts, and is even making overtures to the revolutionaries by spreading rumors about prospects of a change in policy on certain minor issues, or even a possible change in government policy. In other words, the Leoni government as distinct from that of Betancourt is maneuvering all along the line, making wider use of political (not only repressive) means, realizing that it must enlarge the present limited social base of the regime. In these circumstances the reaffirmation by our CC meeting of the principle that in our case armed struggle is the only way out of our present situation, the only way to put an end to the "continuity of power" of the ruling classes and the imperialist domination, is of the greatest political significance for the education and struggle of the Communists and their allies. This general concept should at the same time be closely linked with a concrete analysis of the revolutionary process in the country, with our political and practical activity towards building up a legal mass front and developing our policy of alliances.

Having confirmed this line, the meeting clarified some of its aspects. In the first place it noted that we must be prepared spiritually and physically for a long struggle, and must educate all our fighters in this spirit. This will help us to remove the "desperation" and impatience which in the past led to mistakes. The meeting discussed these questions in an atmosphere of sharp criticism and self-criticism, and we are convinced that its decisions will be of great value in helping the Communists and all other revolutionaries to avoid blunders in future.

The concept of a *people's war* was also clarified on the same plane. We cannot hope to defeat the powerful enemies of our nation unless we rally the entire people to the struggle. This is by no means a question of a *Communist war* against foreign colonialists, nor even of a war waged against imperialism by *all the revolutionary parties* alone. To put the question thus would be incorrect, it would be a distortion of the program of national liberation. We are all exploited alike—Communists and members of the Republican Democratic Alliance, supporters of the Left Revolutionary Movement and the

democratic popular forces, the masses who support the independents, the Party of Democratic Action and even the COPEI, the peasants and the workers, consistent revolutionaries and even some members of the national bourgeoisie. The entire people therefore must fight the imperialist monster whose grip extends to all spheres of our national life and which not only exploits the people but implants corruption, degeneration and degradation.

The tactics of struggle were the subject of a lively discussion at the meeting. For a number of reasons the conclusions arrived at during the discussion cannot be given here. However, some positive results of the political line laid down by the April meeting are already in evidence. The first and most notable achievement is the fact that this line has been correctly understood by the Communists and the other forces in the National Liberation Front. And now not only the leading groups but the rank-and-file Party members are engaged in elaborating this line and carrying it out. Today our entire Party is conducting diverse work on a countrywide scale (imbuing the masses with political consciousness and a feeling of solidarity, conducting propaganda and agitation, etc.), which in large measure is helping to popularize our strategic line. The idea of the need for armed struggle is ceasing to be an abstract concept and becoming more and more a powerful weapon for the Communists and the entire people. When this idea is fully assimilated by the masses it will become a mighty and irrepressible force.

Another event of singular importance was the creation of the armed forces of national liberation based on the groups which have thus formed the embryo of the future people's army. For the first time in our country a revolutionary program combines the idea of the need for changes with the means by which these changes can be effected.

What forms of struggle will the future people's army use? In the opinion of the CC meeting the main form will be that of the classical "guerrilla" or partisan warfare in the rural localities, with all its attributes. The enemy is particularly vulnerable in the countryside, here his control is less effective, and hence it is here that irregulars can operate with maximum chance of success and with the least losses. The maximum effort will have to be devoted to developing the movement in the mountain areas.

At the same time, of course, we must not neglect the armed struggle in the towns where, as the experience of revolutionary

struggle in our country shows, the opportunities are good. Up till now the activity of the so-called combat tactical units in the main cities has imparted a specific character to the revolutionary armed action in Venezuela, distinguishing it from the liberation struggle in other countries. Still, it is clear that this will not be the principal form of struggle.

Experience has shown that the partisan movement in our country cannot be destroyed. The government has tried time and again to crush it, especially in Falcon and Portuguesa, but without success. True, we have paid a heavy price for the experience gained in the struggle, and at first blunders were made. The chief mistake was in forming isolated centers of the partisan movement without any connection either with the Party or with the masses. A critical appraisal of the experience gained has led to the concept of *social activity* by the partisan detachment, i.e., work among the peasants. We are now devoting special attention to this work. A group of armed men in the mountains is not yet a partisan detachment. It is essential to have hundreds of helpers, people who would keep the partisans informed, supply them with food, ensure contacts and at the same time replenish their ranks. This concept has already taken deep root in the CPV and among all the members of the National Liberation Front.

"The path of armed struggle is the path of victory," the April meeting noted. "The theses of the Third Congress, augmented by the resolutions of subsequent Central Committee meetings, retain their full validity and are being borne out by the facts. The experience of the past years indicates that the enemies of our revolution, primarily the U.S. imperialists, will not allow the forces challenging their domination to take power peacefully. They will resort, as they have always done, to repressive and dictatorial methods of destroying democracy. Of this there can be no doubt whatsoever. And hence they must be countered by such means as can defeat them."

Armed Struggle and the Mass Movement

The meeting emphasized the importance of using all the legal means of fighting for the immediate demands of the masses. In the past we made the mistake of attaching too little importance to the socio-economic struggle. The meeting took a categorical stand on this question, not confining itself to generalities, but examining concrete possi-

bilities on each sector of the struggle. For example, an analysis of our work in the trade unions showed that we had overlooked the opportunities in this sphere, had failed to find forms of struggle that would be effective in the conditions of brutal repressions; in many cases we had preferred to work with the vanguard alone, without trying to contact the working masses. As regards the work with the peasants, a curious situation developed: our sympathizers had virtually paralyzed the activity of the peasant organizations by focusing the attention of the leadership on secondary questions, and we failed to make use of the potential and militant spirit of the peasant masses. This enabled the government and its agents to disorientate and disorganize the peasants. "The Party and its allies," the meeting admitted, "failed to utilize the opportunities for work among the workers' and peasants' organizations. There is no doubt that these shortcomings prevented us from giving proper leadership to the masses and drawing them into the revolutionary liberation movement. Nor had the Party coped with what is one of the basic problems in our conditions of developing armed struggle in an atmosphere of repressions, namely, the problem of work at the grass-roots level, work among the masses, the problem of finding new ways of establishing contact with the masses, organizing them, directing them and bringing them closer to the armed struggle."

The CC meeting carefully examined concepts which regard armed struggle and other forms of mass struggle as mutually exclusive, and came to the conclusion that this was a superficial, scholastic and not a dialectical approach. The experience of class struggle made this quite clear. Strikes, the peasants' fight for credits, or protest campaigns against particular measures may begin in the most peaceful manner and end in violence—as a rule imposed by the enemy.

The position of counterposing peaceful to non-peaceful forms could lead to some dangerous and harmful conclusions, viz., —that workers or peasants who do not take to arms at our first call are not revolutionaries, have lost their class consciousness, are scared, etc.;

—that revolutions are carried out by the vanguard, by a revolutionary elite, and not by the masses; or, that the masses at best will follow the leaders after the accomplishment of a few bold or spectacular exploits; —ignoring all the variety of factors operating in society owing to which one and the same class consists of people at different

levels of political maturity, education and preparedness, and holding that all members of a class or social stratum are equally politically conscious;

—failing to take into account that social consciousness is formed in the course of daily struggle and that those who are today in the vanguard did not acquire their knowledge and experience overnight. To forget that one cannot acquire a high level of political maturity without having oneself experienced the effect of all or a good part of the factors of day-to-day life which impel the worker, the peasant and the intellectual onto the path of struggle against their "own" particular exploiters, and, subsequently, against all the exploiters of their country.

Clearly any concept that denies the need for work among the masses and sees armed struggle as an absolute should be vigorously rejected. The CC meeting called on our Party and the other revolutionary forces to begin serious work among the masses, to rectify the mistakes made in this respect, to give maximum attention to all the problems of the working people in order to work more effectively for the solution of those problems.

The struggle within the Party and in the revolutionary movement to combat erroneous concepts with regard to legal mass work should be one of the basic elements of our ideological work. For this reason the meeting pointed out that "the policy of working among the masses is not divorced from the various other forms of struggle and hence does not run counter to armed struggle, which is the realization of that policy in conditions of revolutionary war."

We are well aware that in the present situation work among the masses is far from easy. But we know that much can be done, and that if we search we are bound to find new and more effective avenues for drawing the masses into action.

In its analysis of these problems the CC meeting held that the ruling party does not wield a decisive political influence among the bulk of the workers and peasants. This applies particularly to the working class which, as the election returns showed, voted neither for the Democratic Action nor for the COPEI.

The April CC meeting laid emphasis on the need for united action in the trade unions which would substantially limit the opportunities for interference by agents of the employers and police. It was noted that today the rising cost of living (20 to 30 per cent) offers new possibilities for extending the popular movement against the high

prices, a movement which by the logic of the struggle would be directed against the employers, the government and the foreign exploiters; that new organizational forms should be created, such as factory committees, which would help to counteract police activity in the leading bodies of the government trade unions and to fight effectively for the workers demands in the enterprises.

The CPV, the Communist Youth League and the other revolutionary forces are faced with the important task of helping to draw into the struggle the thousands of workers, men and women (mainly the youth) in the big towns who have virtually been deprived of the support of their official organizations.

The fight for higher wages and against the rising cost of living, for new labor contracts, for respect for trade union democracy, and for genuine trade unions—all acquire particular significance at the present time.

In this connection it was decided to participate, insofar as this is possible, in all legal aspects of public life which could enable the democratic and revolutionary movement to inflict defeats — however minor — on the enemy. This implies the fight for various demands, including demands of a political nature, such as the present campaign for an amnesty which is an expression of the broad national feeling and which hits the enemy in a vulnerable spot.*

In a word, it is essential to utilize a thousand and one forms of struggle, to employ all the means at our disposal with a view to the combined effect of all forms of struggle promoting the main form, namely, armed struggle. At the same time we emphasize that armed struggle, too, must be primarily mass struggle, that it should be understood as the highest expression of mass struggle.

And lastly, another question which is closely linked with all that has gone before, namely, the policy of alliances. The CC meeting devoted particular attention to this question. It did so in order to reaffirm our previous statements on this score and to stress the importance of pursuing a correct policy of alliances.

It is clear to our Party that we cannot achieve successes either in legal work or in the armed struggle unless this policy is properly carried out. This is an urgent necessity for the Venezuelan revolution.

The point of departure for this policy is the definition of the present revolution as a democratic, nationalist, anti-imperialist and

*For more details on the amnesty struggle in Venezuela see item by Jeronimo Carrera published elsewhere in this issue.

anti-feudal revolution. As noted above, the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals, the urban small bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie all have an interest in the victory of the revolution.

The Party holds that the National Liberation Front which from the class standpoint is the most progressive and revolutionary force in our country, is destined to become the motive force, the kernel of the broad popular movement at the present stage of the revolution. Our Party is working to enhance the role of the NLF in every way, to help it to become stronger organizationally.

Nor should we lose sight of the other democratic elements which, although not members of the NLF, stand in opposition to the government and are against U.S. imperialism. We must devote attention to them, without exaggerating their significance or underestimating their possible cooperation.

And this means that we must be consistent in the basic theoretical pronouncements made by our Party.

* * *

Such are the main results of the work of the April meeting of the Central Committee of the Venezuelan Communist Party. Its decisions will serve as a guide for our Party in all its activity; they will not only help to rectify mistakes, but will activate the Party's struggle against U.S. imperialism and the possible maneuvers on the part of its Creole agents. These decisions highlight the need to use the most diverse forms of struggle and to pursue a correct policy of alliances, while at the same time making it clear that all aspects of the Party's activity must in the long run serve to strengthen and develop the armed struggle, as the only realistic path to the complete liberation of the country.

Denmark and the Cold War

Ib Noerlund

THE new balance of world forces is steadily undermining the cold-war policy initiated by the leading imperialist powers. This is a fact with which many of those responsible for that policy are now forced to reckon. In these circumstances a real opportunity is afforded the forces of peace to put an end to the cold war and break down the barriers raised by the imperialist policy of military and economic blocs. Europe in particular is faced with the urgent task of securing a new system of inter-state relations to replace that of the cold war, and there is increasing evidence that things are moving in this direction. Developments in Denmark are a striking indication of this.

Crisis of Nato Policy in Denmark

Denmark became a member of Nato in 1949 as a result of a political maneuver which took the public by surprise. Only a few months earlier Danish bourgeois and Social Democratic leaders had declared that Denmark would abide by her traditional policy of neutrality and non-involvement in great-power blocs. However, under strong pressure, primarily from the United States, and since the government's policy had virtually

undermined the foundations of Denmark's independent policy vis-a-vis the imperialist powers, these politicians, fearing the people and reluctant to risk deciding the question of joining Nato by a referendum, changed their political line almost overnight.

A bitter anti-Communist campaign was launched with the aim of "justifying" this *volte face*. The main argument was that the greatest danger was the "threat from the East," that salvation for Denmark lay in "solidarity with the West." The "threat from the East" of course turned out to be a complete hoax. In 1951 General Eisenhower, then Supreme Commander of Nato forces in Europe, declared that Western aid would be forthcoming in the event of Denmark and Norway "turning their territory into strongly fortified positions," while the then Danish Minister Thorquil Kristensen expressed the view that Denmark "would have to take the weight of the first blow."

This was hardly a pleasant prospect, but worse was to come in the shape of the remilitarization of West Germany, the alliance with Turkey and Greece and a greatly inflated military budget—all the direct consequences of the Nato policy.

This sharply contradicted the assurances

given by the Danish Nato politicians in 1949. In their lightminded attitude to the basic interests of the people they secretly hoped that the United States, then the sole possessor of the atomic weapon, would be able to attack the socialist countries with impunity. As time passed and it became clear that these hopes were built on sand, a feeling of uncertainty began to grip the top politicians. This found expression, among other things, in the speech of the then Prime Minister Hansen in Parliament on January 21, 1958.

"The growth of military technology," he said, "has reached such dimensions that the need to ease tension between East and West is the predominant issue in world politics. The arms drive is such that we now find ourselves at the point where circumstances compel us to *reappraise the facts of foreign policy* and exert greater efforts to explore ways and means of reaching international understanding and cooperation." (My italics.—I.N.) And further:

"We on our territory will avoid any measure which could be construed, however unjustly, as provocative and thus hinder relaxation of the tension. Our future is closely linked with developments in the Baltic area and our one wish is that peace and peaceful relations shall prevail in this part of the world."

However, these more or less realistic views were backed by political actions in one sphere only. The government declared that Denmark in the present situation would not permit nuclear weapons to be stationed on its territory (this, however, did not include Greenland).

The government had to withstand strong pressure on this question from the ultra-reactionaries and also from the Nato high command. On other and equally important questions, however, it agreed to dangerous measures, such as the establishment in 1961 under Nato of a joint Danish-West German military command.

The remilitarization of West Germany and the growth of its military and economic potential soon became the key problem of Danish foreign policy. West German penetration both in the military and economic spheres, with the active assistance of the government and the Nato parties and contrary to the will of the people, assumed threatening proportions. Per Haekkerup, presently Foreign Minister, addressing a German audience in June 1962, stressed that "on a broad range of questions" this policy was "bound to run counter to popular sentiment"

and that "it is not so easy to secure the adoption of the decisions required by this policy." He complained to his German audience of the "resentment and bitterness" with which Danish policy had to contend. These sentiments spring not only from the people's experience of German militarism—especially during the Second World War—but also from the growing realization of the threat to Denmark contained in the statement by the West German military leaders that in a third world war Denmark and the Danish straits would be "strategic position No. 1" in Europe.

The West German militarists are becoming more brazen. In February this year German Admiral Wegener, commander-in-chief of the combined Danish-West German armed forces in the Baltic, boasted that Danish and West German units already constitute "a combined army and a combined navy." Even the Danish Right-wing politicians deplored this statement which, they said, "could be misunderstood." What makes matters worse is that the West German command is involved in this "misunderstanding." In view of West Germany's eagerness to obtain nuclear weapons, through the medium also of a multilateral Nato nuclear force, the danger of this policy for Denmark is obvious. It is worth noting that von Hassel, the Bonn Defense Minister, speaking in March 1964 to a group of Danish journalists, said that the multilateral nuclear force would give West Germany access to atomic weapons; at the same time he demanded that German troops be given the opportunity—so far denied them—to hold joint maneuvers on Danish territory with Danish troops.

In the economic sphere West Germany's efforts were mainly concentrated on trying to bring Denmark into the European Common Market. This was fully in accord with the wishes of the Danish government and the bourgeois parties who declared that Denmark would be faced with economic disaster unless she joined the Common Market immediately. Owing, however, to strife between the Common Market countries, Denmark's acceptance was postponed—without any disastrous consequences to her economy.

Danish Foreign Policy in Search of A New Orientation

These developments and the growing contradictions in Nato have given rise to the search for a new foreign-policy orientation. The search is proceeding in various directions and affects big sections of bourgeois opinion.

P. Moeller, leader of the parliamentary group of the Conservative Party, recently expressed "doubts as to whether the inner unity of the Atlantic pact is as solid as it was during the iciest period of the cold war." "Can we build our security," he said, "on a disintegrating Nato? Should we not be alarmed at what is happening around us?" (*Berlingske Tidende* January 24, 1964).

Hence the two main arguments used to justify Denmark's membership in Nato no longer hold water. The first was the alleged "danger from the East," the "160-175 Soviet divisions" which for 15 years the Nato politicians had claimed were a threat to the Nato force, allegedly reduced to no more than 30-40 divisions. Moreover, U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara in an address to the New York Economic Club last November knocked the bottom out of that propaganda when he said that there were "less than half of the 160-175 figure" and that in Central Europe Nato has more men and more combat troops than the bloc (meaning the Warsaw Pact countries—Ed.). This did much to undermine faith in "reliable" statements about Nato and to strengthen the desire of many people to search for ways to disarmament.

The second argument, namely, that security lay in "unshakeable solidarity with Nato" has fared no better. With friction in Nato growing to the point where armed conflicts between member countries are not excluded, the Nato politicians themselves can no longer place much reliance on this solidarity. The above-mentioned P. Moeller, too, has been constrained to observe: "Both the United States and France have in many spheres evinced their intention to act without informing their allies." And he expressed his concern about another outcome of Nato policy: "We have lost the habit at home of shaping opinion about the policy pursued in the world around us, a policy which is becoming decisive for our future. Perhaps the reason is that we know in advance that our opinion is a matter of indifference to others." (See *Berlingske Aftenavis* February 6, 1964.)

Influential business circles display their interest in a new foreign policy in a different way. In January this year P. H. Kjaer-Hansen, chairman of the Association of Wholesale Traders, addressing a meeting of the organization, said:

"This year when the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union will visit Denmark and other Scandinavian countries, and when many political issues are being seen in a different light than in 1962, it might perhaps be not altogether unrealistic to think of some en-

tirely different market possibilities than those afforded by the Rome Treaty."

Similar sentiments were expressed by H. Saugmann, chairman of the merchants' association.

"I am deeply convinced," he said, "that there are good opportunities in the Eastern countries, and especially in the Soviet Union, for increasing import and export of goods in a very short time. The delegation (of Danish industrialists who visited the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries—I.N.) received the impression of an unlimited demand for consumer goods, and believed they would be able to 'open some doors' . . . I believe, he went on, that trade with Russia promises us a great deal and that by 1970 this country could be one of our biggest trading partners. Our position at the gates of the Baltic Sea gives us a vantage point as a warehouse for the Soviet republics."

The above statements are a further indication of the forces that have been set in motion in the search for new ways. Against this background some new elements are to be discerned in government policy as well, although this does not mean that either the government or the ruling circles have abandoned Nato policy (witness the recent statements by Foreign Minister Haekkerup approving the aggressive actions of the United States in Southeast Asia). Above all these trends confirm the deepening contradictions in the official policy, and show that the foundations of this policy are becoming shakier.

The government did make an effort to improve its relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, so that at the time of the visit of Prime Minister E. O. Krag to the Soviet Union (February 1964) N. S. Khrushchov was able to note that "in recent years there has been a notable improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and Denmark." On the Danish side activity has been confined largely to economic and trade relations. But the beneficial results achieved indicate that progress is possible in other spheres as well, to the benefit of peace and the relaxation of tension and toward strengthening Denmark's position in world affairs. In fact there are grounds for believing that some of the most harmful of the "cold-war" barriers can be eliminated. Denmark will be able to safeguard her own peaceful interests and national independence only when her ruling circles base their policy on a realistic appraisal of the role of the Soviet Union and its struggle for peaceful coexistence, on the economic progress made

by the socialist countries in the Baltic area. The anti-communist prejudices which Nato, and especially the ruling circles in West Germany, are trying so hard to preserve have done and are still doing grievous harm to the Danish nation.

For a Peace Zone in Northern Europe

The goal of Danish peace policy is to help establish a zone of peace in Northern Europe and in the Baltic basin. This is so obvious that most political leaders in Denmark today are obliged to recognize it, at least when expressing themselves in general terms.

But, the Nato orators hasten to add, unfortunately Denmark cannot make any further moves in that direction.

In order to counteract this kind of propaganda and to show that Denmark has tangible opportunities to act independently of Nato and Bonn, the Communist Party took the initiative in April 1963 of sending an official delegation to the fraternal parties of the socialist countries bordering on the Baltic—the Soviet Union, Poland and the GDR. The delegation informed these parties of the policy of their own Party and its proposal that Denmark should proclaim itself neutral territory, free of atomic weapons, preferably in agreement with the other Scandinavian countries, and with this in view to induce the governments concerned to guarantee its atom-free and neutral status—atom-free also in the sense that atomic weapons *would not be used against* this territory. The delegation asked the fraternal parties whether their countries would contribute to such guarantees in the given situation and were given every assurance on this score. This proved to the Danish public that real opportunities exist for guaranteeing peace for Denmark; all that is needed is for the government to take resolute and independent action in the national interest and discard all dogmas about the East being “the potential enemy.”

Such measures would obviously facilitate other steps towards a detente in Europe, such as a non-aggression pact between Nato and the Warsaw Pact countries, a peace treaty with Germany and recognition of the German Democratic Republic. It is equally obvious that these steps would in turn hasten the realization of the above-mentioned proposals on neutrality and an atom-free status for Denmark.

The initiative taken by the Communist Party and the general trend of developments have strengthened the arguments in favor of taking at least initial steps toward strength-

ening peace in Northern Europe.

This explains the satisfaction with which the Danish public received last year's proposal by Finnish President Kekkonen that the Nordic countries should help to ease the tensions by declaring themselves an atom-free zone. There was logic in his proposals: the four Scandinavian countries had already announced that they have no desire to acquire nuclear weapons. The Kekkonen proposal was aimed at giving this rejection of nuclear weapons the force of an international commitment. And since this would not essentially change the situation, the balance of forces, too, would not be disturbed.

However this proposal did not suit the Danish government and the Nato politicians in Denmark. Their arguments against it were vague and unconvincing and the excuses they offered the public were flimsy to say the least.

They began by arguing that the Big Powers should first reach agreement on terminating nuclear testing. But even after the signing of the Moscow treaty they remained adamant. This time they declared that they could not tie the hands of future governments and parliaments. This argument could hardly be taken seriously, coming from politicians who had already tied Denmark to Nato and only recently had tried to bind the Folketing indefinitely to the supra-state bodies of the Common Market.

Later they declared that anyone who sought a Scandinavian agreement on an atom-free zone was questioning the stability of his own government's position on the given question—as if they themselves had not evoked such doubts by their obdurate refusal to commit themselves beyond general declarations.

And the old argument that the Nordic countries should wait for a general European decision was again dug up obviously in the hope of evading responsibility for taking independent action to end the cold war. This subterfuge, however, was quickly punctured by a move from a totally unexpected quarter—the Polish proposal for an atomic armaments “freeze” in Central Europe. Realization of this proposal and the inclusion of the Nordic countries in this area would give them an atom-free status simultaneously with the European decision. *Politiken*, a newspaper close to the government, admitted as much on February 19 when it commented: “If things reach the point of an agreement between East and West on a decision along the basic lines of the Gomulka plan, it would be logical for the Nordic countries to join

the second phase of Central European development. In this way the treaty would guarantee an atom-free zone over a wide strip of Europe, from Nordkap to the Swiss border."

The opportunities now opening up in all spheres enable the public to intensify the pressure for a more effective policy of detente.

One expression of this was the peace conference of representatives of all the Nordic countries, held in Stockholm on March 14-15. It addressed an appeal to the governments of the four Nordic countries to establish an atom-free zone in the North in three stages: 1) a joint declaration by the governments that the Nordic countries have no intention of altering their present atom-free status; 2) establishment of an organization of the North European countries to study the question and ascertain under what conditions and with what guarantees the atom-free zone could become permanent; 3) on this basis, a joint declaration by the governments on turning Northern Europe into a permanent atom-free zone.

N. S. Khrushchov's Visit— a Further Setback for the Cold War Forces

In June N. S. Khrushchov began his peace mission in the Scandinavian countries with an official visit to Denmark. This was an important step toward rolling back the clouds of cold war in Northern Europe. The fact that the visit took place was in itself a victory for the forces working for detente, all the more so since in 1959 reactionaries in Denmark had been able to cancel the plans for the visit projected at that time. When Ole Bjoen Kraft, one of the leaders of the provocative actions in 1959, tried to repeat his previous performance he was severely censured by public opinion and by most of the press. A feature of this year's visit was that the Nato reactionaries were isolated, while the public enthusiastically welcomed the visit as evidence of eased tension and strengthening ties. This was the chief result of the Khrushchov visit.

In the joint Soviet-Danish communique on the visit both sides stressed their determination to continue to adhere—both generally and in Danish-Soviet relations—to the principles of peaceful coexistence. Concrete decisions were adopted on extending contacts between the two countries. Danish spokesmen repeatedly stressed their appreciation of the policy of the Soviet Union and Premier

Khrushchov's personal contribution to peace.

All this was a heavy blow to those who maintain that Denmark is obliged to live under the constant fear of "danger from the East" and to base her policy on the assumption that the socialist world is her "potential enemy." In reality the official Danish statements were virtually a tacit recognition that the arguments in favor of Denmark's membership in Nato were groundless. And these, naturally, were the conclusions which the ruling circles in Denmark did not wish to make.

The Government therefore did not make use of all the opportunities for safeguarding the peace and independence of Denmark which were offered by the visit of the Soviet Premier. This applies particularly to the question of an atom-free zone in Northern Europe. The day before Khrushchov arrived, the Danish Foreign Minister intimated that it would be well nigh an insult for this question to be raised. During the visit the Danish government confined itself to reaffirming that it had not allowed nor intended to allow nuclear weapons or foreign troops to be stationed on its territory. Moreover, it announced that it had no intention of taking part in a Nato multilateral nuclear force, although it was not opposed to the formation of that force.

The Soviet side, naturally, recognized the positive aspects of these statements, and in this way the problem of guarantees for an atom-free zone in Northern Europe was not taken off the agenda. The question indeed came up on several occasions, for instance, at a meeting of the Denmark-USSR Society and the Students' Association which Khrushchov addressed. In his reply to questions on this subject, Khrushchov stressed the importance of working for an atom-free zone, and he attracted the attention of the public by saying, among other things:

"We strongly adhere to the view that it is necessary somehow and somewhere to begin to clear away nuclear weapons. The leaders of some countries have voiced such a desire. And I, too, think that this is a sensible thing.

"A country which declares itself an atom-free power and which is recognized by all countries as such has the advantage that in the event of war breaking out atom bombs will not fall on its territory. I think this would be quite an advantage. . . .

"Countries which refuse to have nuclear weapons, refuse to allow their territories to be used for nuclear bases and declare themselves nuclear-free should be recognized by

the other powers as non-participants in a nuclear war in the event of an armed conflict. The Soviet Union would willingly give such assurances and would strictly abide by its commitments, provided the other nuclear powers agree to assume similar obligations."

Khrushchov's visit and the desire it stimulated among the Danish public to learn more about socialism have imparted new vigor and

opened new prospects to the forces working for peace and mutual understanding between nations and who wish to put an end to cold war. In this way the people of Denmark were given additional proof that in our time peace and socialism are indivisible.

And this, undoubtedly, will lay its imprint on future development in our part of the world.

Positive Features of Sweden's Policy of Neutrality

Gunnar Oehman

TO THE Swedish people neutrality is so much a part of their way of life that no politician would venture to challenge this policy. For the past 150 years Sweden has not been involved in war. During this long period the policy of neutrality has more or less been strictly observed, even though no stipulation is made about it in the Constitution or in international treaties, as is the case with Switzerland.

Policy of Neutrality— A Gain of the People

The policy of neutrality was first advocated by the farmers, handicraftsmen and other sections of the small bourgeoisie. With the development of industry and an industrial proletariat the latter carried forward the fight for peace and neutrality.

The history of Sweden knows of many instances when the reactionaries among the big bourgeoisie tried, often in league with the Royal House, to divert the country from the path of neutrality and peace. Such was the case, for instance, at the time of the First World War when the Royal House backed by influential circles of the bourgeoisie and the officer corps, tried to involve the country on the side of German imperialism. Thanks, however, to the vigilance and vigorous stand taken by the working class and farmers this attempt was nipped in the bud. The Workers' Peace Conference held in 1916 also played a decisive role in preventing Sweden's involvement in the war.

Sweden's neutrality during the First World War was, however, somewhat inconsistent.

The capitalists who saw in the war a rich source of profits, supported Germany supplying her with food and strategic raw materials. And although the working class was unable to prevent this, it achieved its main aim of keeping the country out of the war.

