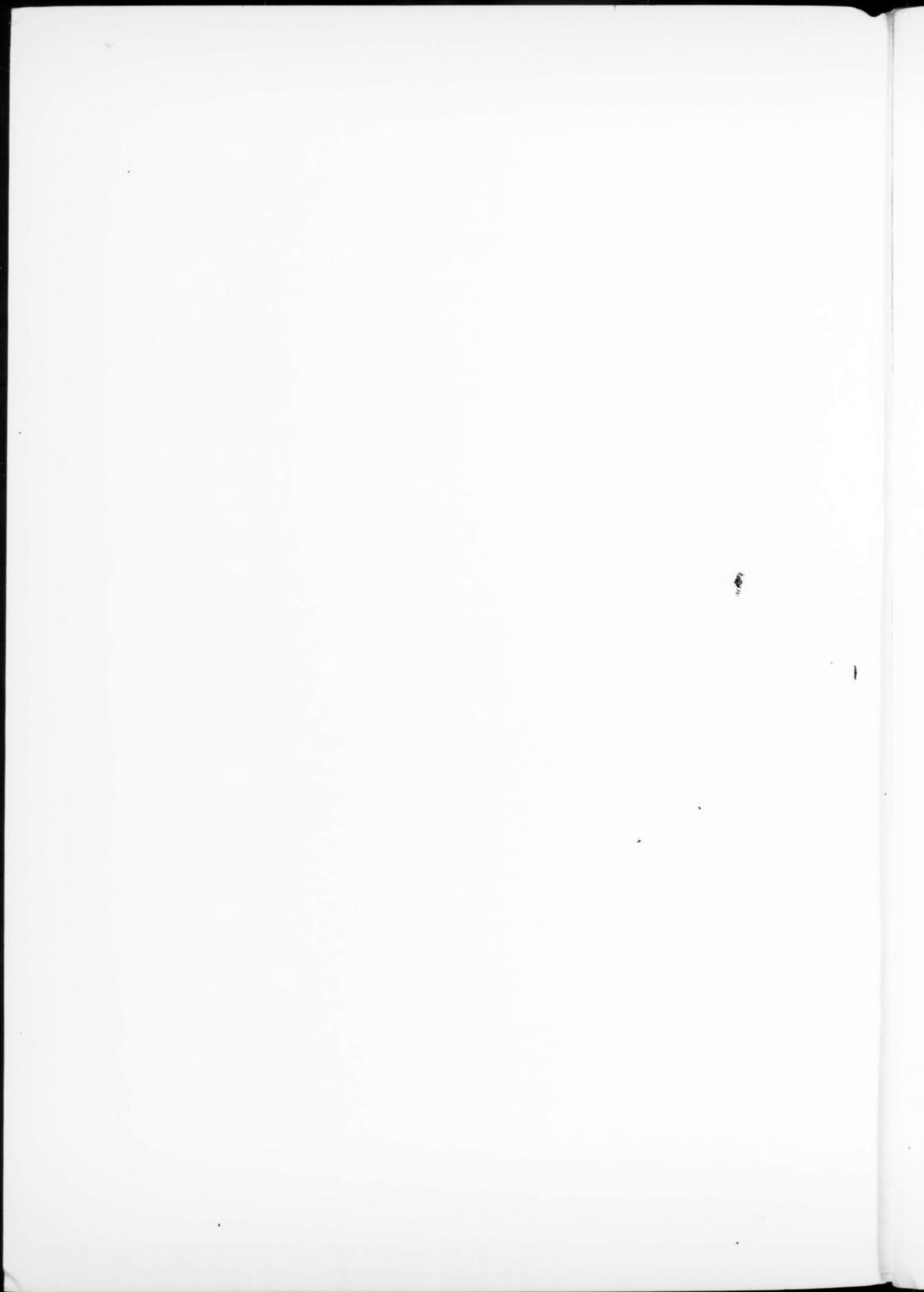


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

DEVALUATION OF THE POUND
V. ISUPOV

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM



WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

**World Marxist
Review
problems of peace
and socialism**

Theoretical and
Information Journal
of Communist and
Workers' Parties

JANUARY, 1968
VOLUME 11
NUMBER 1

Authorized as Second
Class Mail, Post Office
Department, Ottawa and
for payment of postage
in cash. Printed in
Canada.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW
is the North American
edition of the monthly
journal Problems of Peace
and Socialism published
in Prague. The North
American edition is
published by Progress
Books, 487 Adelaide St.
West, Toronto 2B, Ontario,
Canada.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
\$3.50 a year. Single
copies 35 cents. Bundle
of five or more, 25 cents
per copy. Outside
Canada, add 15 cents
exchange.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE
AND SOCIALISM is also
published in French,
Russian, Bulgarian,
Czech, Dutch, German,
Greek, Hungarian,
Italian, Japanese,
Mongolian, Polish,
Rumanian, Spanish,
Swedish and Vietnamese.
Subscriptions to these
may be obtained through
Progress Books,
487 Adelaide St. West,
Toronto, at \$3.50 a year.

Published by

PROGRESS BOOKS

487 Adelaide St. W.,
Toronto 2B, Ontario,
Canada.

WMR

CONTENTS

H. BERG
J. BOYD
M. HARMEL

3 IN THE FIGHT TO CONSOLIDATE UNITY

JAN PRAZSKY
V. ISUPOV
AL BUSTANI

9 The world today

ESCALATION POLICY IN A BLIND ALLEY
THE POUND DEVALUED
COLONIALISTS DRIVEN OUT
(Inauguration of People's Republic of Yemen)

G. MITTAG

A. BERG
S. SULEMEZOV

18 Theory and practice of building socialism

BUILDING AN INTEGRATED SOCIALIST
ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN THE GDR
SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM
BULGARIA'S NEW AGRICULTURAL
MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

H. ALLEG

35 In the capitalist world

WHITHER MODERN CAPITALISM?
BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY ABETS NEO-COLONIALISM

G. McLENNAN
J. RODRIGEZ
R. GAUDON
N. RODIONOV
A. SALEM

56 In the Communist and Workers' Parties

COMMUNIST CONGRESS IN BRITAIN
15th CONGRESS OF MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY
CADRES POLICY OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY
ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARTY WORK
THE JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN ACTION

R. DALTON

82 Viewpoints of current problems

CATHOLICS AND COMMUNISTS IN LATIN AMERICA:
SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

M. SANTOS
A. YANDA

91 Africa today

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE IN MOZAMBIQUE
CHANGES IN BURUNDI

H. BARRERA

**95 Against the persecution of communists
and democrats**

WHITE TERROR IN GUATEMALA

98 Books and journals

WMR***among our contributors***

- GUENTER MITTAG Member of Political Bureau, Secretary of Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany
- MOHAMMED HARMEL Member of Political Bureau, Secretary of Central Committee, Communist Party of Tunisia
- HELENE BERG Member of Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany
- JOHN BOYD Member of Central Committee, Communist Party of Canada
- STOYAN SULEMEZOV Member of Central Committee, Communist Party of Bulgaria
- HENRI ALLEG Publicist, Algeria
- AXEL BERG Academician, USSR
- GORDON McLENNAN Member of Political Committee, Executive Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain, Party National Organizer
- NIKOLAI RODIONOV Member of Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, First Secretary of Chelyabinsk CPSU Regional Committee
- ROQUE DALTON Journalist, El Salvador
- JUAN RODRIGEZ Publicist, Venezuela
- ROGER GAUDON Department head, Central Committee, Communist Party of France

In the fight to consolidate unity

HELENE BERG, JOHN BOYD, MOHAMMED HARMEL

The problem uppermost in the mind of every Communist, of every one who cherishes peace and human justice is how to consolidate unity, how to increase the effectiveness of joint actions by all progressives against imperialism, reaction and war. Little wonder, therefore, that the initiative of the Communist parties of Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Great Britain, the German Democratic Republic, Federal Germany, Hungary, India, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, the Soviet Union, Syria and the USA, to convene a consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties evoked widespread comment.

The immediate and positive reaction to the initiative of the 18 fraternal parties, the comments of the progressive world press regarding the objectives and nature of the forthcoming meeting—which will be held in Budapest in February 1968—show that both the Communists and their friends see it as an event of great international significance.

To date, a large number of parties have announced their support for the initiative of the 18 parties, thereby giving expression to the sentiment of the greater part of the international Communist movement.

The idea of holding the meeting is fully in keeping with the norms of the relations that have been established between the fraternal parties. It will be recalled that the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings accentuated the importance of such forms of contact and consultations for cementing the unity and solidarity of Communists in all countries. International meetings of the Parties, we read in the 1960 Statement, "are an effective form of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives." The participants in the Consultative Meeting in Moscow (March 1965), once again underscored in their Communiqué that "such meetings, held with observance of the principles of complete equality and independence of each Party, can greatly help to overcome differences and cement the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism."

The Karlovy Vary conference (1967) of the European Communist and Workers' parties, which examined questions of European security, showed how useful and effective collective discussion of important issues can be. This conference and also the bilateral and regional consultations held in recent years were important stages in preparing the conditions for holding the international conference.

The initiative of the 18 parties has given concrete, practical direction to these preparations.

It is this aspect of the proposal to convene a consultative meeting that the press of many fraternal parties underscores.

"The 18 fraternal parties took the initiative when most of the fraternal parties had already in one way or another officially expressed themselves in favor of a world meeting," writes *Rude Pravo*, organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. "Thus, the first step has been made toward creating favorable conditions for the meeting."

"The proposal to hold a consultative meeting," we read in an editorial in *Pravda*, organ of the CPSU, "puts the preparations for such a meeting on a practical footing and advances an organizational form that right from the beginning ensures the possibility of conducting all the preliminary work on a broad democratic basis."

The initiative of the 18 parties rests on the principles underlying the mutual relations between the fraternal parties: democracy, the complete equality and independence of all contingents of the international Communist movement and, at the same time, the international responsibility of each Party, its vital concern with the future of the world revolutionary movement. All the parties are invited to take part in the consultative meeting, irrespective of differences on one or another question. Even personalities and newspapers far removed from Communism are obliged to acknowledge the collective and frank manner in which preparations for the Budapest meeting are proceeding.

The Communist and progressive press notes that the very method of these preparations rules out the possibility of any one Party, or groups of parties, determining beforehand the character or form of the future joint actions of the international working-class and Communist movement. What is more, nobody seeks to predetermine the agenda of the forthcoming meeting. On the contrary. It is a question of consultations in the course of which all the parties will be able to express their point of view on current problems and help to find joint solutions. Concerning the question of participation in the scheduled meeting, *Partélet*, journal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, writes that "every Party must decide this question for itself. But, conversely the parties that do not want to take part in the meeting should not impose their opinion on those who do."

Most of the parties hold that the course of development itself, the objective situation prevailing in the world today, dictate the need for new, decisive steps towards achieving closer unity.

Many of the press comments underscore that important changes have taken place in the world since the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Parties, changes which call for a Marxist-Leninist analysis. The Parties have accumulated rich and valuable fighting experience in different conditions and in different forms. An exchange of this experience, a collective study and discussion of the varied and complex common problems projected by the present stage of the worldwide fight for peace, democracy and socialism will create the best conditions for concerted and effective actions by the Communists against the man enemy—imperialism. "By actively participating in discussion of the problems of the world Communist movement," writes *Neues Deutschland*, organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, "each Marxist-Leninist party thereby helps to arrive at the necessary conclusions and to coordinate joint actions. . . . The socialist countries, the working class movement in the capitalist countries, the revolutionary-democratic forces of the young anti-imperialist national states and all other forces standing for peace and democracy can form a powerful rampart blocking the way to imperialist reaction. . . . Joint actions by the international

Communist movement will inspire the vast majority of people to unite in the battle for social progress and the preservation of peace."

The imperative need to redouble efforts to cement unity is dictated by the complexity of the present international situation. The success achieved by the forces of peace and socialism in recent years—in advancing the national economy and perfecting social relationships in the countries of the socialist system, in the fight against the monopolies and in defense of democracy and the basic rights of the working people in the capitalist countries, in consolidating the political independence and the movement for social progress in the young developing countries—is a generally recognized fact. Still, as many Parties have noted, certain negative factors have appeared on the political scene. Imperialism is looking for a way out of its growing internal contradictions by stepping up aggression. It is trying on a number of key sectors of the anti-imperialist world front to arrest, by every possible means, the movement of the peoples towards progress and, in some places, to counter-attack in an attempt to regain lost positions. It does not hesitate to resort to direct armed force, to unleash local wars and conflicts, to make vocal its policy of nuclear blackmail. In the past two or three years imperialism has sharply escalated its war in Southeast Asia in an effort to crush the heroic resistance of the people of Vietnam; it has engineered (through the aggressive Nato bloc) and helped to carry out the fascist coup in Greece; encouraged the aggressive forces in Israel to organize military intervention against the Arab states with the object of destroying the progressive regimes in the UAR and in Syria; the reactionaries struck a heavy blow at the Communist Party of Indonesia; they carried out reactionary coups in Ghana and in other African countries. The U.S. military — imperialism's shock force — is brazenly interfering in the internal affairs of many Latin American countries seeking to extinguish the flame of revolutionary struggle on the continent. U.S. intrigues against socialist Cuba continue. In the heart of Europe the voice of West German neo-fascism becomes shriller. Repeating the demands of the ruling circles, only more blatantly, it insolently incites to revenge and, with this end in view, calls for nuclear weapons in the FRG.

Many of the fraternal Parties stress that the international Communist movement must draw certain conclusions from the present situation, specifically, that further consolidation and coordination of anti-imperialist actions will be the most effective answer to the imperialist provocations. The initiative to convene a consultative meeting, states Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, "will be welcomed by all who place the struggle against imperialism and the overall interests of the working class above all other interests. It will be welcomed by all who understand that the roadblock to progress of civilization is the policies and forces of imperialism." "It is the duty of our parties," writes Etienne Fajon in *l'Humanite* "to strengthen their ties, particularly now when U.S. imperialism is continuing its ruthless war against the people of Vietnam, is increasing its aggressive acts and plots in all parts of the world and creating the most serious threat to world peace."

Now that imperialism is seeking, not without success—despite the profound contradictions inherent in it and which have particularly sharply surfaced of late—to put its global strategy into effect, there is all the more need for joint, purposeful action by the progressive, revolutionary forces of the world, united by important positive goals that synchronize with the objective trend of development.

The press of many of the fraternal parties notes that today when imperialism is trying to exploit the differences in our ranks to further its aggressive plans, the very convening of a meeting will strike a blow at the schemes and hopes of the reactionaries first to disunite and isolate the progressive forces from each other, and then to destroy them. "The fight for peace and socialism is being waged on a world scale," states the *Humanite* article earlier mentioned. "Con-

certed effort by the fraternal parties in this fight is the best way to strengthen the solidarity of the working-class movement and the national liberation movement all over the world. Were the Communist parties to act separately, this would but further the plans of the imperialists."

Joint discussion of the issues is also essential if reaction's ideological offensive is to be repelled. The theorists of monopoly capital have been trying particularly hard of late to prove that Communist ideals have become "antiquated" and "obsolescent," that they are the product of the past century, that the expansion of the productive forces and the technological revolution lead automatically to satisfaction of the basic requirements of the individual and of society.

The propaganda machine of the monopolies is vigorously publicizing the so-called theory of "convergence," according to which the antagonistic contradictions between capitalism and socialism are obliterated by the imperatives of the technological revolution, that the problems of the social and spiritual emancipation of the individual, of abolishing the contemporary forms of human alienation are no longer valid; these, we are told, have given way to the "real values of consumer civilization."

In its ideological offensive imperialism is also actively cultivating bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. Playing on national sentiment imperialism seeks, through insidious maneuvers, to turn to account the differences on certain issues existing between some of the national contingents of the progressive, revolutionary camp. "Communists realize," write *Rabotnichesko delo*, organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party, "that unity is doubly imperative at a time when imperialism is attempting to use nationalism and great-power chauvinism, to set off one country against another, to take advantage of the differences existing among the revolutionary forces."

In their press comments many of the Parties stress that an important task facing the Communist movement, is actively to counter imperialism's ideological campaign. "The Sudanese Party considers it highly important to hold a new meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties," states a special resolution of the recent congress of the Party. "Such a meeting is needed to carefully examine the new problems that have arisen since 1960, to summarize the international experience accumulated in this period and thereby help to cement the ranks of the international Communist movement. . . ."

The call to re-affirm with new force the immutable values of proletarian internationalism is emphasized by leading figures of the international Communist movement and the progressive press. In a recent speech, Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, said that the forthcoming meeting is designed to confirm the international character of the working-class and Communist movement. He urged "unity of the parties and equality among the parties." The keynote of the forthcoming meeting, *Siglo*, organ of the Chilean Communists, stresses, should be unity of the Communist movement in the name of the struggle against imperialism and the war danger, in the name of defense of the interests of the working people. This position, the paper continues, fully accords with the principles of proletarian internationalism, the interests of all Communists, and it is shared by most of the Communist parties.

The vast majority of the fraternal parties are unanimous on the need to take united and decisive action against U.S. imperialism's aggression in Vietnam. L. Aarons, National Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia, states that the burning issue is the fight against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, that those who support the idea of a meeting are agreed that this is the main concern.

The fraternal parties likewise note that with the principles of equality and independence firmly established the conditions now exist for discussing the problems on a democratic basis and in a spirit conducive to unity and cohesion.

Commenting on the announcement to hold the consultative meeting, Luigi

Longo, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, stressed: "It is clear from the announcement that these problems will be discussed in a collective, frank spirit. Every Party will be able to voice its particular point of view." However, Longo goes on, "independence does not and should not be taken to mean that the common interests of the working-class movement as a whole can be neglected. The demand for independence must under no circumstances overshadow the main demand for effective international solidarity, otherwise the Communist movement would slip to the level of Social Democracy. We are therefore opposed to any tendency—no matter the reasons—to soft-pedal the need for international unity of the working-class movement and to concentrate solely and egoistically on the national interests of one's own Party."

The experience of recent bilateral and regional meetings and conferences shows that, despite certain differences of opinion due to the different conditions in which the different parties work, there are many vital problems of common interest to all on which united action can and should be achieved.

In the ideological campaign which imperialism and its henchmen have launched in an attempt to discredit the preparations for the Budapest meeting, they allege that only a few parties want the meeting, because they hope to gain "special advantages" from it, and that the purpose is publicly to condemn, to "excommunicate," one or several Parties.

These attempts to distort or minimize the initiative of the 18 parties conceal the fear of a new international meeting and its successful outcome. The fact that the monopoly press tries to sow doubts regarding the real objectives of the coming meeting is added proof of its international significance.

The press of the Communist and Workers' parties notes, for its part, that the entire international Communist movement is objectively interested in unity, that the revolutionary forces of every country stand to gain from coordinated actions. At the same time, the struggle of the national forces for progress in their own countries will meet with greater international response and, consequently, become all the more effective, the closer this struggle is linked with the worldwide anti-imperialist revolutionary movement.

The claim that attempts might be made at the meeting to "square accounts" with some parties is likewise unfounded. *Pravda* makes this doubly clear in its editorial which states that the CPSU is of the opinion that the preparations for the meeting and the meeting itself should "focus on the positive tasks of the Communist movement, on its consolidation, on strengthening the unity of all the socialist and democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism. The purpose of the meeting must not be interference in the affairs of the fraternal parties, let alone 'excommunication' of anyone from the Communist movement. Its key, militant watchword is consolidation of the Communist movement in the name of the struggle against imperialism and the war danger, and in defense of the interests of the working people."

Nobody, of course, is blind to the problems encountered in convening a meeting of the fraternal parties. There are still many difficulties, due either to the general complexity of the situation or to the differences in the conditions in which the different contingents of the Communist and working-class movement work. They are also due sometimes to insufficient knowledge about the real political stand of one Party to another. That is why a multilateral exchange of views and information is all the more necessary. The difficulties arising in the international Communist movement will not disappear of themselves. They can be overcome only by joint, purposeful efforts. And in the opinion of many of the Parties the scheduled meeting in Budapest will be an important step in this direction.