Sweden maintained her neutrality also during the Second World War, and did so in a hard-fought battle between the forces of peace and progress and the forces of war and reaction. At the outbreak of the Soviet-Finnish war in November 1939, the reactionaries wanted to involve Sweden on the side of Finland. This caused differences in the Government. Rikard Sandler, Foreign Minister at the time, was all for Sweden joining forces with Finland. A noisy campaign was started against the Soviet Union. Swedish "volunteers" were recruited and the country's munitions stocks were placed at the disposal of Finland. The advocates of war were, however, successfully resisted by the working class and farmers. Two weeks after the outbreak of the war the government was reorganized. Sandler was dismissed as Foreign Minister and removed from the Government. As for those financial circles which had big interests in Finland, they persuaded the coalition government in which the Social-Democrats dominated to declare Sweden a "non-belligerent." They had to reckon with the strong peace sentiments among the people.

The Soviet Government's demarche in April 1940 when it demanded that Germany respect Swedish neutrality greatly helped to preserve this neutrality. The Swedish Government officially expressed its gratitude to the Soviet Government for this aid.

When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Sweden again found herself under heavy pressure, this time from Germany and the pro-fascist elements at home. The Government was compelled to make a number of humiliating concessions to Nazi Germany — it allowed the transit of German troops across Swedish territory, German ships to enter Swedish territorial waters and German planes to fly over Swedish air space.

Again the working people rose up in defense of peace and neutrality. A mass movement in the country called for an end to concessions to fascist Germany, for a return to neutrality. The Government was compelled to acknowledge this sentiment; at the end of 1941, after Hitler's defeat at Moscow, Sweden gradually reverted to its traditional neutrality.

We have recapitulated these facts in order to show that the policy of neutrality and the country's long peace did not come easy, that they were not the result solely of Sweden's geographical position. This policy was the result of vigorous action by the workers and the people.

The Alliance-Free Principle— the Basis of Neutrality

After the Second World War, with the emergence of the socialist camp, NATO, the Warsaw Treaty, the division of Germany and the remilitarization of West Germany, Sweden again found herself faced with difficulties in foreign-policy matters.

When, on the initiative of the United States, the Nordic countries discussed joining NATO, the Swedish Government rejected the idea. Instead, it proposed in 1949 a common defense and neutralist alliance with Denmark and Norway, undertaking in this connection to shoulder considerable economic and military commitments. Nothing came of this proposal, however, since both the Norwegian and Danish governments had already decided to join the military bloc under the aegis of the United States. Sweden was thus the only North European country, besides Finland, to adhere to a policy of neutrality. But unlike Finland, Sweden does not have a pact of friendship and mutual aid with the Soviet Union, which ensures Finland a more secure position in the event of war.

Sweden's attitude to NATO is in full conformity with her foreign policy. This policy was formulated by Oesten Unden, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, as follows: non-involvement in military alliances in peacetime and neutrality in the event of war. In his book "Reflections on Foreign Policy," pub-

lished in 1963, Unden outlined the principles on which Swedish foreign policy should be based. He writes:

"The aim of official foreign policy is to preserve peace for the country as long as possible. As long as possible means as long as we are not attacked or as long as we are not subjected to compulsion amounting to an act of violence against our country. It is our conviction that preservation of peace is the best way to safeguard the country's freedom, independence and welfare. War is the greatest danger to these values . . ." And further:

"In the event of a world war breaking out Sweden's non-involvement in alliances with the Great Powers will make it possible for her to keep out of the war right from the beginning. This fact should be given thoughtful consideration when determining our foreign policy. If we join any alliance we will not only be involved in the war, but will have to, regardless of the articles of the treaty, defend the country mostly with our own forces at any rate in the first stage of the war. No special clauses of the pact can guarantee the rapid and effective help which, according to the alliance members, is to play such an important role. The pact will not be able to prevent widespread destruction in our country."

These arguments are realistic and reflect the opinion of the bulk of the Swedish population. For Sweden non-involvement in alliances means, in effect, approval of the policy of peaceful coexistence. This was made clear by Prime Minister Erlander during the visit of Prime Minister Khrushchov to Sweden. Non-involvement in alliances presupposes a policy of peace. It means recognizing the existence of two world systems which must live in peace if the future of mankind is not to be jeopardized. The "alliance-free" policy of necessity implies correct relations with all other states—irrespective of their adherence to one or another socio-economic system—which do not threaten the inviolability of Sweden. It means trade with all countries without discrimination, it means extensive and fruitful cultural, technical and scientific exchange.

It should be noted, however, that Sweden's trade, like its cultural and scientific contacts, is still mostly with the West. Her participation in EFTA and also her application to join the EEC as an associate member is at variance with the official "non-involvement policy." The same can be said of the refusal of the government and the majority of the Riksdag to recognize the existence of the German Democratic Republic, which is one of Sweden's biggest neighbors.

Eventually, however, the government will be forced by public opinion, and particularly by the working class, to follow a more consistent non-involvement foreign policy. Trade with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies has increased in the past few years, although the rate of growth is still far from being satisfactory. Large sections of the population are in favor of expanding cultural and scientific contacts between Sweden on the one hand and the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, on the other. Khrushchov's visit last June will undoubtedly stimulate contacts in the spheres of culture and science, and the expansion of trade between the two countries.

As noted before, the policy of non-involvement in alliances and neutrality is resisted by the reactionaries. Entrenched in the party of big capital, the Conservative Party, and in the most influential section of the Liberal Party, they have attempted in devious ways to bring Sweden into the NATO bloc.

In 1951, for example, the leader of the Conservative Party suggested that talks should be begun with Denmark, which had joined NATO, to set up common defenses in the Baltic and on the Danish island of Bornholm as a safeguard against the alleged danger of a Soviet attack. This suggestion was sharply opposed by the people, and also by the Government.

The Rights have on repeated occasions urged long-term military and technical cooperation with the NATO countries. This cooperation exists but not in the form the Rights had hoped for.

Indicative of the deep-rooted striving of the people for neutrality and non-involvement in alliances is the fact that the Party of the Right which polled heavily among conservative voters in three successive elections during the first half of the 50s, has steadily lost ground since 1958. The Rights hastened to change the leadership hoping thereby to prevent their party's isolation.

On November 24, 1959 a foreign-policy debate took place in the Riksdag. The point at issue was exact definition of the "alliance-free policy." The debate was sparked off by the Government's refusal to include the leader of the Conservative Party in the delegation to the United Nations. The Government took this step after the Conservative leaders had launched a violent campaign against Khrushchov's projected visit to Sweden. It will be recalled that as a result of this campaign the visit was cancelled on Khrushchov's request. During the debate the Government made a statement on what it considered should be the substance of Sweden's "alliance-free policy."

To quote from this statement:

"The policy of neutrality implies that the outside world can have confidence in our striving firmly to pursue the foreign policy decided upon. This policy must not be influenced by transient factors; it must be a policy expressing a long-term program . . .

"The policy of neutrality must not arouse the mistrust or the hopes of any Great Power that we will abandon our chosen course. It does not permit freedom of action in the sense that Sweden, in the event of war between some Great Powers, could side with any of the belligerents, even if the situation were critical and even if outside pressure were exerted.

"The outside world must, furthermore, be able to rest assured that Swedish territory will not be used for aggression. We must oppose all aggressors and any violation of our country's neutrality . . .

"Consequently any suggestion of talks or negotiation on military cooperation with countries that are members of one or another bloc is absolutely out of the question if we want to retain confidence in our foreign policy and defense policy."

This point of view was supported by the Communist Party of Sweden and by the vast majority of the people. A country that is not involved in alliances cannot afford to speculate on military and political cooperation with countries that are united in blocs — irrespective of whether these pursue aggressive or defensive aims. This is iron logic. The people of Sweden, staunchly safeguarding peace and the independence of their country, sternly condemn any departure from the alliance-free policy.

For an Active Peace Policy

This attitude, however, does not mean passivity in foreign policy. It does not mean isolation or indifference to world affairs. A correct understanding of this policy implies, as previously noted, recognition of the policy of peaceful coexistence which in turn calls for an active peace policy and peaceful competition in the economic, cultural and scientific spheres for the good of man.

Sweden subscribes wholly to this policy. The Swedish delegation in the United Nations has supported all proposals without exception aimed at lessening tensions. Sweden gave its unqualified support to the Moscow test-ban treaty.

With a view to preventing proliferation and use of nuclear weapons, the Swedish Government in October 1961 submitted to

the Political Committee of the UN General Assembly a proposal for "non-nuclear clubs," to be based on agreements between the non-nuclear countries undertaking not to manufacture nuclear weapons in the future and not to allow their being sited on their territory.

In essentials, this proposal dovetails with the Rapacki plan for atom-free zones. The Swedish proposal received the support of the General Assembly and also led to a poll being taken among the UN member countries on their attitude to this proposal. The governments of the respective countries one and all approved the idea.

A proposal similar to the Unden plan, i.e. that the Nordic countries should be an atom-free zone, was made by President Kekkonen of Finland. This proposal, however, was coldly received in official Swedish circles.

In a statement in the Riksdag in 1964 the Communist Party proposed that, in conformity with the Unden and Kekkonen plans, the Riksdag should stress the importance of an atom-free zone in the Scandinavian countries as the first step towards limiting the spheres of the nuclear weapon and preparing the way to a detente and disarmament. The Communists suggested that the Riksdag should send a letter to the Government urging it to form a united front of Scandinavian countries to protect their territory against nuclear weapons and to take measures making for a relaxation of international tension, for disarmament and peace.

The foreign-policy Committee of the Riksdag said that this proposal should be rejected on the grounds that the Nordic countries haven't got nuclear weapons. The Committee maintained that this was an international issue and concerned the sphere of activity aimed at restricting armaments. Hence it would be advisable to wait for the results of the Geneva disarmament conference.

During the foreign-policy debate on March 11, 1964, Unden, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, said:

"Sweden at an early stage subscribed to the idea of discontinuing tests and it adheres with satisfaction to the Moscow partial nuclear test-ban treaty. Sweden voted for the Irish proposal (against the nuclear weapon—G.O.) when the Irish delegation submitted its resolution to the General Assembly. On the initiative of the Swedish Government a preliminary poll was taken in the UN on the question of atom-free zones. The Swedish Government, naturally, replied in the affirmative. The Government took the opportunity to make some suggestions, after consul-

tations with its Foreign Policy Committee, regarding the forms and terms on which Sweden would join such a zone. It goes without saying that our reply to the UN General Secretary should not be regarded as an ultimatum but as a wish that should be given consideration when defending the attitude of the Swedish side to the principle itself (atom-free zone—G.O.). If a group of states finds it necessary jointly to set up an atom-free zone, the next stage should be talks between them. If the talks proceed favorably the next stage should be talks with the nuclear powers who would pledge to respect the zone status . . . The fact that the Foreign Policy Committee of the Riksdag rejected the proposal of the Communists does not mean that we take a negative attitude to finding ways and means of preventing nuclear proliferation. On the contrary, the Foreign Policy Committee report shows that Sweden favors the idea of an atom-free zone. It is still too early to say whether this proposal will be given more support than other similar proposals. But it is clear that there is widespread support in our country for reasonable measures aimed at effectively preventing proliferation of nuclear weapons."

This statement can be assessed as a positive reaction to the Communist proposal. At any rate it rejects the idea of equipping the Swedish armed forces with nuclear weapons. The debate reflected the striving of public opinion, and especially of the working class, for peace, a detente and prohibition of nuclear weapons.

It should be noted that the initiative displayed by Sweden, like its entire policy of neutrality, was and still is vitally important for preserving peace in Northern Europe.

Relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union have improved in recent years. Signs of this are the reciprocal visits of their Foreign Ministers.

Khrushchov's visit to Sweden last June was welcomed by the public. His friendly talks with the Swedish Government have done much to promote good-neighbor relations between the two countries. This visit struck a telling blow at the attempts of the reactionaries to whip up an atmosphere of mistrust and hatred for the Soviet Union.

Proposals of the CPS Promote Neutrality and National Independence

Swedish foreign policy and the 150 years of peace have greatly benefited the people. True, the ruling class has always asserted

that preservation of neutrality necessitates a steady increase in military expenditure. Thus the big capitalists, in collusion with the Social Democratic government, have increased defense expenditures to 4,500 million kronor this year. In other words a good 25 per cent of the budget is earmarked for defense. Military spending per average Swedish family (two adults and two children) amounts to 2,400 kronor a year. A comparison of this sum with the average annual income of a factory worker, (about 14,000 kronor) will make it clear why public opinion is emphatic in refusing to shoulder the burden of military spending.

At its Twentieth Congress held last January the Communist Party outlined its plan for delivering the people from the burden of the rapidly growing military expenditure and for a genuinely democratic people's defense to safeguard neutrality and national independence. This plan can be summarized as follows:

1. A committee to be set up consisting of representatives of the political parties, trade unions, peace, women's and youth organizations to study the question of reorganizing the present defense machinery into a people's defense based on democratic principles;

2. The people's defense should be based on the principle of arming the people. The present multiform bureaucratic military apparatus should be reduced. The main attention

should be concentrated on those weapons which would be most effective in the event of an invasion;

3. The people's defense should be based on compulsory, short-term military training. The cooperation of the trade unions and other mass organizations should be enlisted in organizing defense in the localities;

4. No person opposed to neutrality and democracy should hold a leading position in the army. Recruitment of the officer corps should be based on democratic principles;

5. A system of strict civilian control of defense; this system should prohibit all forms of excessive military spending;

6. The right of the military to make decisions should be under constant control; gradual reduction of arms to be carried out as tension lessens and peaceful coexistence develops.

The congress statement on this issue stressed that the Party's defense plan will ensure the country's neutrality and independence and simultaneously promote peaceful relations with other states. These proposals make it possible to reduce the tax burden and raise the social and cultural level. A world without war, it says, can be created through the resolute action and close cooperation of all freedom-loving and democratic forces. In the world of today the defence of national liberties coincides with the striving for disarmament and peace.

The Significance of Working-Class Actions in Spain

Horacio F. Inguanzo

TO APPRECIATE the political significance of the popular actions now taking place in Spain—actions growing in scope and pursuing more and more far-reaching aims—and to obtain an idea of the political maturity and militancy of the working class, which is in the forefront of these actions, it should be borne in mind that Spain is ruled by a fascist dictatorship imposed by the oligarchy after three years of war with the open support of international fascism.

Nor should it be forgotten that the tyranny which has brutally suppressed all manifestations of opposition has been in the saddle for twenty-five years. Following the defeat of the

republic, the working people were deprived of the most elementary rights. Under these circumstances, the most modest demand acquires a political tinge and is regarded as "sedition". The official trade unions, which are the only organizations allowed to exist legally, are in the service of the employers, and their leaders are appointed by the government. Many of these leaders belong to the ruling elite and most of them are either police agents or otherwise work for the machinery of repression.

Along with a large number of other political prisoners the trade union delegates sentenced for their part in the economic strikes of 1958 are still in prison. Some have been in

jail for years merely for demanding the observance of Franco's own laws. Although the dictatorship is beginning to crack and it has been compelled in many cases to renounce some of its fascist methods, it continues to commit crimes (such as the murder of the Communist leader Julian Grimau) and to employ other Gestapo methods of the kind used against the striking Asturian miners in 1963 as well as this year. Despite certain changes, such as the abolition of the military tribunals headed by the arch-criminal Eymar, circulation of anti-Franco propaganda is enough to sentence people to ten years' imprisonment.

Hence the exceptional significance of the fact that in recent months Spain has witnessed hundreds of strikes and large numbers of demonstrations in which hundreds of thousands of working people have taken part. These strikes and demonstrations highlight the role of the dictatorship as an instrument of oligarchic rule which clashes with all other sections of society from the working class to the industrial and rural middle bourgeoisie and is eroded from within by contradictions between the different groups of the oligarchy, and testify above all to the great influence of the Communist Party among the Spanish working classes, to the correctness of its political line and tactics and the accuracy of its foresight.

On the basis of an assessment of the strikes of the spring of 1962 involving more than half a million workers, the Party set the immediate task of preparing for a general political strike. As the Party sees it, this should be a "strike by means of which the working people clearly and openly pose concrete political objectives irrespective of whether these clearly formulated political objectives are accompanied by economic demands or not."

This is a perspective which under the present circumstances provides the working people with the most suitable weapon of struggle for political freedoms, a weapon according with the growth of political consciousness since the strikes of 1962. Preparation of a general political strike implies active agitation around political and economic issues, strengthening unity from below, more advanced and flexible forms of unity capable of overcoming the resistance of the leaders of the Socialists and other opposition groups. Experience shows that this can be achieved only by promoting the most diverse actions for more and more far-reaching demands. In view of this, the Party, pointing to the perspective of a general political strike, urged in September 1962 the use of "strikes for economic demands in order clearly to proclaim the politi-

cal aspirations of the working people, primarily the right to strike, recognition of workers' committees democratically elected at the enterprises, trade union freedom, an amnesty, etc. In certain cases favorable conditions may arise on the local or provincial levels for openly political strikes. These limited political strikes, accompanied when possible by street demonstrations in centers where the workers' class consciousness is the highest, will point the way to a general political strike for all the working people of Spain."

Many recent actions whose revolutionary content is evident from their painful impact on the dictatorship show that headway is being made toward the general political strike advocated by the Party.

The Asturian miners are once again in the vanguard of the movement towards a general political strike. The miners' strike, which began in April and was joined by large numbers of metalworkers, did not end with the resumption of work two months later, for, as in the case of the previous strikes, the struggle is going on in the most diverse forms.* This is the Asturian miners' third long strike in the past two years.

The latest strike is an indication that the miners' solidarity, the guarantee of the success of their staunch resistance, has grown stronger than ever. It testifies once again to their courage and resolution and ranks among the greatest struggles of its kind in the history of the working-class movement. While paying tribute to the revolutionary traditions of the Asturian workers and their vanguard, the miners, it should be pointed out that this splendid example of class consciousness under Franco rule is the result of the implementation of the tactics worked out by the Party in 1948—the tactics of utilizing all the legal opportunities for struggle and combining them with the illegal, with due attention to minor actions and partial demands as a stepping stone to bigger actions. The big miners' strikes are the result of struggles for partial demands which have awakened the miners to their strength. Thousands of actions for the more easily attainable immediate demands

*The miners of the La Camocha pit, one of the biggest in the Asturias, continued the strike until the end of August, setting an example which caused other Asturian mines to re-join the struggle toward the end of July and in August. On August 20, the Council of Ministers, meeting in San Sebastian, decided to extend to Asturias the new labor regulations for coal mines which the Asturian miners compelled the dictatorship to grant in May. These regulations, which meet some of the miners' demands, were not made applicable to Asturias in retaliation to the general strike. It was clearly fear that the La Camocha strike might spread to all of the Asturias that forced the government to make this move.—Ed.

have helped to overcome the differences between levels of political consciousness due to the fact that more than 40 per cent of the miners (as a consequence of the repressions and heavy emigration) come from the villages and other areas where the ideological level is the lowest. Even the most backward elements, compelled though they have been to join the official trade unions, have realized the need to fight to replace them with genuine workers' unions and above all the need to do away with a regime which denies the working people their elementary human rights. In the course of the actions for partial demands, common political aims closely linked with economic demands have taken shape.

The miners' struggle has naturally stimulated the growth of the trade union opposition as represented by the workers' committees, which are an expression of the miners' resolve to unite to fight for these political and economic demands. The succession of partial actions which culminated in the general strikes of 1962, 1963 and this year has brought to the fore thousands of leaders well known to the masses. The prestige enjoyed by these leaders is a recognition of their activity at the head of the committees as well as their staunchness and militancy in the face of repressions, prison and exile. The fact that there are large numbers of such leaders is a prime guarantee against strike movements being beheaded by repressions.

By their 1963 strike the Asturian miners showed to the entire anti-Franco opposition that the Communist Party's slogan of the general political strike was their own slogan. At the same time it gave a practical demonstration of the degree of organization essential to carry out such a strike and how to achieve this organization. Whereas the leaders of various anti-fascist opposition groups have invariably turned down the Party's repeated proposals to get together "at a round table to explore the means for preparing a general political strike," the Asturian miners—Communists, Socialists, Catholics and non-party people alike—showed already in 1963 that unity is both essential and possible, that a general political strike was a realistic objective.

The latest Asturian strike has demonstrated the continuing growth of the political and organizational maturity of the workers. Whatever its immediate reasons, political demands are being voiced more openly than before. Among the demands advanced are care for workers suffering from silicosis, higher wages, independent trade unions and the right to strike; moreover, these demands are openly

put forward in demonstrations outside trade union offices reminding the frightened union bosses that they are holding positions belonging by right to the workers. The workers' determination not to resume normal work until their demands are met is a reflection of their resolve to carry on the fight until the Franco dictatorship is abolished.

Thanks to the powerful trade union opposition movement the organizational foundation now exists in the Asturias for carrying out a general political strike. And the rest of the country, following the Asturian example, is rapidly moving in the same direction. The slogan "Asturias Points the Way!" now to be heard among all sections of the Spanish working people is an expression of the overall trend toward a general political strike.

Following the miners' political strike in Asturias and Leon in 1963 actions with deeper political implications spread throughout the country. Big economic and political strikes broke out at the enterprises of the Altos Hornos de Sagunto concern in Puertollano, Riotinto and elsewhere. In Madrid a powerful demonstration for trade union rights was held in March both inside and outside the building where the Third Congress of the Falangist trade unions was being held. Clashes occurred between the workers and the Falangist myrmidons of the oligarchy. In all these actions economic and political demands were accompanied by the demand for the release of the arrested. For example, the workers of the Pegaso plant in Madrid downed tools in protest against the arrest of seven of their comrades who had taken part in the above demonstration and the director of the plant was forced to secure their release. Today it is not so much the repressions as the resistance to the repressions that stands out in the Spanish scene.

The growing political consciousness and militancy of the masses is evident from the increase in the number of street demonstrations during which the participants put up stiff resistance to police violence. On May Day this year 50,000 demonstrated in the streets of Bilbao shouting the slogans: "Down with the dictatorship!" "Freedom!" "We want independent trade unions!" "Away with the Polaris missiles from the Rota base!" "Down with capitalism!" and "Long live the working class!" The police were unable to intimidate the marchers, clashes took place with casualties on both sides, and for several hours the demonstrators remained in possession of the streets. On the same day hundreds of thousands gathered in a park near Madrid. Thousands demonstrated in San Sebastian. Similar

demonstrations took place in other provinces as well.

A large number to strikes, demonstrations and other actions were held in reponse to a call issued by the Central Committee of the Party for support to the Asturian coal and metal strikers. Some 25,000 metalworkers in Biscay, over 20,000 workers in Guipuzcoa, 3,000 at the Nueva Montana steel mill and 1,000 in Corrales de Buelna downed tools in solidarity with the Asturian strikes. On May 18 over 16,000 transport workers in Las Palmas, the Canary Islands, went on strike. Supported by other workers, women and students, they marched for many hours through the streets, clashing with the police. During the Asturian strike agricultural laborers in a number of provinces struck for higher wages. Fifteen thousand agricultural laborers in Cadiz province were on strike for several weeks in solidarity with the Asturias.

A broad militant movement is developing in the countryside, although owing to the specific nature of agricultural labor it is less spectacular than in the industrial areas. The authorities, however, are uncomfortably aware of its extent. Many landowners whose interests are hurt by the disastrous agrarian policy of the dictatorship have announced that they will not bring in the harvest since they cannot pay the wages demanded by the agricultural laborers.

The exposure by a group of intellectuals of the torture used against the miners, which stirred public opinion throughout Spain last summer; the recent students' demonstrations in support of the workers' economic and political demands; the support the strikers received from shopkeepers, peasants, etc.; the demonstrations testifying to the awakening of national sentiment in the Basque country, Catalonia and Galicia, and the critical stand towards the regime taken by the Abbot of Monserrat and supported by a large number of churchmen—all this shows that not only the working class but also other broad and representative political and social forces are for a general political strike, and that the masses regard the heroism of the working people of the Asturias, the Basque country, the Canary Islands, Madrid, etc., as an expression of their own anti-Franco sentiments.

The present strikes are marked by unity among the Communists, Socialists and Catholics. They are demonstrations of the single-mindedness of the most militant opposition forces.

But if the organization and unity of the working people in the main centers have reached a high level and street demonstrations

reveal the determination of the masses to turn the strikes begun in the Asturias and prepared by the preceding major actions in other provinces into a general strike, and if all this shows that the opposition forces have overcome their passivity and are taking a militant line—as, for instance, the Socialists opposed to the anti-unity stand and passivity of their leadership in exile have done—the scope of the strike movement still does not correspond to the true mood of the masses.

True, the struggle has been joined in recent months not only by the vanguard forces with militant traditions, but also by the working people in the provinces who are less experienced in struggle and not as well organized. The main obstacle to extending the strike movement to the whole country is the evasive and hesitant position of some opposition leaders who are frightened by the spread of the struggle and the growing political consciousness of the masses. These leaders are more alarmed by the prospects held out by the struggle under present conditions than by the preservation of the dictatorship and the "liberation" offered as a solution by the oligarchy. They represent a danger not because of the influence they wield among the masses but because their opposition to the strike urged by the Communist Party coincides with the policy of the dictatorship, and this enables them to embark on disruptive maneuvers at decisive moments.

This has an adverse effect on the coordination of the struggle. In provinces like Asturias and Biscay where the scale of the struggle is the greatest, there are trade union opposition committees, in line with the unitarian policy advocated and implemented by the Party. The representative character of these committees and the high level of political consciousness of the workers make them an effective element of leadership in the struggle. The workers regard them, and not the official union bosses, as their true spokesmen. Naturally, therefore, the dictatorship welcomes, if anything, trends likely to hamper unity of action. To this end it is stepping up its political offensive against the vanguard forces, in particular against the Communist Party, resorting to every device from recognition of some "opposition" elements to vilification of the Communists, and from press and radio campaigns aimed at undermining the unity of the Party (taking advantage of the disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders) to mass arrests of Communists whenever possible.

But although the mass actions are not properly coordinated, they have a common aim, and this is a major success for the policy of

unity. The more far-sighted spokesmen of the above-mentioned opposition forces are beginning to realize that by trying to retard the struggle (for in the long run such efforts are bound to fail) or by standing aloof from it they cannot ensure themselves a say in deciding what is to follow the overthrow of the dictatorship.

Apart from the struggle for political demands, the breadth of the economic demands as such is evidence of the firm resolve of the working people to put an end to the Franco regime.

The class character of the dictatorship is clearly evident from the ruthless exploitation of the working class, the peasants and other sections of the population.

The oligarchy has announced that 340,000 agricultural laborers and poor peasants will be driven off the land in the next four years. In other words, the rate at which the peasants are being ruined will be increased by half, although the forced emigration of the peasantry has already assumed mass proportions. While the price of a ton of coal, for instance, has risen 17-fold since 1936, the miners' wages have increased only 4.3 times, as has been admitted by Labadie Otermin, the Falangist leader and ex-governor of the Asturias. The miners are now demanding a minimum wage of 160-200 pesetas a day, which is roughly four times the present wage. In the recent strikes the working class has been fighting for an average wage increase of 30 per cent.

The workers have won important economic gains, although the inflationary practice when "wages toil up the stairs while prices shoot up in the lift" continues. In their 1962 strike the miners won a 25 per cent average wage increase. A few months later, in an attempt to prevent the 1963 strike, the Nicolasa and some other big mines granted a 100 per cent addition to the basic wage. At some steel mills a 25 per cent increase was won. These concessions wrested from the dictatorship, however, have not retarded the struggle but, on the contrary, tend to intensify it. The workers are following up their gains by strengthening their unity, improving their organization and preparing for bigger actions.

Many spokesmen of business circles aver that this cannot go on any longer.

The Franco government is powerless to halt the movement against the dictatorship. The regime, the very purpose of whose existence, according to the Franco supporters, is to wipe out communism, has been forced in some cases, as for instance in the Asturias, to reconcile itself to known Communists leading

the struggle; it is unable to prevent this since their arrest would only intensify and deepen the implications of the struggle by adding the demand for their release. Although it uses force to break up demonstrations, regards strikes as a threat to the security of the state, and, whenever it can, hands down vicious sentences to strike leaders, the fascist regime is unable to stop the workers from taking action. Bringing the full force of the police machine to bear would only aggravate the situation.

The economic concessions which the dictatorship is forced to make in order to reduce the scale of the struggle are deepening its own internal contradictions. When the 1962 strike forced the authorities to end the wage freeze, even the big rural bourgeoisie had to shoulder part of the burden of the so-called "stabilization plan," which the oligarchy had intended to shift entirely onto the working class. This is why some members of the land-owning elite are joining the opposition and have even been arrested.

The present popular actions are a heavy blow at the "development plan" devised by the finance oligarchy as the latest economic panacea.

When a dictatorship such as has ruled Spain for twenty-five years proves powerless to crush the opposition, the uselessness of the fascist forms of government cannot but become obvious to certain sections of the monopoly capitalists. These forms become a hindrance for the very forces which have used them to satisfy their greed at the expense of the working classes.

Today even the government is divided against itself. The Minister of Home Affairs has closed a Falangist newspaper sponsored by another minister, who happens to be the Secretary-General of the Falange. Fraga Iribarne, the Minister of Information, has amended statements made by the "all-powerful" Franco. High-ranking churchmen who closely collaborate with the dictatorship have clashed with other members of the church hierarchy and broad sections of the lower clergy.

In an article entitled "The Way Things Are" a group of Falangists who declare their readiness to "lay down their lives for Franco" have this to say about some of the basic institutions of the regime:

"The National Council has become a Senate of coughing, wisecracking, whispering, frivolous intriguers.