This idea runs through the numerous press comments of the Communist and Workers' parties. The proposal to convene the consultative meeting is seen as an important stage in the efforts to consolidate Communist ranks, which, in turn,

will be a step towards uniting all revolutionary, democratic and patriotic forces. This will undoubtedly multiply the forces of progress all over the world, immeasurably reinforce the opposition to imperialism's aggressive policy and bring about its eventual ignominious failure.

Escalation policy in a blind alley

It is nearly three years since Washington, launching out on its dangerous policy of escalation, engaged large ground and naval forces in Vietnam and began the methodical bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Today the escalation has reached immense proportions, developing into the biggest aggressive colonial war in history. Hundreds of U.S. planes are bombing villages and towns, including Hanoi, the port of Haiphong, industrial areas, communications and irrigation schemes. More bombs have been dropped on North Vietnam since 1965 than on Germany and Japan in the Second World War. U.S. ground forces have taken over nearly all operations in South Vietnam. An Army of more than 500,000 U.S. troops, 60,000 satellite mercenaries and more than 600,000 U.S.-trained Saigon puppet troops are massed in an area of 170,000 sq. km. with a population of 14,000,000.

The all-out war was conceived by Washington to crush the resistance of the South Vietnamese freedom fighters, to perpetuate the division of the country in defiance of the Geneva agreements on Indochina, to gain a firmer foothold in South Vietnam and to turn it into a U.S. war base, a staging area for aggressive action against the national-liberation movement in Asia.

Washington expected its army to destroy the armed forces of the National Liberation Front, to "pacify" the population and to assume control of the country. Yet, despite the numerically superior and heavily armed adversary, the patriotic forces have retained their capability and have repelled enemy drives into the liberated areas, inflicted telling losses on the enemy, and are in firm command of their resistance centers. The National-Liberation Front continues to control four-fifths of South Vietnam with two-thirds of the population.

By sending a vast army to Vietnam the interventionists expected to gain a victory at a low cost of lives. In effect, however, the escalation has also steeply escalated U.S. casualties. In the 1965-66 dry season, for example, the Liberation Army and partisans put out of action 114,000 men and officers. The following dry season (1966-67) enemy casualties rose to 175,000. Even the official, obviously minimized, Pentagon figures set total U.S. casualties up to December 1967 at 14,846 dead and 93,227 wounded.

U.S. policy-makers had banked on the escalation buttressing the Saigon regime, bolstering its prestige, giving it control over the people in the South and on enhancing the combat capacity of the puppet army. Nothing of the kind. Far from doing these things, the escalation has only served to confirm its reactionary nature. The clearest proof of this was the stage-managed presidential election held under tight police and army control, and that only in the occupied areas. Presidential candidates advocating a peaceful solution were removed in one way or another and even the hand-picked members of the Constituent Assembly approved the results of the election by the slim majority of 58 to 43. The rigged election was quickly followed by a broad opposition campaign of students and Buddhists. And for all practical purposes the new government is now all but paralyzed by internal squabbles.

The morale of the puppet army is a clear indication of the anti-national nature

of the Saigon regime. Its forcibly recruited soldiers are reluctant to fight against their compatriots. The army is demoralized and ineffective, with desertions totalling nearly 300,000 in the past two years.

The escalation of the air war against North Vietnam was designed to block material and other aid from the socialist North to the South, to intimidate the people of the DRV, break their will and compel their government to negotiate on U.S. terms.

But despite the hardships created by the bombing and naval bombardment, aid to North Vietnam has been increasing steadily. The bombing, while it has taken its toll of lives, has but stiffened the hatred of the Vietnamese for the aggressor, strengthened the people in their resolve to defeat the enemy, and rallied them still closer round the Working People's Party and their government.

The cost of the escalation is mounting. Planes shot down and bombs dropped have so far cost the United States more than \$5,000 million. By December 1, 1967, U.S. planes knocked out of the sky over North Vietnam totalled 2,067, with the official, obviously minimized Pentagon figure placing U.S. air losses in the Vietnam war as a whole at 2,929 planes and helicopters.

The United States expected the all-out war to buttress its "prestige" and give it added weight in the eyes of its allies. But that did not come about either. The escalation has hurt U.S. prestige all over the world; the United States is isolated more than ever from its traditional allies.

The nearly three years of the war have dashed all expectations pinned on the escalation policy. Its obvious failure is now admitted by capitalist propaganda.

"If we are engaged in a war that is unwinnable and in fact interminable," Walter Lippmann wrote recently, "then we have made a colossal strategic mistake. We have blundered ever more deeply into the quagmire by persisting in our mistake. In order to extricate ourselves, we shall have to correct the mistake. This cannot be done by giving the Air Force a free hand or by sending to General Westmoreland another few hundred thousand men. If we cannot win or accomplish our purpose by fighting a land war in Asia, the mistake can be corrected only by making it our declared policy to pull our forces back to territory which is separated from the mainland by blue water."

That is a conclusion which is sinking in among ever growing sections of the American people. An anti-war demonstration of 150,000 was held in Washington in October. In November, more than 500 delegates from 48 states representing 60 U.S. trade unions gathered at the National Trade Union Convention for Peace, declared their opposition to the Vietnam war and in a statement urged a peaceful settlement negotiated with the participation of the NLF of South Vietnam. A national campaign got off to an impressive start with demonstrations in 31 U.S. cities at the beginning of December, protesting against the war and the draft. In New York alone, 88 young men publicly refused to serve in the army.

The failure of escalation is having a depressing effect in Washington as well. Policy-makers are casting about for a way out of the blind alley, and Defense Secretary McNamara's resignation is an indication of it.

But what is Washington planning to do in the circumstances?

Latest events show that the "hawks," advocating continued escalation, have again won the upper hand. They are responding to the failure of escalation with more escalation. At a recent press conference President Johnson stressed that the Pentagon would get everything it had asked for. Shipment of another 40,000 U.S. troops has already begun.

General Westmoreland, U.S. commander in Vietnam, recently broke down the Vietnam war into four phases. The third phase, he said, would end in 1968 after the fighting capacity of the South Vietnam puppet army is restored and it mounts operations in the Mekong Delta. He could not produce a deadline for the fourth

phase, however; all he could say was that it would end when "the enemy's resistance is crushed."

U.S. generals are advocating new crimes: a U.S. invasion of North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Official Washington spokesmen have confirmed the existence of operational plans against the sovereign states neighboring on Vietnam.

Consequently, escalation will continue. The Vietnam war will approach a new danger point fraught with grave consequences for the future of the Vietnamese people, the peoples of Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

Yet it has never been more obvious that neither the "total" air war against North Vietnam nor the further build-up of armed forces in South Vietnam will help the U.S. rulers to avert failure. Washington's policy has no future, for a people fighting for its freedom cannot be defeated. The heroic Vietnamese have behind them the solidarity and support of all the progressive forces of our time and the constantly increasing aid of the fraternal socialist countries. This aid will continue until the U.S. imperialists get out of Vietnam.

The people of Vietnam are fighting for a just cause and, indisputably, they will win.

Jan PRAZSKY

The pound devalued

November and December 1967 were troublesome months for the monetary system of present-day capitalism. Not since 1949, when almost all the capitalist countries devalued their currencies, has a monetary crisis been as acute, revealing all the contradictions and failings of capitalism as a social system.

The dollar and the pound, the two major trading currencies of the capitalist world, were sucked into the vortex of the monetary drama. Britain announced devaluation. The pound dropped from \$2.80 to \$2.40, a fall of 14.3 per cent, while the gold value of the dollar remained at the precarious \$35 per ounce fixed in 1934. Yet the international standing of both pound and dollar has plummeted. Wide cracks have appeared in the pillars of the international monetary system so painstakingly erected after the war.

CAUSES OF THE DEVALUATION

The immediate cause of the November crisis was the continued deterioration in Britain's trade balance and balance of payments. The trade deficit for the first ten months of last year stood at £297 million, of which October alone accounted for £107 million, with a corresponding shrinkage in centralized gold and foreign exchange reserves.

The blame is being put on various fortuitous factors—the closure of the Suez Canal, the dockers' strikes and the "intrigues" of de Gaulle, all of which are said to have hurt British foreign trade and shipping and, consequently, the pound. But the roots go much deeper, for throughout the postwar one sterling crisis has followed another every three or four years.

Britain's chronic monetary difficulties reflect the deepening of the general crisis of British imperialism, with the collapse of colonialism acting as the greatest

single debilitating factor. The scales in the world capitalist market have tilted. In the midst of the technological revolution, the sharp competitive struggle for markets creates the compulsion for swift structural change and higher technical and organizational standards. Britain's economy, however, is widely dispersed and has a relatively low degree of mechanization and efficiency; consequently, costs and prices are out of line with those of its rivals. Hence her chronic export difficulties and setbacks caused by her competitors—Federal Germany, France, Japan, the United States and Italy. Hence, too, the continually growing deficit in the trade balance, Britain's share in world trade dropping from 15.4 per cent in 1961 to 12.9 in 1966.

Britain's rulers have been reluctant to draw the due conclusions from the changed world situation. Neither the Tory government until 1964, nor Wilson's Labor government which succeeded it and, in effect, continued its economic policy, made any constructive effort to resolve the basic problems. Their measures were inconsistent and evaded the rockbottom causes of the country's economic troubles.

Though lacking the extra resources to modernize industry and rehabilitate the economy, successive governments allocated vast sums (over £13,000 million in 1961-66) for military spending, with much of the money going to the maintenance of overseas troops and bases—a heavy burden on both budget and the balance of payments. Meanwhile, the itch for superprofits spurred the monopolies to export capital, creating additional pressures on the balance of payments and a drain of funds that could have been used productively at home.

Over the years, the British government has been trying to secure a simultaneous steady growth of production and consumption, full employment and monetary stability. To bolster the pound, it increased taxes and restricted credits and consumption, with adverse effects on industrial rates and employment. However, its efforts to stimulate employment, production and consumption while evading the deeper causes of instability, led to greater deficits in trade and the balance of payments.

The vicious circle grew tighter. None of the aforesaid problems was solved. In production, 1967 was a year of stagnation, with critical cutbacks in some fields. The October unemployment figure hit a postwar high of 600,000. Efforts to avert the slump of sterling were in vain. State-monopoly capitalism proved unable to provide satisfactory solutions for any of the major economic and social problems.

British capitalists hope the devaluation will stimulate exports, restrain imports and thereby equilibrate the trade and payments balances. Exporters can now reduce prices up to 10 per cent, improving their chances on the foreign market. But only the future will show how well they exploit their short-term advantage. The competition in capitalist markets is growing hotter, and so are the contradictions between capitalist states.

WHAT PRICE "AID"

The British monetary crisis was so profound that the country could not cope with it on its own. International finance capital had to step in and furnish loans totalling \$3,000 million, exacting a heavy price for its "aid." To begin with, London had to submit for the approval of its creditors—notably French and West German—its program of bolstering the pound: raising the bank rate to eight per cent, the highest mark in half a century; further restraints on credits; repeal of financial aid to industrialists expanding production, and reduction of state investments in the nationalized industries.

Her creditors have gained the right to vet the state of Britain's economy, and to recommend economic, financial and monetary policies. In the past, terms such as these were reserved for weak and backward countries only.

THE CHAIN REACTION OF DEVALUATION

Other countries devalued their currencies in the wake of the British devaluation. True, this time the chain reaction was not as sweeping as in 1949. Understandably so, for in 1949 devaluation was treated as a compulsive necessity for postwar rehabilitation and economic development, and for levelling out the balance of payments. Now the pattern was entirely different. Postwar rehabilitation was long over. The time was one of relative economic stability. Yet more than twenty countries devalued their currencies, including Spain, Denmark, Ireland, New Zealand, Iceland and Ceylon, whose economies are largely dependent on exports to Britain. They hope devaluation will keep their British trade intact or even help them fill the vacuum created by countries that did not change the parity of their money.

The U.S. dollar was gravely imperilled by the devaluation, for the fate of the pound and dollar, the two major currencies in the present-day international capitalist monetary system, is closely intertwined. In effect, the pound is a kind of first line of defense, with any breach laying bare the frailty of the dollar.

THE DOLLAR IN JEOPARDY

Devaluation of the pound and speculation that the dollar would suffer the same fate caused a commotion on the gold market, with everybody seeking to convert dollars into gold. In London alone, some 350 tons of gold bars were sold for nearly \$400 million in the one week following the devaluation. In December, too, gold deals practically swamped the London exchange. It is estimated that on December 14 alone, some 120 tons of gold changed hands. Holders have more than enough reason to mistrust the dollar, long afflicted by the same chronic infirmities as the pound.

The U.S. balance of payments is continually affected by the immense cost of overseas military bases and, above all, the increasing cost of the war in Vietnam. The \$80,000 million earmarked for war spending comprise more than half the budgetary outlay.

The U.S. balance of payments deficit is growing, while gold reserves are dwindling. In 1957, the federal stockpile of gold was still worth \$22,900 million, shrinking to \$12,400 million today, the lowest point in the past thirty years.

The inability and reluctance to recognize the changed balance of forces in the present-day world, coupled with futile attempts at playing the world gendarme, are costing the capitalist world's richest country dearly, and it is increasingly evident that the costs of its aggressive policy transcend the nation's economic capability.

WILL THE DOLLAR STAY AFLOAT?

So far, the dollar has warded off all attacks. Aided by international banking, which pooled resources in 1961 with the express purpose of protecting the dollar, the U.S. government is still coping with the gold rush, though with considerable strain. The dollar's value in gold is unchanged. The value of the pound, too, seems to have struck a balance, at least for the present. But the monetary crisis is not over by a long shot, for the cardinal currency problems remain unsolved.

It has never been clearer that the international monetary system based on "reserve currencies," the dollar and the pound, in place of gold, functions more or less adequately at times of relative calm in world trade and international payments. But the moment these mechanisms hit a snag, the congenital weaknesses of the system burst to the surface. In times of trouble the universal run for gold reveals that the so-called reserve currencies are anything but independent, and incapable on their own merits of replacing gold as world money.

The succession of postwar monetary crises shows that a transient deterioration of the trade or payments balance of the advanced capitalist powers, a political aggravation or an event of even lesser impact is likely to shake the pound or dollar—and with them the capitalist monetary system.

The dollar hangs on as a reserve currency solely because of financial aid by other countries, notably those of the European Economic Community, which control large stockpiles of gold and foreign exchange. They are doing the dollar an invaluable service by not converting their hoard into gold, for the dollar pile in the central banks of capitalist countries totals \$13,000 to \$14,000 million and surpasses the U.S. gold reserve. Presented for conversion to the U.S. Treasury, pledged to exchange gold for dollars, just half this sum would wreck the U.S. monetary system. Dollar holders are not doing this, because they are afraid collapse of the dollar would create economic chaos and weaken the capitalist world.

The monetary system of the capitalist world, as we see, is based on a kind of solidarity among the leading capitalist countries. However, this common interest does not mean that such solidarity is eternal. In the capitalist world each looks after his own interest first. The partners of the United States are not likely to go out of their way regardless of cost to save the dollar in the event of the situation deteriorating drastically. Even now, France is assailing the hegemony of the dollar in international monetary relations, and has, in effect, abandoned the "gold pool."

The capitalist world faces a difficult choice: either to withdraw gold from the international turnover, adding greatly to the instability of the monetary system, or to enhance its role, raising its dollar price, artificially sustained so far at \$35 per ounce, which would entail devaluation of the dollar and the consequent wholesale devaluation of other capitalist currencies, causing an upward swing in inflation.

The clash over this choice reflects the profound contradictions between various alignments of capitalist powers. It remains to be seen whether or not international capitalism can find a way out of the monetary dilemma.

DEVALUATION AND THE WORKING CLASS

Whatever ways and means the imperialist rulers devise to overcome currency crises, the working class and all people in the capitalist world should be on their guard. Experience shows that wage-earners pay dearly for the monetary experiments of their governments, as is the case with the latest devaluation of the pound.

The National Institute of Economic and Social Research estimates that prices of imported goods will go up some 13.5 per cent by mid-1968. Chiefly, this applies to foodstuffs, such as grain, meat, cheese, butter, tea, coffee, tinned goods and eggs, which Britain imports in large quantities. Higher prices for imported raw materials (wool, cotton, non-ferrous metals, oil, etc.) may also raise the price of British-made consumer goods. Coupled with the wage freeze and with rationalization of production the capitalist way (that is, by dismissing "redundant" workers and closing down unprofitable factories), this is affecting the living standard of the British wage-earner. Again it is the people who are paying the price for the imperialist policy of their rulers and who bear the brunt of the social injustices of the capitalist system. It cannot be said that the Labor government was blind to the grave social consequences of devaluation, for on July 24, 1967, James Callaghan, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, warned that "those who advocate devaluation are calling for a reduction in wage levels and the real wage standards of every member of the working class of this country."

Though on the face of it the devaluation has not spread directly to all

countries, wage-earners throughout the capitalist world are feeling the effects of the monetary upheaval. People in the United States follow with dismay the debate in Congress of President Johnson's tax-increase program, designed to finance the Vietnam war, head off inflation and sustain the balance of payments. On the pretext of raising the competitive capacity of their goods, monopolists in Western Europe, too, clamor for an offensive on the living standard and social gains of the people.

The devaluation and general pressures on the capitalist international monetary system are jeopardizing the gains of the workers' struggle for higher real wages. What we are witnessing, in effect, is a redistribution of the national income, with monopoly capital as the sole beneficiary.

The British (or any other) capitalists could have obtained the resources for modernizing the economy and elevating its competitive capacity and solvency by cutting military expenditures and launching other progressive measures, such as advocated, among others, by the Trades Union Congress in September. But the ruling class prefers to dig into the wage-earners' pocket.

The attitude to the devaluation of the most advanced section of workers was best expressed by the 30th Congress of the British Communist Party (see article elsewhere in this issue), whose resolution on the devaluation called on the nation to reject Wilson's policy and work for constructive steps towards rehabilitating the economy.

Victor ISUPOV

Colonialists driven out

(Inauguration of the People's Republic of South Yemen)

Once a remote outback of the Arab world, a "forgotten island" of Asia, South Arabia recently became the arena of bitter struggle between the Arab liberation movement and British imperialism. The intensity of this struggle, particularly in Aden, its economic and political center, was conditioned to no small extent by its role in the rapidly wilting British colonial empire.

Aden was Britain's military outpost in the Middle East and East Africa, whose main mission was to safeguard imperialist interests, above all the oil interests in the Middle East and to exert pressure on the Republic of Yemen and the other independent Arab states. For Britain Aden and South Arabia were doubly important, because, in effect, they were her last remaining colonial bastion in the Arab world.

Britain did not want to relinquish South Arabia. It was determined to crush the liberation movement that imperilled its domination of this highly strategic area. However, the effort to frustrate Arab aspirations was more than matched by Arab anti-imperialist sentiment and resolve. Reprisals and the establishment in 1962 of a puppet South Arabian Federation only added fuel to the flames. Gradually, the liberation fight spread to the entire country. Political demonstrations in Aden, boycott campaigns, tribal uprisings and, last but not least, armed

operations against the British occupation force—all merged into a formidable torrent to make the colonialists' position untenable.

The liberation fight gave birth to a number of patriotic organizations — the National Liberation Front, the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen, the Aden Trades Union Congress, etc., — which assumed leadership of the movement.

The NLF, the most prominent of the progressive nationalist organizations, had, unlike FLOSY, a clear and, by and large, democratic program. It envisaged not only struggle for national independence (a task also envisaged by FLOSY, predominantly composed of Aden's small and middle national bourgeoisie), but also radical socio-economic reforms, particularly land reform, industrial development, abolition of illiteracy, etc. This was probably what attracted the peasant masses, the workers, progressive intellectuals and many of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, who comprised the main social basis of the national-liberation revolution in South Arabia. In the decisive phase of the struggle — August-October 1967 — when the NLF gained control over practically all the main regions of South Arabia, the bulk of the British-trained South-Arabian Federation Army went over to its side.