"The vertical trade unions have become the hunting ground for apolitical bureaucrats, the financial base of a regular pirate notorious

for his criminal past, who, ensconced in the editorship of a Madrid evening paper, boasts of his wealth, squandering millions on his mistresses, imported automobiles, apartments and staging comedies with a false ring of demagoguery.

"The institutions of the regime carry no political weight, no influence; their mission consists in handing out honorary appointments, decorations, money premiums and gold medals."

The problem of the succession has been placed on the order of the day by the growing struggle. The oligarchy is seeking to impose its solution through the medium of the policy of "liberalization" adopted after the 1962 strikes. This "liberalization" consists of a number of concessions (more in form than in substance) made under pressure from the masses. They were conceded in an effort to prevent a democratic solution and the urgent structural changes associated with it, changes which the country badly needs and which the democratic revolution would bring. But the present popular actions show that "liberalization" is no protection against genuine democratic changes. On the contrary, the working class, the vanguard of the opposition movement, is demonstrating its ability to use every concession, even the smallest, to pave the way to genuine democracy.

Through the "liberalization" policy the oli-

garchy is seeking to win over that part of the opposition which is most amenable to its overtures. The Communists are therefore working to extend the struggle in order to create a balance of strength favorable for the working class. Their tactics do not exclude replying to violence by violence, as was the case during the demonstrations in Madrid, Bilbao and Las Palmas, while ensuring the achievement of broad unity. Against the background of the maneuvers undertaken by the oligarchy we see how correct and effective is the policy of national accord—a policy capable of uniting all the forces defeated in the Civil War (and these account for the overwhelming majority of the population), regardless of what camp they fought in at the time, against the victors, i.e., the oligarchy minority.

Developments in Spain indicate that the masses, as the Communist Party foresaw, are resolutely forging ahead towards a general political strike; that such a strike is possible although it is no simple matter and will demand much self-sacrificing effort on the part of the vanguard forces. The general political strike and its development into a national strike are the most effective and feasible forms of struggle in the present situation for the realization of our primary task—the overthrow of the dictatorship and the establishment of democracy which would pave the way to socialism.

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Progress of Natural Science and Contemporary Philosophy

P. Fedoseyev

PHILOSOPHY has always played an important part in the development of knowledge. It has not been absorbed in the specialized fields of knowledge (as the positivists hold) nor has its cognitive significance diminished in the process of differentiation of the sciences. What has changed is the way its influence is exerted.

There was a time when the natural sciences were influenced mainly by natural philosophy which, owing to the dearth of empirical data at the time, had its source in speculative constructions. Although the old natural philosophy contained profoundly rational elements (suffice it to mention the atomistic hypothesis), its speculative ap-

proach is patently inadequate in our day of rapid scientific progress.

Marxist philosophy influences science through its materialist outlook and its dialectical method which provide an adequate picture of the universal relationships and laws of development of the material world. Hence this influence is felt in the specialized fields of knowledge primarily in the sphere of methodology. The fundamental principles of dialectical materialism are becoming part of the very fabric of modern natural science, so much so as to be inseparable from it.

This is due primarily to the creative nature of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, to which dogmatism in any shape or form is alien

and which from its very inception has been closely linked with natural science; in point of fact, Marxism crystallized as a generalization of the findings of the other sciences, not as something standing above them and handing down preconceived laws conforming to an arbitrary system of thought. Hence it is a constant stimulus to scientific questing. As Lenin put it, materialism by posing the as yet unsolved problems impels science to resolve them.

To illustrate the point let us turn to the facts, to the natural sciences as such.

Development of Methodological Principles

The discoveries of the 19th century in astronomy, geology and especially biology which demonstrated the evolution of both the organic and inorganic worlds laid the groundwork for the study of the dialectics of nature. Since then the scientific foundations of the dialectical materialist conception of nature have become immeasurably more solid and comprehensive.

The revolution in physics which began at the turn of the century has now extended to all the key areas of natural science. The theoretical and practical accomplishments of the past half a century eclipse all the previous achievements of human genius. The theory of relativity and quantum mechanics, space exploration and nuclear power, automation, radio-electronics and cybernetics, polymer chemistry and so on, have not only changed the scientific picture but are radically altering the entire technological foundation of society.

Science is now solving the problems of the three technological pillars of contemporary civilization—new sources of power, new materials and new types of engines with a formerly unthinkable efficiency rating.

Biology is penetrating to the innermost secrets of living matter, with the theories of Michurin as the basis of research into the essence and laws of organic life. The electronic microscope, X-ray analysis, isotope indicators and paramagnetic resonance probes—these are observation and experimental devices which have revolutionized biological research, enabling the biologist to advance towards solving the riddle of life, fathoming the physics and chemistry of the organism and resolving the problem of biosynthesis. The purely physiological, morphological, genetic and other methods of investigating biological phenomena are being augmented by physico-chemical, mathematical and cybernetic methods. Modern biology is delving

deeper into the laws governing vital processes, into the inner organization, physical properties, chemical composition and energetics of the structures involved in the metabolic processes in cells and organisms. The findings of biological research which have played such an important part in solving technical problems have led to the emergence of a new branch of science—bionics.

The prospects are truly breathtaking. Controlled thermonuclear reaction, the direct transformation of heat energy into electric power, is in the offing. The chemical industry will be revolutionized as a consequence of the unprecedented acceleration and simplification of the processes of obtaining new chemical substances arising from the discovery of the nature and mechanism of enzymes and the creation on this basis of highly effective catalysts.

The advance in chemistry will mean radical changes in research and technology. Ordinary machines and technical devices are, in effect, mere extensions of human hands for processing natural materials. But chemistry is producing on an increasing scale new materials with combinations of elements and structures not to be found in nature. With its vast revolutionizing powers science is no longer confined merely to imitating nature; its mission is to find ways of using objective laws to change the material world. "The supreme achievement of science," M.V. Keldysh, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said, "should not be sought where it imitates nature, but where it creates opportunities for changing nature." (See *Problems of the Methodology of Science*, Moscow, 1964, p. 228, Russ. Ed.).

Working to reveal the essence of life, science is paving the way to artificial biosynthesis of protein, control of biosynthesis in the organism, and control of heredity and mutation, all of which will provide the key to some of the most complex problems of medicine and agriculture. And the extensive application and development of electronic equipment for automating production and managerial operations is bound to change the very nature of man's labor.

All these revolutionary changes enrich the methodology of science, necessitate its conscious application, and hence have a direct bearing on the development of essentially new methodological trends in scientific cognition.

To understand these trends it is essential to bear in mind 1) the connection between theory and practice, 2) the universality of the principle of development, and 3) the unity of scientific knowledge and the interaction of all branches of science, the correlation of experi-

mental and purely theoretical methods of research.

Utilization of the achievements of the natural sciences is one of the social problems of our time. In the competition between social systems that system will win which makes the most effective use of science on behalf of the people and which in the long run achieves the highest productivity of labor. And this is directly linked with the growing role of science in material production. In the process of building communism science increasingly becomes a productive force in the direct sense of the word.

The fact that many new lines of output are born in research laboratories is an indication of the growing role of science in the development of society as well as of the unity of science and production. Discoveries made and installations first built under laboratory conditions rapidly find wide industrial application. The radio-electronics and nuclear-power industries and the manufacture of new materials are examples.

The ever closer interlocking of research and production, reflecting the growing role of the researcher in solving practical tasks, is the salient feature of science today.

The principle of the unity of theory and practice is of prime importance for *planning* scientific endeavor, for combining research producing practical results already today with research the cumulative effect of which will make itself felt in production tomorrow.

Materialist dialectics enables us to use science to meet practical needs while ensuring every opportunity for profound investigations over longer periods of time unhampered by considerations of immediate return. In this way science can make the most effective contribution to building the material and technological base of communism.

An important aspect of the link between 20th-century science and dialectics is the qualitative change brought about by the penetration of the *principle of development* into the very fabric of research. In the 18th century, motion was visualized only in space, while change in time remained theoretically unelucidated. In the 19th century the concept of development was applied first in geology and then generalized in connection with the discovery of the law of conservation and transformation of energy. Darwin carried the idea to its 19th century peak in his theory of evolution.

However, the 19th-century concepts of the development of matter remained incomplete, primarily because the separation of the various branches of science made it impossible

to obtain an integral overall picture of the evolution of the objective reality. The main failing was that the basic "building blocks" of matter — atoms — were regarded as unchanging. The situation was incongruous indeed: on the one hand, material processes were being investigated and, on the other, science was still dominated by the idea of the immutable atom. This contradiction was solved only in the 20th century when it was found that the primary structural elements of matter were subject to change and to mutual transformation. Each of these elementary particles is inexhaustible as regards its properties. The idea advanced by Lenin about matter being inexhaustible at all structural levels became a cardinal methodological principle of 20th-century science. This is conceded by many scientists in the capitalist countries whose views are remote from dialectical materialism.

In a number of branches of theoretical research, conscious adherence to the dialectical materialist concept of development often plays the decisive role in projecting future lines of investigation. This is strikingly evident in modern cosmogony. In the cosmogonic researches carried out in the West, although they have also produced some outstanding discoveries, the tendency has often been to regard the development of cosmic bodies as a one-way road of "degradation" of matter, due to the operation of the second law of thermodynamics understood as an absolute. The origins of such views can be traced to a non-dialectic understanding of development. On the other hand, the achievements in cosmogony registered in our country are largely due to conscious adherence to the dialectic concept.

These levels (particles, atoms, molecules, heavenly bodies and galaxies and, in the organic world, molecules, cells and organisms) are material things representing key stages in the integral process of development of matter in space and time. Cognition of these levels is becoming increasingly a synthetic process involving the cooperation of many sciences. The organism, for instance, is now studied not only by biology, but by physics, chemistry, etc. Nowadays the Earth is studied from the standpoint of geology, geography, geophysics and geochemistry.

In our time it is imperative not merely to supplement the findings of one branch of science by those of others, not merely to employ in one science the methods of another, but to create what might be called an amalgam of sciences. This is necessary not because of considerations of convenience, of pragma-

tic advantage; it is a dictate of the objective inner specific features of the object of study. In investigating vital processes, the researcher has to deal with both the physics and the chemistry of living organisms. Consequently, if he is to penetrate to all the laws governing these processes, he cannot remain only a physicist, or a chemist, or a biologist. At the level of the molecule the boundaries between forms of motion of matter become fluid, the physical and chemical forms becoming biological. Thus biochemistry is not simply chemistry applied to living organisms or simply biology employing chemical methods, but something more, something in the nature of a synthetic unity of chemistry and biology which produces a new quality, in this case a new science. A similar trend can be traced in other sciences such as physical chemistry, chemical physics, etc.

Alongside the interaction of crystallizing fields of scientific knowledge, new discoveries and new methods of research elaborated on the basis of these discoveries impinge on the "old" branches of science. For example, we are witnessing what might be called the "second birth" of many "classical" branches of the physics of solids as a result of the use of nuclear and electronic methods of investigation, etc. At the same time a deeper and more detailed understanding of the laws governing the physical processes in solids which determine their properties helps to accelerate progress in electronic and nuclear physics as well as in the physics of elementary particles (through the creation of new experimental equipment, etc.).

In all branches of natural science, then, the overall trend today is interaction of sciences on the basis of the unity of scientific cognition. This new feature and the accompanying new approaches and methods of research pose a number of methodological problems. Although the points discussed here do not, of course, exhaust the philosophical problems involved, the advances in these areas and their effect on research are convincing proof of the growing role of materialist dialectics in the natural sciences.

Collapse of the Positivist Concepts

Many schools of bourgeois philosophy have advanced distorted interpretations of the methodological problems confronting modern science. And the ideological degradation of these schools of thought is bound to continue as science forges ahead.

The new features of scientific knowledge find a deceptive reflection in diverse positivist

trends, for example. As we know, positivism has laid claim to being the sole philosophy of modern natural science. And it must be admitted that many Western scientists have fallen under its spell.

There are a number of reasons for this. One is the complete collapse of the concept of philosophy as being the science of sciences, and the decline of natural philosophy allegedly capable of filling in the scientific picture of the world with speculative deductions. The logical positivists capitalized on this and, in the guise of struggle against natural-philosophic metaphysics, launched a campaign against philosophy as an independent science. Without any justification whatsoever they equated all philosophic systems, including dialectical materialism, with metaphysics, declaring all the fundamental problems of scientific philosophy to be "pseudo-problems," sheer metaphysics. This drive against speculative metaphysics appealed to natural scientists since it was ostensibly aimed at deposing philosophy as the "science of sciences." All the more so since logical positivism also posed important problems with progressive implications, especially in the sphere of logic and methodology.

On the whole, however, the real trends of scientific development find a distorted, illusory reflection in neo-positivism. Being a subjectivist theory, it cannot but evade examining the objective processes of scientific cognition, reducing everything to an analysis of abstract, arbitrarily posited constructions of "pure" logic. Spokesmen of this school offer no scientific solution to the really important questions they often correctly note, but speculate on the complex unsolved problems. The legitimacy of posing these questions cannot, of course, be questioned. It should be noted, however, that the positivists are able to speculate on many philosophical problems just because they have not been thoroughly elucidated. The scientific solution of these problems from the positions of dialectical materialism will finally deprive them of this opportunity.

The positivist claim that materialism denies the importance of formalization of knowledge is completely groundless. On the contrary, modern scientific materialism goes to the substance of the matter, revealing the utter fallacy of the idealistic interpretation. It regards formal constructions not as an end in themselves, but as an important means, one of the methods of precise description and explanation of natural processes. The content of scientific knowledge is expressed through the medium of formalisms which as such stem from the substance of cognition. Extensive employ-

ment of formalisms in studying natural processes testifies to the maturity of scientific knowledge, its penetration to the objective nature of the subject.

Although the positivists have posed some new problems, they have been unable to solve them in the spirit of modern natural science because their concept of it is utterly illusory. No wonder, then, that many eminent scientists (De Broglie, Einstein, Bohr, Born and others) dissociated themselves in one way or another from the postulates of positivism and criticized its extreme formalism. Heisenberg, for example, says that the "positivist scheme of reasoning on the basis of mathematical logic is as a whole too limited for describing nature" (*Physik und Philosophie*).

Even logical positivists (Popper, Feigl, and others) have begun to question the cognitive value of the basic principles of the philosophy of logical positivism. The adherents of this school have been unable to carry out a single point in their program; their promise to construct a totally formalized schema of science has proved impossible of realization. In this connection the opinion of the bourgeois writer C. Hamburg concerning the perspectives of the subjective idealist trends is indicative; no scientific school of thought such as pragmatism, neo-Kantianism or positivism, he says, has produced a stable and effective philosophy for our time (*Symbol and Reality*). Or take this statement by Feigl at the 13th International Philosophy Congress in Mexico: "It is now generally admitted that the early logical positivists went to great lengths in their zeal to purge philosophy of pseudo-problems. Their criterion of actual knowledge was inadequately substantiated from the standpoint of verification" (*Memorias del XIII Congreso Internacional de Filosofia*).

The researches of the neo-positivist schools are contributing less and less to methodology generally, being limited to specialized studies of narrow problems of logic, semantics and the theory of information. Hence the talk that can be heard about a "philosophical vacuum" in modern science. More and more references are being made to the "scandal in philosophy" consisting in the fact that, unlike the specialized sciences, "philosophy has achieved nothing in spite of thousands of years of effort." The objective idealist and theological trends, out to capitalize on the loss of intellectual credit by the subjective idealist schools, are trying to represent the collapse of the neo-positivist views as proof of the failure of attempts at rational interpretation of the world.

Announcing a sweeping program of sub-

jectivist interpretation of science and resorting to unadulterated advertising ballyhoo, the neo-positivists proclaimed the 20th century the "century of analysis." As it is, however, neo-positivist vacillation between materialism and idealism has only led bourgeois ideology, which at one time still retained some traditions of rationalism, to the undisguised mysticism of the so-called ontological theories and neo-Thomist concepts.

Social progress and the rapid accumulation of scientific knowledge are bound eventually to sweep away both of these ideological Siamese-twin rivals. As knowledge grows the parasitic nature of idealism in all its modifications and its hostility to science are becoming more and more apparent. Needless to say, vulgarization must be ruled out in combating idealism in natural science. For instance, it is essential to distinguish between the militant idealist-mystics and those who on the whole instinctively adhere to materialist positions even though they share some of the preconceived philosophical notions of the dominant ideology. Some natural scientists actually use positivist terminology to express "shamefaced" materialist views. These people should be helped by means of convincing and well-argued criticism to rid themselves of philosophic delusions. The decisive thing, however, is positive analysis, demonstration of the fruitfulness of dialectical materialism for the natural sciences.

Dialectical Materialism Is the Methodology of Modern Science

Lenin said early in the century that dialectical materialism was born of physics. Today it is penetrating to all areas of science. The 20th century has proved to be the century of the triumph of dialectical materialism in natural science.

This is due to its creative nature, its ability to answer the questions posed by the advance of science. The most progressive philosophical teaching history has known, dialectical materialism develops in step with the accumulation of historical experience and our knowledge of nature. Precisely because it is a science of the general laws of the development of nature, society and human thought, it assimilates all the findings of the specialized sciences. The concepts of dialectical materialism, its categories, formulations and precepts, develop accordingly.

This is evident from the evolution of the concept of causality in modern physics. The contemporary physical theories of micro-processes—quantum mechanics and the quantum

theory of fields—are statistical theories in view of the big part played in them by probability. For it is only within probability amplitudes that the behavior of micro-particles, their states, the laws governing their interaction and their intrinsic properties can be theoretically ascertained. Modern physics is guided by the principle of the infinity of matter, the infinity of the interconnections and relationships between the components of an integral law-governed world — a principle originally discovered by dialectical materialism. In the era of classical physics researchers sought to ascertain a simple connection between elementary phenomena, and only the basic relationships determining the given phenomenon and limited in number were considered to be causal. This disregard of the objective existence of an endless number of other interconnections which, though not fundamental for the given phenomenon, nevertheless influenced it, found expression in Laplacian determinism. The element of objective chance, the objectively statistical character of the laws of matter, was thus banished from science. Modern physics has shown, however, that the causal connections determining the basic development of a phenomenon and connected with the intrinsic properties of material things do not rule out multifariousness of connections between elementary developments. Thus the correlation of uncertainties in quantum mechanics shows it is pointless to apply the determinism of Laplace to the micro-world, but this does not in any way signify the “collapse of causality.”

Neo-positivism seized on the probability element in quantum mechanics, on the fact that Laplacian determinism was not applicable to micro-physics, to reject causality in general. Subsequent findings, however, have proved the utter untenability of indeterminism as applied to the micro-world.

Thus, as modern physics developed, the methodological fallacy of both mechanical determinism and indeterminism were revealed. The way out of the impasse was provided by dialectics, which shows the relative, limited and transient nature of each historical modification of the concept of causality while proving the validity of this fundamental principle as a whole.

The real connection between phenomena is not fully revealed by concepts evolved on the basis of knowledge of the laws governing any particular aspect of these phenomena. Dialectical materialism underscores the need to approach causality concretely as one of the forms of the objective interconnection of phenomena. Lenin pointed out: “Cause and effect

... are merely moments of universal reciprocal concatenation of events, merely links in the chain of the development of matter” (*Philosophical Notebooks*).

We see, then, that Marxist dialectics is an antidote against one-sided interpretations and conclusions being taken on faith and elevated to absolute dogma. At the same time it provides a reliable methodological guide for a new examination of these interpretations and conclusions. It is a well-known fact that the fundamental ideas of the theory of relativity were accepted and understood only when the pre-Marxian philosophic concept that space and time had no intrinsic connection with each other or with matter had been overcome. The fallacy of this concept was revealed by materialist dialectics in the last century, when Engels showed that space and time, like motion, are forms of the existence of matter. Today this idea has found flesh-and-blood embodiment in science. Einstein's critical approach to the classical concepts of space and time and the concepts he advanced to replace them must be regarded as one of his greatest services to humanity. The substance of the views on space and time and their relations to matter which have become established in physics may be expressed in Einstein's thesis that if matter and its motion were to disappear, there would no longer be either space or time (see F. Frank, *Philosophy of Science*). From the standpoint of philosophy, this is essentially a materialist and dialectical concept.

The achievements in cybernetics, too, are a hard blow to the dogmatists and to the objective idealists who believe in the divine origin of thought. Analysis from dialectical materialist positions of the latest findings of science has deepened our understanding of the processes of thought in the light of the achievements of neuro-physiology and cybernetics.

Further development of the creative nature of Marxist-Leninist philosophy is decisive for elucidating the philosophical problems of modern science.

The exceptional importance of the trend towards synthesis of the sciences is unquestionable. It marks a stage in science which calls for a philosophy representing a synthesis of knowledge. Dialectical materialism is such a philosophy. Contrary to positivism, it does not reject the traditional philosophical problems of the world around us, but, unlike the ontological and theological schools, it interprets these problems in a consistently scientific, rational way. Moreover, the basic principles of dialectical materialism are broad

enough to find multiform reflection in the achievements of natural science.

For example, the discovery that elementary particles are subject to mutual transformation can be consistently explained only from the standpoint of dialectical materialism, which regards the field and the particle as interconnected manifestations of matter. Moreover, it sees the elementary particles simultaneously as both simple and complex structural units. The latest discoveries fit organically into the dialectical-materialist concept of matter.

A feature of the present relationship between dialectical materialism and natural science is that methodological problems projected into the future are coming more and more to the fore, whereas formerly attention was paid mainly to elucidating existing theories, to assimilating results already obtained and ascertaining their place in the overall system of knowledge. Consequently, the further advancement of dialectical materialism through analysis of the basic achievements and methods of modern natural science assume ever greater significance. Above all this applies to the general theory of the structure of matter and, in particular, to intensive elucidation of concepts such as the system, the element, structure, symmetry, probability, information, and so on. All this has a bearing on the problems now being posed in all the rapidly developing branches of science—in physics (elaboration of the theory of elementary particles, the theory of multi-particle systems, etc.), in chemistry, biology and cybernetics. In connection with the theory of the structure of matter much attention is now being paid to general methods of investigating systems, including semiotics.

Another feature is the extensive use of mathematical methods in the most diverse areas of knowledge. In particular this is connected with the advance of cybernetics. Hence examination of the philosophical aspects of mathematics generally and cybernetics in particular is of prime importance. The aspects involved concern the essence and role of mathematics, its basic concepts, the object of cybernetics and its relation to natural science, the concepts of information, control, complex dynamic systems, etc.

The principles of dialectical materialism provide the basic guidelines also for elucidating new approaches to the study of the nature of life. Researches in this area are disclosing more and more concretely the biological laws of the organic world, the connection between the organism and the conditions of its life, and completely refute the neo-vitalistic concept that the living and inorganic worlds are se-

parated by an insurmountable wall. Recognizing the qualitative uniqueness of living matter, dialectical materialism provides the methodology for the physico-chemical and cybernetic approaches to the question of the essence of life. This is a problem with a multitude of facets. Physico-chemical experiments have revealed a morphological and biochemical qualitative difference between the micro-structure and the macro-structure of the cell, and disclosed complex enzyme systems governing the metabolic processes. The molecular weights of many proteins, the arrangement of amino-acid residues in the molecules of some proteins, etc., have been ascertained. Considerable progress has been made in the study of the structure and properties of nucleic acids and their role in metabolism, particularly in protein synthesis. The genetic properties of desoxyribose nucleic acid and the enzymes involved in its synthesis have been discovered. These findings are now being used to delve into the fundamental principles governing heredity. Needless to say, much is still unclear and it still remains to be seen how fruitful quests along this line will be.

Materialist dialectics, drawing on past experience, charts the general perspectives in the various areas of knowledge. The history of science shows that very often new spheres of knowledge lie in the "no-man's land" between existing sciences, and that the chances of new discoveries being made are greatest precisely in these blank spots where the boundaries of sciences have not yet come together. But the perspectives of scientific and technological progress are not limited to this. As can be seen from the past progress of natural science, especially during the past century, the high-road of advance runs through discovery of new structural levels of matter and the laws governing the hitherto unknown or insufficiently studied levels, for example, in the spheres of microbiology, molecular biology, nuclear physics, the physics of elementary particles, etc.

Dialectics attaches particular importance to the exceptional promise of new discoveries held out by deciphering the qualitative boundaries between different forms of the motion of matter as well as between different structural levels. The major discoveries in the sphere of electricity and its utilization in production, for instance, were made in the course of research on the conversion of the motion of matter. Similarly, transitions from one structural level of matter to another opened broad vistas in the use of nuclear energy.

Speaking of the perspectives of science, note should be made of investigation of such

qualitative leaps as the transition from the non-living to living matter. Here both the mechanist and the vitalist theories have proved fallacious. Dialectical materialism alone has charted the way to solving these universal riddles. There is no doubt that in this area new properties of matter will be discovered and a big contribution made to theory and practice. Needless to say, what is in question here is not some nebulous "vital force" but the infinite capacity of matter to produce multiform structural complexes.

Investigation of the transition from the physiological to the psychical also holds promise. This qualitative leap in the development of matter was elucidated by Sechenov and Pavlov, and our understanding of it has been deepened by contemporary physiology of higher nervous activity. But the accomplishments to date are only the beginning and much remains to be done (in connection with cybernetics in particular) to explore the concrete mechanism involved.

Of exceptional interest is research on the qualitative changes involved in the transition from the animal world to the human, from nature to society. For a long time natural science and social science went their own separate ways. True, bourgeois philosophy and sociology have essayed in the course of the past century to apply methods of natural science to sociological investigations, but the only result has been vulgarization of science. This applies to the so-called organic school in sociology, social Darwinism and other similar trends.

Unlike these trends, materialist dialectics provides the correct approach to that momentous turning point in nature when the transition from the natural to the social took place. So far not enough has been done in this area, which is still, far more than any other, the breeding ground for parasitic pseudo-scientific concepts, such as Freudianism, Malthusianism and racist eugenics.

The life of society has of course a quality of its own but one can hardly deny the influence exerted by nature on man and society, just as the influence exerted on nature by man's activity and social progress cannot be underestimated. With the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, the eradication of class antagonisms everywhere in the world and the ending of wars, the relations between man and nature, between society and the world around us, will enter a new phase when all of man's efforts will be directed at completely subjugating the forces of nature and improving the life of society.

Investigation of qualitative transitions from

the natural to the social is of enormous significance for industry, for productivity of labor, developing man's physical and mental abilities, consciously moulding new traits and habits as well as new forms of social life, and overcoming all the distortions of the human nature accumulated in the course of the centuries of antagonistic societies.

The Union of Natural Science and Philosophy in Action

To cope with the work cut out for us in elaborating the methodology of scientific cognition, in creatively developing Marxist-Leninist philosophy, it is imperative to cement the unity of natural science and philosophy as Lenin enjoined us to do.

With the overcoming of the consequences of the personality cult and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to constructive endeavor in our country, the very character of the philosophical treatment of problems of science has changed and the organizational forms uniting philosophy and science have grown stronger.

In the recent period (especially after the USSR conference on philosophical problems in natural science held in 1958) those works of previous years have been severely criticized in which an attempt was made to fit steadily growing scientific knowledge into the stereotyped pattern of dogmatically understood tenets. The fallacy of many idealistic interpretations of modern scientific theories has been exposed and attempts to identify dialectical materialism with one or another particular school of natural science subjected to criticism.

In the course of broad creative discussions in the press and at seminars progress has been made in recent years in resolving a number of fundamental methodological problems of modern science. Here mention should be made first of all of the philosophical examination of the laws governing the development of scientific theories, in particular physical theories; analysis of the methods employed in the key branches of natural science; the work done to ascertain the statistical regularities of the micro-world, substantiation of its objective nature and cognoscibility, elaboration of the problem of causality in physics and biology; philosophical substantiation of the application of mathematics, physics, chemistry and cybernetics in biology; elaboration of the philosophical problems of cybernetics; substantiation of the unity of the sciences investigating the Earth and, connected with this, the charting of basic ways of remaking nature in the course of building communism.

The fact that the natural scientists are taking an increasingly active part in elucidating philosophical questions is a step forward. For example, researchers in the natural sciences and in philosophy are working together in the Council on Philosophical Problems of Natural Science attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Discussion of methodological questions is a useful form of cooperation between scientific trends. Very often researchers embarking on new lines of inquiry find it useful preliminarily to discuss the methodological aspect of their investigations.

Methodological symposiums at research institutes are a notable development. The papers resulting from these symposiums and conferences play a leading role in working out the philosophical problems of natural science. Many of the subjects of the papers were suggested in the course of joint discussions between natural scientists and philosophers. This is a highly fruitful method according with the team-work spirit permeating all major research of the day.

An example of the efficacy of this cooperation is the work done on the philosophical problems encountered in the physics of elementary particles. The initial result is the jointly produced *Philosophical Problems of the Physics of Elementary Particles* published in Moscow last year. The first systematic inquiry of its kind, it was written by a team of nine physicists and ten philosophers. Among them are some of the most prominent Soviet natural scientists.

In recent years the methodological problems of the branches engaged in the study of the Earth have acquired greater importance. These problems were treated in another joint work, *Interaction of Sciences in Studying the Earth*, published in 1963. The new areas treated in this book are the dialectical correlation of the sciences concerned, the geological (or planetary) form of motion of matter, philosophical problems pertaining to the evolution of the biosphere, some problems of the ionosphere, and a number of other timely questions.