In face of the mounting pressure of the liberation movement, which had the backing of the progressive Arab states and of the international working-class movement and the world's democratic forces, the British government ultimately had no choice but to enter into negotiations with spokesmen of the National Liberation Front, culminating on November 29, 1967, in an agreement transferring power to the NLF and granting independence to South Arabia. At midnight on November 29-30 South Arabia officially proclaimed the inauguration of a new Arab state—the People's Republic of South Yemen.*

By this time the bulk of British troops and colonial officials had been moved out of Aden. Thus, after a long and severe struggle, after much sacrifice and suffering, the people of South Arabia won. The nearly 128-year-old British colonial rule came to an end and an independent state came into being in its place. The first national government, consisting of NLF leaders, was formed, and in December 1967 the new republic was admitted to the Arab League and recognized by most other countries.

Born in pain, the new state embarked on its destiny in difficult circumstances, faced by the numerous and complicated problems left over from the colonial regime, above all those of economic growth.

Throughout its 128 years in South Arabia, Britain did little or nothing to develop the country with the exception of Aden, whose growth was impelled by imperialist interests. As a result, the economy was made artificially dependent on trade via the port of Aden, the point of transit and supply for ships plying the route between Europe and the Far East. Yet agriculture, the occupation of almost 90 per cent of the population, is in a derelict state, with just one-fifth of the arable properly cultivated. Industry is embryonic. The vitality of the economy, said the new Minister of Economics in early December, depends 80 per cent on the service sphere, 15 per cent on agriculture and just 5 per cent on industry.

The government has framed, and partly launched, a program of economic development, centering primarily on confiscation of feudal and sultan estates, distribution of land to the peasants, organization of farm cooperatives, development of consumer industries, notably factories for processing industrial crops and textile mills, and prospecting for oil and other minerals. Also, the government is drafting measures to emancipate the masses, combat illiteracy and raise

*The People's Republic of South Yemen consists of the former British colony of Aden, 16 sheikdoms of the Eastern and Western Aden protectorates and a few off-shore islands that were part of the now defunct Federation of South Arabia devised by Britain in 1962. The area of the new republic totals over 500,000 sq. kilometres and its population nearly one million.

the standard of living. Socio-economic reconstruction is to be the core of the second, social stage of the revolution, aimed, as the new government points out, at eliminating the effects of colonial rule and building a society based on scientific socialism.

One of the first decrees abolished the sultanates in regions formerly comprising the South Arabian Federation, setting in motion the projected reorganization of the country's political structure. The system of government, said President al-Shaabi, is to be a people's democracy, an alliance of popular forces ruling out the emergence of "formal capitalist democracy."

The young republic is contending with difficult problems in foreign policy too. Among other things, it has to adjust its relations with Britain, which is complicating matters by trying to retain control of the off-shore islands of Perim, Kuria Muria and Kamaran, lawfully part of the new Republic, and by her reluctance to extend financial aid in compensation for damages to South Arabia. While prepared to cooperate with Britain on equal terms, the leaders of the new republic declared their determination to interdict any "British presence within the frontiers of the new state." They stressed the independent course of their foreign policy and declared for friendly relations with all countries, non-interference in internal affairs and non-alignment.

Solution of the many complex tasks facing the people after independence will depend largely on the unity of the patriotic forces. In early December 1967, Shaabi declared at a public meeting in the new capital, Al-Shaab: "What we need most of all now is to put an end to the division imposed on us by imperialism and reactionary sultan rule, and create a united centralized government capable of administering the country."

Consolidation and united action by all patriotic forces is all the more important because the British imperialists are plotting to interfere in the Republic's internal affairs. Their tactic, based on the old imperialist divide-and-rule principle, is to fan and exploit the contradictions and political differences between the various patriotic organizations, notably the NLF and FLOSY. However, South Arabian patriots are aware of these maneuvers, and more and more FLOSY supporters and adherents of other patriotic groups are coming to realize that division among the national forces will benefit none but the imperialists. The FLOSY leadership has stated that though FLOSY does not intend to relinquish its role in the country, it will never be a party to fomenting civil war, as Britain and the other imperialist powers would like it to do.

The victory of the South Arabian people is a victory for all Arabs now repelling the onslaught of imperialism. It is part of their struggle to redress the consequences of the Israeli aggression. The victory in South Arabia, the Lebanese *An-Nida* writes, is a valuable contribution to the common Arab struggle against imperialist plots, the aftermath of the Israeli aggression, for strengthening the progressive Arab governments. And this from the Algerian *El-Moudjahid*: "In a situation when the consequences of this criminal aggression have still to be removed, and when the imperialists and Zionists are resorting to fresh maneuvers and hatching fresh plots . . . the liberation of Aden and South Yemen fortifies our faith in the revolutionary activity of the masses."

The colonialists are doing their utmost to maintain their positions in the Asian and African countries and check the development of the national-liberation movement. To do so they are resorting to new maneuvers, unparalleled brutality and crimes. But the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples cannot be halted, let alone reversed, for it is an irreversible process. The colonialist defeat in South Arabia and the birth of the 14th independent Arab state, the People's Republic of South Yemen, is added proof of that.

Al BUSTANI

Building an integrated socialist economic system in the GDR

GUENTER MITTAG

ECONOMY—THE SCORE OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

The Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (1967) pointed to the vital role played by the economy—the basis of all social life—in building a developed socialist system. The progress made in all spheres, particularly the economic, shows that the German Democratic Republic, the first worker-peasant state in German history, is stepping out firmly along the socialist road. The 5.1 per cent accretion to the national income registered in the first ten months of 1967 continues the steady growth of the preceding six years and compares favorably with growth rates in other developed countries. In 1966 industrial production was 40 per cent higher than in 1960, and increased another 7.5 per cent in the first 10 months of 1967. Labor productivity has risen, and the quality and technical standard of products have improved.

Today, the economic policy of the Party is centered on building an effective economic structure with the accent on cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries in developing products and production techniques decisive for the technological revolution, and on rationalizing and gradually automating production. The resultant trimming of production costs will add to the economy's capacity for accumulation, enabling us to satisfy more fully all public and individual needs.

These tasks are being tackled in the

process of building the economy as the core of the socialist system. Marx and Engels noted in their time that once the working class and its allies take power into their hands and consolidate it, social progress hinges mainly on economic development. This is also true today. Under socialism, the economy is the means to the ultimate end of moulding the harmoniously developed individual of socialist society.

"The socialist economic system in the GDR," Walter Ulbricht told the Seventh Congress, "is geared to create concrete socialist relations of production and shape their interconnections with the productive forces and the political and ideological superstructure. It corresponds to the nature of the existing productive forces and the dynamics of the technological revolution, and makes the most of its advantages and stimuli to develop the supremely efficient productive potentials of a developed socialist society. This results in a more effective development of those forces thanks to which the superiority of socialism over capitalism will be brought about."

As we see it, the main thing now is to keep abreast of the technological revolution, a specific and—at least at present—decisive form of development, a form that secures the desired growth and gives us the capacity for combating West German imperialism. Rounding off the building of socialism means, therefore, keeping pace with that revolution.

The aim set by the Seventh Congress

is to build the integrated socialist economic system. First and foremost this implies scientific guidance of the social processes through a conscious and comprehensive use of the economic laws of socialism. That is what impelled our Party gradually to introduce a new system of planning and management, which we consider an important element of our growth because the components of our economic system operate not in isolation but in close harmony.

Building this system as an integral whole implies such harmony of its principal components as would augment their efficiency as a complex and endow the system with a new, superior quality.

By building the socialist economy as the core, and at once as a component, of the social system, we draw nearer to the purpose of socialist production, that of satisfying ever more fully the requirements of the people, of consolidating socialist relationships, moulding the socialist individual and strengthening the political organization of the people, the state and society. The socialist economy is based on the fundamental idea, stressed by our Congress, of gearing centralized planning and guidance of the key aspects of the social process with the planning and guidance effected on their own responsibility by the producers and with the regulation of public life by the local authorities in territory under their jurisdiction.

A meeting of our Central Committee and the seminar for leading cadres held under the joint auspices of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers stressed that the art of leadership consists in anticipating social developments, in adopting suitable decisions, discussing all vital matters, whether political, economic or cultural, with the people and encouraging their initiative. This forecasting, planning, management and conscious participation of all citizens, and the use for this purpose of the latest means and methods, such as cybernetics, are conceived as a unity.

In practical terms, building a harmonious economic system of socialism means **planning, economic leverage** and scientific management aimed at securing the maximum efficiency in individual factories, associated enterprises and in the economy as a whole.

It may be of interest, therefore, to

dwell at greater length on the immediate problems of our development.

PROBLEMS OF FORECASTING AND PLANNING

The vital problem today is that of *improving the system of forecasting and planning*. The Seventh Congress pointed to the need for aligning forecasts with long- and short-term planning. This, it was said, would yield the best possible solutions. To cope with our economic and social tasks in the midst of the current technological revolution, we require long-term computations and programs. Special importance, therefore, attaches to forecasting, which helps to determine the most desirable strategic growth trends in the main industries, to secure effective concentration for future production, to fix the most favorable schedules and formulate a far-sighted personnel training policy. Briefly, forecasting is the earnest of rational and effective future reproduction.

The point is to improve planning and planning methods. Most important is competent long-term planning. This calls for long- and short-term investigations, good use of computers, programming, etc. We must probe the operation of the economic laws of socialism and adopt fundamental solutions that will make them work to our best advantage.

Computers make planning more dynamic. They rationalize management and all economic work, especially at factory level. We are on the point of embarking on a new stage in planning and management, in keeping with the process of socializing labor in conditions of the technological revolution.

FORECASTING SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Public interest is the principal point of departure in securing effective operation of the motive forces of socialist society. Accordingly, we have to pinpoint the main structural solutions for the economy, solutions that for some time ahead would secure a stable growth and effective use of the national income. Effective structural development of socialist society hinges on the economic interest, which should be the decisive criterion in planning the main processes of social reproduction. The significance

of the forecast, which defines and coordinates the principal aspects of public life, derives from the common interests of society.

Forecasting is the specific feature of Marxist-Leninist party guidance. The complexity and dynamics of social processes accompanying the building of a developed socialist system necessitate social forecasting of a high order, for it must give all our people a clear idea of the social aims and how they will be achieved. The social forecast is, therefore, an important instrument for the people in shaping their future.

Forecasting helps formulate the aims, determine the most effective ways of achieving them, and take timely action to remove possible contradictions.

The first thing in social forecasting is to determine the key elements of a developed socialist society and the way in which they are inter-related.

At our present level of knowledge we need several particular interdependent forecasts: a forecast of scientific and technical trends, trends in social reproduction, above all the probable growth of the national income, and of investment and consumption, growth of public demand, changes in the character of labor, socialist ideology, social ethics, culture, planning and management, and the ways and means of aligning the public, collective and individual interests.

Forecasting social growth is an intermittent creative process, a dialectical debate on future problems, an instrument defining and verifying Party strategy and tactics, helping the Party to anticipate developments and prepare solutions for future problems. The productive forces, the material basis of economic progress, coupled with socialist relations of production, determine the content of the various components of the social forecast.

The Seventh Congress stressed that for the GDR anticipated developments in the technological revolution are the key element of the social forecast. This applies to prospective structural improvements in our economy and its closer coordination with the economy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

It is on this basis and through integration in the general social process that the factory emerges as a socialist

producer operating on its own responsibility, planning and performing its economic function in keeping with the national plan and with economic accountability within the limits of the basic proportions and trends set by society.

This achieves interaction between the economy and its parts, the various enterprises—interaction aimed at the highest possible returns and expressing the harmony of public demand and personal interest, whose satisfaction depends first and foremost on the results obtained by the individual enterprises in the interest of society.

THE LAW OF SAVING TIME AND THE CRITERIA OF EFFECTIVENESS

Primarily, to build the economy as the core of a developed socialist system means *saving time*. In the midst of the technological revolution it means saving time with an eye to the future. For this reason, economic policy must gear current tasks to future ones chiefly by means of a far-sighted structural policy. Below are the main aspects of how we expect to apply the law of saving time in moulding an effective socialist economic system to attain socialism, the historically most advanced form of development of the productive forces and society.

—application in reproduction of the results of research and designing;

—an educational policy and an economics of education designed effectively for the present and the future;

—an investment policy oriented on a high degree of long-term effectiveness with an eye to meeting the demands of intensive reproduction and aimed at the optimum structural effect;

—comprehensive rationalization and automation of all aspects of production and reproduction in each enterprise and at each bench, and in the economy as a whole;

—reduction of turn-over time for materials and finance in reproduction through better use of fixed and circulating assets and organizational measures designed to heighten efficiency; this includes measures to improve division of labor and cooperation;

—concentration of producers' efforts on marketing, that is, a consistent orientation on sale of their product at home and abroad, and on improving the pattern

of foreign trade to secure the maximum growth of export and import revenue;

—elaboration of scientific management, primarily operational research with computers for planning and guiding social and economic processes.

The best possible use must be made of the advantages and stimuli of socialism to build the efficient economy that Marx described as a rational economy on the scale of society as a whole and of all its spheres—an economy for which the main pre-condition is the abolition of exploitation of man by man. It is therefore of the utmost importance for us to comprehend these advantages and motive forces, because they are decisive in building an economy superior to capitalism in all respects.

The advantages of socialism were defined by our Seventh Congress as an effective combination of extensive and conscious participation by the people in solving social problems and in running the economy with all-embracing scientific planning and a rational organization of economic and social development. By this token, Congress defined the stimuli of socialism as concrete and tangible harmonization of the material and moral interests of individuals and collectives with the prevailing public interest, and the knowledge of this by all the people.

In defining the public interests, the interests of collectives and of individuals involved in building an integral economic system, we first formulated our economic aims, taking the summary criterion of effectiveness as the starting point. This criterion also expresses the possibility immanent in socialist society of interweaving effectiveness in the general public interest with that of individual complexes (enterprises, associations of enterprises, cooperative societies, etc.). In formulating the aims of our economic policy we concentrated on stable growth of the national income and its advantageous use as a criterion of general economic effectiveness. This oriented us on saving time, which has always yielded considerable practical benefits: comprehensive rationalization and the attendant orientation on intensive extended reproduction, the changes in our investment policy designed to achieve the maximum efficiency, realization of the technological revolution by accentuated research, designing and progressive production techniques, and stress on the economics of education.

Introducing quantity criteria for economic efficiency, we have reached a new stage, the computing stage. The attention of the immediate economic units, or socialist producers, has shifted to net profit, which reflects on the criterion of effectiveness. This stress on net profit as the criterion of socialist production is an important factor in shaping our economic system.

At the Seventh Congress, Walter Ulbricht again emphasized the role of profit in boosting the socialist economy. "Profit in a developed socialist economic system," he said, "assumes cardinal importance from the standpoint of economic accountability, orienting enterprises on increasing their economic effectiveness. The role played by profit in an economic system based on commodity-money relations defends most of all on the class character of the production relations and property relations. For this reason, we stressed at our previous Congress that in our socialist environment profit as a category of the socialist surplus product differs fundamentally from capitalist profit, the result of capitalist exploitation of the working class and plunder of other sections of the working population, and of the other peoples. *In a socialist economy the orientation on increasing profit, based on economic accountability, amounts to increasing the surplus product and thereby the national income as the cornerstone of the living standard of the working population and of the economic potential of the worker-peasant state.*"

Whether or not profit is the most effective contribution of socialist producers, whether it materializes in the final count as an accretion to the national income, depends on factors essentially traceable to the economic laws of socialism. These factors are quality of planning, notably the interweaving of centralized planning with the planning of the producers, quality of cooperation and financial and price regulation. The orientation on profit based on high-standard planning is the logical sequel to the recognition that socialist production implies production of commodities, which necessitates a management policy conditioned by the economic compulsion of reducing production costs. Behind the profits of enterprises are material values needed in building the socialist system, giving rise to the problem of meeting demand, contributing to the over-all

structural policy, operating profitably in terms of foreign exchange, etc., that is, securing the socialist surplus product.

The economic functions discharged by the socialist producers on their own responsibility as a contribution to the national plan on the basis of economic accountability, which embraces all phases of the reproduction process, are an essential feature of the socialist system.

So far, we have only begun to tackle these problems. But we are aware that an integral socialist economic system will take shape the more rapidly, the better we learn to employ value categories in the interest of our society. For example, when drawing up forecasts the focus should be on the problem of outlays. Another example: when introducing comprehensive planning from the stage of research and designing to the ultimate marketing stage, we should at all points analyze and reduce expenditure as much as possible. Capital investment should be left to individual enterprises and associations of enterprises. This will be an effective economic lever in our planning, for it will ensure immediate control over outlays and incomes in the investment sphere and encourage enterprises to make their long-term plans more thorough. The proposed *Industrial-Commercial Bank*, conceived as a socialist organ of finance and supervision, will control the functioning of enterprises and associations by turning what were formerly mainly administrative relationships between the enterprises and the bank into a genuinely economic relationship designed to enhance efficiency. The point of departure in incorporating the banks into the economic system and the point of departure in their new role are the new conditions of management. Banks will now elaborate proposals aimed at higher returns both in forecasting the development of enterprises and products and in drawing up the long-term plan. In its relationship with enterprises, the bank will act as an exacting business partner, seeing to it that the funds it makes available for production are used with the maximum benefit.

MODERN PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES AND PERSONNEL TRAINING

Building the integrated socialist economic system and concentrating accordingly on the main areas of scientific and technical progress, our Party has set out

to improve *production techniques* and introduce effective forms of organization. This should reduce outlays and increase revenue. How production is run depends largely on the technology, with the following as a general rule: the shorter the development time between laboratory and factory floor, the better will be the chances of good economic results. With the technological revolution in full swing, the impact of technology increases, because through technology science acts as a productive force. Production techniques, no longer limited to some one process, embrace the whole production chain, including organization. Individualizing production chains helps find the shortest socially necessary processes for manufacturing the desired end product, and the variety of organizational forms is prompted by the desire to determine the most favorable managerial form of guiding production: by establishing complexes or associations of cooperating factories, and the like.

The standard of management is basic in building the integrated economic system. Managers must know how to apply Marxism-Leninism to the complex social processes at work in their field and contribute to the consolidation of the system as a whole in the specific conditions wrought by the class struggle against imperialism. The main aspect of their proficiency is the tie-up between their politico-ideological and class education and their skill in bringing out the advantages of the socialist system and employing up-to-date methods of management. The fundamental task is to promote the guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist party and a conscious Party approach. The Seventh Congress stressed the need for training top personnel with an eye to the long-term prospect and the new, infinitely higher requirements.

To sum up, neither training nor retraining should be confined to making up for time lost; first and foremost, they must be oriented on coping with future problems.

A Central Institute of Socialist Management has been established under our Central Committee, for continuous ideological education of leading personnel and the comrades who instruct them. In the final analysis, their Marxist-Leninist grounding brings them abreast of the current requirements imposed by the technological revolution and social development. They should be men of prin-

ciple, class conscious and aware of their responsibilities as socialist managers whose work is judged by how they perform their class functions in the process of socialist labor, making rational use of, and augmenting, public wealth jointly with their collectives for the benefit of society, of their enterprise and of each employee, contributing at once to the building of a developed social system.

THE NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND EXTENSION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Making the most of the advantages and stimuli of socialism depends largely on the standard of management and the further extension of *socialist democracy* at all levels, above all in the factories. Extension of socialist democracy in the economy is the outcome of the abolition of exploitation and has for its basis the essential correspondence of the character of labor, socialist ownership and the consequent interests of the members of society.

Socialist democracy is fundamental to the new economic system, to its growth into an integral socialist economic system, and conforms with the public need for highly efficient production. As a result, the working population shows a greater interest in planning and management and participates more readily in drafting decisions, in factory control, etc. The stimulating effect of socialist democracy will be the stronger, the greater the material and moral incentives for good production results. At the same time, greater socialist democracy betokens the formation of the harmoniously

developed individual of socialist society.

Extension of socialist democracy is, essentially, a component of the process of guidance, giving more scope to the advantages of the socialist system. For this reason, the Central Committee and all the other Party bodies are centering attention on enhancing the activity of the basic units and improving their guidance of the public activities of workers, office employees and intellectuals at enterprise level.

The Party member is pledged to conduct systematic work with people at the bench. When preparing for the Seventh Congress the watchword was: "work rationally — for yourself, your factory, our peaceful socialist state" — a watchword aimed at concentrating all efforts on the political, economic, cultural and military consolidation of the GDR. For our people, this remains the guideline today.

GDR ECONOMY 1966

	(1960=100)
National income	123
Industrial production	141
electric power	147
engineering	160
chemicals	159
Labor productivity	
(in industry)	151
Agricultural output	
(1952-56=100)	131
Retail trade	117
Foreign trade	141
Personnel training (university level)	133
Number of medical doctors	147

Science and socialism

A. BERG

The October Revolution, which paved the way to a society without exploiters and exploited, has tremendously influenced all aspects of man's life. The half-century of building the new, communist society has brought out in relief the advantages of socialism over capitalism in the cultural and scientific areas. Tearing down all social and political obstacles, the workers' revolution flung open the door to all-round scientific development and the rapid application in production and in living of the achievements of science. In the socialist society science serves the people, peace and progress.

Months after the establishment of Soviet power, science entered a new phase in our country, gradually moving into a leading place in the world. Soviet scientists scaled heights in mathematics, mechanics, cybernetics, chemistry, biology and medicine. Our natural science is ahead in many important fields, notably space exploration, nuclear and high-temperature physics, certain areas of theoretical and applied radio-electronics and solid physics.

Socialism provides the tools for building society on a scientific basis, utilizing consciously the objective laws governing social development. This accentuates the significance of social science in the period of building socialism and communism.

Guidance of socialist society has its theoretical roots in Marxism-Leninism, which is the instrument of cognition and at once the revolutionary transformation of the world, the basis for the scientific solution of social problems, for the framing of Party policy and for determining the perspective of social development. Marxist-Leninist teaching is the

general theoretical and methodological foundation of both natural and social sciences. Soviet success of the past fifty years show that the Marxist-Leninist approach and the continuous enrichment and development of the components of Marxism-Leninism — philosophy, political economy and scientific communism — are imperative for building socialism and communism.

Other social sciences, too, have augmented the achievements of our country. Economists, jurists, historians and other scientists have made profound researches of great theoretical, ideological and cultural importance.

The recent decision of the Soviet Communist Party on measures to promote the further development of the social sciences and to elevate their role in building communism notes that the present stage in the building of communism in the Soviet Union, the transition from capitalism to socialism 'which highlights our epoch, the powerful national-liberation movement of the peoples, the scientific and technical revolution, the acute ideological clash and various other processes under way in the world today call for continued and exhaustive study and theoretical generalization. In these conditions Marxist-Leninist theory is all the more significant and the role of the social sciences still more important. Sociologists should concentrate on problems related to the building of the material and technical foundation of communism, on improving social relationships and on the communist education of the people. Besides, it is their duty to combat imperialist ideology and repulse attempts to falsify or revise Marxism-Leninism.

The rate of scientific development in our country since the October Revolu-

tion is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that all the Union Republics now have their own academies of science. In 1966, these employed more than 27,000 researchers, including more than 800 Doctors of Science and about 9,000 Candidates of Science. The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, which is the country's principal scientific institution, is staffed by over 1,700 Doctors and some 10,000 Candidates. Every fourth one of the world's science workers is Soviet.

The following figures pertaining to biology, one of the key areas in modern science, illustrate the growth of Soviet science. Before the Revolution, biological research was confined chiefly to the pertinent departments of universities, while the Academy of Sciences had just three biological laboratories, two museums and one biological station, staffed in all by 28 researchers. By 1966, the Academy of Sciences had 121 biology-oriented research organizations, including as many as 74 institutes. All in all, there are in the country today 222 biological research institutions (exclusive of agricultural and medical) staffed by more than 32,000 researchers.

The concern for science shown by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government is prompted by its being a key factor in reconstructing society along socialist lines. The higher type of social labor productivity under socialism, which secures for it victory in the competition against capitalism, is achieved by building up the productive forces on the foundation provided by progressive science and technology.

Abolition of private ownership of the means of production, coupled with new social relationships relieved of antagonistic contradictions, is changing the social orientation of science. Its gains, to use Lenin's expression, have become the gains of the whole people. Progressiveness, humanism and selfless service in the name of man's happiness are the main features of socialist science, exercising a profound influence on foremost scientists all over the world.

* * *

Scientific development was one of the first aims the Soviet state set itself. Lenin stressed that scientific and technical gains should be used to the utmost in building the material and technical foundation of socialism. This is borne out by the Draft Plan of Scientific and

Technical Work which he drew up in 1918. During a brief lull in the Civil War hostilities, Lenin turned his attention to the cardinal socio-economic problems, including those of scientific development and the use of science in building socialism.

Lenin's Draft Plan listed the main tasks facing Soviet science — investigating the natural productive forces, framing a plan for the reorganization of industry and for Russia's economic revival — urging science to help reconstruct society along socialist lines and dovetail its work with the practice of building socialism. "Learning shall not remain a dead letter, or a fashionable catchphrase," Lenin said. "Learning shall really become part of our very being . . . It shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 33, p. 488-489).

His concern for the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Technical Laboratory, founded on his instructions, shows his interest in the growth of the key scientific and technical trends. Lenin was one of the first to appreciate the future of radio broadcasting and its immense social impact. In a letter to M. A. Bonch-Bruyevich, who has done much for the technical side of broadcasting and was one of the administrators of the Nizhni-Novgorod Laboratory, Lenin described the radio as "a newspaper without paper and distance," calling it a "wonderful thing." Bonch-Bruyevich wrote later that it was Lenin's help that "made it possible during the Civil War, the hunger and the ruin, to build the powerful Comintern radio station."

The aforesaid should not, however, create the impression that applied science alone got all the attention. The Soviet Government and the Communist Party knew that it was important to develop fields that did not, in the foreseeable future, augur any practical advantages. Their view was not a narrowly pragmatic one. At the arduous time of the Civil War and economic dislocation they organized the Optical and Radium Institutes, passed the decision to assist Academician Ivan Pavlov's research, allocated funds for research at the Petrograd Institute of Physics and Technology, and promoted research in social science.

From the beginning, the Soviet authorities and the Communist Party were

aware of the prominent role science would play in socialist society, and it was their concern for scientific development that laid the foundation for the edifice of Soviet science.

In pinpointing the importance of science for the development of the socialist economy, the Party acted on the natural bond between science and production, first defined by Marxism in the following terms: the influence exerted by science on production is directly proportional to the degree of socialization of production, while labor productivity depends on inventions "by which science presses natural agencies into the service of labor, and by which the social or cooperative character of labor is developed" (Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit*, in English, Moscow, p. 49).

To build up modern production and agriculture, without which socialism is inconceivable, science has to be fused with the economy and turned into a direct productive force. This is an imperative of social growth: the development of science into an immediate productive force is a natural result of the socialization of human activity.

* * *

That science in our country after the October Revolution has become a basic factor of socialist construction, that it has become part of the system of social institutions born of the Revolution, was bound to, and did, impart to it features that which science in capitalist society does not possess.

Capitalism has raised the general level of production through advances in technology. Since large-scale machine production cannot grow unless based on the achievements of natural science, capitalism fused science and production, giving a start thereby to the conversion of science into an immediate productive force. But the capitalist mode of production, as Marx noted, separates science from labor, compelling it to serve capital.

The scientific and technological revolution expedited the growth of the productive forces. The intrinsic requirements of scientific development and growth of production put new demands on social organization far broader than those of merely raising the standard of living or of improving working conditions at this or that factory: all-round

development of the individual, public education and elevation of the cultural standard, blending of executive and creative functions in each producer, and, coupled with this, planning of the main aspects of social life on a national scale. And the tendency to make social production more effective, chiefly by expanding the knowledge applied in production, which we have witnessed in the developed countries over the past decade, makes the aforesaid doubly urgent.

But by reason of its nature, capitalism cannot resolve this problem in the interest of society as a whole, whereas the building of socialism and communism can.

The fact that under socialism science and its technological application serve the interests of society as a whole, with the scientific approach dominant in all spheres of socialist society, elevates to an unprecedented degree the social significance of science and the responsibility of scientists. On the other hand, the very scale of modern scientific and technical research, entailing immense material outlays and manpower resources, accentuates the dependence of science on society.

Cumulatively, this creates the need for synthesis, for amalgamation, for the closest interaction of the natural and social sciences. Such fusion is necessary above all for science, as one entity, to cognize itself and learn its own laws and tendencies, enabling scientists to work out the principles of organizing, planning and administering science and to anticipate the main trends in scientific and technological progress.

Besides, in view of the increasing social impact of science and technology, it is important to study the socio-economic conditions in which a discovery or project is carried to fruition and anticipate accurately all its social consequences.

Today, science and technology have more projects and prescriptions to offer than at any previous time, whose introduction in practice may have far-reaching social effects.

Take the research in energetics, the projects of changing the climate, of conquering deserts, developing outer space or the seas and oceans. In management comprehensive automation and computer techniques offer incalculable opportunities for economizing labor. Better methods of land cultivation, fertilization

and irrigation would secure ample food supplies for all people on earth. Academician S. I. Volfkovich holds, for one thing, that adequate herbicides could alone raise the productivity of crop farming twenty to thirty times over. If proper social changes were effected, the problem of hunger could be struck off the agenda for all mankind.

The process and methodology of education is another problem that a synthesis of social and natural sciences could solve to the best advantage. The abyss between the rapidly increasing volume of knowledge that students have to acquire and the existing terms and forms of education has been growing wider of late. Society has got to resolve the problem in a way that would enable educational establishments at all levels to provide students with the maximal scientific and practical knowledge in the pedagogically, psychologically and economically minimal time.

Much is expected of programmed education, a new comprehensive approach involving special technical means of varying complexity, whose main accents are put on a thorough analysis of subject matter and its arrangement in logically successive acts of instruction (teaching program); greater self-reliance of students in acquiring knowledge; effective control by the instructor and self-control by students; provision of modern technical devices for rationalizing and intensifying student activity while relieving instructors of non-productive labor. The development of programmed education involves a variety of sciences—cybernetics, physiology, logic, psychology and pedagogy—and the joint efforts of scientists and engineers specializing in different fields in our country and abroad, have enabled us to make definite progress.

The benefit to man of the above aims, some not even tackled as yet though quite practicable, is beyond question. Put into practice, they would spell radical changes in man's life. To determine the character of these changes, to pinpoint the conditions in which they can be brought about, experts specializing in different fields of social science — above all economists, sociologists, philosophers and psychologists — will have to work together.

In socialist society immense opportunities are being created to make the

most of scientific gains. By abolishing private ownership of the means of production and wiping out the built-in contradiction between the social nature of production and the private nature of appropriation, socialism precludes the typically capitalist situation in which the fruit of a scientist's labor, that is, the knowledge he obtains, is appropriated by the monopolies and used in their egoistic interests, often for military purposes.

Conscious of the rising role of science, of its impact on technological progress, the ruling element in the developed capitalist countries is casting about for more effective forms and methods of influencing and indoctrinating the scientist.

Scientific activity is assuming a collective, mass character. Modern science is actuated by the joint efforts of large groups of scientists, engineers and auxiliary personnel. The image of the lone scientist is vanishing, supplanted by close-knit groups of specialists working jointly to resolve a common theoretical problem or practical assignment.

In capitalist society this objective process has taken a specific form. The bureaucracy and stringent administrative control typical of state-monopoly capitalism are reaching out to the domains of science. Although the scientist retains a semblance of freedom and independence, he is almost entirely deprived of the possibility of controlling the use of the fruits of his research.

As a result more Western scientists are beginning to see the anti-democratic and anything but humane use of science under capitalism, and to look for an alternative. The alternative lies with socialism. Lenin pointed out that "socialism alone will liberate science from its bourgeois fetters, from its enslavement to capital, from its slavery to the interests of dirty capitalist greed."

The socialist organization of society affords vast opportunities for scientific and technological progress, for the practical application of scientific achievements for the public good. That in socialist society science is humane and has no motives other than serving social progress is best illustrated by its attitude to peace, the principal question of our time. Soviet scientists regard world war as absolutely impermissible in the nuclear age. Having themselves created sophisticated weapons, they are best

qualified to warn against the dread consequences their use will entail, and are raising their voice most articulately in behalf of peace.

In the capitalist countries, too, the foremost scientists are beginning to realize that nuclear weapons must not be put to use and are denouncing the nuclear-blackmail policy. Their actions in support of peace, for the humane and non-military use of science and technology, are becoming more vigorous, the more science in the West is being dominated by the military.

Contact among scientists of different countries is good for peace. Soviet scientists participate in all the existing forms of scientific cooperation, contributing thereby to the struggle for peace and progress. In 1966 alone, Moscow was the venue of the 20th International Congress of Mathematicians, the 10th International Conference for Low Temperature Physics, the 7th International Congress of Crystallographers, the 2nd International Congress of Oceanography and the 18th International Congress of Psychologists, with more than 9,000 foreign scientists visiting the Soviet Union under the Academy of Sciences program alone.

Soviet scientists give much aid to the developing countries in scientific research and training of researchers.

So long as imperialism exists, aggressive forces exist and the danger of war remains. The American intervention in Vietnam is a constant reminder of this. Many scientists who have no communist affiliations and do not share communist views, censure the war in Vietnam on humanitarian grounds, on the grounds of justice and progress, which comprise the moral content of science. But censure alone is not enough to bridle the aggressor. The increasing defensive potential of the socialist camp, which scientists are doing much to augment, is an important factor in safeguarding world peace.

* * *

The present stage in science and technology is highlighted by truly revolutionary changes, of which much has been said and written. The fact remains that the most important departments of science, on which its development depends (quantum mechanics, polymer chemistry, molecular biology,

nuclear physics, and cybernetics), were conceived in the past few decades. The fact remains, too, that the inception and progress of these departments of science is tied up with the essential changes in the cognitive apparatus, the ways and methods of scientific cognition, and that a psychological sense of dependence on science has appeared in the industrially developed countries not only in production, but also in daily life.

The structure of science is changing. The precise sciences, notably mathematics and cybernetics, are gaining more prominence. In the past two decades science has been going mathematical, and, particularly, cybernetical. The ideas and methods of mathematics and cybernetics have spread to all sciences, including the social. Industrial use of cybernetics and electronics, that is, automation, has changed industrial production. Computer and logical information techniques are gaining prominence in management and office work.

The most essential element of all these trends is the increasing social role of science, its development into an immediate productive force. This is changing the character of man's labor, scientific labor included.

Modern production, saturated with automatic, telemechanical and electronic equipment, which employs sophisticated techniques and entails minimal outlays of living labor, needs operators of a new type with the knowledge and proficiency of an engineer or scientist. Science is invading living labor directly, imparting to it a creative, intellectual complexion.

Socialism gives rise to forms that promote the creative side of labor. One of these is the scientific and technical endeavor of the rank-and-file operator, something that has become a mass movement in our country of late. There are science and technology societies at factories and offices, volunteer designing bureaus and laboratories at factories, and the like. The movement of innovators and inventors is flourishing. In 1950, for example, inventions and innovations aggregated 1,240,000, and more than 4,000,000 in 1965.

The vastness of research, and of particular scientific investigations, entails very big material and manpower outlays, which, moreover, have a tendency to grow. In the Soviet Union, for one thing, allocations for science have in-

creased six fold over the past ten years. As for manpower, if the present trend persists, with the labor of engineers and scientists gradually becoming predominant, from 20 to 50 per cent of the adult population will need training as scientists in the coming century.

This necessitates thoughtful planning of scientific research. In socialist society, distinguished by mounting consciousness and organization, the planning of science is on a national scale.

The idea of planning researches and concentrating resources and skills on the key problems of science and economy, was first set out by Lenin after the Revolution in the afore-mentioned Draft Plan of Scientific and Technical Work.

The imposing successes achieved by Soviet scientists in the principal departments of modern science bear out the correctness of Lenin's idea of planning science. The needs of the economy serve as the main criterion in selecting the basic research trends, for economic development depends first and foremost on progress in the pertinent branches of science. But science does much more than fill "orders" passed down by the economy. In recent years it has increasingly wielded a reverse influence, prompting certain new lines of production.

The atomic and radio-electronic industries, for example, were conceived in the scientific domain and did not become independent branches of industry until much later.

Planning of science, therefore, should be so patterned as to influence economic planning by its analyses of prospective trends of scientific growth.

We have noted the vast labor force needed for the further progress of science and technology. A country's successful advance in economy, culture and science depends, therefore, on how adequately it manages to resolve the problem of training competent technical and research personnel. We see from our country's example that socialism produces a mass base for science and technology much more successfully than capitalism. The payload in social production hinges largely on the training of personnel. The dividends derived by

society from an operator's proficiency substantially exceed the expenses incurred in providing this proficiency. Academician S. G. Strumilin estimates that the productivity of an operator with a higher education covers 11-fold the cost of his education. The ratio of the cost of education to its ultimate economic effect is 1:6.

The Soviet Union ranks first in the world for its number of university-level students. We graduate four engineers to one graduated in the United States. We have about 170 students per 10,000 population, whereas in 1914-15 Russia had eight.

The growth of science into a powerful propellant of economic and social progress entails study of the laws of the movement of science, of its structure, its organizational forms, etc. This will enable us to anticipate the basic trends in scientific development, plan scientific research more effectively and work out the most advantageous forms of organizing science. The various branches of learning, investigating, particular aspects of science, scientific endeavor and the organization of scientific work are graduating slowly but surely into a science in its own right, whose problems are being probed by exponents of the precise sciences, alongside economists, sociologists, logicians, psychologists, statisticians, philosophers and jurists. This comprehensive study of science as a distinct social institution augurs extensive practical benefits.

* * *

In the midst of the current scientific and technical revolution, therefore, the socialist system is affording far greater opportunities than capitalism for scientific development and its application in the interests of peace and progress. In socialist society the achievements of science and technology are used to secure higher living standards and the all-round, harmonious development of the people.

Capitalist relations are not giving modern science and technology enough elbow-room, which is borne out by the many social problems stemming from the scientific and technical revolution that capitalism is unable to resolve.

Bulgaria's new agricultural management system

STOYAN SULEMEZOV

I. SOCIALIST POLICY

The old bourgeois Bulgaria had a backward agriculture, both in terms of harvests and marketable produce. There were about one million private holdings divided up into 12 million tiny plots averaging about 0.35 hectares. Mechanization and modern cultivation methods were, of course, out of the question, and most of the peasants could barely make ends meet.

The new, people's government and the Communist Party set out to reconstruct agriculture along socialist lines by creatively applying Lenin's cooperative plan. The first step was to popularize this policy among the farming population, a job successfully carried out by the Communist Party, together with the Agrarian Union, the second largest party in the country. The first cooperative farms were started, and the movement spread rapidly. In 1951-53 the cooperatives accounted for 61 per cent of the arable. The land remained the private property of cooperative members but was cultivated jointly.

The methods used in Bulgaria fully conform with the Marxist-Leninist theory of land socialization and with Lenin's cooperative plan. Indeed, no other form of land socialization could be applied in our conditions. Nationalization immediately after the overthrow of the fascist government and the bourgeoisie might have precipitated a conflict with the poor and middle peasants, would have led them to reject socialism, weakened the worker-peasant alliance,

the foundation of the national unity, and, consequently, would have played into the hands of our enemies.

Joint cultivation, on the other hand, encouraged voluntary membership in the cooperatives, and though there were cases of violation of this principle and of recourse to coercive methods, this did not detract from the significance of the great change brought about under Communist leadership.

For a time the cooperative members were paid rent for their plots. But as the cooperatives developed, and as mechanization, land improvement and similar measures led to more generous returns and increased the cooperatives' assets, the members realized that there was no longer any need for these rent payments. They decided to dispense with them in favor of an arrangement under which every family was paid in accordance with its work performance. In other words, the land was socialized without recourse to nationalization. Bulgaria's experience has thus shown that, in predominantly small-farm countries, collectivization need not be coupled with land nationalization.

The reconstruction of agriculture was completed in 1958, when cooperative and state farms accounted for nearly 90 per cent of all the cultivated land.

This was the agricultural structure as it took shape at the close of 1966: 867 cooperatives (average size 3,852 hectares) farming 78.3 per cent for arable, 151 state farms run by the Ministry of Agriculture and accounting for 13.1 per cent of the arable, other socialist-

type farms—4.6 per cent, private farms—0.5 per cent, and the miscellaneous group—3.5 per cent.