Elaboration of the key methodological problems of the various sciences has prepared the ground for systematic examination from the standpoint of dialectical materialism of the philosophical aspects of modern natural

science as a whole. This highly important question is examined in the symposium *Dialectical Materialism and Contemporary Natural Science*, the first volume of which, treating of the subject and interconnection of the various sciences, came out in 1963.

Many research groups are taking part in this joint work, coming volumes of which will examine dialectics as the method and the theory of knowledge of the natural sciences; the history and logic of the development of these sciences, and the structure and forms of matter; the general and specific methods employed in the natural sciences; synthesis of knowledge; present-day determinism, and the basic forms of the existence of matter — motion, development, space and time.

Investigations in logic are playing a growing role in modern philosophy. These take in such problems as the nature of formalization, the specific features of the deductive theories, and analysis of inductive logical constructions. It is most important to examine the logical nature of the basic concepts of science. Treatment of methodological questions in both the natural and the social sciences without profound logical substantiation no longer meets the requirements of either researchers or science and technology generally. The dialectical nature of logical problems is becoming more and more apparent.

Engels gave us a profound theoretical elaboration of the problems of methodology and the theory of knowledge based on the scientific findings of his time. Lenin, in step with the rapid advances in science, raised the theory of knowledge to a higher level in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and in his *Philosophical Notebooks*. During the time of the personality cult, however, the standard of theoretical research sharply declined. Elaboration of problems relating to the theory of knowledge was in effect divorced from logic and the methodological problems of science.

The time has now come organically to link philosophy and natural science, as both Engels and Lenin urged. For it is on the basis of dialectical materialism that the highest degree of philosophical synthesis of contemporary knowledge can be achieved. Hence the growing importance of the union of philosophy and natural science. Their creative cooperation is essential to the further development of science.

In Memory of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

The American and international working-class and Communist movement suffered a grievous loss with the death on September 5 of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman of the Communist Party of the USA. Her whole life was dedicated to the struggle for a better future for the people of the United States and for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Born on August 7, 1890, in Concord, New Hampshire, to a working-class family of Irish extraction, at the age of sixteen she joined the Socialist Party, devoting her energies to the fight for the workers' political and economic rights. Soon after, she became a member of the militant IWW and dedicated herself wholly to the revolutionary cause.

Comrade Elizabeth Gurley Flynn grew and was steeled as a political leader in the crucible of the bitter class struggle waged by the American workers against the monopolies and the fight for civil rights and democratic freedoms. A militant organizer of the masses, indefatigable fighter, inspiring speaker and political writer, she travelled the length and breadth of the country, addressing audiences of workers and leading strikes. In 1912 she took part in the famous Lawrence textile strike, in 1913 in the silk mill strike in Paterson, in 1916 in the Everett civil liberties struggle and the miners' strike in Minnesota, and in 1926 in the Passaic textile strike.

Comrade Flynn was a courageous defender of the victims of U.S. imperialism. In 1918-25 she was Chairman of the Labor Defense League, and in 1927-30, of the U.S. International Labor Defense. The campaigns she conducted in defense of Joe Hill, Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti and other victims of ruling-class injustice will be remembered through the years. Con-



stantly hounded herself, she was sent to prison on ten different occasions, the last time in 1955, at the age of 65, when she was in prison for nearly three years. Prison seriously undermined her health but did not break her resolve to carry on the fight.

Beginning with 1919 her activities were inseparably connected with the Communist Party, which she joined in 1937. In 1938 she was elected member of the National Committee of the Party, and in 1939 to its Political Committee. At the end of 1959 she became Vice-Chairman of the Party, and in 1961, Chairman.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn enjoyed great prestige and earned the esteem of the Communists of the USA and the entire world by her loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. She was proud of being a Communist devoted to the ideas of Marxism. "Regardless of what happens," she said, "I shall never depart from them."

Her contribution to strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the principles of creative Marxism-Leninism was an invaluable one. She took an active part in the 1960 meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties and in the drafting of the program documents of this international Communist forum.

Comrade Flynn was the author of several books and a large number of articles and pamphlets on social problems, the trade unions, and problems of the working-class and Communist movement.

Communists and all other working people everywhere will always cherish the memory of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, faithful daughter of the American people and fearless fighter for peace, democracy and socialism.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

THE FIGHT FOR UNITY

(Materials of Central Committee Meetings)

GUIDED BY the conclusions and decisions of the last Party Congress, the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party is working out a new political line appropriate to the needs of the present stage of the class struggle.

The Communists, said Ernest Burnelle, Party Chairman, have always aimed at working-class unity. But we are now entering into a period which calls for something more. Today it is not enough merely to have in mind the perspective of unity—the job is to achieve it . . .

In other words, the essence of the political line of the Belgian Communists is the *fight for unity of the working class and all democratic forces*. How does the Central Committee propose to achieve unity and what new elements does it introduce into the practice of the class struggle?

A meeting of the Central Committee held in January reviewed the situation in the country and outlined the tasks facing the Communists. René Beelen, Vice-Chairman of the Party, characterized the situation in the following terms. The profound political crisis that has long bedevilled the country is getting worse. The working people, incensed by the soaring prices, are resorting to strike action for higher wages. The discontent is spreading to the peasants, to the middle sections and intellectuals. Coupled with this is the growing desire to see the national question resolved through democratic means as early as possible. The movement to strengthen peace and reduce the international tension is growing. Large masses of people are now taking part in activities organized by the peace supporters.

Another feature is that the political crisis is growing under the shadow of the general election which (unless held prematurely) is scheduled for the first half of 1965.

There is an unmistakable "swing to the Left" among the masses, primarily among the working class. This trend, however, finds practically no reflection in the official political life; the "traditional" political parties make lavish promises during election campaigns but forget all

about redeeming their promises once the elections are over.

The meeting of the Central Committee advanced the following thesis: what is needed is to enhance the political role of the trade unions, to achieve a situation in which the rank-and-file trade unionists would be able to exert a tangible influence on the Socialist Party.

There is in Belgium an organization known as Common Action which unites the Socialist Party, the General Federation of Labor, co-operatives and other organizations. Its purpose is to give better guidance to the workers' struggle. But the Right leaders of the Socialist Party regard it as an instrument for subordinating the trade unions to their rule. The meeting of the Central Committee advanced the idea that this state of affairs should be ended, that the Common Action should become a militant democratic organization, in which the parties and their representatives in Parliament would hearken to the voice of the people. The Communist Party, Beelen declared, is ready to take part in a Common Action regenerated along these lines.* " . . . The working people," he said, "should know and as a matter of fact they have seen for themselves that the Communists are not obstinate sectarians who think that they are always right. The Communist can adjust their sights to conform with the aim they pursue, namely: always for unity in the struggle against capitalism. They will readily forego their own proposals if better ones are forthcoming, ready to abide by decisions democratically adopted by the working people."

Later, with the reform of the Common Action, it will be possible to arrive at the second stage of resolving the problem of unity — that of entering into close contact with Catholic trade unions. "Lastly," Beelen said, "it may well be that the closer relations between the two working-class parties will lead in a brief space of time to the forming of the single revolutionary mass party which the country needs for its advance to socialism."

*The Communists take part in this organization as trade unionists, not as Party members.

A useful step which could really help working-class unity, accelerate the regeneration of the Common Action and promote democracy in the trade unions and the Socialist Party is the proposal made by the CC meeting for joint lists of candidates in the forthcoming election, in which the Socialists would act jointly with the Communists, trade unionists, members of the Walloon People's Movement, and peace supporters. "The election of workers' candidates on the basis of a clear-cut program of immediate demands of the working class, which should take part in working out this program, would pave the way to a regeneration of democracy and make it possible rapidly to find the political forces needed for forming an anti-monopoly government," stressed René Beelen in his report.

Extensive discussions, often developing into lively debates, were held in the Party branches and in the branches of the democratic organizations following the CC meeting. The Communist proposal evoked keen interest among the public generally.

Another meeting of the Central Committee was convened in *March* to draw the conclusion from the discussion and to outline a program of action. A report was made by Ernest Burnelle.

The evolution of the political situation in the country since the January meeting, he said, bore out the correctness of the conclusions drawn by the January meeting with regard to the political crisis and its likely development. The discussion has shown that the Party organizations wholeheartedly support the proposal of the Central Committee and that they are taking steps to implement them. The discussion has also shown that in some cases the branches are not paying due attention to the political crisis, to the rapid changes taking place. But it is precisely in these crisis periods that political alertness and attention to the changes are most essential. We should recall, said Burnelle, the lessons of the first postwar years when we did not properly appreciate the new element in the situation, underestimated the feeling of the masses and, consequently, failed to see the way forward for the working people, towards a big advance in the matter of democratic development. "We tended to be complacent, congratulating ourselves on our growing prestige, and failed to see the tasks which, if tackled and solved, would have cleared the way to deep changes in Belgium. We did not properly assess the role of trade unions, especially of the General Federation of Labor which had regrouped the best forces of the working class with the active participation of the Communists. This lesson should not be forgotten.

To ensure victory of the democratic majority

in the forthcoming cantonal and, later, in the general election, the speaker stressed, we need a clear-cut program that would reflect all the demands that have already matured in the struggle of the working people. This program could consist of three points:

"1. An end to the policy of social regress, to capitulation to the capitalist monopolies, to the rising taxes and prices, and to inroads on workers' rights.

"2. A substantial reduction in military expenditure. This is needed to enable Belgium to take the way of genuine security, to take an active part, as the people want her to do, in the efforts aimed at lessening international tension. This is a necessary condition also for social progress.

"3. Structural economic reforms capable at least of curbing the vast powers of the capitalist monopolies and of subjecting them to effective public control. This is another condition for social progress. State structural reforms in the direction of federal union will enable the Flemish people and the Walloons more fully to express their opinions and exercise control over their deputies, provide them with greater opportunities to direct the country along the road of democracy and progress, give them greater freedom and regulate their relations."

"The main thing," Burnelle said, "is to go into action equipped with keen political awareness, conscious of the responsibility that devolves upon us in the present situation."

The meeting adopted a call to the working people, which ends with the words: The Communist Party, whose will to unity, whose sincerity and effectiveness in the struggle is increasingly felt by the working people and democrats, summons to action all the members and activists of the Socialist Party and the General Federation of Labor so that in the forthcoming elections the defeat they fully deserve is inflicted on the reactionaries and splitters of the working class.

The meeting of the Party's Central Committee held in May discussed the situation in the international Communist movement. Emphatically denouncing the policy of the Chinese splitters and calling for a meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties to discuss the present state of affairs in the interest of strengthening unity and also for a thorough discussion of all the new issues engendered by developments since 1960, the meeting examined important aspects of the struggle waged by the Party in the country. In his report Ernest Burnelle stressed the significance for the Belgian Communists of combating dogmatism and sectarianism. No matter how insignificant the sects of splitters

may be, he said, they are doing the working-class movement harm, introducing into it their factional methods and their ultra-Left slogans which are contrary to its experience and its needs. It is the tradition of our Party, said Comrade Burnelle, to wage a principled struggle against Leftism. And today our aim is to unite all the working-class forces. It is towards this aim that the January and March meetings of the Central Committee advanced their proposals, particularly the proposal for the Communist Party's entry into the Common Action organization.

Lastly, the Central Committee meeting held in June focused attention on yet another aspect of the struggle—the policy of the Party with regard to the middle sections in town and countryside.

Gaston Moulin, member of the Political Bureau, who delivered the main report at the

meeting, spoke about conditions of the middle sections and showed the objective possibility of, and the need for, a close alliance of these sections with the working class. The program proposed by the Communist Party in all its points—peace, democracy, economic and social demands—fully accords with the interests of the middle sections. And this being so, the working class and the Communists should work to establish close contact with the middle sections, to enter into a revolutionary alliance with them. "Our Party," Moulin said, "has never lost sight of this problem, but today we approach it in a new way. The policy... advocated by us is of a revolutionary character. It promotes the struggle for an anti-monopoly government relying on a broad front inspired by the working class and supported by its allies. This is not a dream, and it is up to us to prove it."

THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE COMMUNIST ATTITUDE

Belgium is one of the few developed capitalist countries in which the national question has not so far been resolved and at times it becomes very acute. The point at issue is the relationships between the two ethnic groups comprising the bulk of the population — the Flemings (roughly five million) and the Walloons (some four million). Wherein lie the sources of this problem? How to resolve it? These questions were discussed in an interview granted to our correspondent by Louis Van Geyt, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party.

After the First World War legislation was adopted in Belgium, which affirmed the equality of the two main languages. Flemish was accepted in the North, and French, in the Southern, Walloon regions. In Brussels, the capital, located in Flanders but having a French-speaking population a "bilingual" regime was introduced. After the Second World War Wallonia found itself economically at a disadvantage compared with Flanders, where industry was developing rapidly, owing to its proximity to harbors and communication lines, to the availability of a labor force and a relatively calmer "social" climate. On the contrary, in Wallonia, where there are many old or, to be more precise, obsolescent enterprises falling short of the requirements of modern technology, especially many old coal mines, industrial activity has declined in recent years. Many pits were closed by the decision of the European Coal and Steel Community. Other enterprises, too, closed down. This, naturally, caused discontent among the working people in the Walloon areas which are not adequately aided by the government.

Added to the economic difficulties is the linguistic problem. The point is that in the civil

service, in the employers' organizations, in the managerial jobs and in the armed forces a certain inequality of the two languages in favor of the French is still felt. This is not the main factor but it plays its part. Just one example. Industrial expansion and population growth are now more rapid in Flanders than in Wallonia; on the other hand the number of Flemish people receiving higher education is relatively smaller than the number of Walloons.

This has resulted in an aggravation of the national question in recent years.

On more than one occasion the Communist Party has stated its views on this problem. In 1961 we issued a declaration outlining our attitude.

We maintain that many economic and social questions associated with the national problem called for a *solution on a nationwide scale*. An overall solution would help, in particular, to put an end to the unequal development of Flanders and Wallonia. What we proposed is above all structural reforms, by which we mean, as everyone knows, the curbing of monopoly rule. One reform would be the establishment of a National Investments Society which would pursue a just policy on the scale of

the whole country. True, we now have a society under this name, but its rights and funds are very limited and it is controlled by the trusts. What the country needs, however, is a society independent of monopoly control and equally representative of the various areas.

We hold that the solution of the problem presupposes industrialization of both Flanders and Wallonia and the evening up of wages and all social benefits based on the highest present level.

Last but not least, we are for a *federal* solution, i.e., for a federation of Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels, provided that each area enjoys genuine self-administration. I will not go into detail, but the main thing is that the self-administration should be effective. Each area should have an Economic Council invested with full power, for this is one of the conditions of its advance.

Today the ruling circles seek to resolve the national problem by way of agreement between the political parties. We are against this because it would be an agreement *at the top*, without the participation of the people. On the other hand, this would not be a profound discussion of the problem but a compromise of a pre-election nature. We believe that at first the problem should be thoroughly debated and then the corresponding draft could be submitted to the people for discussion.

There is yet another reason why we oppose a compromise agreement of the parties. The capitalist parties, like the top leadership of the Socialist Party seek to *substitute* for the federation either cultural autonomy (as proposed by the Catholics) or a purely bureaucratic administrative reform. In the final analysis, all this, far from resolving the problem, would deepen the differences. Hence we maintain that

a genuine federal solution could resolve the issue and, at the same time, unite the democratic forces on a nationwide scale.

What is the position of the national movement today?

The 1960-61 strike in Wallonia was followed by the emergence of the Walloon Popular (MPW). It can be said that on the whole this organization and its leadership adhere to the standpoint of democratic federalism. That is why our Party is taking part in the movement and why we support it. At first the leaders of the MPW spoke only about federalization, leaving aside socio-economic problems, as it were. Today they see the problems of the country in an overall way. We can only welcome this attitude.

In Flanders, too, there is an organized movement not unlike the MPW. Historically the Flemish Popular Movement has always been associated with the Catholics; Right-wing views prevailed in it for a long time. Of late it has shown a trend towards a democratic solution of the problem as demanded by the Left in the Christian movement. However, anti-federalists still dominate the leadership of the Flemish movement.

Recently, the Lefts in this movement have expressed the desire for contacts with their Walloon counterpart. This, however, is but the beginning of the process which in time may lead to important changes.

On the whole, it can be said that the national problem occupies an important place in the life of our country and hence it is natural that we Communists pay close attention to it. But our attitude, I repeat, is: the national problem should be regarded in close relation with all the other problems facing the Belgian nation.

THE PARTY AND THE YOUTH

On March 15 the streets of Brussels were filled with thousands of boys and girls who had come to the city from all parts of the country, carrying slogans that expressed the main idea uniting young Belgians: "No Atomic Armament for the Belgian Army! No Nuclear Weapons in Belgium! No Proliferation of Nuclear Arms! Destroy the Atom bombs! For General and Controlled Disarmament!"

This demonstration was called by the National Ban-the-Bomb Committee of the Youth which unites *all the youth organizations of the country*. Proceeding from the example afforded by the Moscow treaty, which helped to improve the international climate, the committee succeeded in inspiring young people with confidence and enthusiasm and rallying

them in militant struggle for more and more far-reaching aims.

The preparations for the demonstration in the provinces were carried out by local and regional committees as well as by the committees of secondary school pupils and university student groups. I would like to stress that (for the first time in recent years) the majority of the marchers were schoolchildren, *lycée* pupils and students. One could see whole classes headed by their teachers. Most of the teachers in the country gave moral and material support to the preparation and holding of the demonstration.

It can be said that never before had Belgium witnessed such a powerful youth action for peace. The demonstration itself was a shatter-

ing blow to the pessimistic views on the youth, to the talk about youth being "indifferent to politics." It showed too that the work of the democratic organizations, including our Party, among the youth is yielding positive results.

Whom will the youth follow—the democratic forces and the working-class movement or the forces of reaction and obscurantism? This is an oft-repeated question. And it is perfectly understandable. The youth is our future, and we Communists are eager to see that it becomes a worthy successor to the generations of veteran fighters for human happiness. Of course, we realize that this cannot take place automatically. That is why our Party pays close attention to problems of the youth.

The Fourteenth Congress of the Party held in the spring of 1963 again stressed the need for a more attentive, serious and thoughtful approach to everything related to the younger generation. To win the youth for progress and the working-class movement, it has to be treated *with confidence and without any prejudice whatsoever*, it was justly pointed out at the Congress. At the end of 1963 the Central Committee held a special meeting to review work among the youth.

Ten years ago young people just entering upon life were chilled by the prospect of a nuclear war. Small wonder that in the circumstances it was difficult for them to maintain inner balance, enthusiasm and optimism. But when the change in the world balance of forces between socialism and capitalism enabled the Communist movement to give the world a perspective other than nuclear war, the basic problems agitating the youth also changed.

In our country we can see how the lessening of the tension has had an exceedingly beneficial impact on the general conduct of the youth. The struggle for peaceful coexistence, for a world without war, far from undermining its militant spirit, has, on the contrary, made it more militant and more attentive to political problems.

Along with the changes in the world balance of forces we pointed out, at the meeting, another circumstance of great importance in shaping the attitude of the youth. In our time the working class is exerting a growing influence on the life of society. And this creates a situation which instils us with new hope with regard to the possibility of drawing the youth into the struggle on the side of the forces of peace and democracy, on the side of the working-class movement.

This age of electronics, nuclear power, automation and the conquest of outer space presents man with new problems and opens up new prospects. The young people of today dis-

play a very keen interest in the future. More sharply than ever before the reality of our time confronts them with the question: which of the existing social systems will solve the complex problems posed by the scientific and technological breakthrough? And it is not surprising that large numbers of young people are turning their eyes to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries where these problems are finding a positive solution.

The young generation understandably is not divorced from the social sections from which it comes. It consists of groups of young people who by virtue of origin and family status belong to all socio-economic strata of our society. However, as often as not the difference in origin and family status does not prevent young men and women from having similar views on one or another problem of the day. This makes it possible to plan actions and definite forms of a movement embracing *the youth as a whole*.

In recent years the various youth organizations in Belgium have advanced programs with many coincident points, such as action for peace, peaceful coexistence, democracy in schools and colleges, the vote at eighteen, etc. We hold, therefore, that it is the duty of the Communists to work for unity of action of these organizations.

The older generation often tends to disapprove of young people merely on the ground that they live and spend their leisure time in a way different from that of their fathers and grandfathers, that their norms of conduct frequently do not fit in with those of the preceding generations. Of course, many examples could be cited testifying that young people are often attracted by extravagance, which we cannot approve. But the overall picture is not quite so gloomy as all that.

Our young people have a common urge for more education, as can be seen in the growth of school attendance. The number of pupils in lower-grade secondary schools (7th-9th forms) rose from 105,000 in 1952/53 to 186,000 in 1960/61, in higher-grade secondary schools (10th-12th forms) from 34,000 to 55,000, and in technical schools (lower) from 103,000 to 177,000 respectively.

In Belgium education is compulsory up to the age of 14 years. But in 1947 about 55 per cent of the children continued to go to school after reaching that age; in 1960/61 this figure rose to roughly 80 per cent. Lastly, more than 60,000 boys and girls between 15 and 20 continue their studies in evening courses. Although the picture of school attendance given here is not complete, it nevertheless reveals a general tendency.

The advance of science and technology prompts the youth to continue studies. This is a spontaneous process which we put to the credit of the young people. In view of this the Communist Youth Union should pay closer attention to work among pupils and students. As a matter of fact, it can be said that the school has become *the main arena of work* of the young Communists.

Consequences of the extension of the term of study have been, among others, a general improvement in behavior of the youth and broadening of their knowledge. This, in turn, makes them eager to reach higher cultural standards and enhances the interest of large numbers of young people in political matters. All this is conducive to the moulding of the personality, generates the need for more "independence" and a desire to shun parental tutelage.

Relying on Marxist ideology, the Communist Youth Union can help to educate adolescents in the spirit of harmony with the older generation, just as the Party is helping the older generation to understand the youth and to have faith in them. To multiply its ranks the Youth Union should win the confidence not of young people but of their parents as well.

On the whole it can be said that school occupies an increasingly more important place in the life of adolescents. This, naturally, confronts us with the question of stepping up our work in schools. Committees of secondary school pupils were founded about two years ago on the initiative of the Youth Union, first in Brussels and then in the whole of the Brabant Province and elsewhere. Having proved a success, the number of these committees has grown.

Our activists in the committees encourage cooperation with the teachers in arranging activities, in improving the curricula and providing better facilities. This involves problems of a budgetary nature: the course of development has posed the question of cutting military ex-

penditure. The activity of the pupils' committees has evoked wide response among adults and even in official quarters.

In some provinces (Liege, Hainaut and Flanders) youth committees representing all the youth organizations have been formed. In these committees representatives of the Communist Youth Union work for the establishment of a countrywide network of Youth Houses which should become a meeting place for young Belgians, a place of organized youth activities.

Working along these lines, we want to further the cooperation of youth organizations, unite their actions on the basis of common democratic demands and aims, and thus free the overwhelming majority of our young people from the influence of reactionary propaganda.

The changes in young people's way of life have given rise to organizational problems. For some years now we have seen how young people have been spending less and less time in their organizations. Joining the organization at, say, 15 or 16, they leave at 19 or 20 in order to go to the army. And upon completing service they rarely return to their organizations, which complicates the task of training committee members.

The membership of the organizations fluctuates considerably. At times it is renovated by at least one quarter in the space of one year.

The youth organizations badly need the assistance of the Party, especially as regards securing a certain stability of the leading committees, political education and other questions.

After March 15 the Communist Youth Union launched an extensive recruiting campaign which, supported by the Central Committee of the Party, assumed a nationwide character. We are confident that in the course of the work to draw the youth into the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, many young people will find their way to communism.

Albert DeCONINCK

THE JACQUEMOTTE FOUNDATION

Ideological work acquires increasingly greater importance for each Communist party today. The confrontation between socialist and capitalist ideologies presents us with new tasks, with new and, as often as not, extremely complex, problems.

For a year and a half now a special commission attached to the Central Committee of our Party has been conducting theoretical research into the history of the Belgian working-class movement. The commission relies

very much on the support of the Communist intellectuals.

The activity of the commission is an important aspect of the Party's work to educate the membership ideologically. At the same time it has a more specific task. The ideological problems of the day and the important theoretical issues of our time are the subject of much discussion in Belgium. The profound sociopolitical changes taking place in our country help to deepen and extend this debate. Hence

the task of our commission is to ensure broader participation of Marxists in it, for this should not only promote the spread of Marxist ideas among the public but also the regrouping of the Left on the basis of a progressive ideology.

In order to cope with these tasks, the commission relies on a special institution set up in the second half of 1963 — the Jacquemotte Foundation (Joseph Jacquemotte was the founder of our Party).

In October 1963 the Foundation sponsored a seminar in Brussels on the subject: "Modern Aspects of the Old Debate: Reforms or Revolution?" The seminar made it possible to clarify certain theoretical problems posed by the struggle for socialism in Belgium, in particular the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. The seminar was attended by a number of Left Socialists. In the near future the Foundation will organize other seminars of this kind.

At the same time the Jacquemotte Foundation spares no effort to make its own contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Of late it has published a series of books and pamphlets, including an essay on the winter strike of 1960-61 which was favorably received in the trade unions; a symposium of speeches made during the Public Health Study Day organized by the public health commission of the Central Committee (many specialists belonging to other trends took part in this one-day campaign); three pamphlets, of which the first is devoted to the above mentioned seminar, the second (in Flemish), to the discussion on the Soviet Union held in March 1963, and the third, to the centenary of the First International.

Fulfilment of the program drawn up by the Foundation will help to improve the work of the Communist Party in a sphere in which much still remains to be done.

Claude RENARD

COMMUNISTS IN PARLIAMENT

(An Interview with Comrade Gaston Moulin)

The parliamentary group of our Party numbers five MPs and one Senator. But when a Communist speaks in the Chamber of Representatives or in the Senate the deputies from the other parties and trends always lend an attentive ear to what he says. As a prominent Catholic deputy put it, "one may not agree with the Communists but one cannot deny them logic and common sense."

The prestige enjoyed by our MPs is not something taken for granted — it has been won in a long and severe struggle.

At one time — Gaston Moulin, chairman of the parliamentary group and member of the Political Bureau, told our correspondent — our work in parliament consisted of eloquent but not very constructive statements. The thesis that Parliament should be used for propagating our views was understood by us in a purely mechanical way. But what were the results? Of course, we stated our views, but their impact on the country was not very great.

Today, Comrade Moulin continued, we work in a different way. For some years now, in keeping with the decisions of the Eleventh Congress which sharply condemned dogmatism and sectarianism, the parliamentary group has not engaged in an abstract doctrinaire presentation of our views; instead we have raised the *cardinal* questions agitating the country endeavoring to advance a *concrete program* for their solution in the interests of the com-

munity on the basis of our Marxist-Leninist principles.

Problems of peace and of the struggle for peace are frequently voiced by our MPs. We seize on every opportunity to pose concretely the question of what Belgium can do to promote peace and what initiative it can display to improve the international climate. For instance, the draft military budget for 1964 envisaged an increase of military expenditure by 2,000 million francs compared with the previous year. Our parliamentary group introduced a motion: no increase in military expenditure, *reduce it by five per cent.*

This proposal was not the fruit of abstract thinking. In advancing it we had in mind that both among the Socialist rank and file and among the Catholics there was a growing sentiment in favor of freezing (or even cutting) military expenditure. For instance, at the peace colloquium held in Brussels in the autumn of last year many spokesmen of the two parties declared against any further increase in the military budget.

Generally speaking, the political climate in our country is extremely favorable for posing the question of cutting military expenditure and taking effective steps in defense of peace . . . Of course, the climate alone is not enough. What is needed is a growing pressure from below. In this respect demonstrations like the anti-Bomb march of the youth on March 15 are very important.

So far we have not succeeded in forcing the government to cut military expenditure, but tangible changes are taking place in this area. One of these is the unequivocal statement by the government that Belgium will not take part in the first experiment in building NATO's multilateral nuclear force and that no decisions in this sphere will be taken without consulting Parliament.

Another range of problems to which the Communists invariably pay close attention is the question of *prices and wages*.

For more than a year in Belgium (as in other Common Market countries) prices have been rising at the annual rate of roughly 15 per cent. Wages, too, it should be said, are rising, partly as a result of legislative measures but chiefly because of the strike movement of the masses. Nevertheless the growth of wages lags behind the rise in prices, and the gains attained in recent years are thus imperilled. It should be noted that prices are rising both in the private and state sectors (postal services, transport, etc.).

Communist MPs advance the demand to check the rise in prices. And they do not merely *demand* but point out concrete ways and means of arresting this spiral. Communist deputies suggest above all that the government committee on prices *should have access to the account books of the trusts*. What do we have in mind? Suppose that the trust wants to raise the prices of its products. The committee on prices should have the right to enquire into the reasons for the projected increase and demand that the board of the trust, with figures at hand, prove the need for the increase.

You will recall, Comrade Moulin went on, that in the past, too, we repeatedly made proposals of this kind but each time the government dismissed them with vague answers like "What's the use?" Thereupon we decided to demonstrate the use and last February we showed the reasons for the increase in prices for milk and dairy products. Before airing the matter in Parliament we thoroughly examined the accounts of the trusts and their publications and discovered many most interesting things. For instance, one of the milk-processing

trusts, which paid the farmers too little on account of being short of money and at the same time raised its prices on the same pretext, revealed the following figures in its account: total capital — 10 million francs, profits before taxes — 174 million (!), net profit — 4.6 million. The disclosure of these figures in Parliament was a real sensation. Many MPs told us that our demand was justified. The committee on prices had to investigate the situation on the milk market.