We were now in a position to engage in mechanization, make wider use of chemicals, modern cultivation methods and crop specialization. This has paid off in higher yields in crop and livestock farming. The following figures of gross farm output (1932-38=100) are indicative of our progress: 1957—142.6, 1963—178.3, 1966—235.2. The picture is much the same in annual increment: 1932-38—2.5 per cent, 1957-62—3.8 per cent, and 1962-66—7.4 per cent.

In terms of marketable produce Bulgaria ranks with the world's leading agricultural countries and exports two, even three times more per hectare than most of the socialist countries represented on the CMEA. Farm exports in 1966 were 550 per cent above 1939.

Higher crop yields have meant bigger incomes for the farms and their members. The remuneration for work-day units rose from 314 leva in 1955 to 884 in 1966. And if to this we add income from personal plots the picture is pretty impressive. The farms themselves have become richer too, with more modern machines, new buildings, land improvement equipment, extensive orchards. The assets of the farms have grown. They can make sizeable outlays for cultural and welfare amenities and help members build new houses. Socialism, the firm choice of our farmers, has given the Bulgarian village a "new look"—better homes, more recreation and a higher standard of living.

II. THE NEW MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

In 1964 we introduced a new system of economic planning and management on an experimental basis in four selected areas. In the early part of 1966 the results obtained were widely discussed and the system made universal in industry, transport, building, trade and agriculture.

In agriculture, the underlying idea was to devise a new relation pattern between producer, the cooperative or state farm, and buyer, the government procurement agency. Our main purpose was to get rid of the excessive centralism holding back local initiative. And the centralism was truly excessive: up to 1955 the Council of Ministers used to

hand down to the cooperative farms about 600 rigid indicators. In 1955 the number was reduced to 139, and to 40 in 1959.

Further cuts were made in 1961 and a contract system introduced to cover over 100 secondary items of agricultural output. This was part of a consistent policy to improve planning and management and bring them into closer harmony with the general economic reform.

This, in general outline, is how the new system works. Long-term plans for agriculture originate at the center. The State Planning Committee draws up five-year programs for all branches of the economy, including agriculture. These are then submitted for nationwide discussion, after which they are approved by the Party Congress and become the basis for detailed regional plans, or target figures. The latter are drawn up by the various farm amalgamations and area People's Councils in consultation with the farm managements concerned. But target figures for eight items of farm produce are still fixed by the government and are binding on all agricultural units. Production goals for all other produce are worked out by the cooperatives and state farms in agreement with the procurement agencies and approved by the respective government authorities. They are then tied in with the fixed targets for the eight crops and submitted to the State Planning Committee, which can incorporate any amendments suggested by the farms.

In short, the central planners can influence, if necessary re-orient, production to meet consumer requirements through the fixed target figures for the eight selected products and through the procurement agencies for all other produce. Practice has shown that the plans drawn up at farm level do not substantially differ from the fixed indicators, which means that farm managements are guided by social as well as economic considerations.

Practical operation of the new scheme is largely dependent on the procurement network. Marketing of produce is through *voluntary agreements between farms and procurement agencies*. The only exception—a temporary one—are eight "fixed target" items: wheat, fodder grain, rice, beans, sunflower seed, meat, milk and eggs.

But the Council of Ministers sets the

target figures (for procurement organizations, not for farms) for eight other items—cotton, hemp, flax, tobacco, tomatoes, grapes and apples. Procurement agencies employ such incentives as higher prices, bonuses, supply of deficit equipment, etc., to encourage their cultivation. For instance, farms selling tobacco and flax can receive fodder concentrates as an extra minimum.

In this way, by employing economic as distinct from administrative methods, by using more incentives, we have fostered new lines of production. Of course, not all the problems have been solved. We have to deal with a wide range of farm products and it is not always possible to determine the exact procurement price, what the farm should be charged for equipment, etc. Nor were we under any illusion on this score; we did not expect things to go smoothly. The important thing is that we are on the right track, and with imaginative management should be able gradually to overcome all the difficulties.

The new system enables procurement organizations to influence planning at farm level. Backed by a fund of experience and know-how they need not wait for the farms to submit their proposals. In fact, they help them work out their plans and suggest more profitable crop structures. In this way consumer needs are closely geared to production. The arrangement suits the farms too — they know, early in the season, that their produce will be bought at agreed prices.

This aspect, early conclusion of contracts, fully conforms with a 1966 government decision, which provides for bonuses for increased sales of animal products, but only if they are envisaged in the contract. This encourages the farms to contract for higher deliveries. Gains not provided for by the contract qualify for a smaller bonus. This might be described as an economic sanction against those farms that have not contracted to sell a maximum of meat and dairy products, and acts as a stimulant to greater output and helps the processing plants in planning their work.

The new system envisages a gradual abolition of fixed targets for all types of produce. Relations between state and farm will be based entirely on contracts. This will fully accord with the present level of production relations and the present stage of the country's political and

economic development.

Does this mean that we are abandoning agricultural planning? The answer, of course, is No. We should not confuse two different things, economic planning and planning methods. Economic planning, which is the essence of socialism, will never be relinquished, but planning methods can, and do, change. At one time the planning was predominantly by administrative fiat. There were special reasons for that, but they no longer operate at our present level of economic and social development. What we now need is planning methods based on economic incentives and regulation. *In other words, there is no retreat from economic planning; the sole purpose is to perfect it, to adapt it to the new conditions of building socialism.*

The plan is the state's chief instrument in ensuring balanced and proportional development of the entire economy, and our state is using it to good effect. The change from administrative planning in favor of contract relations does not signify any retreat from planning as such. On the contrary, the new system presupposes detailed and coordinated plans drawn up by the central authorities and carried out by the procurement agencies. The purpose is to maintain a balanced price structure, and to do that we have introduced such additional stimulators as bonuses, supply of deficit material and equipment, etc. In combination these measures will assure the country a steady, uninterrupted supply of agricultural products.

There are no fixed targets now for delivery to state agencies of grapes, strawberries, fruit, cotton, sugar-beet, wool, etc., and yet the quantities of these products and their sale to the state are steadily increasing. That was not the case when we had binding targets, because the plan did not always adequately reflect the level of the country's productive forces. And so, it is not a matter of having a fixed, rigid plan, but of having an adequate supply of technical equipment for the farms, of keeping prices on an even keel and on a level that ensures the farms good returns. In short, what we need is normal economic relations between producer and buyer.

Our experience to date suggests that the new method is working well. One of its more valuable achievements has been rational specialization. In the Plovdiv

area, for instance, where the new system began experimental operation in 1964, cultivation of sunflower has now been concentrated on 31 farms instead of 43, cotton on 13 instead of 20, tomatoes on 27 instead of 41. Another gain has been the introduction of cost accounting in farm departments, with the result that output and productivity have increased and production costs decreased. Now the method has been extended to all farm departments and payments to members are tied to the farm's net income.

The Ninth Party Congress (1966) reviewed the state of agriculture and mapped out plans for its continued development, with special reference to higher profit margins on cooperative farms. These decisions are now being carried out.

III. THE COOPERATIVE-FARM UNION

The cooperative-farm congress held in March 1967 decided to found the Cooperative-Farm Union. It drew up new cooperative statutes, singled out certain measures to extend democratic management and solved what has always been a vital question for all farmers—higher pensions, and disability and maternity benefits on the same basis as those paid to urban workers. The pension age is being lowered and by 1975 will be the same as in the towns. Other measures were devised to give cooperative farmers higher social insurance benefits. These measures are of especial importance for young farmers: from now on they will know that agricultural work promises the same advantages and benefits as any other branch of the economy, and this should help to keep them on the land.

Several months before the congress meetings were held to discuss plans to unite the cooperative farms on a regional and nationwide basis. The suggestions made at these meetings were brought to congress by the 1,740 delegates. This in itself is proof that the new Union is a voluntary democratic organization controlled by the membership.

Bulgaria has a long-standing cooperative tradition. In fact, long before September 9, 1944 there were consumer cooperative societies in practically every village, and there were regional cooperative unions and a national organization. After the congress there were two national unions, with most farmers belonging to both, through the consumers'

societies and cooperative farms. There was the suggestion to merge the consumer societies and cooperative farms, but since they have different functions, congress decided to retain the present organizational structure. However, it was also decided to have a single central body, the United Cooperative Union, which held its inaugural congress in October 1967. Now the consumer societies and cooperative farms, while retaining their economic independence, belong to one and the same regional bodies, which, in turn, come under the United Cooperative Union.

Our cooperative movement is now on a higher level, and this, too, should be seen in context with the development of our socialist relations of production. The new Union will help coordinate the work of the cooperative farms, consumer societies and joint cooperative enterprises. This will make for more rational and effective use of all the advantages offered by the cooperative system.

In addition, the Union will help raise farm output, improve and extend trade, public catering, welfare facilities and in general raise living and cultural standards, thereby gradually eliminating the differences between town and country.

But let us deal in more detail with the functions of the Union in relation to the cooperative farms. It has never been our intention to establish an administrative body to give "general leadership" by sending out directives and recommendations. The real purpose—and it has been formulated in the Union's statutes—is to create a viable organization to handle the production planning, selling and processing of agricultural produce.

Its main function in relation to the cooperative farms is to foster intensive agriculture and to apply the new system in order to secure stable harvests, a larger share of marketable produce, higher productivity and profitability. These are the essentials for raising living standards, strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and gradually obliterating differences between town and countryside.

The Union is undertaking a series of integrated measures to provide the farms with a better technical base, help them shift to more productive work methods and make wider use of industrial techniques. The Union will have its own

enterprises—some of them operated by regional unions or even by individual farms—for processing and storing produce not handled by the state procurement network. Some of these enterprises will produce fodder concentrates, others will specialize in machine repairs, consumer goods, general services, etc.

The Union will play a big part in farm machinery supplies, but will not duplicate the work of the regular supply organizations. Its function will be to study the needs of cooperative farms so as to redirect supplies to areas where the machinery can be used to the maximum effect.

It will also deal with such matters as production planning and control, marketing, investment, credits and finance generally. This will help towards more rational allocation of production facilities and closer specialization and concentration as a means of raising productivity.

Another aspect of Union activity is economic analysis of farm operation, assistance in introducing the new system and legal and other advice in drawing up contracts with procurement agencies.

It will have wide authority on such an important matter as price formation. It will keep an eye on procurement prices and, when necessary, make recommendations, and will have authority to change prices on the more than 100 non-plan items.

Its functions extend also to public welfare and recreation facilities: our farmers are served by holiday homes and sanatoria capable of accommodating 16,000 people, and more are to be built.

The Union will help cooperative farms train skilled personnel and will supervise the formation and expenditure of the technical expansion and development fund, insurance against crop failures and

natural calamities, and special economic, social and welfare funds. It is through these arrangements that the Union will influence the development of the cooperative movement, for apart from the insurance and economic funds, which are made up of contributions by the cooperative farms, all the others are financed from the earnings of the Union's own enterprises.

* * *

The new Union will not, as some were led to believe, duplicate the Ministry of Agriculture. For the cooperative farms account for only part, true the larger part, of agricultural production. The Ministry is in charge of the state farms, which account for one-sixth of the arable. Besides, it directs the Academy of Agriculture with its numerous research and experimental units, is responsible for the veterinary service, land reclamation, runs pedigree-stock and seed farms, trains skilled personnel, operates farm-machinery repair shops, etc. The Ministry will continue to draw up recommendations for improving the structure of our agriculture, long-range development plans, and so on. But under the new system it will not exercise direct control over cooperative-farm production and marketing.

* * *

The new system and the new Cooperative Union are expressive of the higher level attained by our farming. There need be no doubt that the new system will prove a powerful factor in boosting production, raising productivity and quality and increasing the incomes of farms and farmers. In short, it will facilitate the growth of the country's economy and assure its people a higher standard of living.

Whither modern capitalism?

Second and last part of our survey, begun in the December 1967 issue, of the round-table discussion to mark the centenary of Marx's **Capital** and the half-century of Lenin's **Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism**.

CAPITALIST REPRODUCTION— THE PRESENT STAGE

Many aspects of the reproduction process, so crucial to an understanding of the trends in present-day capitalism, were discussed.

Phases and changes in the reproduction process were the subject of the paper read by *T. Postolache* (Rumania). We can discern the outlines, he said, of a new phase of social reproduction — scientific and technological research, which precedes production and influences other phases of the reproduction process. The formula: technological research — production — distribution — exchange — consumption gives us a close insight into the present stage of economic development. Technological research extends the economic functions of the capitalist state, influences social labor productivity, super-profits, international economic relations, etc., and adds a new dimension to the concept of productive labor.

Postolache pointed to changes in the sphere of distribution, emphasizing that redistribution of the national income acquires a growing importance in the developed capitalist countries, notably in assuring high monopoly profits. This process, which follows its own laws,

is determined by the specific features of present-day capitalism, in particular the increased role of the service industries and accelerated structural changes in the economy. In the past twenty years, 15-30 per cent of national income, in some cases even more, has been channelled into the budgets in the developed capitalist countries.

J. Natan (Bulgaria) suggested that the state-guided redistribution of the national income is associated with increased social consumption (growth of urban population, expansion of the non-productive sphere, etc.).

Postolache made the point that a new trend can be observed also in the consumption sphere: extensive "government market," government contracts, in many cases closely associated with economic militarization; quick change of demand; the bigger share of consumer durables in total consumer spending; expansion of consumer credit and more expenditure on advertising.

The enhanced role of consumption in the reproduction process was discussed also by *A. Kolar* (Czechoslovakia). There was a time when capitalism saw in low-level consumption by the working population a supplementary and rich source of accumulation. The aim then was to keep wages, and con-

sequently working-class consumption, at a minimum. Maximum profit through depression of wages was, as both Marx and Lenin so cogently demonstrated, the guiding motto of capitalism. And it could do this, because working-class organization was still rudimentary, the trade unions were weak, there were no Communist parties and, it might be added, no socialist countries. But things have changed. Besides, modern capitalism has a much more developed production mechanism and can dispose of a bigger volume of national income. The richer a society, the higher its per capita income, the bigger the role played by consumption in the realization of the total social product.

Nowadays the higher productivity creates enough surplus product for capital investment. In a sense, accumulation sources are growing at a faster rate than investment, which means that there is surplus capital. Hence, technological progress is impossible without extended consumption, without greater consumption by the working class and other sections of the population.

So long as the bourgeoisie sought to maximize profits by minimizing wages there was always under-capacity operation and unemployment. And since this aggravated class contradictions to a point that jeopardized the very existence of capitalism, it impelled the capitalists to agree to a redistribution of the national income in a way that would assure a relatively high level of consumption and investment and a more balanced reproduction pattern.

The struggle for spheres, forms and methods of state intervention in consumption is, in effect, a social and political struggle between the monopoly and anti-monopoly forces. And since the capitalist economy is increasingly dependent on rising consumption of goods and services, the conditions for working-class pressure to raise living standards are much more favorable.

S. Heretik (Czechoslovakia) questioned the validity of some of Kolar's arguments. If, he said, under state-monopoly capitalism (SMC) the state is impelled to boost consumption to keep capitalism going, then the logical inference is that capitalism aims at consumption, rather than profit. Of course, Kolar did not put it as bluntly as that, but if his argumentation is carried to its logical conclusion, it is bound to lead

to a Keynesian model, with the only difference that Keynes expected the mechanism to operate automatically. There can be no objection, of course, to drawing on Keynes's theories, but we should always take Marxist theories as our starting point.

Another theoretical problem that figured in the discussion, and on which views differed, was the organic composition of capital and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

Some speakers maintained that, as in Marx's time, there was a rising trend in the organic composition of capital and a declining trend in the rate of profit. That, in effect, was the subject of the paper read by V. Perlo (USA). Perlo criticized Marxist economists in capitalist and socialist countries who use official American data and corporation statistics to show that, beginning with about 1929, the organic composition of capital in the United States has been declining and the rate of profit rising. His own view is that the law of the rising tendency of the organic composition of capital and the declining tendency of the rate of profit continues to operate. He criticized the American economist Kuznets, who maintains that a new, intensive type of technological progress predominates in the period of "comparative economic maturity," resulting in a reduction of fixed capital per worker.

Under state-monopoly capitalism, Perlo believes, supplementary factors operate to raise the organic composition of capital, scientific and technological research, state subsidies to private investors, military spending, competition with socialist countries and imperialist rivals. In recent decades the operation of these factors has been considerably enhanced, making for a higher organic composition of capital and a lower profit rate.

As proof, Perlo cited his own calculations, which differ greatly from U.S. official and corporation statistics. His estimates of fixed capital in American manufacturing are based on constant prices and current replacement costs (rather than net capital, which includes depreciation funds). He also readjusts the official price index which, in his view, tends to minimize fixed capital, since it is premised on prices of commodities that do not go into its composition. According to his calculations, the

capital-output ratio in American manufacturing rose from 0.666 in 1929 to 0.834 in 1963, which signifies a lower ratio between investments and returns, whereas the capital-labor ratio increased from 2.915 to 3.628 in the same years, which reveals a higher organic composition of capital.

The tendency of the rate of profit to fall, which, Perlo believes, is clearly obvious in the United States, does not lead to a factual decline in the profit rate of the top monopolies. They can increase their earnings at the expense of their weaker brethren, also by exporting capital and through government subsidies.

The paper read by C. Vernay (France) was based on much the same reasoning as Perlo's. With the rise in the organic composition of capital, the monopolies are obliged to increase accumulation and seek investment aid. However, this cannot continue indefinitely, because there is a limit to the exploitation of labor and the reduction of labor costs, and to the total surplus value which the capitalists can divide among themselves. For while the accumulated total capital continues its uninterrupted growth, the total surplus value cannot, in a given society, be enlarged indefinitely. This leads to a falling rate of profit and, when accumulated additional capital is not matched by corresponding additional profit, the result is over-accumulation, the emergence of surplus capital.

In this context we should consider the three following alternatives:

- part of the capital, the surplus part, cannot be used and does not yield profit;

- part of the capital, larger than the surplus share, is employed but yields a lower rate of profit;

- part of the capital, which might be less than the surplus, is employed in a negative way, that is, at a loss.

It is this depreciation of part of capital that makes it possible, in principle, to continue the employment of other parts and the total capital. When the state undertakes, directly or indirectly, to defray the cost of part of the means of production, the capital represented by these means of production is thereby depreciated; it no longer requires the profit which private capital must necessarily produce. This results in a higher profit rate for other segments of the total capital.

Over-accumulation and capital depre-

ciation are traceable in many SMC phenomena. The state supports industries which, while fulfilling their function in the social division of labor, do not require the customary rate of profit. But this means that it helps the monopolies and the financial oligarchy to increase their profits. Nationalized industries transfer their surplus value to the private sector both through the purchase of materials and through reduced charges to their monopoly clients — in France this applies to electrical power, transport, etc. State subsidies to the monopolies perform much the same function. But to supply the monopolies with interest-free capital the state must be able to mobilize, concentrate savings, etc., and this it does through the tax and credit systems and financial policy generally.

Lastly, government policy is predicated on over-accumulation. Its purpose is to reduce the number of capitalists working at the average rate of profit by narrowing the non-monopoly sector through discrimination against small and medium businesses, particularly in such matters as access to investment capital, tax rates, etc., either forcing them out of business or into the embrace of the big monopoly concerns.

R. Pena (Spain) disagreed with some of Vernay's propositions, particularly on the limits to the exploitation of labor. The capital output ratio and the organic composition of capital are influenced not only by the cost and volume of variable capital, but also by the changing elements of constant capital. Besides, factors operating in the circulating capital make it possible to appropriate an increasing share of surplus value with the same amount of labor. Also this: state capital investments cannot be discounted as "depreciated capital" that does not require profits, for a considerable share of what the state contributes to productive and non-productive investment (through the credit system, savings, the national debt, etc.), is in reality converted into capital which participates in the distribution of the total profit.

Doubtlessly an analysis of the tendency of a falling rate of profit on the scale of the total social capital and further investigation of the processes of capital depreciation and over-accumulation would be most valuable. But, the speaker added, the destinies of capital-

ism are determined not by vanishing opportunities for accumulation but by aggravation of the contradictions (objective and subjective) in the process of reproduction of the social capital, contradictions, moreover, that provide the material and political prerequisites of the socialist revolution.