The foregoing shows how difficult it is to prepare debates in the Chamber. We want our proposals to be sound and substantiated, and for this we have to study the actual state of affairs, positions, interests and aspirations. In a word, we have to apply our Communist style of parliamentary activity.

"I presume it is not only the thorough preparation of speeches that is typical of this Communist style," said the correspondent.

By no means!—Comrade Moulin replied. Our style provides first of all for closely linking our proposals with the life and needs of the public. We maintain close contact with the working people, with our electorate . . .

Communist deputies, Gaston Moulin said, maintain the closest contact with their constituencies and, generally, with the other parts of the country, for they feel themselves representatives not only of their own electors but of the people as a whole and consider it obligatory to be thoroughly acquainted with the life of the nation. For instance, Comrade Moulin regularly visits factories and rural localities. From time to time he has meetings with his constituents. At the Forges de Claebeck factory, for instance, he organizes half-hour factory-gate meetings.

Such meetings — he said — enable us to know what the workers, our electors, are thinking and, on the other hand, they enable us to consult with them about our program . . .

Thanks to this close contact with the people, the latter render growing support to the Communist deputies. It frequently happens that after speeches in Parliament many non-Communist voters send letters to their MPs urging them to support the Communist initiative . . .

OUR ROUND TABLE

Finance Capital Today

THE latest trends in finance capital were examined recently at a symposium of Marxist researchers held in Prague. The participants were E. Zucker-Schilling (Austria), S. Aaronovitch (Britain), P. Joye (Belgium), P. Motta Lima (Brazil), O. Reinhold and K. Engelhardt (GDR), K. Nair (India), P. Boccara (France), B. Werner (FRG), S. Menshikov and Y. Rubinsky (USSR), L. Ivanek (Czechoslovakia), and A. Rumyantsev (Problems of Peace and Socialism).

The main questions discussed were: concentration and centralization of production and capital; the forms in which industrial and banking capital merge and coalesce; financial groupings; the monopolies and the state; current trends in export of capital; exacerbation of contradictions in the imperialist camp; finance capital and the developing countries, and problems of building anti-monopoly coalitions.

Below we print a brief summary of the discussion.

A. Rumyantsev (Chief Editor, *Problems of Peace and Socialism*) said:

This is not the first international gathering of Marxist researchers devoted to an examination of problems connected with finance capital. These problems were discussed at an exchange of views on modern capitalism held in Moscow over August 27-September 3, 1962, under the auspices of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations in Moscow. The publication of the papers read at that exchange of views, which broadened and deepened our understanding of the laws of modern capitalism and summed up the new elements in its development, was welcomed by our readers. Our task now is to examine in greater detail one of the more complex aspects of the question — the structure of finance capital and the finance oligarchy.

"Concentration of production; monopolies arising therefrom; the merging or coalescence of the banks with industry — such is the history of the rise of finance capital and such is the content of this term," Lenin wrote. This classical definition which characterizes the basic aspects of finance capital with utmost conciseness is fully valid today. No wonder bourgeois theoreticians try to "refute" or distort it. By falsifying the substance of the changes that have taken place in the forms of finance capital in the last few decades, they seek to cast doubt on incontrovertible facts revealing the concentration and centralization of production and especially of capital; they claim that the role of the banks is declining and deny the interlocking of banking and industrial capital.

It is the duty of Marxist-Leninists to expose the inventions of the monopoly apologists and open the eyes of serious but misguided investigators to the political aims motivating the present-day critics of Lenin's theory of imperialism.

An examination of the changes in world capitalism helps to reveal the vulnerable places in the gigantic machine of monopoly rule, to expose the reactionary role of finance capital and to neutralize the maneuvers of its political agents.

It is an open secret that the finance oligarchy itself is no longer solidly united. It is racked by internal contradictions and eaten up by the canker of the ruthless struggle to divide sources of raw materials, markets and spheres of investment. The more the scales tip in favor of socialism, the sharper the conflicts within the aggressive imperialist blocs and coalitions as the wild men clinging doggedly to the bankrupt dogma of cold war come up against trends groping towards a more reasonable, sober approach to the problems of our time.

An all-round study of the main class enemy of the working people is, then, in line with the pressing practical tasks confronting the fraternal parties. It will help them to find their bearings in the complex, rapidly changing situation of today. In analyzing the question of finance capital we have at our disposal a reliable compass, an indispensable ideological weapon which will never fail us — the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The great teachers of the working people of all countries adjured us to reject fossilized dogmas, to be uncompromisingly critical of fixed concepts that no longer correspond to the changed reality. Such

an approach is the key to success, the supreme expression of loyalty to the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

The purpose of our meeting is to take up a number of timely questions still in need of deeper theoretical examination.

I. CONCENTRATION AND CENTRALIZATION CONTINUE

In his analysis of imperialism, Lenin showed that concentration and centralization of production and of capital was the material basis from which **monopoly springs**. The apologists of the monopolies always argue against this premise. Concentration of production, they claim, was halted or even reversed when the optimal dimensions of enterprises were reached; as they see it the new technological conditions have reduced the minimum capital needed to establish an independent enterprise and, consequently, the tendency towards concentration and centralization has encountered an equally powerful counter-tendency which erodes the foundations of monopoly and revives the soil for free competition.

Actually, however, the process of concentration and centralization of production, and especially of capital, has now assumed unprecedented proportions. The factors at play here are the greatly accelerated technological progress, the deep-going structural changes and militarization of the economy, a growing trend toward internationalization of production and the growth of state-monopoly capitalism.

The concentration and centralization of production and capital, *L. Ivanek* (Czechoslovakia) said, are an essential prerequisite, the material basis, for the emergence of monopolies, their fusion with the state and the growth of the economic role of the latter, in a word, a prerequisite of state-monopoly capitalism. But intervention by the capitalist state in the economy, he stressed, accelerates the process of concentration and centralization. This is particularly evident in the sphere of war production, where the orders go largely to the biggest monopolies. Garnering huge profits at the expense of the taxpayer, the war-industry monopolies, on the one hand, increase their own capital and, on the other, seek to combine in order to secure more orders and to exert more effective pressure on the government.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude from the rapid growth of such branches as the nuclear, chemical, electrical equipment and electronic industries that the growing concentration of production and capital with the aid of the state is due only to the militarization of the economy. It should be borne in mind that in Japan and Federal Germany until the late fifties war production played a relatively small part, yet there was a rapid expansion of the

above-mentioned branches and they played the principal role in the formation of new monopolies. Another important factor is technological progress which requires big investments in industries that bring in low returns in the initial period, but eventually yield enormous profits.

S. Aaronovitch (Britain) stressed the importance of the various stages of the process of concentration and centralization. Britain, for instance, has seen two main waves of mergers and takeovers, but each has had a different character. The first main wave developed during the 1950's and had its origin in inflation and the growth of property values. This meant that for a combination of reasons (including tax policy) businesses were often under-valued or had stored up considerable resources. Take-over bids were then carried through to get hold of these concealed resources. At that time competition on an international scale and internally was still relatively limited. But the second wave is dominated by the need to rationalize under conditions of fierce competition. This merger movement is noteworthy in textiles (with both ICI and Courtaulds playing the key role) but it is also affecting electronics (computers, for instance), motor vehicles and other important branches of British industry. The effect of the second wave on working conditions and employment is of course much sharper. It is connected with the further development of automation.

O. Reinhold (GDR) pointed out that international cooperation between monopoly groupings, especially within the framework of the Common Market, acts as a catalyst stimulating concentration and centralization in each of the member countries. Owing to foreign competition, cartels specializing some particular lines of output (for instance, in iron and steel, certain types of rolled metal) are mushrooming in Federal Germany.

With the big concerns tending to draw closer in the conditions of "European integration," their relations with the mass of smaller enterprises have changed. For example, Siemens has established close links with 30,000 small and medium-sized enterprises, and Krupp with 20,000. Although nominally independent as before, the latter in effect become a type of production subsidiary of the big concerns, a fact which, naturally, is not reflected in official sta-

tistics. These small and medium enterprises, on the one hand, are thus seemingly guaranteed a relatively reliable market, but, on the other hand, they are wholly dependent on the concern to whose requirements their production is geared.

The contract and sub-contract system is widely used in France as a means for subordinating the small and medium industrialists to monopoly control, *P. Boccara* (France) said. But an even greater role is played by the industrial amalgamations which combine to raise funds on the money market by issuing bonds carrying a fixed income. Where monopolies alone enter into such association, as for instance in iron and steel, their role is rather limited. But in other spheres — engineering, the food industry, etc. — they serve the monopolies as an effective means of subordinating the non-monopoly sector which is unable to compete on the money market with the giant trusts and still less with the Treasury or the nationalized branches which regularly float their own loans.

The tendency towards centralization of capital all the way to absolute monopoly in one or another narrow sphere through the establishment of joint subsidiaries by several finance groupings is to be observed not only in each of the EEC member countries, but on the scale of the entire Common Market. In other words, integration facilitates concentration and centralization within the various countries, and this tends to stimulate the same process on an international scale (the Sollac and Vallourec firms specializing in rolled metal and steel pipe respectively, the Societe Industrielle du Zirconium which has monopolized production of this metal essential for the nuclear industry, Ceratube, which controls the industrial ceramics industry, etc.).

It is noteworthy that Sollac, like some other companies, pays its stockholders no dividends, but supplies them with rolled steel at cost. This is one manifestation of far-reaching vertical centralization whereby surplus value is realized only in the final product of the last company in the chain. This makes it possible to increase the rate of profit by reducing the initial amount of capital advanced. It should be borne in mind that this is not a matter only of specialization and vertical combination; another aspect is diversification of production, the proliferation of new by-product branches and a corresponding horizontal centralization of monopoly groupings assuming a more and more widely ramified nature.

Concentration in our time has not only transcended the national boundaries of the various capitalist countries, it has spread from indus-

try to agriculture, trade, the services, information media, etc. All these areas are dominated by finance capital.

Attention was drawn to this fact by *O. Reinhold*. Citing the example of West Germany, he showed how the monopolies control agriculture with the aid of the state, on the one hand, and the "supra-national" organizations of the Common Market, on the other. By penetrating into agriculture the industrial monopolies are able to cut the price of foodstuffs thereby reducing the price of labor power. At the same time, the ruination of the mass of small and middle peasants, who are forced to move to the cities, enables the employers to exert pressures to counter the workers' wage claims.

P. Boccara discussed this tendency in France, where it has become particularly widespread in recent years. And no wonder, for of all the Common Market countries France has always had the highest proportion of small and middle bourgeoisie, whose elimination in the course of the integration is an extremely painful process. Suffice it to mention that, according to the last census, the number of peasant households has declined by one-quarter since 1954. Monopoly penetration into agriculture is proceeding through long-term contracts between the food-processing industry and the fruit and vegetable growers. Broiler factories and egg production are organized by large specialized firms, including subsidiaries of U.S. companies. The state encourages this by granting credits and financing the building of roads, water systems, etc.

Retail trade in France is, increasingly, coming under the control of the big department stores and food distributors of the Printemps type associated with powerful financial interests such as Boussac, the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, etc. Supermarkets are appearing everywhere; these are part of the Rothschild empire through the Inno-France Company which is linked with similar groups in other Common Market countries and is widely boosted by the government radio network. For the small and medium shopkeepers the choice is between bankruptcy or "voluntary" entry into one of the big commercial chains while retaining a purely fictitious legal independence.

K. Nair (India) said that the process of concentration and centralization is proceeding apace in a number of developing countries where, besides foreign monopolies, a national finance capital is emerging.

Research data on the concentration of capital in India can be summed up as follows: 1) the ten top industrial firms control 68 per cent of the total paid-up capital in the country; 2) the deposits of two big banks (out of a total

of 362) account for nearly 22 per cent of the total; 3) according to research made by Dr. Hazari, in 1958 the 20 leading industrial houses had an interest in 1,073 companies whose share capital amounted to 32.4 per cent of the capital of all non-government companies, as against 29.6 per cent in 1951.

The biggest monopolies in India are the Tata and Birla. In 1958 the companies belonging to these groups held 20 per cent of the gross capital stock of all non-governmental public companies. According to the *Reserve Bank of India Survey*, one-half of one per cent of the shareholders owned 56.5 per cent of the total value of shares in 70 private companies with a paid-up capital of 2,120 million rupees with a market value now estimated at 4,170 million rupees. The bigger companies always enjoy a higher rate of profit than the smaller ones.

Speakers noted that not by any means do all the apologists of monopoly venture to deny this phenomenal growth of concentration and centralization of production and capital. Some bourgeois and reformist economists are ready enough to admit that this is the case, but only in order to equate capitalist concentration with technological progress.

Needless to say, Marxist-Leninists have nothing in common with the reactionary petty-bourgeois critics of imperialism who assail the monopolies from the standpoint of the past and dream of a return to "free," "peaceful," "honest" competition; we have no illusions as to the possibility of preserving or restoring

archaic forms of small-scale production in industry or agriculture. Lenin saw monopoly capitalism, which enormously intensifies the social character of production, creating the material prerequisites of socialism. But these prerequisites remain fettered, they are confined within a long outdated moribund socio-economic integument of private ownership of the means of production and private appropriation.

The parasitism of the contemporary monopoly upper crust which wields undivided economic and political power in capitalist society is manifested primarily in the fact that it has long ceased to have any direct contact with production as such, or with distribution. Its element — apart from consumption, luxury spending — is that of financial manipulations which, far from promoting, in the long run retard the development of society's productive forces. "... The development of capitalism has reached a stage when, although commodity production still 'reigns' and continues to be regarded as the basis of economic life, it has in reality been undermined and the bulk of the profits go to the 'geniuses' of financial manipulation," Lenin said.

It is not by chance that the ideologists of monopoly attack not so much the Marxist thesis concerning the concentration and centralization of production and capital, as the point about merging and coalescence of the industrial monopolies with the banking monopolies, which is the principal factor in the formation of finance capital. Hence special attention was devoted to this question.

II. THE ROLE OF THE BANKS TODAY

S. Menshikov (USSR) dealt mainly with the harm still caused by Hilferding's incorrect definition of finance capital as banking capital used by industrialists. Criticizing this definition, Lenin pointed out that it failed to take into account such cardinal factors as the concentration of production and banking and the emergence on this basis of monopoly domination. Finance capital, Lenin stressed, involves two basic elements: 1) the existence of industrial and banking monopolies arising from a high degree of concentration of production and capital, and 2) the coalescence of these monopolies and their capital.

Hilferding's concept of finance capital is commonly ascribed to Marxism. The thesis is advanced that the big industrial corporations are increasingly financing themselves. Instances are given of large industrial corporations financing their investments without outside sources of

capital over long periods of time. And on these grounds it is claimed that the role of the banks is declining in modern capitalist economy, that the "marriage" of the banks and industrial companies has gone awry and that the big banking houses and large-scale industry are drifting apart.

Much has been written about the greater degree of self-financing which now takes place, S. Aaronovitch said; a higher proportion of funds for new investment comes not from new loans or issues but from ploughing back the accumulation of the firm itself. Sometimes this has been used to argue that therefore firms have become increasingly independent of the banks and the financiers. But the position should be put differently. For one thing: where firms are already part of finance-capital groupings the amount of self-financing they practise is no evidence of independence. For another,

the fact that a number of firms accumulate vast sums of capital tends to transform them into a type of financial institution; it is one of the means by which finance capital is born.

In Germany too, *O. Reinhold* noted, efforts were made not so long ago to counterpose industrial capital to banking capital, or to divorce one from the other. One of the basic economic theses of German fascism opposed the so-called "creative" capital to "rapacious" capital.

Obviously, *S. Menshikov* said, summing up the discussion on this point, we are dealing not with isolated views but with a school of thought in bourgeois economics which endeavors, by erroneous interpretation of the latest developments in finance capital, to 'refute' the Leninist teaching on imperialism. These attempts, however, are doomed to failure. That self-financing is on the increase in a number of capitalist countries is a plain statistical fact. But the relationship between external and internal financing and the dynamics of this relationship differ from country to country. The crux of the matter is that bourgeois economists ignore the overall pattern of relationships between industrial and banking monopolies.

We know that the relations between the banks and the industrial monopolies take three basic forms: first, participation of the one in the other; second, long-term financial ties, and, third, personal union through interlocking directorates. Each element should be examined in detail, taking into account the laws and other specific features of each country. For instance, in the USA commercial banks cannot hold industrial stock. Investment banks, too, do not own any appreciable amount of stock of the big industrial corporations. The same is true of the insurance companies. How then, does the system of participation operate? What bearing has it on the links between the banks and industry?

Every big commercial bank in the USA has a department handling credits and another handling property in trust. Strictly speaking, the industrial stock held in trust belongs not to the banks but to pension funds or wealthy families who either cannot or do not wish to attend to placing their capital to advantage, etc. In this way the banks concentrate in their hands blocks of shares which enables them to control industrial and other corporations. This is one of the specific forms in which the banks merge with industry, a form of domination by finance capital.

Lenin in his time pointed out that one of the things that gives the banker his power is the excellent information he has about the

affairs of a multitude of capitalists, *Y. Rubinsky* said. Now the volume and value of this information have increased immeasurably. The banks and allied financial institutions receive information of the most diverse kind and the rapid processing and skilful use of this information not only yield lush profits to its possessors but create solid positions of strength for them. The banks act as confidential advisers and active intermediaries in mergers and other arrangements between industrial companies. And even after these arrangements they continue to play an important role. It should be borne in mind that while the management of the enterprises and subsidiaries of a big monopoly is of a technical and administrative nature, the coordination of their activities is effected through purely financial channels, that is, through the banks. The latter are hence becoming the nerve-centers and "brain trusts" of finance capital.

Integrated international and supra-national associations of the Common Market type offer the banks a new sphere of activity. It is common knowledge that consortiums of private banks (mainly French and West German) were the principal organizers of the interflow of capital and the coalescence of the finance oligarchy of a number of West European countries, the coordinators of the joint operations of this oligarchy in the developing countries and the markets of competitors. Clearly, functions on such a scale exceed by far those of simple brokers and intermediaries.

K. Engelhardt (GDR) cited examples from Federal Germany showing the diverse ways in which banking and industrial companies are interlinked (long-term credits, regular commercial relations, etc.). He noted that direct participation by banks in financing industrial corporations and vice versa is now becoming less common than the depositing of shares by their owners in banking institutions. Inasmuch as the stockholders are interested only in regular dividends they simply authorize the bank to vote for them at shareholders' meetings. By the end of 1962 the total share capital in the Federal Republic amounted to DM36,700 million, of which DM18,100 million were deposited in banks and DM2,400 million belonged directly to them. In other words, the banks controlled nearly 56 per cent of the total shares. Thus, the growth of self-financing did not lessen the role of the banks or divorce them from industry, but merely changed the concrete forms of their relations.

S. Aaronovitch suggested using the term "banking and cognate capital" inasmuch as it reflects better the real differences in the formation of finance capital in different countries,

Britain in particular. Concrete studies of the way in which finance capital is formed are of major importance. We need, he said, to distinguish, for example, between a situation where banking and cognate capital seizes hold of certain branches of production or trade, and the other situation when through concentration (and the centralization based on that) giant firms emerge which take on the character of financial organizations. And there is a third situation (out of many other possibilities) where a firm becomes a financial force, seizes hold of financial institutions and penetrates back again into industry and trade. An example of the first is the Philip Hill merchant bank which in the years between the wars built up such industrial empires as Beechams, Hawker Siddley, etc. An example of the second is ICI or Courtaulds which have built up great financial resources from their own accumulations of surplus value and then used these to finance take-over bids by associated firms.

A striking example of the third is that of the Cowdray family (perhaps the richest family in Britain today) which began as building contractors, moved into South American public utilities and oil, then bought a merchant bank and moved back again into electrical engineering, newspapers, and into other forms of financial organization, such as insurance companies.

These distinctions have practical importance because they affect capitalist policy. They are part of the substance of the conflicts between the different groups of finance capital. One of the most important questions in British economic history is the so-called "conflict between the City and industry." As finance capital has developed this conflict has to a large degree become unreal in the sense that it is fought out not only as a conflict between different groups of finance capital but *within* them. They may well exclaimed with Faust: "*Zwei Seelen wohnen ach in meiner Brust!*"

P. Boccara stressed that if finance capital is the product of the coalescence of the banks with industry, then the relations of the two should be examined dialectically as a matter of the unity and struggle of opposites. The technical aspects of banking and industrial capital are different, and the interests of their respective spokesmen often collide, but neither can exist without the other; they are as the two poles of a magnet. Hence it can by no means be said that one of these two elements of finance capital is "less parasitic" than the other.

In this connection S. Menshikov spoke about the concept "banking capital." The sphere of bank capital, he said, has considerably expand-

ed since Marx's classical works appeared and since Lenin wrote his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. In each imperialist country we find diverse forms of bank capital and banking monopoly. In the USA, for instance, banking institutions cover a wide range, including commercial banks, savings banks, savings and loan associations, investment banks, insurance companies, investment companies (in Europe these are called investment trusts), pension funds, etc.

Insurance companies, for example, play no less a role than any commercial bank in the coalescence of industrial and banking monopolies. The links between them and industrial corporations are often every bit as durable and lasting as the links between the leading commercial banks and the leading industrial monopolies. True, the insurance companies derive their resources mainly from payments on policies whereas the commercial banks attract funds mostly in the shape of deposits, but from the standpoint of Marxist political economy, this difference is of secondary importance.

In the USA the various types of banking institutions, though their legal status differs, are closely linked with one another and tend to merge into banking groups. Take the Chase Manhattan Bank, the leading commercial bank in New York, whose President is David Rockefeller. It not only serves the big industrial corporations of the Rockefeller group; it is also the hub from which the strings lead to a number of other banking institutions. Its board includes the heads of the two biggest insurance companies in New York with assets running into thousands of millions of dollars, as well as men closely connected with the big New York investment banks, heads of savings banks, investment trusts, etc.

Bourgeois writers usually point to the pension fund as a specific, self-sufficient and independent form. As a form providing for superannuation it is unique, of course. But from the standpoint of banking these funds are essentially part of the assets at the disposal of the big banking monopolies. The pension fund of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, which amounts to several billion dollars, is an example. Seventy-five per cent of its assets are managed by one New York bank (Bankers' Trust). The same applies to the pension funds of other companies.

Besides the trend toward specialization there is also a trend towards the universalization of banking institutions. For, if we do not allow the differences in legal status to overshadow the fact that the various forms are components of monopoly groups, we shall see that

each group is, essentially, a widely-ramified universal banking institution performing all the functions required by modern capitalist economy.

P. Joye agreed with *Menshikov* that there is no difference in principle between the various forms of modern banking capital. The *Societe Generale de Belgique*, he noted, is a typical example of a financial grouping uniting commercial banks, traditional deposit banks, insurance companies, land credit societies, consumer credit companies, etc.

Far from all the forms mentioned by *Menshikov* are privately owned in Belgium, he said. Some of them, for example the pension funds and savings banks, are public institutions controlled by the state. In the final analysis, however, this makes very little difference; these funds are placed at the disposal of private monopolies in diverse ways (low-interest subsidies to industry, credits extended by specialized state finance institutions, etc.). It is not by chance that the proportion of funds obtained from the state for financing investments in

general has greatly increased since the Second World War as a result of putting stock on sale on the money market.

The social role of modern banking capital should not be overlooked, *Y. Rubinsky* said. The inclusion in its organic structure of institutions such as insurance companies, pension funds, etc., has greatly expanded its sphere of influence and made a far greater number of people dependent on it in one way or another. Working people or the petty bourgeoisie who willy-nilly link their future — in the hope of security in old age, better conditions, job security, stable income, etc. — with banking institutions are the first victims of slumps or the setbacks suffered by one or another bank in the competitive struggle. The main result of the concentration and centralization of production and capital — both industrial and banking fused into one — is, consequently, increasing social and class polarization, a trend towards unity among broad sections of the people in joint struggle against the entire system of monopoly rule.

III. FINANCIAL GROUPINGS

The organic merging of industrial and banking capital is **manifest in financial groupings embracing both industry and the vast pyramidal structure of administrative, managerial, credit, trade and other institutions.** At times they own land, transport facilities, information media, etc. The structure of these groupings is extremely complicated and by no means uniform. Hence it is all the more important, from the standpoint of both theory and practice, to ascertain at least some of the general laws governing this structure and their specific variants in the different countries.

K. Engelhardt posed the question: what are the main, typical features of a financial grouping? Hitherto, he said, there has been one generally accepted criterion: the financing of a number of companies mainly by one and the same source. As regards other tokens, opinions differed. In Federal Germany, he said, such groups take in business interests engaged in more than one branch of the economy. For instance, the enterprises of the rapidly growing branches (chemistry, electrical equipment) and industries which are marking time, or, say, branches working mainly for export and those geared to the home market, cannot be said to belong to groups isolated from one another. Within one and the same grouping one finds differing and even conflicting economic, not to speak of political, interests.

It is impossible to grasp the contradictions in the capitalist ruling class without clearly formulating the concept "financial grouping," *S. Menshikov* noted. A financial grouping represents, above all, the highest form of private monopoly. This monopoly takes various forms: cartels, syndicates, trusts, concerns, etc. The financial grouping differs from these in that it takes in all aspects of monopoly and hence imparts a new quality to it. In it one can find all the elements inherent in the various forms of monopoly.

The industrial corporations belonging to such groups divide markets among themselves, fix prices, coordinate market policy and in general perform all the functions of cartels. The difference is that whereas cartels do this on the basis of formal or tacit agreements between two or more firms, in a financial grouping this is the normal, every-day practice, often effected through decisions made by the heads of the grouping.

The same applies to the trust and syndicate forms of monopoly. But this is not the only hallmark of a financial grouping. Another essential element is the participation of a number of big banking institutions alongside industrial and commercial corporations. In most cases these banking institutions are, as has already been said, the nerve-center of the grouping, its "brain trust," from which the

financial strings lead to all the participating companies and which directs the peripheral operations of the grouping.

Most big U.S. industrial corporations now have their long-term programs or plans. These are either investment plans or production and sales plans for a certain period of time (insofar, of course, as planning is possible in conditions of a market economy). These plans need to be coordinated within the framework of the grouping. The methods differ but the most advanced form is financial coordination through banking channels.

The financial groupings elaborate a common economic and finance policy for the industrial and banking monopolies comprising it, and work to implement this policy. This brings us to the question of merging or coalescence with the state, the question of state-monopoly capitalism, inasmuch as nowadays a grouping with assets running into tens of billions cannot pursue any unified policy in relation to all its components without making extensive use of the levers of state-monopoly regulation. Hence it is in the financial group as the highest form of private monopoly that the latter meets the state-monopoly form.

The contradiction between the productive forces and capitalist production relations finds specific manifestation in the financial grouping. The financial grouping is an amalgam of enterprises. The need to coordinate their operation gives rise to a trend towards specialization and cooperation. Basically these trends are progressive, for they reflect the social division of labor and socialization of production, even if they take a private capitalist form. The crux of the matter is, however, to what extent specialization and coordination are feasible within the grouping and at what point they are bound to collide with the integument of production relations represented by the given financial grouping. Here we find profit considerations often contradicting the objective need for specialization and coordination.

This definition, *P. Boccara* said, is an apt one. A dual tendency is to be observed: domination by the finance oligarchy of the individual companies and the formation of groups of such companies which in turn form bigger groupings — “constellations” and “galaxies” of monopoly capital.

Monopoly control over a company no longer depends on possession of a controlling block of shares in the old sense. Stockholders fall into two categories — ordinary shareholders and those who actually exercise control even if they own only a small percentage of the share capital. Some corporations issue stock carrying a comparatively low but fixed divi-

dend as a device to ensure full freedom for the men at the top to run things as they see fit. This reduction and stabilizing of dividends which transforms the share into a kind of bond is connected with the development of self-financing.

Monopoly control in a joint stock company is effected in different ways. At one time, for instance, shares were issued entitling their holders to several votes. Now more effective methods are being devised. Suffice it to mention the practice of minor stockholders authorizing the banks to act for them. Proxy voting is practised in industrial companies as well. The board is assured the support of a general shareholders' meeting by the 25 per cent quorum rule; when the quorum is lacking another meeting is called where no quorum is required. In limited joint stock companies where control is statutory the reins are held by a handful of men. Boards also make effective use of “slanted” information which the ordinary shareholder has neither the time nor the possibility to verify.

The second aspect of the evolution of finance capital — the formation of groupings and associations of groupings — gained momentum after the Second World War and especially after the establishment of the Common Market. The classical patterns of interlocking — vertical, pyramidal and radial — are being replaced by an endless chain set-up when one company swallows up another which already has an interest in a number of subsidiaries of the company taking over. In principle the acme of such a system is the closed circle in which each company controls the next, and the initial investment of the organizer of the chain, long ago withdrawn, has become a fiction. The latter thus exercises control without drawing on its own capital and without running any risk. Needless to say, such extremes are the exception. Another method used to expand the grouping is the dialectical interaction of merger and division: a giant company is divided into a large number of subsidiaries, each of which is thus put in a better position to swallow up other companies. In other words, a group divides in order ultimately to intensify the centralization of capital. As a result, powerful ramified finance groupings spring up both from the banks and from industry, with highly similar structures in either case. As a rule, the parent company becomes a holding corporation with a corollary of diverse banking or industrial companies (investment and insurance companies, etc.). Although the law limits the participation of investment companies (which, incidentally, enjoy substantial tax privileges) in industrial corporations, they too

find themselves under the joint control of several financial groupings and the state credit institutions, forming a bridge between the two.

The main cementing element in the financial groupings is as before personal union, which appears to be the best way of forming "constellations" of groupings. A case in point is the Rothschild bank. In 1954, with a capital of no more than 500 million old francs, its operations ran into billions, though the power of the group cannot be measured by these figures alone. Known representatives of the Rothschilds (not to speak of the unknown, of whom there are plenty) held 110 seats on the boards of directors of big corporations, while 11 were chairmen and 7 vice-chairmen of boards.

The existence of finance capitalist groupings, S. Aaronovitch said, is so self-evident as hardly to require proof. The problem is not whether they exist but what distinguishes them from other groups; problems of the boundary. The existence of groupings brings to light the fact that the capitalist economy is made up of "bunches" of organizations. The Cowdray group, for instance, is a complex of banks, insurance companies and manufacturing and trading concerns of every type.

This, then, reveals that the degree of centralization of capital and of monopoly is far higher than can be grasped by the orthodox method of analysis which tries to estimate the proportion of a product accounted for by the largest firms in that field. In terms of examining the class structure of economy the concept of groupings of finance capital is indispensable. But at the same time they should not be posed against the cartels, commercial associations, etc. Examination of concrete changes in the functioning of the various institutions is important also for understanding the more complex structures of finance capital.

One of the most striking features of modern capitalism is the growth in the role of the insurance companies. They have enabled a centralization of capital to take place which is almost unique and have used this to become (as institutions) the biggest single property owners and stockholders in Britain. Moreover, as their investment in stocks and shares has become increasingly important, so changes begin to emerge in their policy.

As Marxists, he said, we have been concerned with refuting those who argue that capitalism has disappeared and with it the capitalists. We have criticized the concept of the "managerial revolution" by pointing out that though present-day capitalists may own only a small part of the total capital at their disposal, *power is a function of property in the means of production*. We have rejected the concept

of a "power elite" because it tends to sidestep the question of class and class power.

Because of this I consider, Aaronovitch went on to say, there is need for a far more concrete study of the structure and composition of the finance capitalist grouping and those in controlling positions. In this connection I would like to raise the following questions. The enormous increase in size of capitalist organizations has arisen from technical change, concentration and centralization, operations on a world scale, etc. The surplus product of modern capitalism is truly immense. In the conditions under which extended capitalist reproduction is proceeding, former owners have come to own only a small part of the total capital involved in these gigantic undertakings. And in addition, such concentrations are often formed by capitalist groupings coming together and sharing control. The typical capitalist of the nineteenth century still exists but he is no longer typical.

Further, the development of giant firms and capitalist groupings involves a time span in which in some cases former ruling families die out (childless, as, for example, Sir Edward de Stein of the merchant bank of that name). Or else the competitive struggle proves that the dominant shareholders are unable to run the company profitably enough. Or else the sons prefer a different way of life and the daughters may not marry likely successors. This also causes changes in the ruling class.

Closely connected with the foregoing is the fact that with the growth in the size and complexity of capitalist firms and groups the founding families must employ the best managerial talent open to them to run the business. It is said that Henry Ford considers his main function to be the selection of his top executives. But these top executives in turn may have to be given a stake in the business as is proved by the growth of stock options in the USA and in Britain. When this is combined with the changes in family destinies then all kinds of situations can arise which involve changes in those taking the key decisions. The very top layers of the executive become incorporated into the capitalist class. New forms of appropriating surplus value become important.

Finance capitalist groupings in our time invariably extend to a number of branches, S. Menshikov said. This is so by virtue of the logic of their development, if only because of the accumulations of vast capital in their hands without adequate opportunity for profitable investment in any single branch of the economy. Diversification of investment is characteristic not only of separate big corporations but of financial groupings. Often such

groups lose interest in companies that cease to be profitable and hence the character of the groupings is bound to change with the development of the productive forces and the emergence of new and often more profitable branches.

As regards the structure of the financial groupings, the main trend is evidently from family groups to broader associations of different families and banking and industrial monopolies. In the United States it is now difficult to find a financial grouping dominated wholly by one family. For example, the Rockefellers head a group which is in effect a coalition of largely autonomous and more or less equally powerful families (the Millbanks, Whitneys, etc.). The same applies to the Morgan grouping, which likewise is a coalition of a number of families, companies, banks, etc.

Another notable trend in the structure of finance capital is that the boundaries between the different groupings are in a sense becoming more difficult to distinguish and analyze. The core of each grouping is always easy to discern, but when it comes to the periphery and the boundaries separating it from other groupings, it is quite a different matter. As paradoxical as it may be, one of the reasons why it is so hard to distinguish these boundaries is the continued concentration of production and the growth of monopoly, primarily in industry.

A common method of extending large credits to the big companies is the establishment of banking syndicates. It is noteworthy, however, that these syndicates are set up and headed almost invariably by a bank connected with the same group of finance capitalists as the company in question. In other words, if relations between a big industrial corporation and most of the banks it has dealings with are of a purely commercial nature, its relations with the principal bank involved are considerably more complex.

There are cases, however, when leading trusts are linked with three or four big banks through the interlocking of directorates, interweaving of capital and long-term financial ties. Clearly, concentration of production and monopoly in industry have reached the point where the biggest monopolies in the capitalist world cannot be anything but the condominiums of a number of groupings of finance capital.

A closer examination shows that besides financial groupings there unquestionably exist even bigger associations of finance capitalists, for instance those of Wall Street or of Cleveland and Chicago. Does this mean that the boundaries between the groupings are being

obliterated? By no means. Rivalry between them is bitter indeed.

In discussing concentration and centralization of production and capital, P. Joye said, we have already touched upon the wave of mergers caused by the Common Market. We also observe a tendency towards the establishment of numerous international links between groupings of finance capital, first within the framework of Little Europe and then on a wider scale. This tendency is expressed in the joint organization of "European" enterprises specializing in some narrow sphere of output, as well as in the traditional interchange of stock. For example, the Belgian, French, Italian and Luxembourg iron and steel groupings (Schneider, the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, ARBED, etc.) jointly established the Societe de Siderurgie Maritime.

The monopolies of countries outside the Common Market, above all the USA and Britain, are working hard to get around the external tariff barrier raised by the Six by setting up their own subsidiaries in these countries. This is done through diverse channels—construction of new plants and purchase of existing ones, as well as agreements with local firms on the establishment of mixed companies in industries involving new technological processes. In Belgium this has been done in some highly specialized branches of the chemical, optical, electronic and other industries. U.S. groupings often do not even invest their own capital, merely supplying the patents, licences and technological specifications in exchange for a half interest.

K. Engelhardt pointed to the danger represented by this tendency in the war industry, the internationalization of which is one of the components of the economic basis of military-political integration within the framework of NATO and "Little Europe." In recent years international "cooperation," if not interlocking as such, has been most pronounced in the case of the aircraft and missile concerns. Some 100 agreements have already been concluded by U.S. groupings and their West European counterparts on investment in each other's capital stock, exchange of patents, etc., and nearly 50 between British and continental groupings.

The discussion of finance capitalist groupings has clearly shown that for scale, variety of forms and methods they have long since exceeded the bounds of normal "free" enterprise, as traditionally understood by capitalist economists, politicians and businessmen, and developed into an all-embracing system of state-monopoly capitalism.

IV. THE MONOPOLIES AND THE STATE

The first to take the floor in the discussion of state-monopoly capitalism was *P. Boccara*. Modern monopoly capitalism, he said, is state-monopoly capitalism. Examining the coalescence of the monopolies with the state, he dwelt on the role of state property which in France is represented mainly by the nationalized sector. The nationalization of a number of industries (coal mines, power stations, gas works, railways, the Renault motor works, etc.) was utilized by the monopolies to accelerate the merging of industrial and banking capital and the formation of finance capital. The monopolies in the nationalized industries, retaining as they did a substantial part of their assets and even increasing them thanks to lavish compensation, became financial institutions of the holding company type and invested their capital in the most promising fast-growing branches. (In the early post-war years the nationalized branches yielded the lowest returns and at times actually operated at a loss.) Consequently, although nationalization on the whole notably reduced the size of and weakened the monopoly groups concerned, the latter were enabled quickly to recover lost ground, to step up the concentration and centralization of capital and to accentuate its parasitic character.

The nationalized branches as a rule set low prices and tariffs for fuel, electric power and transport services for the big clients, i.e., the very same monopolies, whose profits are thus swelled at the expense of the taxpayer or the workers at state enterprises where wages are now lower than in the private sector. The result is a redistribution of surplus value which intensifies the parasitism of the finance oligarchy.

In banking, too, the monopolies have adapted themselves to limited nationalization. The main pillar of the finance oligarchy — the commercial banks — remained privately owned, although proposals to nationalize them were made twice. Four deposit banks and the leading insurance companies were nationalized, but the government left the former directors, all closely linked with the finance oligarchy, in charge. Their powers were in no way curtailed, for state control proved less stringent than that previously exercised by the stock-holders.

State control over the credit system, established since the Second World War, and readjustments in the functioning of the Bank of France open new opportunities for the finance oligarchy to exploit the money market (in particular, there has been a marked increase in medium-term credits to industry). Other in-

struments and methods of state intervention in the economy have also been put at the service of the finance oligarchy, such as regulation of prices, the fiscal system, military and other orders, etc. This is most evident in the direct and indirect financing of the private sector from state and semi-governmental funds, which are derived, among other sources, from national and local taxes.

It is estimated that during the early post-war years more than half of all investments came from state funds proper. Since 1950, when rehabilitation was completed, the share of state funds declined and became stabilized at one-quarter of the total investment.

To complete the picture the so-called "semi-governmental" funds must also be taken into account — the assets of the nationalized banks, insurance companies, and the loan and savings banks, which comprise the funds of the saving banks, mutual credit societies, the social insurance system, notarial funds, etc. The semi-governmental institutions also include the National Credit and Land Credit, which derive their funds partly from the state and partly from the money market and are appendages of the central emission institute. Nor should the funds obtained by the state by means of currency emission and at times through inflation be overlooked.

All these funds are placed at the disposal of finance capital in a variety of ways. Besides direct government subsidies and financing of expenditures of infra-structures (roads, bridges, waterworks, gas pipe lines, electrification, etc.) at state expense and in the interests of the monopolies, the latter make wide use of loans obtained from the Economic and Social Development Fund which comes under the Treasury. These loans, granted for the purchase of plant, for increasing productivity and for more rational organization of production connected with concentration, etc., are extended on extremely favorable terms and carry a low interest rate.

Such recently established government institutions performing important economic functions as the oil prospecting and geological boards and the atomic energy commission also act as public commercial banks. They co-ordinate and finance the operations of private firms in their respective fields.

State funds flow into the safes of the finance capitalists also through mixed companies operating as subsidiaries of nationalized companies, companies exploiting resources under the jurisdiction of the local authorities, companies for the improvement of residential and industrial

zones, etc. Moreover, the nationalized banks and insurance companies participate in private investment corporations.

Since the war the French government has been increasingly footing the bill for monopoly expansion abroad (tax exemptions and export subsidies, financing the infra-structure in the underdeveloped countries, especially in France's former colonies, etc.).

In assessing finance capital, *L. Ivanek* said, the factors connected with the development of state-monopoly capitalism cannot be ignored. The two are so interwoven that we can treat of them as a single category. Obviously, a measure of state intervention in the economy is in our time a vital prerequisite for the very existence of finance capital and its functioning in the process of reproduction. By shouldering the expenditure involved in operating branches where the organic composition of capital is higher (not to speak of financing unprofitable infra-structures), the state enables the monopolies to increase their rate of profit and to invest in the most promising and profitable branches.

Speaking of the form in which the monopolies fuse with the capitalist state and use the latter in the interests of the finance oligarchies, *Ivanek* pointed out that civil servants sit on the boards of a number of West German private firms and, that, conversely, private companies have representatives in state economic organizations. State enterprises are included in employers' associations (automobiles, shipbuilding, etc.), while the government on its part entrusts these associations with a number of official functions enabling them to influence the economic policy of the state. This was widely practised in Hitler Germany.

Inasmuch as the employers' associations frequently play the part of a super-cartel pursuing a unified price policy, the state and mixed enterprises are often obliged to fall in line. Many facts could be cited to supplement those given by *Boccaro*. The state railways, power stations, etc., often set low tariffs and prices which at times do not even cover cost of production, thereby enabling the monopolies to reduce production costs, to accelerate accumulation of capital and its turnover, and thus net additional profits. In other cases, especially in manufacturing industry, the state-monopoly sector increases the profits of the private employers by pursuing a policy of inflated, monopoly prices.

Mention has already been made of the coalescence of monopoly on an international scale, the tendency towards the creation of a united West European finance capital. The in-

ternational monopolies thus formed, monopolies whose components have long since coalesced with the state apparatus of their respective countries, now merge with the supranational bodies of integrated organizations of the Common Market type. An international state-monopoly capitalism is thus born.

K. Engelhardt agreed with *Ivanek* as regards the part played by employers' associations in the overall system of state-monopoly capitalism. In Federal Germany, he said, the Ruhr concerns which inspired Hitler's aggression found themselves discredited to such an extent in the early post-war years that they could not place their direct representatives in government office. This greatly increased the significance of the employers' associations as a link between finance capital and the Bonn state, and they acquired in effect a semi-governmental character. For example, the Federal Association of German Industries, the central employers' organization in West Germany, annually submits to the government nearly 150 major proposals, many of which are ready-made legislative bills and are usually quickly adopted by the government and the parliament. The Federal Association thus in effect performs the functions of a ministry. At present, incidentally, it coordinates war production.

O. Reinhold expressed the view that state-monopoly capitalism in the Federal Republic, while it takes different forms today, is greater in scale and developing more intensively than was the case under Hitler.

At present the West German budget embraces 40-45 per cent of the national income, which is a higher percentage than in other capitalist countries. The day-to-day activity of the West German government in the sphere of the economy and finance has become an integral part of the process of reproduction. Striking evidence of this is the sharp change in the movement of prices in the course of the cycle. Before the First World War, when government intervention in the economy was relatively limited, prices fluctuated sharply depending on production conditions, the state of the market and the phase of the cycle. In the period between the two world wars these factors played a much less direct role. The prices of commodities produced in branches where the degree of monopoly was highest were least affected by crises. After the Second World War, however, and especially in the past ten years, we observe a steady rise in prices irrespective of partial crises or other crisis phenomena. Why? For the simple reason, as the trade union newspaper *Welt der Arbeit* recently noted, that government bodies have had a

hand in fixing 85 per cent of all consumer prices.

Government policy thus has much to do with accumulation of capital in one or another branch, with channelling it from one branch to another, as well as with the export of capital, inasmuch as the government artificially grants privileges to the monopolies concerned at the expense of the working people, the small and middle capitalists, and other weaker financial groups. This exacerbates the inherent contradiction of the capitalist mode of production. It is no longer a matter of the conflict between planned production on the scale of an individual enterprise and the anarchy of the market, but of a clash between two mutually exclusive trends — one towards a higher degree of organization and the other towards disorganization — on the scale of the entire national economy. Moreover, the latter trend can be stopped only by abolishing monopoly domination and private ownership of the means of production.

There was a time when Stalin's formula that subordination of the state to the monopolies was the essence of state-monopoly capitalism had currency, S. Menshikov said. Stalin held that Lenin's formula on the coalescence of the state with the monopolies was merely descriptive, whereas the term "subordination" expressed the substance of the matter.

This was a wrong approach, Menshikov said. State-monopoly capitalism is an objective process of coalescence of the entire system of monopoly capital with the modern capitalist state apparatus. It does not depend on the degree to which one or another government is subordinated to one or another monopoly grouping. For governments change. The capitalist countries do not always have governments consisting of representatives of the monopolies. The Labor Government in Britain was a case in point. Its advent to power in 1945 did not abolish the system of state-monopoly capitalism, which developed as an objective

process. On the contrary, this process was intensified. But for all that, it would be incorrect to say that the Labor Government was subordinated to the monopolies. Whose interests a government represents and what policy it pursues is another matter.

Unfortunately, some Marxist writers still adhere to the Stalin formula. In effect, however, the thesis that the state is subordinated to the monopolies leads to denial of the growing economic role of the capitalist state in the process of reproduction. It does not throw the correct light on the activities of one or another capitalist government. Take, for example, the Kennedy Administration. It was headed by a member of one of the richest families in the United States. It included representatives of a number of monopoly groupings. But although on the whole it sought to pursue, and did pursue, a policy serving the interests of the monopoly capitalists, in a number of cases when it was forced to make concessions to the working people, it came into conflict with the interests of powerful monopoly groupings. Moreover, any attempt to implement a policy upholding the overall interests of the entire class of monopoly capitalists is bound to encroach on the interests of certain sections of this class.

The formula that the capitalist state is wholly subordinate to the monopolies bars the way to an examination of these contradictions and a correct assessment of the problem of nationalization. According to this formula, nationalization is bound to be a reactionary move in all cases so long as monopoly rule prevails. Yet the fact is that at present the struggle for nationalization can be used by the working class and the anti-monopoly coalition gradually to curb and eventually to abolish the undivided power of the finance oligarchy. This formula likewise rules out the struggle for some reforms, including far-reaching structural reforms benefiting the working class and furthering the struggle for democracy and socialism.

(To be concluded)

South Arabian Peoples' Fight for Freedom

THE British government's imperialist policy of terror in South Arabia has evoked indignant protests the world over.

Aden and adjacent regions were captured by the British colonialists in 1839. The oil-rich southern part of Yemen was annexed somewhat latter.

The 125 years of colonial rule seriously retarded economic and social progress in South Arabia. Ignorance and disease were rife. To this day most of the South Arabian protectorates have no legislation. Corporal punishment is still practised in Aden. All progressive newspapers have been banned. Demonstrations, meetings and strikes are illegal. The police raid trade union centers and jail leaders of the national-liberation movement without trial or hearing. Last year a state of emergency was proclaimed in the country.

But despite the ruthless repressions conducted by the colonial authorities, the popular opposition is growing, meetings and strikes are held throughout the country, and patriots are taking up arms.

The growth of the national-liberation movement and the revolution in Yemen compelled the colonialists to set about hastily strengthening their position. They tried everything, from setting up the puppet Federation of South Arabia to unceasing subversion against Yemen, including bombings of villages.

The revolutionary struggle of the people of South Arabia reached a new stage in 1962 with the fall of the monarchy and the proclamation of the republic of Yemen. The Yemeni republic presents a serious danger to the interests of the oil monopolies in that region. The imperialists are afraid that the revolution will engulf all the puppet sultanates which are helping the monopolies to exploit the oil resources and retain military bases contrary to the will of the people.

In June this year, in an attempt to deceive the South Arabian peoples and mislead the world public, the British colonialists called a conference in London to discuss the question of a Constitution for the Federation of South Arabia. After three weeks of bargaining with a group of South Arabian sheikhs and emirs it was agreed that the Federation would re-

ceive a new constitution which would enable it to become a sovereign state in 1968, with the understanding that Britain would keep her military base in Aden.

This "family" contract, however, was exposed by one of the participants in the conference, Ahmed ben Abdulla Fadhli, the sultan of Fadhlī principality, who walked out of the conference, declaring that it was a "plot to suppress and destroy all national leaders in South Arabia" and that the military base in Aden was used by the British to supply arms and money to the Yemeni monarchists.

The British colonialists are making a desperate effort to keep Aden in their hands. Armed force and the scorched-earth tactics are being used to crush the national-liberation movement in this area. The atrocities committed by British troops in Radfan and Dathina, the operations to exterminate patriots, the brutal bombing of the village of Harib, denounced by the U.N., the destruction of peaceful villages in Dhala by British aircraft are but a few of the countless crimes perpetrated by the colonialists on the Arabian Peninsula. It is not surprising, therefore, that the British government refused to permit members of the U.N. fact-finding subcommittee investigating the situation in the south of the Arabian Peninsula to visit Aden and the British protectorates.

The interests of the imperialist oil monopolies which have taken possession of South Arabia's main wealth, are protected by ground, naval and air forces which threaten the security of the peoples of that region and of the entire Arab world. The bases in Aden and Bahrain, from which air raids against Egypt were carried out during the Suez crisis, are used today in the war against the Yemeni Republic, for suppressing the national-liberation movement in South Arabia and brutally punishing the tribes that have taken up arms in the struggle for freedom.

The events in that region show that the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula are firmly resolved to win independence. They are shaking the very foundation of British imperialism in that part of the world. Participants in separate national movements have now realized that their struggle against a common enemy calls

for the unity of all the national and democratic organizations fighting for freedom and independence, against colonial exploitation. The Union of Democratic Forces in the Arabian Peninsula, founded on April 20 this year, includes the Saudi Arabian National Liberation Front, the Popular Democratic Union in Aden and the National Liberation Front in Bahrain.

Commenting on the establishment of the Union, Fahadal Mansour, a Bahrain NLF leader, said: "Studying the experience of the national-liberation movements in other parts of the world and that of the people of the socialist countries and the young independent states, we decided to form a democratic Union which will head the struggle of the people. . . The Union has been acclaimed by the masses fighting against colonialism and local reaction, for it conforms with their aspirations and demands."

Early in July representatives of twelve nationalist organizations of South Arabia and Aden met in Cairo and decided to pool their

efforts in struggle, set up a united national-liberation front for the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, and press for the immediate evacuation of the British troops and the dismantling of the military base in Aden. The London constitutional conference and its decisions were declared unlawful. The growing unity of the national-liberation forces is bound to make the struggle of the South Arabian peoples more purposeful and effective. As a spokesman of the united National Liberation Front declared recently, "the British imperialists should understand that the struggle in the south of Arabia has entered a new stage and that they had better go. . . The Front will continue its heroic struggle till all British colonialists are driven out of South Arabia." Supported by the peace-loving forces of all the world, the peoples of South Arabia will force the British imperialists to stop the dirty war in the Arabian Peninsula and will open the road to freedom and progress for their countries.

Lamice HUSSEIN

The Sweep of the Mighty Mass Movement in India

NEVER have social contradictions in India been so acute, and never before has the class struggle in India taken such diverse forms as today.

In the seventeenth year of independence the policy of the propertied top crust has caused an acute food crisis. Millions of people in India today go hungry. Food queues are lengthening even in grain-producing villages. Sugar, clothes and all other necessities of life are expensive and scarce. Reports of death from starvation are appearing in the newspapers. Hungry people have raided food stores. Food prices are rocketing beyond the reach of working people's wages. The Indian monopolies have depressed the modest standard of the people's living and heaped suffering and poverty on the toiling masses. The government is helplessly watching the tragedy, paralyzed by the all-powerful grip of monopoly on its administration and bureaucracy.

As *Times of India* puts it in an editorial, "on the one hand we have the increasing misery of the people who find that their daily bread costs 50 per cent more than it did a year ago and on the other hand we have the apathy of a government which even after so steep a rise in food prices is in no hurry to act."

In the ruling party itself the inability of the government to cope with the crisis has evoked sharp criticism of the government policies. According to the government and its Planning Commission, the cause of the price is "a growing population, rising money income and enlargement of the investment program." The government said "all this contributed to the substantial increase in the demands for essential articles."

However, the real causes of the price rise are the refusal of the government to nationalize export-import trade, hoarding of food grain and profiteering by monopolies, taxes and surcharges imposed by the government and the looting of the banks by private trade tycoons which created an artificial expansion of money supply.

The responsibility for the crisis and the starvation of the millions lies therefore on the monopolies, landlords, the hoarders and the bankers who finance them. Food grain monopolies and speculators, seeking to take advantage of the general upward trend of prices, have been buying up stocks of food with hidden funds running into billions of rupees, withholding their grain from the market and thus jacking up prices. This has created an arti-

ficial shortage although the food grain production in the country this year was not markedly worse than in the previous year.

The imperialists and the Indian Right reactionary parties utilize these miseries of the people and the dismal failure of the government to solve the crisis to exploit the situation for their nefarious ends. The U.S. imperialists are now putting much stress on food imports to boost themselves as the "saviors" of starving India. The Right reactionary Swathantra Party leaders lay the blame for the food shortage on the limited agrarian reforms carried out in India and have asked the government to scrap land reforms altogether in order to "solve" the food crisis.

In this situation the Communist Party of India, which is the barometer of the people's mood, issued a call for a united stand against the *unholy trinity*, that is, the *foodhoarders, finance capital and the state power—the combination of the three evil forces responsible for the people's misery.*

The Party, some of the democratic opposition parties and the trade unions called for general strikes in states wherever the situation was mature. In response to this call millions of people went into political action in July and August. In the State of Kerala on July 31, in Gujarath on August 5, in Maharashtra on August 12, in Uttar Pradesh on August 18 and in Goa on August 20 all life came to a standstill for 24 hours, in one-day general strikes or complete stoppages, which is called "Bandh" in the Indian languages. The general strike series was a complete success in all the five states. Describing the biggest of them in Maharashtra, Chairman of the CPI Comrade Dange said: "The Maharashtra Bandh of August 12, 1964, was an unprecedented event not only in the history of the working class in India but even in national history. Three million workers in factories, offices, shops, municipal services, transport, eating houses—in fact in all industries, trades, professions and services — were on strike and had ceased to function. The life of a whole state of 40 million people had come to a standstill for twenty-four hours."

In the Gujarath general strike four people were killed when mounted police attacked a demonstration. Despite the police terror and the strike-breaking tactics of the ruling party's trade union wing, this general strike was almost complete.

In Uttar Pradesh a new feature was that agricultural laborers downed tools alongside industrial workers and other working people.

In Kerala in a marvellous united action, all towns and villages observed complete hartal.

The Goa bandh was the biggest political action since its liberation from Portuguese colonialism.

These general strikes were a major political action by the working class and the people generally to wrest the people's food from the 'unholy trinity'. They marked a new stage in the development of working-class unity. Other democratic opposition parties and various trade union centers agreed with the Communist Party to issue a common call for the bandh on an agreed date. All participating political parties and mass organizations moved into position: "to strike together, but march separately." This unity, while not complete unanimity on a platform, made the general strike unprecedentedly successful.

In states where the general-strike call was not given, diverse forms of protest actions, demonstrations and agitation were organized by the Party and trade unions. In the capital city of India textile workers and bank employees went into action playing a leading role in the food movement.

The struggle against the plunder of the people's food reached a higher stage and a nationwide form in the All-India Satyagraha (civil disobedience movement) from August 24 to 28 called by the Communist Party of India under its independent banner.

It is necessary here to explain this form of struggle since it is a very specific form, and also because the dogmatists have attacked it as "non-militant and passive."

The Communist Party draws widely on the national traditions in the class struggle, holding that much of the experience of the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the national-liberation movement is useful today.

Two of the methods which Mahatma Gandhi for example, often used to rouse the peasantry against imperialism were the Satyagraha and hunger strike. Satyagraha (civil disobedience and picketing) is a non-violent form of struggle which can dislocate the normal working of the administration and the state apparatus in one or another area if properly employed and given mass backing. The hunger strike or fasting in a public place is another means of achieving political aims and mobilizing mass support for a political cause. When a person refuses to eat and drink for days at a time out of loyalty to the cause of the working people and in order to win certain demands of the masses, he gains the sincere sympathy of the people and a fair hearing even from his opponents. The Communist Party has employed these methods of struggle with a maximum degree of success in local as well as in

national issues in addition to strikes, demonstrations and other forms of struggle.

In the all-India food Satyagraha all these forms of struggle were employed in which over three million people were brought into action against those who are battenning on the people's hunger. Eighty thousand Communist Party members and sympathizers enrolled as volunteers in this great campaign in response to the call of the CPI Central Secretariat. The demands raised in the Satyagraha struggle are: reduced prices on all essential commodities, confiscation of stocks of big hoarders, cheap food-grain shops, higher cost-of-living allowances for factory workers and employees, nationalization of wholesale trade in food grains, nationalization of banks, abolition of trading and stock exchange operations, minimum wages for agricultural laborers, banning of evictions, measures to bring wasteland under the plough and implementation of land reforms.

In support of these demands, the Satyagraha in all parts of the country picketed wholesale grain markets to stop them from speculation; picketed banks which give credit and advances to black-marketeers; picketed stock exchanges where speculators do their dirty business every day, gambling on the needs of the people; picketed government offices all over the country and the Food Ministry in New Delhi. This is the first time in the history of independent India that the seat of the Central Government in New Delhi was picketed by the people. Whenever the Satyagraha participants marched forward to take their position in the picket lines, thousands of people greeted them on both sides of the road with thunderous cheers. Thousands thronged the market places, gathered in front of banks and government offices to give moral support to the campaigners. The movement spread to all states, towns and almost every village of India. In the course of this unprecedented All-India action, over 25,000 people were arrested. The whole world was puzzled to see such a large number of arrests while not a single food-grain hoarder was arrested in India. The arrested included Party Chairman Dange, several members of the Central Secretariat and National Council and state leaders who led the movement in various parts of the country (Dange and hundreds of others were later released).

In several places the police resorted to brutal repressions against peaceful participants in the civil disobedience campaign.

The chief aim of the Satyagraha which lasted five days was to loosen the hold of the food

hoarders and induce the government to change its policy and reduce prices for food.

The political aim of the struggle was to explain to the people the current political and economic tasks to mobilize them for peaceful, democratic extra-parliamentary action. The Party believes that powerful popular actions can force the government to change its policies.

The Party leadership made these limited tasks of the Satyagraha very clear, pointing out that the present stage of the struggle does not envisage "capture of power" or "overthrow of the government" or "democratic expropriation" of monopoly property by mass action. The Party's effort to concentrate popular indignation and anger against those responsible — the government, the hoarders and the banks — has pinpointed the attention of the people to the real cause of food crises.