A. Pesenti (Italy) expressed the view that the growth of the organic composition of capital was one of the basic factors in the mounting difficulties of extended reproduction. Efforts to overcome these difficulties and counteract the law of the falling rate of profit logically lead to more state-monopoly intervention in the economy. There is no contradiction between the falling rate of profit and the increase in the rate and mass of surplus value, despite all the arguments of Baran and Sweezy in their *Monopoly Capital*. In this respect Chapter 15 of Volume III of *Capital* provides a perfectly clear picture.

Surplus value must always be converted into capital which, in turn, must continuously assume control over economic areas with a low organic composition of capital—the service industries, small commodity production, underdeveloped countries. However, this can produce only temporary results and cannot arrest, let alone forestall, the process of capitalist degeneration.

A key factor of modern capitalist reproduction, T. Postolache said, is the ability of developed capitalist states to gather vast financial resources. A sizeable part of them are drawn from the profits of capitalist enterprises whose ability to accumulate has been rising rather than diminishing. The economic reasons for this should be sought in the peculiarities of the reproduction of fixed capital today. Nowadays it is becoming possible to use depreciation funds for extended reproduction purposes. In the United States, only 58 per cent of the depreciation fund is used to replace obsolescent plant; the rest can, potentially, be used for fresh investment. Growth of fixed capital is not dependent on the particular economic social system; under socialism it is used to benefit society as a whole, whereas under capitalism it benefits the monopolies, serving as a reserve to finance state-monopoly measures.

Another factor enabling the state to appropriate part of capitalist profit is the radical change in the very nature of

technological progress. At the turn of the century the trend was towards higher organic composition of capital, but in the interwar years and especially after World War II, the trend has been downward. This can be attributed to many factors, among them the sweeping modernization of the production apparatus, the expansion of active instruments of production as compared with less investment in building, etc., more economic use of raw materials, fuel and power, which require very high outlays of capital, higher productivity of machines and ancillary installations, concentration of production which makes for more effective exploitation of available capacities. The tendency towards decline in the organic composition of capital, while it has been modified, has certainly not been overcome by certain counteracting factors, in particular accelerated obsolescence of machinery. On the long-range view, however, the prevailing trend is still towards decline in the organic composition of capital.

M. Cihak (Czechoslovakia) was somewhat more cautious in discussing the subject. Latterly, he remarked, we have been led to conclude that the trend is not always towards a higher organic composition of capital, that various combinations of technological progress can affect the process. We should therefore test all these hypotheses by examining the facts of modern economic development in the light of the technological revolution.

THE CYCLE AND MEASURES TO COMBAT IT

That state-monopoly capitalism has modified the capitalist cycle was the subject of the paper read by L. Urban (Czechoslovakia). Unlike the situation in the thirties, post-war capitalism has succeeded with the help of SMC in stabilizing demand at a comparatively high level and thereby assuring a relatively steady and rapid growth of national income. Unemployment has been reduced. Nevertheless the effect of anti-cyclical measures, in SMC conditions, has proved very limited. For example, it has not everywhere been possible to combine full employment with price and balance of payments stability. Indeed, there have been situations where it was necessary to hold back economic growth, inhibit demand and "cool off an over-heated economy." In practice this has nearly always

meant investment cutbacks and in Britain and the USA also production cutbacks.

One reason for the low effect of anti-cyclical measures, Urban said, is that capitalist relations are an impediment to effective progressive taxation. True, the gap between maximum and minimum incomes has been narrowed, but not the gap between medium and maximum incomes, which is still very wide. This could not but reduce the effect of SMC anti-cyclical policies.

J. Zawadzki (Poland) thought that Urban had somewhat exaggerated what SMC could accomplish in anti-cyclical regulation. The aims set by the capitalist state and the capitalist economy are contradictory and unattainable. For instance, there have been attempts to combine full employment with stable currency, a stable balance of payments and free collective bargaining between unions and management. State expenditures, Zawadzki maintained with reference to the USA, are mostly unrealistic, restricting considerably the capitalist state's capacity for anti-cyclical action.

A similar point was made by A. Pessenti in his paper. Stable development, he said, is simply wishful thinking on the part of the capitalists. Cyclical development is still the rule. This is true even when the crest of the cyclical wave is held down by the peculiar form of insurance that shifts the losses onto the people, stretching them over a longer period. In the middle capitalist sector—and this has been proved by studies of the Pisa University—cyclical fluctuations are more in evidence than in the monopoly sector.

J. Natan shared Urban's views of the causes that are changing the classical cycle. However, he listed a few more, which he considered preponderant: changes in the reproduction of fixed capital, in the relation of production and consumption, in the relation of departments I and II of the social reproduction and in the structure of production. Natan thought that removal of fluctuations in investment and the establishment of an optimum relation of production growth to accumulation rate were the points of departure of the SMC anti-cyclical policy. The problem is hard to solve by the indirect method of long-term capitalist programming, he said. In the United States, for example, the effort to subdue cyclical development by taxa-

tion was only partially successful. Nor could better results have been expected, because the basic purpose of sustaining the classical capitalist mechanism is bound to conflict with the new methods of state regulation.

There is the common belief E. Bjar-nason (Canada) remarked, that the post-war crises have been weaker than those of pre-war. That is largely illusory because the post-war crises have, as a rule, been compared with the last pre-war crisis of 1929-33 which in many respects was unique. Moreover, capitalist governments can soften the impact of crisis by welfare measures and anti-cyclical policies.

However, all this notwithstanding, crises persist. Since the war they have occurred in 1949, 1954, 1957 and 1960, and moreover each was harsher in its effects than the preceding one. The crises were relatively short-lived, due obviously to anti-cyclical measures applied on an extensive scale. Prominent among these measures were easy-term credits to stimulate investment, higher pensions and benefits to create more purchasing power and measures to encourage housing construction.

Though these measures were fairly successful in preventing disastrous consequences of the crises, they tended to increase the amount of money in circulation. The monopolies reacted, almost automatically, by jacking up prices to the highest level the economy could stand. The result, of course, was inflation with all its concomitants—higher bank rates, higher land prices, etc.

This suited the monopolies. However, higher discount rates and tight money inevitably limit the state's potential to counteract crises.

A major anti-cyclical measure, Bjar-nason continued, is military spending. Urban questioned that, pointing out that the effectiveness of military expenditure is limited because the lion's share goes to armaments. There is no denying that military contracts can, to a certain extent, stabilize demand, employment and purchasing power, but they cannot serve as an anti-crisis stabilizer and in some instances they operate in the opposite direction. U.S. military expenditure, to take one example, usually follows the cycle pattern increasing in its upward phase and decreasing in the descending phase. Besides, the volume and structure of military spending is deter-

mining by the needs for war preparation, not by the succession of cycle phases.

INTEGRATION, A NEW PHENOMENON

Export of commodities, capital and international shifts of manpower are not new to capitalism, but they have found their fullest expression in the post-war capitalist integration. In fact it has become a major category of state-monopoly capitalism and one without which there is no explanation for many of its other factors.

A. Mileikovsky (USSR) said that the roots of imperialist integration should be sought in the growth of capitalism's forces of production to which international relations of production must be adapted. Both the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association have practically eliminated tariff barriers for manufactured goods. Now we see the closer intertwining of national capitals, closer production specialization and cooperation in Western Europe. Trade liberalization, greater freedom of movement of capital and manpower have produced a new phenomenon in the world capitalist economy, namely, West European economic integration.

Competition, Mileikovsky continued, has compelled West European capitalist countries to pool their resources in order to resist U.S. economic expansion. Indicatively, Prime Minister Wilson suggested a European technological community. In greater concentration and centralization of capital and intensification of integration West European monopolies see their only chance of holding their own in face of the U.S. counter-offensive on the world market launched in the early sixties.

There is no reason to believe that, with the present forms of monopoly rivalry, Western Europe might move from integration to disintegration, that is, step down from the present level of international division of labor. Integration has come to stay and influences present methods of imperialist rivalry.

And it is by no means fortuitous that the United States is so anxious to bring Canada into an integrated economy that could use all the resources of North America in the battle against its imperialist rivals. The formation of a common U.S.-Canadian automobile market is the first step in that direction.

The Japanese monopolies, following the same method, are working towards a Southeast Asia common market into which they hope to bring Australia and New Zealand.

Z. Bendarik (Czechoslovakia) agreed with Mileikovsky, remarking that Marxist economics had to overcome many difficulties before arriving at the conclusion that integration is a very real reality and now determines the methods of imperialist competition. In the past we were inclined to ascribe West European integration to the operation of subjective factors closely associated with politics and military exigencies. The objective processes of economic development, notably the technological revolution, did not receive the attention and study they deserve. It is important to bear this in mind in order to avoid treating any aggravation of contradictions in the integration process as a crisis bound to lead to the collapse of the whole scheme. However, contradictions within the integrated West European group have become aggravated, especially in the 'sixties.

In the early stages all efforts were concentrated on building up a customs union, whereas now we are dealing with a functioning economic union, a kind of supranational organism and an economic theory is being elaborated for this integration. Conflicts of interests are, naturally, unavoidable, and integration has reached the stage where these have to be somehow resolved. Nonetheless, there are appreciable opportunities for autonomous development of economic integration, provided there are no political differences such as the squabble over agricultural policy in 1965. We must always bear in mind, Bendarik emphasized,—and the same point was made by Mileikovsky—that West European integration is a matter of vital interest to the ruling elements in the Common Market countries and they are prepared to seek compromise solutions.

This should prompt us to take a closer look at some of the common problems of the European economy, such as scientific and technological progress and aid to underdeveloped countries. In both these fields there might be opportunities for cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries. It stands to reason that in dealing with these matters we must never be oblivious to the imperialist character of the existing groupings

in Western Europe. But we would be taking a one-sided view if we were to insist that these groupings are invariably motivated by discrimination policies. In the speaker's opinion efforts should be made to seek mutually advantageous variants of all European economic development which would take into account the existence of the Common Market and its customs arrangements which create differentiated conditions for export from different countries. And it is important to study these questions not only for economic, but also for political considerations, because a settlement of the economic issues is a component of European security.

The deeply contradictory nature of the capitalist integration was examined by *Vernay* and *Postolache*. Facts show, they said, that the tariff barriers that are part of integration are being penetrated more and more.

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT AND CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The general view was expressed that any correct estimation of the present-day capitalist system and the balance between it and the socialist world must take into account the inter-imperialist contradictions which were so succinctly pinpointed by Lenin in the law of the uneven development of capitalist countries.

G. Badrus (Rumania) examined the operation of this law and took exception to the statements of those who believe that it applies only to imperialist countries and has no relevance to the colonial and dependent countries, or to the contradictions between them and the imperialist monopolies. The law of uneven development is a reflection, in the capitalist world, of the necessary connection between the economic and political evolution of the capitalist countries and their breakaway, individually or in groups, from this system in favor of socialism.

The law does not operate directly, it does not imply any direct or inverse proportion between economic and political development and the breakaway from the capitalist system; the relation between these elements is mediated by the internal and external contradictions of capitalism.

A. Mileikovsky turned to the growth of imperialist contradictions in the con-

text of the class struggle and the victories of socialism. After the October Revolution, he said, competition between the two antagonistic modes of production became the chief motive force of world development. Socialism's international victories are a cardinal factor in the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. They tend to transform and change imperialist contradictions, narrow and restrict opportunities for resolving them through imperialist world war.

Notwithstanding the assumptions of some Marxists, socialism's success does not necessarily lead to world war between the two antagonistic systems, nor to progressively sharpening catastrophic manifestations of imperialist contradictions which would make war between the principal capitalist powers inevitable.

Faced with the advance of socialism and the national liberation movement, world imperialism has been straining every effort to muster and unite its forces. After World War II, for the first time in history, it was able to build up an all-embracing system of military alliances involving all the principal imperialist powers. And it has to be said that the mutual aid of imperialist countries played a certain part in combating revolutionary movements and has to some extent modified imperialist contradictions.

But there have been qualitative changes in the imperialist camp which has been narrowed down by the socialist advance but which is relatively united for the first time. For one thing, the traditional "concert of the Great Powers" is now only a memory. The United States, using its economic might has advanced to a dominating position and is now the capitalist world's No. 1 military power.

T. Postolache made the point that in SMC there is more mobility and less stability of the imperialist power balanced: the USA has achieved absolute industrial supremacy; somewhat later other capitalist countries increased their growth rate in industry and foreign trade and thus weakened, relatively, America's position; more recently there have been symptoms that that position is being buttressed. But this is taking place at a time when economic levels in other countries are considerably higher than at the end of the war, and this is bound to add tension to the competitive struggle.

H. Wunderlich (GDR) drew attention to the intertwining of the interests of West German capital with those of the ultra-reactionary groups in the USA. But the limitations of the political influence of West German imperialism are obvious. What is more, West German capitalism finds itself hard pressed by the intensified struggle to redivide markets and spheres of influence, the result of the uneven economic and political development of the capitalist world.

Mileikovsky said that the economic success of socialism, its success in the economic competition of the two systems, accentuates the division in the capitalist world, narrows the imperialist sphere of influence, undermines imperialism's military blocs and the relative unity of the imperialist world. Actually there is not only more trade but also more long-term scientific and technical cooperation between the NATO countries and the socialist countries. This is a fundamentally new trend towards long-term economic contacts between the capitalist West and the socialist East, and it could become a weighty factor in a peace settlement in Europe, which has experienced the tragedy of two world wars.

But alongside the overall trend towards division and isolation of the imperialist countries into rival regional groups there is a counter-trend—to retain the unity of the imperialist camp for the attainment of common goals. Its political basis is perfectly clear, but this counter-trend is powered increasingly by international intertwining of capital beyond the regional integration. A bigger part is being played by the international consortiums handling heavy investment projects (in "third world" countries they are becoming the economic foundation of a "collective neo-colonialism").

V. Perlo stressed that state-monopoly capitalism in the industrial countries is closely linked, even dependent upon, the exploitation by imperialism of Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries. This implies that the development of state-monopoly capitalism inevitably and irreversibly accelerates the development not only of class conflicts within the capitalist countries but also the growth of the national-liberation movement.

I. Sabry (UAR) spoke of the place of the developing countries in the modern world and discussed the neo-colonialist

policy of the imperialist states. Though imperialism has had to relinquish direct colonial rule under the impact of the powerful national-liberation movement, it is exploiting the so-called underdeveloped peoples in various other ways.

Sabry put unequal trade at the top of the list. Besides, he said, the imperialists are now inclined to sponsor industries, chiefly semi-processing industries, which enable them indirectly to exploit the cheap labor in the developing countries. This, he pointed out, is a new form of imperialist plunder, citing the growth of textile industries in the third world as a typical example: textiles, with prices steadily falling, are exchanged for machinery, equipment and other manufactures whose price is constantly rising. In addition, foreign monopolies build their own factories in developing countries and derive huge profits from exploiting the cheap local labor. Much trained personnel is being drained off by the West, with most specialists wooed out of their country at their most dynamic age, when they could be most useful.

Among the more subtle forms of plundering the developing countries, *Sabry* added, are the onerous investment deals and the various "aid" programs.

Exploitation of the third world, he said, is therefore an important aspect of state monopoly capitalism, and no program combating monopoly domination can afford to ignore it.

Modern capitalism in countries of a medium degree of development has specific features of its own, arising from the law of uneven development. This was the point made by *J. Vicens* (Spain), who noted that most of the European countries in that group have broken away from the capitalist system (Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, etc.). Argentina, Chile, Mexico and a few others, meanwhile, have joined, or are in the act of attaining a medium level of development.

In Europe the group of countries of a medium degree of development includes Spain, Portugal, Greece and Ireland. In the early sixties the national per capita income there averaged \$320 a year, or a quarter of that in the four most advanced European states.

These countries may differ considerably, but, at least at present, their economies have certain common features—a predominantly rural population, an acute dearth of sources of accumulation,

an extensive agriculture (in some cases distinctly monocultural), a preponderance of extractive and consumer industries with the consequent absence of modern production facilities, an inability to provide full employment and resultant wholesale emigration.

Vicens listed strong survivals of feudalism (in Spain and Portugal) and foreign interference among the reasons for their backwardness.

Countries in Southern Europe are trying to exploit what some economists cynically call the "advantages of backwardness." The allusion is to their capacity for extensive capitalist development with outdated technology and production techniques, purchase of second-grade licences and patents, replacement of imports with home-made goods, extension of capitalist relations to other parts of the country, exploitation of cheap labor, etc.

However, to survive on these terms in the modern capitalist world they need a protective system. This is why protectionism has gained in importance for the more backward European countries. But in some cases such protectionism is insufficient, in others conflicting, and in all ineffective. In Spain and Portugal, for example, it is based on a compromise between the bourgeoisie and the landowners, and besides "producing industrialists" also preserves feudal survivals in agriculture.

In the South European countries some capitalist companies grow into monopolies before completing the stage of free competition and achieving any tangible advances in technology and efficiency. Yet for size of controlled capital a Portuguese firm, a Spanish banking group or a Greek family concern may match similar interests in the rich European countries.

The fascist regimes in Spain and Portugal and the ultra-reactionary military dictatorship recently installed in Greece are a reflection of the peculiar features of their ruling classes and of their inability to secure more enduring and stable forms of social organization.

Vicens cited Spain as an example of monopoly domination in the midst of feudal survivals, pointing to its bureaucratically guided economy with its outdated structural pattern, extensive government interference in the economy and the existence of an appreciable state sector.

IRRATIONAL CAPITALISM AND THE GERMINATION OF THE PRE-CONDITIONS FOR SOCIALISM

Lenin defined imperialism as a decaying, moribund system. The analysis of present-day capitalism made by the participants in the conference confirmed the validity of this definition for today.

Many speakers pointed to the increasing decay of capitalism and noted that it acts as a brake on social progress.

A. Mileikovsky observed that Lenin, who defined the new laws of capitalism, characterized its final stage as "imperialism," stressing that this description, which had earlier stood for the policy of foreign conquest, is more conclusive and accurate in expressing the economic and political essence of monopoly capitalism.

Z. Bednarik said that under modern capitalism concentration of power is observed not only in the economy, but also in the political sphere, breeding ambitions of hegemony in both home and foreign policy.

H. Wunderlich, too, referred to these trends, showing that Bonn's policies confirmed Lenin's point about the incompatibility of monopoly domination and democracy. Lenin's inference, he said, that monopoly pervades all spheres of public life holds true for Federal Germany. Intensified reaction at home combines with greater aggressiveness abroad; West German imperialism is today the main source of European tension.

After the Second World War, Bednarik said, imperialism became more reactionary and aggressive because its position in the world was challenged and the socialist world system came into being. Imperialism is trying to roll back and, if opportunity presents, destroy socialism. Hence its reckless gamble in Vietnam and other parts of the world.

Competing continuously with its rivals for territory and foreign markets, A. Mileikovsky said, the capitalists form huge armies and stockpile lethal weapons. Towards the end of his life, Frederick Engels noted at the dawn of the imperialist epoch, that the European nations now have to gear their life to the necessity of maintaining huge armies and, militarism, inflated to monstrous proportions, may cause destructive wars that will cripple the economy that nurtured it.

Militarization of economy, which has assumed giant dimensions in some im-

perialist countries, notably the United States, *T. Postolache* said, is a major factor causing concentration and centralization of capital and production, and is at once the sphere in which the role of the state is most prominent. In the United States much of the technological and industrial research is deeply influenced by it. The percentage of war production in the U.S. aviation industry, for example, has climbed to 95, in shipbuilding to over 60, and to 50 per cent in radio electronics, etc. Military allocations are tremendous. The bulk is spent on Defense Department orders placed with the top monopolies. During the Second World War the biggest 100 monopolies handled 66 per cent of the war orders, and now handle as much as 75 per cent.

F. Mieres (Venezuela) agreed with the preceding speaker that modern imperialism was stepping up militarization and becoming more aggressive. To understand its reactionary essence and its role as a brake on human progress it was essential, among other things, to analyze the imperialist exploitation of third world countries. He described it as the worst ulcer of capitalism, one that eroded the third world.

R. Pena pointed out that the growing contradictoriness of the capitalist system made it irrational and retrograde. Capitalism has been making rapid headway in the postwar, as evidenced by growing production, efficiency, surplus value, etc. But this growth which offers more scope for exploitation, has inevitably sharpened social contradictions. As a result, relative and local improvements in the standard of living coalesce with violence and such brutal bloodshed as the Vietnam war, with colonialist intervention and with increasing dehumanization of "neo-capitalist" societies.

While augmenting the objective possibilities for social progress and, therefore, also creating new requirements, *C. Vernay* observed, SMC used these added resources chiefly for the benefit of the oligarchy. Hence, the economic results ceased to respond to social needs.

Summing up this aspect of modern capitalism, *Y. Frantsev* said in his concluding remarks that capitalism had become an irrational system imperilling the existence of society, for it was associated with wars, reaction and fascism.

All participants agreed that these perils would persist until SMC domination

was removed. Speakers stressed the point, first made by Lenin, that SMC creates preconditions for its own destruction. Some quoted Lenin that state-monopoly capitalism was, in effect, paving the way for socialism and represented the threshold to socialism.

Elaborating on this idea, *Vernay* said that SMC created both the material and the social conditions for the passage to socialism, the new, more progressive society.

Pena inferred the inception of the preconditions for socialism from the entire structure of SMC. Monopoly domination, he said, augmented and deepened the contradictions of capitalism. Enlargement of the sphere of capitalist domination tended to commercialize all aspects of the life of communities, families and individuals, fomenting conflict not only between labor and capital but, on a more general plane, between monopolized society and the individual.

This, the speaker added, is the underlying context of the general crisis of capitalism, from which that system cannot extricate itself. Marxist theory has done well, he said, to debunk the dogmatic idea that capitalism is doomed to inevitable cutbacks of production and shrinkages of markets, and that steady impoverishment and monotonous social polarization were the sole basis for socialist revolution.

L. Urban listed the typical new aspects of modern capitalism, intimating its gradual decline and the germination of the pre-conditions for socialism. Among other things, the speaker referred to the gradual restriction of private interests as the main driving force of economic development. The latter is now subject to broader requirements, he said, and he pointed to the tendency towards regulating economic development not only in the short term, but also from the standpoint of the long-term perspective. Urban also dwelt on the emergence of a "public management mechanism" not only at the level of big monopolies and banks but, due to greater government interference and to the state sector, also at government level. To illustrate his point, he noted that many types of activity, such as research, have been taken out of private hands and that the so-called non-profit sphere has expanded visibly. Distribution of the national income through the state budget in order to satisfy requirements (especially the

so-called collective or public requirements) which the market mechanism could not cover, he maintained, was part of the same trend.

Administration of large enterprises by managers, he held, showed that the function of enterprise has been divorced from capitalist ownership.

This was also the angle from which Urban viewed the growth of individual and public consumption, which he saw as the result of struggle waged by workers' organizations, for the workers' influence on economic and political issues, notably through their trade unions, has been growing continuously.

Urban and others emphasized, however, that the germination of the material and social preconditions for socialism within the capitalist system did not imply an automatic victory for socialism.

R. Pena warned against overestimating elements of socialism in state monopoly capitalism. He could not help feeling, he said, that Urban conceived the downfall of capitalism through its efflorescence as an automatic process, and stressed that forecasting SMC development entailed a study of numerous socio-political aspects and of the class struggle.

H. Wunderlich indicated that the merging of monopoly power with that of the imperialist state on the basis of state-monopoly regulation, and the like, modified the foundations of the imperialist economy but did not affect the operation of the objective laws governing capitalist development nor its antagonistic contradictions.

All agreed that socialism depended on the struggle waged by progressives, above all the workers, for profound democratic reconstruction.

THE NEW FRONTS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The present trends in state monopoly capitalism and the current technological revolution pose new problems for the working class and the democratic and socialist forces. What should be their attitude to the growing economic role of the capitalist state, to capitalist planning, to state-monopoly socialization? How to fend off the anti-democratic trends of the modern capitalist state? What conclusions to draw from the changes in the class structure caused by capitalist economic development? How

to make the most of the contradictions of SMC and of the preconditions it created for socialism?

These problems were discussed at length.

In particular, the discussion centered on nationalization and the role of nationalized property in preparing the ground for the socialist revolution.

J. R. Campbell (Britain) asked for a conclusive definition of democratic nationalization (as distinct from capitalist, on the one hand, and socialist, on the other).

M. Rossi's (Italy) question was essentially the same. Why do we advocate nationalization, why does the French Communist Party, for example, table bills to this effect, he asked, if in the present conditions nationalized industry served the private monopolies and nationalization was effected in their interest?

P. Hentges (France) replied that the fight for nationalization should, at once, expose the reactionary aspects of the existing nationalized sector. He recalled that since 1963 the French Communists have been pressing for a debate in parliament on eight nationalization bills. The attendant propaganda enabled the Communists, while advocating the principle of nationalization, to work for the immediate demands of the workers in the industries concerned, combining this with the fight against the oligarchies controlling these industries, with the fight for the future of France, for the socialist cause.

After the liberation, under communist pressure, the government enacted statutes for miners in the nationalized coal industry. Now, Hentges said, the French Party is calling for the nationalization of the iron-and-steel industry, which will mean that steelworkers, too, will get statutes, enabling them to secure better working conditions and wages. The statutes would also benefit women and young people and improve the pensions scheme and housing conditions.

In sum, he said, the French Communist Party is aligning the theoretical aspects of nationalization with its firm determination to act realistically.

A. Pesenti noted that the postwar labor movement in Italy was against any restitution of the public sector to private interests (as later in West Germany). It wanted this important instrument to be used against the monopolies and called

for further nationalization in more industries. This struggle, headed by the Italian Communist Party in conditions created by the new correlation of forces, expedited the growth of the public sector and contributed to its relative independence. Enterprises partly owned by the state, he said, were compelled to withdraw from Confindustria, the organization of industrialists. It was easier for the workers in these factories to gain positive results through trade union action, especially in improving working conditions, vocational training, working hours and on other issues concerning administrative powers and the role and influence of the workers.

Whenever a state-owned enterprise is for economic reasons compelled to shut down or cut back production, and to dismiss workers, the latter can by resistance obtain compensation. For example, when the Livorno shipyards were closed, other enterprises were opened. Some of the measures taken under workers' pressure, not based exclusively on the profit principle, were aimed against the monopolies. To be sure, the results are never conclusive, for they depend on the balance of strength and usually represent a compromise. Yet they are always a step closer to the democratic solution aimed at dismantling capitalism.

State-run enterprises evoke hostility among the monopolies. This breeds a kind of corporate spirit among the specialists in the state sector; they tend to defend the state enterprise and the system of state ownership, nurturing distinctly anti-monopoly sentiments, which, given the right political impetus by us, may incline them to socialism.

As we see it, Pesenti said, state ownership of the means of production is, also economically, an effective instrument for combating the monopolies.

L. Maier (GDR), pointed out that at one time West German concerns suggested nationalizing the Ruhr mining industry with a view to modernizing it. Later they gave up the idea, evidently because of the specific conditions wrought by the existence of the two German states.

We should certainly support nationalization in principle, he said, but added that the problem hinged on the terms that made such nationalization democratic: effective workers' control over nationalization as such, and over management of nationalized enterprises; the relationship between state-owned enter-

prises and the state organs, the planning agencies, etc., coupled with the question of social relations and working conditions. In clarifying the nature of nationalization, of democratic planning and other related problems, we also see more clearly the implications of political power, the nature of the state, and hence the conditions and stages of the workers' fight for power.

Economic planning, or programming, is another new front, a new battlefield, for the working class. The workers, naturally, want democratic planning. They know, of course, that planning is objectively necessary, but are aware that they have to fight for the right kind of planning. It is up to the workers to show, therefore, that in the imperialist environment planning is based on the class interests of the capitalists, being designed to buttress the domination of finance capital, to step up exploitation. However, as Pesenti observed, democratic programming—democratic in objectives and methods of its elaboration and implementation—can be turned to good use in promoting the people's aspirations, resolving the problems afflicting the nation and securing the desired type of growth. It could be used as a means towards economic democracy, for advancing to socialism, provided the fight against monopoly power is prosecuted with vigor and the people rally round the working class. In economic terms, he said, democratic programming amounts to "structural reform."

In recent years, particularly in view of the trend toward planning, the bourgeois state has been intervening more actively in the immediate relations between organized labor and capital, that is, between the trade unions and the industrialists or their organizations.

The paper submitted by J. R. Campbell* noted that under SMC the state intervened openly in industrial relations, which distinguished it radically from earlier stages, in which the state pretended to be "neutral" (intervening openly on rare occasions only). The trade unions have grown stronger, Lefts are more prominent in their leadership, the chronic mass unemployment has been eliminated and the capitalists have become more vulnerable to strikes due to the extended division of labor and the emergence of giant industrial

*Written jointly with B. Ramelson.

complexes. This compels the monopolies to fall back on the state, which intervenes on their behalf and forcibly alters the balance of strength. The state is bent on emasculating the unions and turning them into bodies of class co-operation.

The latest form in which the state intervenes in labor-capital relations in most of the developed capitalist countries is through the "incomes policy," which is carried through in varying degrees and in one form or another. In Campbell's view this is a general tendency of SMC, though in Britain it has gone farther than elsewhere because of her economic difficulties and because her trade unions are relatively better organized.

A. Pesenti links the incomes policy to planning. He said this policy is an unbreakable law for today's SMC. It is now obvious that mere intervention in the area of demand or the general expenditures of the population is insufficient, although it is precisely this that the followers of Keynes demanded in their time. If changes in the process of capitalist production and accumulation are not desirable, there remains only the avenue of influencing the process of the distribution of incomes. But the incomes policy, which by rights ought to control not only the workers' wages but also the profits, interest and other income of capitalists, in fact appears in the form of the wage freeze.

This same conclusion is drawn from the report presented by J. Campbell. The question of the incomes policy, it is noted in the report, arose in the SMC mainly as a result of the growing strength of the workers in contract negotiations in a period of relatively high employment and conditions of competition between the capitalist and socialist systems. Only with the beginning of the long period of a high level of employment after the Second World War did the capitalists, governments and high government bureaucracy officials become convinced of the necessity of blocking the wage struggles lest the workers' ability to achieve an increase in real wages and the improvement of working conditions become a general rule. An additional factor was the growth in the numbers, organization and militancy of the working class as a result of the anti-fascist nature of the war.

The Labor Government, using persua-

sion and means of compulsion, is forcing the incomes policy upon the English workers, aiming to undermine the struggle of the trade unions for a raise in the wages of workers and employees.

Present attempts to make the incomes policy a responsibility of the Trades Union Congress are extremely dangerous. It would then have the appearance of being voluntary and would meet with less resistance from the organized workers. The General Council of the TUC would be recommending that some trade unions are entitled to a wage increase, while others are not. Trade union solidarity would be in jeopardy. It would also hold back the militant trade unions, whose advances have the effect of compelling other unions to follow suit. Also, it would undermine trade union democracy, for the leadership would no longer be accountable to the membership, facilitating the fulfilment of the basic aim of SMC of integrating the trade unions into the state machine.

G. Schwartz (FRG), who spoke of the situation in West Germany, said the incomes policy (pursued there as in Britain, with the participation of Right Social-Democrats) is designed to shift the burdens of the economic crisis onto the working class.

Many speakers touched on the more general questions of the labor situation and stressed the socio-political impact of the registered changes.

It would be politically senseless, E. Bjarnason said, to try to convince Canadian workers that they face absolute impoverishment. A quarter of a century ago \$40 a week was considered a fair wage. The purchasing capacity of the dollar has since dropped to less than half, while the weekly wage has climbed to \$160 (for skilled workers). The real weekly wage has, therefore, risen about 65 per cent. True, the deductions are greater, the cost-of-living index is anything but fair, etc., but the opportunities to buy a house, a car, various durables, coupled with the holiday and entertainment opportunities, are making an impression.

At the same time, Bjarnason said, the absolute universal law of capitalist accumulation is to be seen at work in the proletarianization of the people, ruining the small producer and adding to the number of wage-earners, though this is hard to prove if, like the bourgeois

theorists and many Marxist dogmatists, we apply the term "proletarian" to industrial workers only. Should we accept the fact that the white-collar worker, too, has nothing to sell except his labor, the tendency is self-evident. Between 1946 and 1967 the percentage of employers and independently employed people shrank in Canada from one-third to 15 per cent of the working population and from 14 to less than 9 per cent in the non-agricultural sphere, with expropriation of small producers and petty proprietors continuing at a rapid pace.

C. Vernay noted, too, that proletarianization was in full swing among people socially close to the working class. Most engineers and technicians, he said, are part of the "aggregate" worker: workers and other employees in spheres servicing and completing the production circuit. In the developed nations the majority now has a stake in abolishing monopoly power and forming an anti-monopoly force under working-class leadership.

The gap between the level of development of the productive forces and the people's living and working conditions is widening. The monopolies are intensifying labor and striving to preserve the longest possible working hours. This has the effect of wearing out the labor force, adding to the incidence of occupational diseases and accidents, and stimulating additional and "underground" overtime not protected by legislation. While production is growing, purchasing capacity is almost the same as before.

A similar view was expressed by other speakers. The technical flux, M. Cihak said, is causing insecurity, agave all among workers and farmers. He blamed postwar unemployment on the technological revolution and the associated structural change in the economies of the developed capitalist countries.

In some countries, profound and continuous technical flux, he said, was changing the territorial pattern of production, inevitably followed by internal migration and even migration abroad. These processes are having grave social consequences for large segments of the people, because the problem of redundancy necessitates fairly radical retraining, change of labor skills and of the way of life.

The increasing instability and insecurity of the workers were defined by Bjarnason as a materialization of the Marxist

law of capitalist accumulation. Technical progress created redundancy of workers, factories and even whole industrial areas. All too often, middle-aged skilled workers with twenty and more years of service are banished into the labor market, where their trade is not in demand.

Naturally, the process is evoking resistance. Almost all collective bargaining touches on the question of guarantees. Yet, though workers frequently obtain fairly dependable guarantees, the knowledge is sinking in that the social aspect of the problem is still unsolved. The term "silent firings" has come into use, meaning that though a worker may be guaranteed "lifelong" employment, unemployment results for the next generation because the job he eventually vacates is not filled.

Unemployment is nowhere near its level of the nineteen-thirties, but it is growing. The average annual postwar unemployment figure in Canada in crisis years is seven per cent of the total labor force. Statistics reveal the existence of reserve manpower, bearing out Marx's analysis.

Turning to the structure of the labor force, M. Cihak demonstrated that the relative, sometimes even absolute, decrease in manual workers after the war is accompanied by a rapid increase in engineers and technicians. The technological revolution is changing the character of labor and eliminating some of the distinctions between manual and mental work. Workers employed in trades with mainly mental functions are growing rapidly in number. Conversely, we are witnessing changes in the working conditions and economic situation of many grades of technicians and engineers.

Cihak maintained that the technological revolution tended to destroy or alter the objective base on which the features of certain social groups, strata and classes originated. The tendency, he held, is towards obliteration of some of the specific features now distinguishing workers and intellectuals from administrative personnel, people employed in the productive sphere from people employed in the services, etc.

Cihak underscored the importance of a Marxist analysis of these developments, since the new element in the character of labor and the economic situation of social groups and classes would, no doubt, gain increasing prominence as science and technology con-

tinue to advance. This analysis, he said, would clearly demonstrate the fallacy of certain sectarian tendencies vis-a-vis the highly-skilled workers, technicians, engineers, scientists and researchers. Harmful in the past, sectarian views are doubly so today.

Marxists have always maintained that the Communist movement must lean on social forces objectively associated with the most progressive mode of production. Today, this applies first and foremost to the rapidly growing stratum of skilled workers, engineers, technicians and scientific workers.

THE WAYS OF STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

What are the ways and means of the fight for socialism in the environment of state-monopoly capitalism and the technological revolution?

The round-table did not set out to produce a conclusive answer to this question, but indicated that successful struggle for socialism required a deep knowledge of the structural changes of modern capitalism. The mainly economic discussion thus yielded a few political conclusions.

L. Urban stressed the need for a broad political anti-monopoly coalition whose pressures would impel the kind of socio-economic changes that gradually obliterated capitalism. The struggle in the economic sphere, he added, must combine with the political fight for democracy and for ultimate control of the machinery of state.

Communists want the state's economic policy, the budget and state investments and expenditures to redress the decisive influence of powerful monopoly groups and begin to serve the interests of the people. This point was made by *A. Kolar*. By this token, he said, the importance of an anti-monopoly coalition a democratic movement campaigning for structural reforms, is greater than ever.

A. Pesenti outlined the program of structural reforms advocated by the Italian Communist Party. The ICP, he said, is demanding that in industry state-operated enterprises should play a distinctly anti-monopoly role and stand in the vanguard of progress, intervening in market relations, with the process of accumulation and the issue of investment funds, as well as prices, outlays and profits, controlled and direct-

ed by means of economic reforms. In agriculture, the program envisages transfer of land to the tiller and a set of other democratic reforms, including privileges for various forms of peasant co-operatives with a view to raising the productivity of farm labor. The Party is also calling for reforms in corporation law, banking, taxation, and the like.

For these structural reforms to be effective, *Pesenti* stressed, we need appropriate democratic instruments through which the people could exercise effective control and authority. The fabric of the state has to be reorganized. What we need are regional assemblies and governments, more local autonomy, planning on a community and regional scale and conversion of bureaucratic economic bodies into democratic institutions.

The ICP has no reformist illusions, the speaker stressed, because it never allows the realities of the class struggle to escape its field of vision, no matter what new, changed form it may assume.

C. Vernay noted that in France struggle for democratic control of production can curb monopoly domination. Nationalization of the key economic sectors, including the most profitable, he said, would provide the means for advancing democratic aims. The nationalized concerns, he said, could take the lead not only in economic but also in public matters. The basic needs of the workers could then be met, and their rights recognized. The example of the nationalized enterprises would be bound to affect the condition of people employed in the remaining capitalist enterprises. The workers of the nationalized sector would set the example and inject into it a revolutionary content.

Socialism does not come into being as soon as capitalism is deprived of control, *Vernay* said. The latter survives in the private sector by virtue of the compensation paid to the former proprietors, etc. But an important step will have been taken thereby towards a more progressive society, for the nation would assume responsibility for the basic production machinery, denying control to capitalists. This shows that passage to a democratic society, one tending to outgrow the framework of state-monopoly capitalism, is the first step to socialism.

Vernay predicated the change-over on the establishment of a democratic gov-

ernment, whose policy would be realistic, for on the economic plane, nationalization corresponding to the level of the productive forces would secure modern progress, and, socially, orientation on the non-monopoly population. This policy is realistic because it is aimed against the SMC oligarchy, the bastion of capitalism, on the one hand, and because it reflects the interests of the vast majority, on the other.

Only the united democratic forces can wrest political and economic power from the oligarchy, now the main vehicle of capitalist oppression, against which the progressive forces should concentrate their actions.

M. Rossi agreed that without first establishing democratic power one could neither guide the country's economy by democratic methods nor alter the character of nationalization. But in Vernay's presentation he thought he saw a certain vacuum between the existing power and the future democratic government. To him it was unclear what should be done to pass from monopoly rule to a democratic administration and just as unclear what the working class and the anti-monopoly forces should do in the economic, as well as the political spheres, in order to influence the government's policy. What, he asked, should the workers and anti-monopoly forces do on the economic as well as political plane to counteract the fact that the state today acts exclusively in the interest of the monopolies? These questions, Rossi said, were of the utmost importance.

Some of the points made by Pena in his paper echoed Vernay and Rossi. Pena averred that a state corporation was no more than a formal rejection of capitalism. The rest depended on the nature of the state. This was why the revolutionary forces had to rally the people and to secure a democratic solution destroying monopoly power and opening the door to the socialist choice. This was something we should take into account, he said, in assessing the possibilities of peaceful evolution in the present stage.