This Satyagraha was the biggest mass action in India since independence. It was a greater mass movement than the "Great Petition" and "March to Delhi" organized by the Party last September. This explains the wide publicity given it by the Indian and world bourgeois press.

This series of general strikes and hartals, Satyagraha and hunger strikes were the culmination of a process which was initiated and set into motion in a planned manner by the Communist Party and the trade unions under its influence and which forced the government to make some concessions.

The Left-sectarian splitters — who broke away from the CPI in April last and have since been saying that they were not concerned with the affairs of the world Communist movement and that their concern was entirely and exclusively with the problems of India—did not participate in the mass struggles organized by the CPI. Finding themselves more and more isolated from the people by their failure to cooperate in the great Satyagraha, the "Leftists," to save their face, organized belatedly a food movement under their own leadership. But the Indian people resented their separatist movement as a disruptive game and it had scant success on a national scale.

Like the extreme Right parties, the Left-sectarian splitters criticized the mass struggle launched by the CPI as a movement that is "helping the Congress government." The Leftists argue that the government is alone responsible for everything and wanted to launch a mass struggle exclusively against the government. By taking such a position they merely cover up enemies of the people like the hoard-

ers, speculators and bankers, and help them to hide behind the government.

The splitters in common with some of the reactionary leaders are trying to minimize the role of the CPI in organizing the general strikes as well as the great Satyagraha. They vilify the Party's policy of promoting unity among all democratic parties and patriotic forces in mass campaigns, and slanderously allege that the CPI "tails behind other parties instead of giving the lead to the movement."

This is a distortion. The united front tactics the Party leadership worked out in these mass struggle series were on the lines of the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress. The late General Secretary Comrade Gosh in his speech in the Congress said that: "favorable factors exist for very broad democratic unity. They are creating conditions for a united mass movement, extensive and powerful. Such a movement will be built through campaigns, struggles and other forms of activity. It will have to cover every area and be based on strong mass organizations. Then only can the desired changes in the policies of the government be brought about and advance ensured all along the line. Striving to build such a movement, our Party must intensify efforts to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in the country."

Hence the CPI rejects the above ill-conceived criticism by the splitters as "mere tactics to provoke the Party into isolated and unilateral action without striving for unity."

It will also be interesting to analyze the attitude of the state power towards this peaceful people's movement. In the past the governments in several states have drowned such mass struggles in blood, resorting to wanton police action in which hundreds were killed. This time the Communist Party had told the government in advance that if it did not take any provocative measures, the people would be completely disciplined and the movement would be absolutely peaceful. The authorities

realized the formidable strength of the massive organized action and the Prime Minister evidently warned his chief Ministers in the states against resorting to violence. This attitude was doubtless prompted by the splendid unity of the people who rallied in this struggle, the sympathy expressed by many congressmen for the Satyagraha in which they did not participate only for fear of disciplinary action, and the realization by the authorities of the fact that any police provocation would have disastrous consequences for the government.

The experience of the great movement in India thus shows that, given the unity of democratic forces, peaceful forms of struggle can also deter the ruling classes from violence.

The recent general strike series and food campaign in India were a great success. As a result of our correct leadership and political line, the masses have gained both politically and economically. The civil disobedience campaign and the general strikes have paved the way for a broader cooperation of all democratic forces; for a change in government food policy and for resolute actions against the enemies of the people — the food hoarders. The Party has gained too. Its organization, the morale of its members, the clarity of its cadres, its influence on the masses all have grown more than ever. "Our enemies are afraid, our friends are pleased and our splitters are discomfited," said Comrade Dange. But the food battles are not over. Our Party is preparing for new big campaigns together with other democratic parties.

On the eve of the Seventh Party Congress, when inner-party discussions are under way on such vital questions as the choice of allies, united-front tactics, forms of struggles, etc., the recent experiences of the Party in mass struggles acquire particular significance. These experiences will certainly enhance the Party's prestige and promote the preparations for the congress and the efforts for Party unity.

Gajanda NADAR

The People of the Congo Will Not Be Brought to Their Knees

FOR several years now the heart of Africa has been the scene of a tragedy, the tragedy of the long-suffering people of the Congo.

Literally the day after independence, imperialism, above all Belgian imperialism, using its puppets inside the country, embarked on provocations against the young Republic. The

separatist putsch, military actions and economic sabotage prevented our people from reaping the fruits of the long-awaited freedom for which they had paid so dearly.

After the brutal murder of Patrice Lumumba and his close associates in 1961, the Congo entered a dark period. Direct imperialist in-

terference, combined with political and economic instability, made the conditions of the Congolese working people even worse than before independence. The progressive and truly national forces of the country never reconciled themselves to this state of affairs. But owing to the absence of unity among the main patriotic parties their actions were sporadic and inconsistent in character. This, coupled with the political maneuvers of the neo-colonialists and their stooges, resulted at one time in a certain decline of the revolutionary struggle in the Congo, which prompted some short-sighted observers to claim that the Congolese people were discouraged and demoralized.

However, suffice it to recall the numerous demonstrations for the release of Antoine Gizenga, the strikes fought by the working people under the leadership of trade unions of the most diverse trends and the stormy debates in Parliament, to see the groundlessness of this contention. It is not by chance that in September last year Parliament, which the neo-colonialists had regarded as their obedient tool, categorically demanded the release of Antoine Gizenga and passed a vote of no confidence against the Adoula government for its subservience to U.S. imperialism.

On September 29, 1963, Kasavubu, alarmed by the powerful opposition, abused his presidential powers and unlawfully disbanded Parliament. This was followed by a ban on the activities of a number of progressive parties and organizations.

Such being the situation, representatives of the main trends opposed to the existing regime decided to establish a single coordinating center of struggle, known as the National Liberation Council (NLC). It was joined by progressive trade unions, students' and other mass organizations. "The chief patriotic duty of our people," says the NLC program of action, "consists in *restoring their sovereignty and, under the leadership of the progressive forces, carrying through the historical changes which are inevitable in our country.*"

The National Liberation Council urged all Congolese to unite in a patriotic front and use all forms and methods of struggle which they find necessary. The beginning of this year saw the rise in the Congo of an armed partisan struggle led by the NLC against neo-colonialism and its henchmen. The authorities and the imperialist press hastily labelled this popular uprising a "rebellion" organized by "subversive elements" and inspired from abroad. But the "rebels," fighting under the banner of

Patrice Lumumba with the motto "Motherland or Death," have demonstrated their discipline and organization, and their close link with the political struggle of the broad masses which testifies to the deeply national character of their struggle.

Alarmed at the growth of the people's revolutionary movement, which had endangered the positions for foreign monopolies in the Congo, the Belgian and American colonialists began feverishly to search for a way out of the situation. That was how "Operation Tshombe" was conceived. Tshombe, incidentally, has been acclaimed by none other than Senator Barry Goldwater as a "reliable pro-Western Congo leader."

On July 10 Kasavubu approved the composition of a new government, in which Tshombe held the post of prime minister along with the portfolios of foreign affairs, information and foreign trade. According to the official version, Tshombe—an odious figure not only in the Congo but in the whole of Africa—returned to the political scene in order to achieve "reconciliation" and "stop bloodshed" in the Congo. He made several demagogic pronouncements along these lines and even went to the length of releasing Antoine Gizenga.

But it is no longer easy to deceive the people whom the protracted crisis has made far more experienced and politically mature. On behalf of the people, the National Liberation Council demanded as a preliminary condition of any talks, that all those responsible for the death of Patrice Lumumba and hundreds of his followers should be removed from power.

In reply to the lawful demands of the people, the "conciliator" proceeded to form an army composed of Katanga mercenaries and gendarmes loyal to him and all sorts of scum ready to kill anyone for money. Tshombe had to do this because the government troops—the Congolese national army—proved utterly powerless to cope with the insurgents. Moreover, many soldiers and even whole units of the regular army sided with the NLC fighters.

Enjoying the complete support of the population, the insurgents established control over a large part of the territory and captured such big centers as Stanleyville, Albertville, Kwilu and Baudoinville. On the liberated territory the partisans have ensured the revolutionary sovereignty of the people, maintain order and organize normal economic activity. In Stanleyville, held by the NLC troops, a patriotic government has been formed.

Realizing that his own forces were not enough to crush or even halt the partisan movement, Tshombe discarded all neutralist masks and appealed for aid to his direct boss—the Pentagon. He did not have to wait long for a reply. U.S. planes, arms and other military equipment soon started flowing into the Congo. The planes, piloted by Cuban counter-revolutionaries, bombed Albertville which was subsequently seized by the Tshombe troops assisted by mercenaries from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

U.S. imperialist interference and the mobilization of all the reactionary forces of the world to suppress the just struggle of the Congolese people have fully exposed the falsehood about Tshombe's "conciliatory mission."

Progressives everywhere are demanding that the USA cease its aggressive actions against the people of the Congo and that it should not be allowed to turn the Congo into an African South Vietnam. Imperialist intervention has been wrathfully condemned by the governments of many independent African countries whose representatives at the extraordinary session of the Organization of Afri-

can Unity, held in Addis Ababa early in September, adopted a special resolution calling for the normalization of the situation in the Congo which is endangering peace in Africa.

A serious warning to the aggressors has been issued by the governments of the socialist countries. In a special communique, the National Liberation Council stressed that the Soviet statement on the situation in the Congo, issued on July 6, represented substantial support for the Congolese national forces fighting for genuine independence and the freedom of their country.

We believe that with the support of all the progressive forces of the world, the courageous struggle of our people will compel the imperialist aggressors and their puppets to retreat.

We believe that at long last peace will come to our soil soaked with the blood of patriots. And then, as our national hero Patrice Lumumba said, "we will demonstrate to the world what the Black Man can do when he toils in a free land, and we will make the Congo the pride of the whole of Africa."

Etienne Richard MBAYA

Against the Persecution of Democrats

THE STRUGGLE FOR AMNESTY IN VENEZUELA

A BIG mass movement is under way in Venezuela, calling for an amnesty for all political prisoners.

About 1,500 democrats are held in prison for participating in the mass protests against the reactionary government of the former President, Romulo Betancourt. While most of the prisoners belong to the Left parties, there are also many patriotic army officers among them.

Since last March, when President Leoni's government came to power thus ending the five years of its predecessor's regime of arbitrary rule and violence, the cherished desire of the people is peace, democracy and social progress. Expressing this striving of the nation, the democratic and revolutionary forces united in the National Liberation Front (FLN) and the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), which had no choice but to take up arms against the Betancourt regime, resolved to assist in achieving peace and unilaterally terminated the hostilities.

However, despite its pre-election declarations

and promises to the "legal opposition" parties, the Leoni government has not used this opportunity to abandon Betancourt's civil war policy and to take Venezuela along the road of democratic and independent national development. For months the government has been wavering, unable to bring itself to comply with the main demand of the people and release the 1,500 citizens jailed by the previous regime. This act, which would signify its actual break with the Betancourt policy, is resisted by the North American companies exploiting Venezuelan oil and by the more reactionary groups of the Creole oligarchy.

That is why the struggle for a general amnesty is now the central issue of the country's political life, the touchstone determining the political attitude of every Venezuelan.

The reactionaries are campaigning against the movement of amnesty, the response to which surprised not only the government, but also some of the democratic leaders themselves. The reactionary campaign is headed

by one of the most sinister figures in Venezuelan politics, Carlos Andres Perez, who served as Minister of the Interior in the Betancourt government.

The amnesty movement is supported by men and women of different convictions and from all walks of life. The movement, its supporters say, is something bigger than a philanthropic struggle for a humane act. The ultimate aim is to end the political violence, and a general amnesty is seen as the first step towards this.

It should be borne in mind that the forces united in the FLN have not been defeated by the government either in the political or in the military sense. This is confirmed by statements made recently by Minister of the Interior Barrios. Even more convincing are the reports of the army general staff in connection with the guerrilla actions in the Falcon, Lara, Portuguese and El Bachiller areas and some eastern regions. The amnesty movement, then, cannot be regarded as a sign of the weakness of the revolutionary forces. On the contrary, it testifies to the political maturity of the popular movement, its ability to resist the maneuvers of the enemy. It provides proof of the close contact with the people, a contact which has sustained the FALN throughout three years of struggle against an enemy armed with the latest weapons and guided directly by the Pentagon.

The amnesty movement should be seen as a new form of mass struggle in keeping with the general line of the Venezuelan revolutionaries on combining all possible methods of struggle.

As far back as 1958, when the Jimenez dictatorship was overthrown, the people initiated a new form of mass struggle, the so-called relief movement in the poorer sections of Caracas. This movement resulted from the growth of struggle on behalf of the impoverished peasants who lived in the slums on the outskirts of the city. The political life of the country in 1958 and 1959 was marked by this form of struggle — demonstrations of the unemployed and homeless and actions in support of the "urgent measures plan." When the government of the day refused to carry through these measures, clashes took place in the working-class sections of Caracas.

Today the amnesty movement is part of the struggle against imperialism and Venezuelan reaction. The Leoni government is in a quandary owing to the popular demand for the release of the prisoners. In order to resist it, reactionary newspapers devote pages to photographs of police agents allegedly killed by the "extremists," thus hoping to influence the uninformed. But as Dr. Ignacio Arcaya, ex-

Foreign Minister and now a Supreme Court member, declared during the last year's election campaign, it is common knowledge in Venezuela that responsibility for the violence in political life rested with the Betancourt government and that the revolutionary parties — the Communist Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) — merely called upon the people to meet violence with violence.

Some of the political prisoners, tried by military tribunals, received heavy sentences. A case in point is that of Eloy Torres, MP, working-class leader and member of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Others, like Communist Party General Secretary Jesus Faria, a Senator, have been detained in the San Carlos barracks for more than a year without trial. Members of parliament imprisoned after the coup which led to the dissolution of the National Congress in 1963 include such prominent revolutionaries as Gustavo Machado, Pompeyo Marquez and Domingo Alberto Rangel. Freedom is also denied to hundreds of rank-and-file fighters, local leaders, leading Communists, trade union and students' leaders, servicemen who took part in the popular uprisings in Puerto Cabello, and guerrilla fighters. Their sole "crime" was that they acted in the spirit of Article 250 of the Constitution which says every citizen is obliged to uphold the Constitution against violations of the kind of which Betancourt was guilty.

But freedom for the prisoners is not the only objective of the struggle for an amnesty. The movement aims at showing that the present government is continuing Betancourt's policy, that only a formal change has taken place and that this government too refuses to give peace to the country. This is necessary chiefly in order to help public opinion abroad to understand the essence of the struggle waged by the Venezuelan revolutionaries. The fight for an amnesty can cause confusion in the enemy camp and, which is most important, expose the maneuvers of the government and foil its design to set up a "broadly based government of national accord" by making a deal with the "legal opposition" parties.

The revolutionary and democratic forces give full support to the amnesty movement, which is headed by Dr. Miguel Acosta Saignes, an independent Senator, dean of the Humanities Faculty of the National University. Vice-Admiral Wolfgang Larrazabal, the Senator who headed the government junta in 1958, and General Jose Rafael Gabaldon, member of the World Peace Council, are honorary presidents of the movement, which unites hundreds of

men and women prominent in national life who have placed the struggle for an amnesty above narrow partisan interests. The participation of these people has imparted to the movement a broad patriotic character which makes it less vulnerable to attacks by the government and the reactionaries.

The people eagerly responded to the initiative of these leaders. The trade unions, headed by the United Center of the Working People, have contributed their militancy and organization; student organizations affiliated to the Federation of University Centers have imparted the enthusiasm and ardor of the youth. All the democratic organizations, big and small, central and provincial alike, have joined in the fight.

Eighteen of the twenty states of the republic were represented by 1,374 delegates at the National Assembly for Amnesty held in Caracas on July 3. About 100,000 signatures had been collected throughout the country in support of a bill drafted by the Committee of Democratic Lawyers. Among them were the signatures of more than 20,000 trade unionists and almost as many members of the peasant movement. The signatures, collected in a little over a month, exceeded by 20,000 the number stipulated by the Constitution for such cases, and on this ground the Amnesty Bill has been submitted to the Chamber of Deputies, which is to consider it in October.

But the most important achievement of this campaign so far is the laying of an organizational basis guaranteeing continuation of the struggle and responsible for its vigor and scope.

Amnesty committees have been formed in factories, in educational establishments and residential areas — literally everywhere. Before the National Assembly for Amnesty was convened, these committees had undertaken to distribute almost seven million leaflets — practically as many as there are residents in the country. The committees are the backbone of the movement. This was quickly understood by the police who, both in composition and methods, have not changed since the days of Betancourt. Reprisals were taken against the committees and by the end of July 300 committeemen had been arrested on charges of propaganda for the amnesty.

On July 22, following the impressive success of the Amnesty Assembly, a public meeting was held in the new circus in Caracas. The circus building, designed to hold 20,000 spectators, proved too small to accommodate all who wanted to take part in the gathering.

Despite the "conspiracy of silence" of the imperialist news agencies the world got to know about the powerful mass movement developing in Venezuela. International solidarity with the Venezuelan political prisoners is growing daily. Men like Bertrand Russell, Alberto Moravia, Manolis Glezos and Henri Alleg, and organizations like the Italian Confederation of Labor and the Central Trades Union Council of Czechoslovakia sent messages supporting the struggle for the amnesty. The voice of progressive mankind is growing louder. Ultimately our people will raze the Bastilles in Venezuela.

Jeromino CARRERA

MASS ARRESTS IN SUDAN

ANOTHER wave of repressions and arrests has started in Sudan. On August 14 the police arrested the well-known Sudanese leader Abdul Khalik Mahgoub and six of his comrades. Since then arrests of Communists, trade unionists and other democrats have continued.

Earlier six members of the Sudan Communist Party were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from one to six years. The lawyer who undertook to defend them received a four-month sentence after he established the fact that the President of the Court was in the service of the imperialists and home reactionaries.

The government's pretext for the arrests is that the persons in question are a "danger to the security of the state."

But what security and what state?

Sheltering under the protection of the Emergency Law ever since it was installed by the U.S. imperialists in November 1958, the military government has filled the prisons with Communists, trade unionists, and all those who oppose the neo-colonialist machinations. Depriving the people of their democratically elected organizations, the top military have established a dictatorship with the hope of killing the anti-imperialist national movement and thus clearing the way for imperialist and foreign-monopoly penetration.

But both the generals and those who impelled them on to this dangerous road seem to have forgotten the simple fact that the people of the Sudan who fought a long fight against the colonialists and won national independence will never submit to another force of exploitation and oppression.

Though many working-class leaders were jailed and hundreds of workers were victimized, the government, which had dissolved the trade unions immediately it came to power, was forced to re-recognize the workers' right to form unions.

The present labor law forbids the creation of a national federation of trade unions. However, under the pressure of the workers and their brothers in other countries, the government had to agree to setting up a preparatory committee which would summon a Constituent Congress of the Federation. This Congress was scheduled for August 15. The government, however, feeling unhappy about it banned the Congress and said that another preparatory committee composed of the presidents of the ten big unions should be set up.

Conscious that this decision would be vigorously opposed by the workers, the government resorted to arrests and repressions.

Heavily in debt to foreign monopolies, the government has cut expenditures on public health, education and other services. Income taxes and tariffs have been raised and prices have gone up. Wages have been frozen and unemployment is becoming a serious matter.

This "solution" of the problems facing the country will not solve any of them. On the contrary, these measures are prompting more and more people to join with those working for the abolition of the military regime, and its replacement by a national-democratic government which would rally the national forces for a genuine policy of opposing imperialism and neo-colonialism and building an independent economy in Sudan.

The Sudanese Communists who have seen the value of international solidarity are again looking to their comrades in all countries for support in their present struggle.

I. ZAKHARIA

SOUTHERN RHODESIA UNDER A DOUBLE YOKE

IN RECENT months the world press has reported with growing alarm about the situation in Southern Rhodesia. A country rich in natural resources and with a relatively developed industry, Southern Rhodesia is one of the last bastions of British colonialism in Africa. It has become the arena of struggle by its people against the racist regime imposed on them, for human dignity, democratic rights, freedom and independence.

The situation there differs little from that in the neighboring Republic of South Africa ruled by what is generally admitted to be one of the most despotic and barbaric regimes in the world.

The four million Africans in Southern Rhodesia are deprived of elementary rights by the Government of the European settlers. The latter, numbering less than 250,000, own some 36 million acres, almost half the cultivated land of the country.

The natural resources are in the hands of the colonialists, while the Africans are condemned to poverty, disease and illiteracy. Chronic malnutrition and unsanitary conditions take a toll of thousands of children every year.

Southern Rhodesia, which has the status of a self-governing colony, is ruled in accordance with the British-imposed Constitution of 1961 which guards the colonialists' interests.

In April this year the government headed by Ian Douglas Smith, a reactionary and racist, launched a campaign against all patriots.

Joschua Nkomo, leader of the liberation movement in the country, and his colleagues were deported to a remote region bordering on Mozambique.

On July 17 two Rhodesian patriots, Albert Ncube and Isaak Mjofi, were hanged in Salisbury merely because they called for the resignation of the Smith government. The country is being turned into a huge concentration camp. The streets of Salisbury, Bulawayo and other cities are patrolled by the police, who reply to every action by the working people with clubs, tear-gas and bullets.

Laws of the kind the Verwoerd government uses against the freedom fighters in South Africa have been enacted in Southern Rhodesia too. One of these extends the term of detention without trial from 90 days to one year. At the end of August the government carried out more arrests among Africans. Police cordoned off the town of Highfield, not far from Salisbury, proclaimed a state of emergency and carried out searches and arrests. At the police posts Africans are required to show the "loyalty" mark stamped on their hands. The authorities have banned two national parties and the newspaper *Daily News*.

Not long ago, on the initiative of Smith and his henchmen, thirty tribal chiefs were taken on a conducted tour of the Republic of South Africa. The purpose was to acquaint them with Verwoerd's "bantustans." The actions of the Rhodesian authorities show that they aim at

setting up an apartheid regime patterned after South Africa and thereafter to proclaim the "independence" of South Rhodesia.

The exploiters want this "independence" in order to use fascist methods to buttress their rule.

Unable openly to support racist despotic regimes the imperialists are forced to maneuver. The British colonialists, while in words they deplore the terror in Southern Rhodesia, say that they cannot interfere in the domestic affairs of a "self-governing" colony. Britain has likewise ignored the calls made by international organizations, the United Nations included, to normalize the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

This is by no means fortuitous. The British colonialists, who are closely linked with the European settlers by economic interests, derive also political benefits from the current situation in Southern Rhodesia, for it enables them to keep the people under their rule. There can be no genuine independence as long as power remains usurped by the exploiting minority. Little wonder that the latter has received substantial aid and support from its imperialist patrons. After the break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Britain transmitted to the South Rhodesian government control over the armed forces, which are now used to curb the freedom fight of the African population.

The people feel that in the event of independence being proclaimed by the racists they will share the fate of the black population of South Africa. They have little faith in the colonialists' protestations of humaneness and good will. Nor will they be deceived by attempts to "pacify" them by replacing the "insufficiently flexible" Smith with a more "liberal" prime minister. For this purpose the colonialists have again dragged out Welensky, former Prime Minister of the defunct Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. But this sinister figure is too well known to the Rhodesians. Neither the alluring promises of concessions to the Africans nor the sham liberalism will help Welensky and his masters. The South Rhodesians want not concessions from the racists, but freedom and they are determined to win it.

The national-liberation struggle is developing on two fronts — against the reactionary Smith regime and against British colonial domination. For many years this struggle has

been waged by peaceful means. The patriotic forces have repeatedly appealed to the British government for aid in abolishing racial oppression and establishing a regime of justice. But experience has shown the utopian character of any hope of help from Britain cherished by some leaders of the national-liberation movement.

The mass movement in Southern Rhodesia is growing steadily. The people want to be the masters in their own house. Under the slogan "one man — one vote" they are fighting for democratic rights and governing bodies representative of all sections of the population, irrespective of race or nationality. The people intend to use all means necessary in their just struggle. Southern Rhodesia today can be likened to a volcano ready to erupt and sweep away the exploiters.

Despite the repressions, demonstrations and meetings are being held throughout the country in the course of which the unity and revolutionary determination of the masses are strengthened. The immediate demands are release of the political prisoners and the convening of a representative conference of all South Rhodesian parties for an advance towards independence based on the will of the majority.

In addition to the mass movement in the country an international campaign of solidarity is gaining wide support. This campaign is supported by the parties and governments in independent African countries. For instance, at the recent Commonwealth Conference in London, from which Smith was barred, representatives of the Afro-Asian countries urged that the South Rhodesians be granted the right to decide their own destiny. On their side too are the socialist countries, true friends of the people fighting for freedom. In the 24-nation committee supervising observance of the Declaration on Granting Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples the representatives of socialist countries and African states constantly expose the reactionary character of the regime in Southern Rhodesia and point to the responsibility of the British colonialists for the situation there.

The present international situation and the correlation of world forces provide favorable conditions for the struggle of the South-Rhodesian people for justice, democracy and freedom.

M. DIENNE

CRUSADE AGAINST COMMUNISTS AND DEMOCRATS IN WEST GERMANY

TOO many arrests are being made in the FRG," the radio station *Deutscher Freiheitssender 904* said beginning one of its broadcasts. The station is the voice of the Communist Party of Germany which the Bonn politicians, Hitler-like, want to banish from the political arena.

For the past eight years the CPG has worked under the difficult conditions of illegality. The anti-Communist witch-hunt has never ended in this "free-world" country. Unlawful arrests, searches, interrogations, victimization of "suspects" and denial of pensions rights — these are features of political life in West Germany. Tens of thousands of citizens have been under police investigation often lasting for years. The aim is not only to terrorize the victims and force them, by threats and blackmail, to abandon their convictions, but also to intimidate all opponents of Bonn policy.

The reactionaries use the organs of justice to bait Communists, democrats, peace-fighters and all who object to the policy of revenge and to atomic arms for the Bundeswehr. For instance, the court in Lueneburg, Lower Saxony, sentenced the workers Fritz Maiwald and Ernst Wiechmann to one year's imprisonment, their "crime" being that in conformity with their constitutional rights, they had stood as Communist candidates in Bundestag elections. Herta Duerrbeck, a former CPG deputy to the Lower Saxony Landtag, is serving a sentence of ten months for taking part in the work of a democratic women's organization. Addressing the court Herta Duerrbeck said: "It is not accidental that Communists are in the dock. We know from experience where the road of anti-communism led . . . It led to the Second World War . . . The Prosecutor has said that justice should be done to the courage with which I defended my convictions during Hitler. But I must say that now, too, one must have great courage to uphold one's convictions. This and the many other political trials prove this contention . . . What is being punished here is our world outlook. But punishment will not prevent me from saying openly: I am proud to be a Communist!"

Together with Herta Duerrbeck the court also tried Emmi Meyer, Erika Krueger and Lotte Duepree.

Patriots held in Bonn prisons include Hans-Georg Canje, a Duesseldorf journalist and father of five children, sentenced to two and half years with subsequent deprivation of civil

rights for five years on the charge of having broadcast over the *Deutscher Freiheitssender 904*.

A Hamburg court passed a 15 months' sentence on Willi Paasch for "violating the ban on the Communist Party of Germany." According to the newspaper *Blickfuer*, Willi Paasch took part in publishing *Norddeutsches Echo*, illegal organ of the CPG in Schleswig-Holstein.

Claus Wiebusch, a farmer, was jailed for having advocated peace and understanding between peoples.

Prison terms for actions in defense of democracy are being served by the office worker Ewald Stiefvater, who published the paper *Neue Landespolitik*; by Carl Carstens, electric welder from Luebeck, who was a member of his factory's production council; by Georg Jacobi from Muenster, the 57-year-old Frieda Merkelbach from Uebach-Palenberg, and many others.

But no repression can exclude the working class and its party from the political life of West Germany. The CPG is fighting on. The word of truth is carried to the people by illegal newspapers, among them *Der Rotfabriker*, organ of the CPG organization in the Hoechst chemical plants; *Der Hammer*, published by the CPG group in the Henschel plants; *Der Blitzler*, issued at the Helenna colliery, to name but a few.

Freies Volk, central organ of the CPG, reports that in connection with the forthcoming 46th anniversary of the death of Karl Liebknecht the Party is conducting a Liebknecht enrolment, which has already brought many young workers to its ranks.

Vigorous Party activity is manifested in the struggle against nuclear arms for West Germany, in defense of the rights of the people, and against the emergency laws. Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Party, writes in this connection: "Even our sworn enemies have had to acknowledge in the bulletin of their industrial institute that the Communists have stepped up their activity, especially in the Ruhr. They have admitted an increase in the number of factory papers put out by the Communists, that Communists are winning new members, strengthening their contact with the masses and ever more resolutely demanding legality for the Party."

"The population of West Germany is coming to realize that the lifting of the ban on

the CPG would help clear the way for a policy of easing world tensions and promoting peaceful cooperation.

"This recognition was expressed in a petition of more than 2,000 Rhineland-Palatinate citizens to the Bundestag, demanding an amnesty for persons prosecuted for their political convictions, and abolition of the ban on the CPG. Similar demands have been voiced by members of the Social Democratic Party, by trade union members and functionaries in Hamburg, Frankfurt-on-Main, Munich and in the Ruhr. Even Minister of Justice Bucher has declared, following the Prime Ministers of North-Rhine-Westphalia and the Saar, that the banning of the CPG was a mistake, and come out for the legalization of the CPG."

A joint statement issued by the Central Committees of the Socialist Unity Party and the Communist Party on this question says that restoration of its legal status to the Communist Party of Germany will strengthen peace, that reunification of Germany is impossible without a legal Communist Party, that a legal Communist Party will reinforce the West German working class and uphold the rights of the people.

The task of the working class, all the democratic and peace-loving forces in the Federal Republic and of public opinion throughout the world is to win freedom for all political prisoners and legality for the Communist Party of Germany.

R. FALKA

Reviews

CENTENARY OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

A New Work on the World Revolutionary Movement

HOW the working class fights and wins, and the way in which the world revolutionary process is developing in our time—these and other questions are discussed in a book published by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The Leading Force of Revolutionary Change

Of late some "Left" opportunists, behind a barrage of pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, have been revising the Marxist teaching on the role the working class is destined to play in history.

The facts cited in the book prove beyond any shadow of a doubt that the numerical growth of the working class, the changes taking place in its structure, the growing contradiction between labor and capital, the acute class struggle and the impact made by the working class on all social development—all give the lie to the theories of the bourgeois apologists, the petty-bourgeois nationalists and opportunists of all kinds who claim that the proletariat has "lost" its revolutionary potential.

The book examines the changes that have taken place in the international working-class and revolutionary liberation movement against the background of world capitalism over the past century, and the role and place of state-monopoly capitalism which exacerbates to the extreme the conflict between the productive forces and production relations. We have here a comprehensive analysis of those socio-economic processes which have conditioned the overall growth of the proletariat and which have enhanced its role in social life. We glimpse the conditions of the main sections of the working class and the new forces replenishing the ranks of the proletariat. Arguments are adduced which expose the falsity of the so-called theory of the "middle class" which, it is claimed, grows to the detriment of the working class, and we learn that the term "middle class" serves to conceal a conglomeration of sections belonging to the different classes, including the proletariat.

"International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class (Centenary of the First International)." Editors: B. N. Ponomarev (Chief Editor), A. A. Arzumanyan, V. I. Snastin, T. T. Timofeyev. Moscow, Politizdat, 1964, 607 pp.

After the Second World War the capitalists believed that they had secured their regime against new upheavals. Today, however, bourgeois newspapers are not quite so optimistic. The dreams of a golden age of "social partnership," of the working class obeying the employer's baton, have not materialized. The proletariat is rising for a new assault against the bastions of capitalism.

The book shows that the working class has won considerable gains in the course of its struggle. In a number of capitalist countries the workers have won higher wages, better social security benefits and have extended their representation in parliament and local government. Under pressure from the masses capitalist parliaments have had to enact quite a number of progressive laws—providing, for example, for equal pay for equal work, comprehensive social insurance, higher and extended unemployment benefits, etc. Among the achievements of the revolutionary movement in the West is the fact that it has helped to curb the more extreme imperialist circles, has helped avert another world war, has barred the fascist elements from coming to power and has upheld democratic liberties.

A feature of the working-class movement in the West in recent years is its growth and development, as a rule in conditions of a relatively rapid industrial growth. The reality of the working-class struggle refutes the claim of the dogmatists and neo-Trotskyites that growth of the revolutionary movement is possible only when living standards are low, at a time of economic crisis. The workers are directly interested in seeing a sound economic situation in their countries, not in crises, for the latter are fraught with sharp deterioration of their conditions. The experience of Germany in the 'thirties showed that a crisis is not necessarily fraught with a revolution.

By skilful organization of the mass struggle in the conditions of a relatively good economic situation the Communist parties in a number of West European countries have consolidated their positions. Commenting on the success of the Italian Communist Party in the general elections of April 28, 1963, when every fourth elector voted Communist, *The Economist* (London) wrote: "Four years of industrial boom... have given the Communists an increase of more than a million votes. . . The economic 'miracle' itself accounts for Communist growth. . ." The balance of forces in the world arena has basically changed in favor of socialism.

The dialectics of history is such, the authors stress, that at the early stage of the world socialist revolution, when capitalism was still

strong, it was usually under the impact of events of a catastrophic type (war, destructive crisis) that we saw a "crisis at the top" of the capitalist state, mass discontent, rapid growth of class consciousness among the proletariat, the rise of its revolutionary vigor and resolve to fight capitalism. Things are different today when more and more people join the struggle for socialism, when the offensive against capitalism is conducted all along the line, when conditions have matured for further big advances by the international working class without cataclysms, world wars or devastating crises.

A manifestation of the development of the revolutionary working-class movement in the advanced capitalist countries nowadays is the new relationship between reform and revolution, between the day-to-day struggles and the fight for socialism, between the immediate demands of the masses and more far-reaching demands.

In the previous stages of the working-class movement it was considered expedient to advance such demands as nationalization (as pointed out in the 1928 program of the Comintern and in other documents of the Communist movement at that time) only at the time of a revolutionary situation. Today the Marxist-Leninist parties in the capitalist countries point to the possibility of employing these slogans also when there is no revolutionary crisis. This is seen as a result both of the impact of the gains won by the working people in the socialist countries and of the growing class struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries.

The winning of far-reaching socio-economic reforms can lead to the further intensification of the mass struggle, to changing the balance of forces in favor of the working class. Moreover, even partial concessions wrested from the bourgeoisie can serve as a basis for a renewed offensive and lead to basic changes. The active and independent struggle of the masses, Lenin pointed out, is capable of "transforming the half-hearted and hypocritical reforms won within the framework of the given order into strongholds of a militant working-class movement in its advance towards the complete emancipation of the proletariat."

The Interrelation of the Successes of All the Revolutionary Forces

The book substantiates the Marxist-Leninist concept of the interrelation of the three basic trends in the modern revolutionary movement: the successes of the peoples of the socialist system in building the new society, the class

struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and the rise of the national-liberation, anti-imperialist movement in the economically undeveloped countries. The solidarity of these three main revolutionary streams is decisive for the success of the world revolutionary process.

A special section of the book deals with the role and place in this process of the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The authors show the harmfulness of the attempts made by the modern nationalist-opportunists and neo-Trotskyites in the CPC leadership to isolate the national-liberation movement from the world socialist revolution, from the struggle of the international working class and its creation—the socialist world system. While substantiating the conclusion on the organic unity and interrelation of all the main anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces of our time, the book also points to the specific features of the new stage of the national-liberation revolution. Today the national-liberation, national-democratic revolutions, in their aims, scope and character, often do not fit into the framework of bourgeois-democratic revolutions and evolve into more profound social revolutions.

In order to obtain a correct idea of the processes taking place in the newly-liberated countries one should bear in mind that, whereas politically they do not belong to the imperialist camp, economically they are still part of the capitalist world economy, although, as the CPSU Program points out, they occupy a special place in that economy. This special place is determined by the combination of two factors: on the one hand, these countries are still exploited by imperialism and, on the other, they want to put an end to this exploitation and to occupy a position of equality in the capitalist world economy. Some of them want to part company with capitalism altogether.

The USSR and other socialist countries are rendering effective aid to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their task of building a new society. This aid, the book emphasizes, is aid to the people even if for some time the immediate recipient is the ruling bourgeoisie of a number of newly-liberated countries. Socialist aid goes mainly to the state sector—the potential base of non-capitalist development — and results in the rapid growth of the working class. In the final analysis, therefore, this aid can be conducive to changing the balance of the socio-economic forces in a direction unfavorable for the private capitalist sector.

The book examines the problems of the

national bourgeoisie. The basic feature of this class and its deeply contradictory nature in the liberated countries is that, although general democratic changes are more or less advantageous to the bourgeoisie, the latter cannot translate them into reality because of its dual nature.

The bourgeoisie has a stake in agrarian reform, seeing in it a means of creating an extensive internal market, but as owner of the land is reluctant to take the steps needed to eliminate the survivals of obsolete feudal relationships. Even the non-landowning sections of the bourgeoisie do not feel strong enough to deliver a resolute blow at the big landowners and, in most cases, prefer to strike a bargain with them. And although the bourgeoisie would like to be independent in exploiting the resources of the country, would like to attain equal status in the capitalist world, it is unable to sever the chains subordinating it to the imperialist monopolies.

The emergence of a new leading political force in a number of Afro-Asian countries—the revolutionary democrats—is a logical development. This force owes its emergence and its leading role to a combination of two circumstances. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie because of its inconsistency has become discredited, capitalism has compromised itself in the eyes of the masses, while the power of attraction exerted by socialism is becoming greater. On the other hand, neither the objective nor the subjective conditions in these countries are ripe for proletarian leadership.

Highly important is the conclusion that in our day an economically backward country can take the non-capitalist way even if the conditions for proletarian hegemony are wanting because of the absence of an experienced working class. As distinct from the past, the rise of the socialist world system ensures both in the military, political and economic sense the possibility of successful national-democratic revolutions, it guarantees the new national states against restoration of the colonial order, helps them to get rid of the predatory mechanism of imperialism and demonstrates the superiority of socialism; by so doing it fulfils on the international plane the functions of proletarian hegemony and vanguard with regard to the peoples of the oppressed countries. This, in a way, compensates for the absence of a numerous and influential proletarian vanguard in the Afro-Asian countries and clears the way for non-capitalist development now, without waiting until a local proletariat takes shape and takes its place at the head of the nation.

Problems of Unity of the Working-Class Movement

The contingents of the working class that are still under the sway of reformist Social Democracy and hence not actively engaged in the fight for socialism could play a very important role in the anti-monopoly struggle.

The past 50 years' history of Social Democracy, the book stresses, is the history of the loss of its independent political role on the international plane. Its hopes of occupying an intermediate position between world capitalism and the world revolutionary movement failed, as could be expected, to materialize and, as a result, it found itself trailing behind the bourgeoisie whom it supports on all basic issues of home and foreign policy. The "socialist" reforms of the immediate postwar years, instead of putting curbs on monopoly rule, had the opposite effect. The outcome was a grave moral-political defeat for Social Democracy—the Social Democratic parties lost prestige in the eyes of the working class.

This setback, coupled with the unprecedented scope of the strike movement in the European capitalist countries in recent years, confronted the Social Democratic leaders with the urgent problem of doing something about monopoly rule. Harsh experience forced them to return to the issue of Left unity, to think in terms of resuming the dialogue with the Communists. The conditions which make rapprochement of the working class parties both necessary and possible are closely examined in the book.

One of the problems of this unity is that of the role to be played by the party of the

working class in the light of the general perspective of the struggle for socialism. The 1960 Moscow meeting of representatives of the Communist parties worked out the following common thesis: The Communists are ready to cooperate with the Social Democratic parties not only in working for peace, for better conditions for the working people, to preserve and extend democratic rights, but also in working to win power and advance to socialism.

No one, of course, is blind to the difficulties in the way of unity. Nevertheless the changes here are obvious. The stronger the Communist parties, the greater prestige and the firmer their positions, the easier it will be to work for unity—the decisive conditions for victory in the struggle for socialism.

In its examination of ideological problems, the book says that the world Communist movement and its Marxist-Leninist ideology have become the most influential force of our time. But the fact that Marxism-Leninism is steadily advancing while bourgeois ideology is in a state of crisis does not mean that winning the masses for revolutionary theory is a simple matter. On the contrary, the greater the success and the wider the sphere of influence won by Marxism-Leninism, the greater and more complex are the problems that arise in this sphere. These problems are conditioned both by the objective difficulties of growth and by the response of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism who are devising ways and means of overcoming their ideological crisis. Hence the great responsibility which devolves on the Communists in tackling the problems of ideology.

M. N.

The First International As Seen by a Marxist of Today

A FEATURE of the centenary of the founding of the First International was the publication of much literature on the subject. Numerous books, documents and scientific papers appeared to mark the occasion. Among the many interesting pamphlets dealing with the lessons of the past century from the standpoint of the world Communist movement is the "Centenary of the First International (1864-1964),"* by Claude Renard, member of the

Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party.

In a preface the author tells us that he has confined himself to some of the lessons of the First International and their relevance for the Communist movement of today. He takes as his starting point two documents—the Inaugural Address and the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association.

Although they belong to history, he writes, these documents are far from being lifeless records of the past. They are "... a source to which one returns again and again with

*Renard, C. "Sur le centenaire de la Première Internationale (1864-1964)." Bruxelles, fondation Joseph Jacquemotte, 1964, 47 pp.

profit, a source that inspires one to useful reflections on the contemporary problems of the working-class movement." (p. 5)

Renard invites the reader, as it were, to study with him the century-old texts. From page to page, from idea to idea he weaves the fabric linking the militant past of the working class with its militant present. He focusses attention by introducing the reader to the opening sentence of the General Rules; "... The emancipation of the working classes can be won only by the working classes themselves. . ." This phrase, Renard notes, has become an aphorism, but those who quote it do not always interpret it as understood by Marx. In the context of the original document and in the light of the work of the First International this phrase rings out like a call for an independent working-class policy and the establishment of a proletarian mass organization as the instrument of this policy.

Quoting from Marx's correspondence, and from the documents of the International, Renard shows that the methods with which Marx fought to establish and consolidate the International, for an independent class policy of the proletariat, are of fundamental importance in our day as well. What is characteristic for these methods? The author replies by quoting from Marx's letter to Engels, dated November 4, 1864: "It will be necessary to be *fortiter in re, saaviter in modo* (bold in matter, mild in manner)". But what is meant by being "bold in matter"? Marx himself showed us, Renard continues, by his resolute struggle "against the particularist views of the small proprietors, artisans, and peasants who had been flung into the proletariat by the industrial revolution, and other elements who propagate the petty bourgeois ideology" (p. 11).

But for Marx firmness never signified sectarianism: narrow-mindedness was alien to the founder of the First International who had profound faith in the political ability of the proletariat.

Unfortunately, the author goes on, there are to this day those in the Communist movement who instead of rejecting sectarianism have made of it a political credo. He has in mind the petty-bourgeois people in the working-class movement who react to monopoly pressure "either by trying to avoid battle (in the manner of the Social Democrats), or by substituting impatience for the persevering day-to-day work which a revolutionary party must carry out if it is to win and retain the confidence of the masses" (pp. 22-23). But the working class movement of "... today like that of yesterday

can fulfil its historical task only if it goes its own way, which rules out political compromises and revolutionary phrasemongering" (p. 23).

With regard to the second part of Marx's formulation, "mild in manner," Renard stresses that implied here is consistent application of the method of persuasion, of educating the masses on the basis of their own experience. But Marx's formulation does not imply "a spirit of conciliation which can only perpetuate division engendering weakness behind a facade of unity" (p. 11).

Renard recalls the political battles that preceded the founding of the First International, the struggle waged against the followers of Proudhon and Bakunin, and shows how the founders of the International interpreted the nature of class struggle. He cites the Inaugural Address in which Marx speaks of the Ten Hours' Bill adopted in England at the time. Stressing the practical significance of this achievement of the English working class, Marx points to its tremendous political importance as the first victory of the proletariat ("the political economy of the working class") over capitalism ("the political economy of the middle class"), as the first case in human history when the proletariat was able to restrict the blind rule of the laws of capitalist society.

Renard writes in this connection: "... it is this daily clash between the two political economies—those of the working class and of the bourgeoisie—that constitutes, in the Marxian concept, the center of gravity of the class struggle" (p. 16), it is here that the proletariat strikes the main blow at its class enemy. What is more, "clearly Marx never adhered to the view that the political economy of labor would be unable to secure the triumph of its principles as long as power remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie. His sole stipulation was that the class struggle should be waged persistently and skilfully. . ." (Ibid.).

True, stresses Renard, the final blow against capital can be delivered only after the conquest of power by the working class; only then can the bourgeoisie be stripped of its privileges. But if the proletariat already in Marx's time could inflict defeat on the "political economy of the middle class," then the opportunities for doing so in our time are all the greater. One fact will suffice to see this, writes the author, viz., the triumph of the "political economy of the working class" in the socialist countries, which is of invaluable aid to the emancipation movement of the proletariat in the capitalist world.

How to take advantage of the new opportunities. Here again Claude Renard notes: by waging the class struggle persistently and skilfully. He cites the example of present-day Belgium where "... formidable working class forces unite into a single whole the struggle for their immediate demands in the sphere of labor legislation, the struggle for structural reforms to curb and restrict the economic privileges of the monopolies, and the struggle for fundamental political changes in the state system, in the functioning of the democratic institutions, in the Government's approach to international problems" (p. 24).

Renard points out that the path chosen by the Communists of Belgium on the basis of the lessons of history and an analysis of the contemporary situation is not an easy one; that it calls for persistent struggle and a principled attitude.

Like Marx in his day, the Belgian Communists have to combat two dangers: the Right (which seeks to distort the policy of the Communist Party, to emasculate its revolutionary content and to depict the Party's program as milk-and-water liberalism) and especially the Left danger. The Left "... on the pretext of remaining true to what they describe as principles, equate with reformism the day-to-day work of the Party, notably in the sphere of structural reforms; and the Party of course is denounced as revisionist. Their minds closed by their dogmatic interpretation of the facts, or blind to everything but their own particular problems and out of step with the times ... their concept of socialist revolution becomes a kind of sectarian truth, and so logically they break up into sects each of which believes itself to be the sole exponent of this truth" (p. 26).

Renard rightly notes the pertinency of the closing paragraph of the Inaugural Address dealing with the attitude of the working class to the foreign policy of the bourgeoisie. This paragraph epitomizes, as it were, the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

For Marx the ideal of internationalism was the action of the working class of Europe in preventing reactionaries from intervening in the war against slavery in the United States and in aiding the struggle of the Polish people for their independence. In other words, Marx regarded the struggle against the policy of the export of counter-revolution, and for international relations based on the principles of right and justice to be the internationalist duty of the proletariat. These ideas hold good today.

To be sure, big changes have taken place in

the world, in the balance of forces since Marx's time. Today the working class, relying on the socialist world system, and tempered in battle, has the means with which to influence world politics. And in "the joint struggle waged on a national and international plane, and especially in the struggle against fascism, these means have grown steadily," Renard writes. "In all instances their growth has been directly associated with the success of the Soviet Union. The same holds true also today when a powerful socialist world system exists; for, as historical reality shows, the Soviet Union continues to be the center of proletarian internationalism and is at the same time the best equipped to wage a successful struggle against the political economy of the bourgeoisie in the peaceful economic competition with the West and an effective struggle against the foreign policy of the imperialists" (p. 30).

Proletarian internationalism is indeed a powerful force in our day. But, the author warns, it would be dangerous to regard it as something purely automatic. Communists must consistently and actively uphold the policy of internationalism, all the more so that now, as in Marx's time, it has many enemies, even in the working-class movement. Of particular danger to the policy of proletarian internationalism is Left sectarianism.

Renard recalls in this connection the time of the October Revolution when the Left sectarians "... invoked Marx in order to substitute permanent world revolution for the building of socialism in one country which they considered impossible" (p. 32). Today Marxists are again confronted with a Leftist sectarian approach to proletarian internationalism. "The Lefts," Renard writes, "... dispute the possibility of the triumph of the policy of peaceful coexistence, which they hold is a renunciation of Marxism-Leninism. They fail to understand that in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, at a time when the political economy of labor is demonstrating its superiority internationally, this policy is the highest form of the class struggle on a world scale and, consequently, the basis for the unity of all revolutionary parties without exception" (p. 33).

* * *

Many lay claim to the lofty title of being heirs to the First International, Renard writes, but only genuine Marxist-Leninists have the right to consider themselves such. To be heir to the First International means to adhere

strictly to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, to its principles and methods; to be thoroughly principled, to follow a consistent proletarian and class policy, to take a creative approach in assessing reality, to wage a persistent struggle for the unity of revolutionary forces.

Claude Renard concludes his interesting

booklet with the words: "If there is a conclusion, one patently suggested by the experience accumulated over the century separating us from the founding of the First International, it is that life always crowns with victory those who heed its demands, who have faith in the working-class movement."

V. M. VANDENHOVE

Scientific Works on the History of the First International

FOR the centenary of the First International the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow has prepared for publication a two-volume work under the title "The First International." Volume one treats the history of the International from 1864 to 1870, while volume two covers the years from the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune to the dissolution of the International.

In these volumes we have the first systematic Marxist study of this international mass organization of the working class which, in the words of Lenin, "... laid the foundation of the international proletarian struggle for socialism," the glorious forerunner of the Marxist-Leninist parties, of the international Communist movement of today.

The two volumes are based on a thorough study of the works of Marx and Engels, on rich documentary material and archive sources; press reports and reminiscences by contemporaries have been consulted and use has been made of such an important source as the Minutes of the General Council. Much of the factual data is used for the first time.

The history of the International is treated according to periods: the formation of the International as an international mass organization of the proletariat (1864-1866); the affirmation of socialist principles as the basic program of the International (1866-1868); the ideological and organizational consolidation of the International, the beginning of the struggle against anarchism (1868-July 1870); the Paris Commune and the triumph of Marxism in the International (1870-1873).

In addition to examining the work of the leading bodies of the International—its congresses, conferences and General Council—the volumes also give a picture of the formation and growth of its sections in Europe and America.

The history of the International is seen as

an important stage in the development of the world working-class movement, as a landmark in the work carried out by Marx and Engels to form a revolutionary proletarian party, to popularize the ideas of scientific socialism among the masses, to unite the working class under the banner of internationalism. The idea is to show the historical significance of the International, its role in the emancipatory movement of the working class in all countries, to trace the revolutionary traditions it initiated in the working-class movement.

A comprehensive account is given of the struggle waged by the Marxist core of the International against reformist and sectarian trends in the working-class movement at the time, against those who used pseudo-revolutionary phraseology as a cloak for dogmatic and voluntarist views.

The authors examine the false interpretations of the International's history contained in bourgeois and reformist historiography, and show the role played by Lenin and by Marxist historians in many countries in assessing the significance of the International and its place in the world revolutionary process.

* *

The Kossuth Publishing House in Budapest has published a volume of four essays entitled "The First International and Hungary."

The essay on the history of the International deals with the main stages of the organization, stressing its historical significance for the working-class movement of the world.

The essay "The First International and the Socialist Movement in Hungary" shows the part played by the International in the establishment in 1868 of the General Union of Workers, the first socialist organization in Hungary, and how the ideas of the International influenced the activity of this organization. It describes the actions fought by the Hungarian

workers in 1870-1871, the most significant of which were the Budapest demonstrations of May-June 1871 when the leaders of the General Union of Workers were arrested and tried.

The third and fourth essays take as their subject the International and the Hungarian emigration after the revolution of 1848 and the relationships between the Hungarian opposition and the socialist movement during the years of the International.

The bibliographical review printed as a supplement shows that public opinion in Hungary displayed a keen interest in the International from its very inception. The reactionary press, naturally, hurled abuse at it, the Liberals held that it would be an apolitical body confining itself to economic matters. It was mainly the socialists who took full cognizance of its historic significance.

The Truth About Colombia

IN ITS Pan-American policy U.S. imperialism tries to create an impression of continental unity. In reality U.S. policy has led to dissociation of the Latin-American nations, to an almost complete lack of trade or any other contacts with one another, to ignorance of the appalling socio-economic conditions which are the source of discontent impelling the masses to revolutionary action.

The Communist Party of Argentina is doing much through its publishing activities to spread the truth about the real state of affairs, to show the need for strengthening the bonds of proletarian internationalism. To this end it is publishing a series of books under the general title *Problems of America*. The first three books of the series have already been put out by the Editorial Platina Publishing House of Buenos Aires. The first, *Brazil in the Twentieth Century*, is by Rui Faco, an outstanding revolutionary whose recent death was a heavy loss to the people of his country. Raul Ruiz Gonzales is the author of the second book, *Bolivia, the Prometheus of the Andes*. The book acquaints the reader with the history of these nations up to the present thus enabling him to see the problems of these countries in their logical context.

The third book, *Colombia: The Fraud and the Reality** is by Diego Montana Cuellar. Following the basic idea of the series, the author analyzes the tragedy that has overtaken the people of this country in recent years and, on the basis of a thorough study of the process of formation of the social classes, formulates the revolutionary tasks placed on the agenda by the developments in the country.

For years past people inside and outside the country have been asking "What is happening in Colombia, and why?" This book furnishes the answer to the question. What is more, it

indicates to our people the road to a better future.

In their efforts to show that there is no deep-going structural crisis in the country as the Marxist-Leninists contend, the Colombian oligarchy, who dare not let the truth be known, resort to the most incredible falsehoods. Their "brain trust" has made the "discovery" that the "moral consciousness of the nation has greatly declined," that the dramatic and continuous upheavals in Colombian society are purely episodic and of no consequence, that in any case they are caused by the "penetration" into our midst of "alien ideas" inciting disorder and revolt. As might have been expected, the regime's answer to the popular discontent is dictatorial methods of suppression which have the backing of North American imperialism, the senior partner of the bourgeois-feudal machine exploiting the resources of the country and the labor of its people.

No amount of casuistry, however, can explain the crisis, which has become chronic. The root of the trouble is to be sought not in superficial phenomena or in the superstructure, but in the social structure itself.

Social institutions invariably retain a semblance of stability as long as the people governed by them are able to satisfy their needs more or less normally. But when people are deprived of the possibility of living like human beings these institutions inevitably lose their stability and become the targets of angry criticism. And the explanation for the crisis that has held Colombia in its grip for the past twenty years is to be found not in any transient factors but in the impossibility of reconciling the growth of the nation with the obsolete social structure.

The book shows the constant clash between the grim reality and the metaphysical interpretation of this reality by the ruling classes.

*Diego Montana Cuellar. *Colombia, pais formal y pais real*. Buenos Aires, Editorial Platina, 1963, pp. 286.

Throughout Colombia's history the facts have always been drowned in a welter of phraseology. Official patriotism, that is, patriotism in words but not in deeds, has always been used to camouflage the policy which made slaves of the people while giving unlimited scope to the greed of the foreign monopolies. Glorification of the Homeland served to stifle the protest of our people and to conceal the subservience of the rulers to international plutocracy.

The detailed statistical and factual material provided by the book and its constructive conclusions are, therefore, of special interest. If an end is to be put to the traditional bombast of political literature in Colombia the unvarnished and bitter truth must be told. And this is what the author has done.

While Colombia is predominantly an agrarian country, less than one-third of its area is cultivated.

An agrarian country it is, but it is no Arcadia. It is a country of bitter conflicts and terrible misfortunes, a country in which less than one-third of the land is cultivable and two-thirds is either rain forests or land which the national resources and the present system are powerless to reclaim; only 2.5 per cent of the land is under crops; big ranches used for extensive stock raising account for 26.4 per cent of the land, yet the bulk of the population cannot afford milk or meat; more than 40 per cent of the land is held by one per cent of the population, while 70 per cent of the population owns a mere seven per cent of the land; some 500,000 small holdings less than five hectares in size are found on the mountain slopes.

Capitalism in Colombia has acquired a pronounced monopoly character in recent years: 0.1 per cent of the stock-holders own 53.48 per cent of capital.

North American imperialism controls the growing of coffee, which accounts for more than 78 per cent of Colombia's export trade; more than 80 per cent of oil extraction is likewise in North American hands. Oil is exported but no corresponding amount of foreign currency accrues to the country. Imperialism has its grip on all spheres of the national economy through what is known as enterprises with mixed capital, national and foreign, with the U.S. monopolies dominating. Because it has made our institutions dependent on agencies such as the International Monetary Fund, imperialism also has the decisive say in our foreign trade and finance.

Monopoly in land and in industry, which

is crippling expansion, has gravely affected employment. At present 45 per cent of the able-bodied population are jobless. The plight of the working people can best be gauged by the way the national income is distributed: about 40 per cent of it goes to 5.6 per cent of the population, while the remainder, 60 per cent, is shared by 94.4 per cent.

Needless to say, this state of affairs can be maintained only by violence. The past 17 years in Colombia have seen more bloodshed than all the civil wars of the previous century.

Diego Montana Cuellar recapitulates the facts of violence employed by the Colombian reactionaries since 1947, and he shows how under the influence of North America's cold war policy the country's social and political life is becoming more and more fascist. Units of the Colombian army trained in shooting and killing the peasants in their own country, were sent to Korea to fight on behalf of U.S. imperialism. Patriots are justly proud of the fact that this violence was countered by a widespread guerrilla movement which, although unable to achieve victory, was never crushed. Its impact is apparent everywhere: it has enriched our people with invaluable experience of armed struggle; it has infused the peasants with renewed strength and taught them new forms of struggle; it has given rise to revolutionary centers in the rural areas and promoted the organization of people's self-defense which protects the peasant and is the main guarantee of his political development; it has awakened the collective consciousness of the people who will no longer accept half-measures; it has aroused a feeling of national solidarity which more and more is finding expression in fraternal joint actions by workers and peasants. All this is becoming increasingly evident especially in connection with the measures taken by the reactionary "national front" government, at the instigation of the U.S. military mission, to launch a crusade against Marquetalia, one of the areas where the guerrilla movement has made its greatest impact.

The course of developments leading to the present state of affairs is analyzed by Cuellar although, it is true, some of his points are debatable. The analysis shows that imperialism, the big bourgeoisie and the latifundists constitute the core of the oligarchy which has but one aim—to perpetuate the dictatorial regime. The facts prove that the ruling classes are resorting more and more to dictatorial methods. In view of this the democratic forces tend to the conclusion that a revolution which would free the country from imperialism and

give the peasants land would be an act of genuine patriotism. In addition to describing the aims of our people in the present struggle Cuellar's *Colombia: the Fraud and the Reality*

contributes to the development of the struggle being waged by the peoples of our continent and furthers their militant fraternity.

Jose Cardona HOYOS

Among Our Contributors

DOLORES IBARRURI: Chairman, Communist Party of Spain.

RODNEY ARISMENDI: First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Uruguay.

CARLOS LOPEZ: A leading Venezuelan Communist.

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