Speaking of the democratic alternative to state-monopoly capitalism, other speakers, too, stressed the importance of safeguarding and extending democracy. L. Meier observed that bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism were insufficient, by virtue of the inner logic of SMC development, to cope with contem-

porary requirements. The monopolies, he added, had their own solution. In the FRG, for one thing, they talk of a crisis of parliamentarism, producing socio-political concepts to alter the existing parliamentary structures. Economic problems, particularly the exigencies of the current technological revolution and the need for centralized guidance of industry, are construed as arguments in favor of certain authoritarian trends. Meier referred to the concept of a "consummate society" now current in West Germany designed to resolve the so-called conflict of organized interests, meaning the trade unions and other organizations. Attempts are made to impose on the trade unions some functions of the state, including certain aspects of economic planning, and to exploit them as a prop for the capitalist system under the watchword of trade union "integration."

Some speakers dwelt on the illusions fostered by activity of the modern capitalist state, which, on the face of it, is the product of a compromise between different class forces, including the trade unions.

H. Schwarz referred to the flexible policy of the FRG monopolies, who made bold use of social demagoguery. The idea of "social partnership" is being peddled to the workers in various guises, with workers' organizations integrated into the capitalist system, he said. Legislation entitling trade unionists to participate in management, and the like, is exploited to the utmost for this purpose. But in the long run class antagonism is proving stronger. The capitalists' designs are defeated by the intensification of the class struggle, which has of late transcended the limits of socio-economic conflict and is progressively acquiring a political complexion, as borne out by the workers' fight against the projected emergency laws.

* * *

By and large, the participants agreed that the development of state-monopoly capitalism was creating new conditions and fresh possibilities for democratic advance in the capitalist countries. The struggle today centers on changing the nature of state intervention and on the search for new forms of advancing socialist society, for which SMC furnishes

tangible material preconditions.

The development of state-monopoly capitalism, Y. Frantsev said in his concluding remarks, bears out the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the importance of poli-

tical power, in class society. The democratic alternative to state-monopoly capitalism, he said, is inconceivable without mass political struggle aimed at resolving the problem of power.

"THE MONOPOLY OF CAPITAL BECOMES A FETTER UPON THE MODE OF PRODUCTION, WHICH HAS SPRUNG UP AND FLOURISHED ALONG WITH, AND UNDER IT. CENTRALIZATION OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND SOCIALIZATION OF LABOR AT LAST REACH A POINT WHERE THEY BECOME INCOMPATIBLE WITH THEIR CAPITALIST INEGUMENT. THIS INEGUMENT IS BURST ASUNDER. THE KNELL OF CAPITALIST PRIVATE PROPERTY SOUNDS. THE EXPROPRIATORS ARE EXPROPRIATED."

K. Marx, Capital, Vol. I.

"IMPERIALISM IS THE EVE OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE PROLETARIAT."

V. I. Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. Preface to the French and German editions.

Bourgeois ideology abets neo-colonialism

HENRI ALLEG

Most of the once colonial peoples are now independent. None knows better than they, however, that their battle is not yet won. Despite the national flags waving over the new capitals, imperialists are still firmly entrenched in many of them, meddling in their affairs and straining to keep them in their sphere of influence. Where possible they do so openly, with resort to arms, but indirect interference is more frequent, through military and political support for local reactionaries and through various economic pressures.

What the peoples want is complete and genuine national liberation, and they are searching intently for the way to social and cultural progress, to the better future dreamed of by previous genera-

tions. More people are becoming aware that to achieve the cherished goal they must eradicate all survivals of the slavish past, economic backwardness, hunger and illiteracy left behind by their former colonial masters. Those are the motives inspiring the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, on which hinges the fate of the newly-independent states and, to no lesser degree, the fate of mankind.

It depends on the option of the newly-free states, on their progress in building a life free from colonial and capitalist exploitation, whether the worldwide victory of socialism placed on the agenda of history by the October Revolution comes sooner or at a more remote time, and whether it is relatively easier or hard-won.

The imperialists know the implications for them of defeat in the fight for influence, and are doing their utmost to obstruct the liberation movement. The ruthlessness with which the U.S. imperialists are endeavoring to crush heroic Vietnam is designed, among other things, as a warning to all "third world" peoples who, like the Vietnamese, may wish to espouse socialism. The billions of dollars spent on maintaining Latin American dictators are part and parcel of the same policy, hemming in peoples that reject capitalist exploitation and dependence on foreign imperialism.

Gone are the days when London, New York, Paris or Brussels could rule whole continents and tell the teeming millions in India and Africa how they should live. No longer are punitive expeditions a valid argument against the will of the insurgent nations. No longer do apologists for imperialism extol the "civilizing" mission of the colonialists and sing hymns to the "white man's burden," while colonial peoples suffer abominable brutalities, for none will listen to them.

Today, the imperialists must produce entirely new arguments to vindicate their predatory policies and combat the popularity of socialist ideas. They can no longer claim the "divine" right to domination and exploitation, for they have to reckon with the new correlation of forces and with the irrepressible surge of the formerly colonial nations, inspired by socialism and striving eagerly for the best way to ensure for themselves the future of their choice. Hence the increasing importance of the "ideological front" in the imperialist battle against newly-independent nations.

Bourgeois ideologists are particularly interested in the "third world" which previously they treated with contempt, confining their studies to its past and to the ancient cultures. They are priming their ideological weapons, which are to facilitate subtly masked forms of neo-colonialism not only forcibly implanted but backed by some internal forces. To win a following, they resort to insidious arguments often outwardly "scientific" and fashioned to "sluice off" the appeal of scientific socialism, their main enemy. Though the theses brought forward are varied, they have a single purpose: to defeat Marxism or to revise it. They are all starkly anti-communist and anti-Soviet.

But the bourgeois ideologists have set themselves a rather difficult task. The spread of Marxism-Leninism and its universal influence cannot be arrested by denunciation in the name of religion, of the existing order or of free enterprise. So they are looking for more convincing arguments. People aspiring to end the poverty inherited from their former state of slavery are not easily persuaded to turn against scientific socialism. Yet such "scientific" ideological subversion, coupled with widespread irrational trends can do damage.

Burdened with the thankless task of championing the outdated capitalist system, some bourgeois sociologists pose as innovators and, to get in a thrust at Marxism, condemn all ideologies. Arthur Schlesinger, Walt Rostow and Raymond Aron, for example, prefer "ideas" to ideology, which, they argue, is "obsolete." The title of one of Aron's *Trois essais sur l'âge industriel* is "End of Ideologies—Revival of Ideas." Schlesinger maintains that "the world has moved beyond these obsolete ideologies toward a far more subtle and flexible social strategy." To condemn "ideology" (read working-class ideology), they reduce it to ossified dogmas out of line with reality and go on to "repudiate" Marxism or, more precisely, their own, perverted version of it.

This contrived differentiation between "ideas" and "ideologies," and rejection of the latter, enables the bourgeois sociologist to sidestep any single logical system of views and to take his pragmatic choice of arguments best suited in his view to out-argue Marxism.

For the Marxist, ideology connotes the world outlook of a social class. Just as working-class ideology is the worker's tool in the fight for emancipation, so bourgeois ideology, whatever its form (even when condemning all "ideology"), is a tool of the exploiters.

No matter to what school they belong, whether they view history as a chaotic agglomeration of accidents or as orderly and purposeful, all bourgeois theorists reject the class struggle and the decisive role it plays in the transition from one socio-economic formation to the next, for by so doing they also *ipso facto* reject the inevitability of social revolution under working-class leadership. Their denial of ideology, like their quasi-scientific theories "deposing," "surpas-

sing" or "adapting" Marxism, is aimed at vindicating capitalist exploitation.

Frequently, bourgeois writers claim that they operate exclusively in the sphere of pure science and have no concern for practice, leaving it to others to apply their theories in daily politics. But their exercises are anything but abstract. Rostow, for one, makes no secret of this fact. In his *The Stages of Economic Growth*, he defines at least one of his purposes:

"We must demonstrate," he writes, "that the underdeveloped nations . . . can move successfully through the pre-conditions into a well established take-off within the orbit of the democratic world, resisting the blandishments and temptations of communism. This is, I believe, the most important single item on the Western agenda."

To combat the "blandishments and temptations" of communism, Rostow and his fellows approach social growth out of the context of production and socio-economic relations prevailing at a particular time; for them growth is evolutionary transition from a lower phase in which machine production is totally absent (they call it "traditional society") to a "society of high mass-consumption" meeting the consumer demand. While stressing the differences in technology, on which their conception rests, and writing off production relations expressed through one of the forms of ownership, the exponents of this view gloss over the irreconcilability of socialist and capitalist relations of production and accentuate only the obvious points of identity in the technological sphere and in present-day industrial development.

Aron arrives at the following conclusion: "Possibly one day all industrial societies will begin to resemble each other more." He evidently believes that on reaching what Rostow terms "phase five" (the stage of "high mass-consumption"), the highly industrialized socialist and capitalist countries will iron out their social distinctions and move towards convergence. The conclusion we are invited to draw is clear: why revolution and social upheaval if both systems lead in the long run to the same goal—an advanced industrial society meeting in full the demand of citizens?

By threatening growth of the productive forces (the aim of developing countries) as a purely technical matter, ex-

ponents of the convergence theory try to obscure the crucial political problem, that of social structure, of choice between the socialist and capitalist way, a problem that has to be clearly and unequivocally posed in the interests of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle.

Seeing that the newly-independent countries are eager to eliminate backwardness, a consequence of the barbaric colonial rule, some of the inferences drawn from the "theory of stages of economic growth" have gained a certain popularity. Take the thesis opposing the "rich north" to the "poor south," or that opposing "industrial countries" sometimes termed "bourgeois" to "underdeveloped" or "proletarian."

Gunnar Myrdhal, the Swedish economist, says the following in his book, *An International Economy*:

"On a fundamental level, the differences between nations have similarities with the differences between social classes in a national community—as they existed before they began to dissolve rapidly on account of national integration in our modern welfare states.

"The larger part of the rest of mankind forms in this sense a lower class of nations—with a number of nations in a middle class position. As a matter of fact, and considering their actual levels of living, the term proletariat would be more appropriate in such an international comparison than it ever was or, anyhow, is now within any of the advanced nations . . . Nevertheless, I for one would not commit myself to the belief that Marx's prediction of cataclysm, which proved wrong for the national states, will prove right in the international field."

Though conditional, this division into "rich" and "poor" cannot be denied. Countries inhabited by some 16 per cent of the world's population own 75 per cent of the world's wealth. But to substitute geographical and ethnic frontiers for the fundamental social frontier that divides people living by their own labor from those living off the labor of others, is to write off the real mainsprings of history and to distort the prevailing correlation of class forces.

Bourgeois ideologists deny the existence of class struggle in Western countries. (At best they concede that it existed in the former "traditional socie-

ties" but ended when the industrial stage swept out the old class contradictions). Wage-earners in the "industrial countries" tend to become "deproletarianized," to integrate with the increasingly affluent "national society" rather than with "the abstract world of so-called exploited industrial workers of all countries." This contention is no novelty. It is designed to prove that the exploiting bourgeoisie and exploited proletariat have identical interests and that there is no such thing as international class solidarity. In the advanced capitalist countries class struggle is said to be a thing of the past, and it is inferred therefrom that in the economically backward countries, too, social classes are non-existent or that the distinctions between them are too indistinct to warrant class struggle.

Addressing developing countries, some bourgeois thinkers portray their counterposing of "bourgeois nations" to "proletarian nations" as a "revolutionary" application on a world scale of the Marxist concept of that class struggle which they so ardently deny in the individual countries.

The theory of "poor" and "rich" countries is an insidious ideological exercise, designed to sow confusion and, donning a scientific, even "revolutionary" garb, enters the lists against the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. Its exponents pursue a practical aim: by accentuating the "rich" and "poor" concept they hope to stave off the emergence of a worldwide alliance against imperialism and exploitation and to undermine political and economic cooperation between the "third world" and the developed socialist states by arguing that the latter, too, belong with the imperialist powers to the group of "rich countries."

This contention cropped up at the U.N. trade and development conference in Geneva in the spring of 1964, and at subsequent conferences.

The advocates of capitalism aver that the terms "proletariat" and "bourgeoisie" are meaningless and that the worker's standard of living in the rich countries qualifies him as a "new bourgeois" worlds removed from the under-fed proletariat of the "third world." The idea here is to drive a wedge between wage-earners in the advanced countries and their "third world" counterparts. By accentuating living standards (naturally

different from country to country and just as naturally coloring people's social and political outlook) they write off the fact that wage-earners in all countries, "rich" and "poor," have to contend with the same exploiters and that solidarity between them is therefore natural and inevitable.

The concept of "rich north" and "poor south" is intended to promote geographical determinism in socio-economic matters, that is, to emphasize the geographic factor and thereby justify keeping the "third world" countries in their present backward state. Another purpose is to cloak the imperialist responsibility for colonial plunder. No longer, they say, are Western monopolists solely responsible for the plunder and backwardness of the former colonial world. The guilt lies with all the "industrial nations."

This subtle maneuver—denial of the class character of contemporary capitalist society and the contention that this society is obsolete—has a dual purpose: first, the socialist countries are put under the same head as the capitalist countries of the "rich north" and, second, the people of industrial countries are depicted as enemies of the exploited masses in the "third world." Some writers go further and contend that no improvement is conceivable in the newly-free states unless the standard of living is pressed down proportionately in the industrially advanced countries. Some Western propagandists tell the workers in the capitalist countries that their standard of living is declining, stagnating or rising too slowly because the "third world" is for their governments an expensive proposition."

This has given birth to a variety of arguments: sociologists go to the length of predicting an apocalyptic disaster, a bloody and ruthless clash between the "affluent bourgeois north" and the "destitute revolutionary south." This clash is portrayed as a racial conflict, since nearly all the industrial nations are white and the backward ones are non-white. To befuddle the class consciousness of the Western worker, they speak of a "peril" emanating from the "third world," whose aspirations for a better life are said to jeopardize the workers' gains wrested from the capitalists. This is designed to pit one group of exploited against another and to subvert workers' international solidarity equally essential

for the Western worker and the peoples of the newly-free states.

It is natural and understandable that the people of the "third world" want a higher standard of life and socio-economic progress. But it takes immense dedication and persevering effort to eliminate backwardness and build a politico-economic structure geared to securing the optimum benefit from available internal and external resources.

The reference to external resources implies, above all, closer relations with the countries of the socialist community, whose aid is oriented on refashioning the perversely one-sided colonial or neo-colonial economic structure into an independent and harmonious economy: building up-to-date factories, elevating the general technical standard, training personnel, etc.

The new states also need to cooperate in certain forms with the advanced capitalist countries. However, neo-colonialist *diktat* must be ruled out. Cooperation must be on equal terms, with respect for sovereignty — something imperialism is reluctant to accept by virtue of its very nature. It is not easy, this long and conflicting process of eliminating the exploiting character of the old world-wide division of labor, beneficial for some and burdensome for others, maintained by monopoly capitalism. Nor is it easy to change the structure of the prevailing international economic relationships that serve the ends of the Western financial oligarchy.

The progress of the new states in the midst of increasing internationalization calls for closer cooperation between the peoples of the "third world" and the socialist states, the workers and the democratic movement in the advanced capitalist countries.

Ever since Marxism came into the world, its exponents have emphasized the internationalist duty of the working class to support all exploited and oppressed. The world proletariat has always done so. Overthrow of colonialism and the rise of dozens of independent states would have been inconceivable without the powerful blows struck at world imperialism by the workers of the world and without the victories (military victories included) of the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union.

The socialist countries have furnished

billions of dollars in aid which, when fully and effectively utilized, helps improve the external and home conditions of economic growth. This does not mean that the situation is anywhere close to idyllic. The imperialist bloc is doing its worst to scotch all efforts. However, the huge sums spent by the socialist world on a military shield prevent the imperialists from imposing their will on the world.

The dangers implicit in the imperialist thesis identifying friends and foes (the socialist and capitalist industrial states both classified under the single head of "rich," while the capitalist and the worker in the West are portrayed as "bourgeois") are particularly great for the "third world." Not only does the thesis deny the rockbottom distinction between social systems. It also denies the fundamental difference in the political and economic relations of the developing countries with the neo-colonialist world, on the one hand, and with the socialist community, on the other.

This facilitates economic and political penetration by neo-colonialist elements, who find among the national capitalists and the new "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" people willing to do their bidding in order to preserve and extend their own privileges.

Imperialist ideological subversion is aimed first and foremost at isolating the newly-independent states from their allies, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, at splitting and weakening the world anti-imperialist front and thus retaining a grip on the "third world." Imperialism is banking on the economic backwardness of the newly-free states, on the difficulties of reconstruction, on prejudices surviving among a part of the people that make it vulnerable to the ideological attacks.

Internationally, the class struggle has never been more acute. Never before has the socialist ideal enjoyed such influence and appeal, winning new allies and followers. It is not surprising, therefore, that imperialism has mounted its most powerful, most insidious and foulest counter-attacks against the forces of progress and national regeneration. That, indeed, is what the cynical and deliberate ideological acts of imperialist diversion really amount to, designed to breach the unity of the anti-imperialist front.

For progressives in the developing

countries this should be evidence enough that closer unity of all truly anti-imperialist forces is imperative. It should be evidence enough for Marxist-Leninists

that their task is to work with redoubled vigor for the unity of the international working-class movement in line with Marxist-Leninist principles.

WMR

in the communist and workers parties.

Communist congress in Britain

Some time ago the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party, in preparing for the 30th Congress of the Party held in London from November 25 to 28, took two decisions of major importance affecting the procedure and conduct of Congress. One was, that instead of following the practice of many previous Congresses and having one main political report discussed at length in Congress, there would be five resolutions on various subjects submitted by the E.C., all of which would be separately discussed and voted on by the delegates.

The second was that, in view of the great changes in the national and international political situation since the Party program — The British Road to Socialism — was last discussed by a Party Congress in 1957, we should discuss the Program at this Congress. A Commission was appointed in late 1966 of seven E.C. members headed by General Secretary John Gollan, and every Party organization was asked to send to this Commission all views and suggestions that they wanted considered in the redrafting of the Party program. A new draft was presented to the E.C. by the Commission in May of this year and subsequently it was sent out to every branch for discussion and amendment in preparation for the debate at Congress.

It was further decided by the Executive Committee that each of the resolutions and the Party Program would

be introduced and replied to at Congress by different members of the E.C. thereby giving 12 members of the Committee major political responsibility at Congress. As other members of the E.C. had extremely important responsibilities in Chairmanship of Congress, Chairmanship of Congress Committees, special interventions in Congress discussion and so on, it can be seen that the 42 members of the retiring E.C. participated actively and collectively in this Congress.

This was also true of Party organizations throughout the country and the 424 delegates they elected to represent them at Congress. Prior to the assembly of Congress on November 25, branches and District Committees had submitted for consideration at Congress 667 amendments to the five E.C. resolutions, 689 amendments to the Party Program and 130 Branch resolutions. That all these items were satisfactorily dealt with at Congress was a tribute to the concentrated work of the delegates and of those responsible for the organization of Congress.

The discussion of the resolutions and the Party Program at Congress was vigorous and hard hitting with 105 of the Branch and District Committee delegates speaking from the rostrum, in addition to the E.C. spokesmen.

Some of the resolutions and amendments before Congress challenged the political position of the E.C. on various aspects of the Party's work and policy,

but in every case the opposite view to that of the E.C. was overwhelmingly defeated and the final amended resolutions received support from all but a tiny handful of delegates, as did the amended draft of The British Road to Socialism.

BRITAIN'S CRISIS

Congress met at a moment when the deep crisis of British imperialism was finding sharp, public expression. The bankruptcy of the economic policy of the right wing Labor Government had been demonstrated in the week prior to Congress, in devaluation of the pound sterling and a series of deflationary measures aimed at reducing the living standards of the people.

Early in its deliberations Congress passed an emergency resolution on Devaluation which called on the whole working class movement to reject the policies of the Government which are incapable of solving the underlying crisis of the British economy. The resolution outlined a seven-point anti-monopoly policy which if acted upon would make certain the crisis was resolved in the interests of the people.

Concerned though the delegates were with these new developments in the economic situation in Britain, they clearly appreciated the introduction at an early stage of Congress of an Emergency Resolution on the American war in Vietnam. The movement in our country condemning U.S. aggression in Vietnam and aimed at bringing about dissociation of Britain from American policy and actions has received a great new impetus from the recent decisions of the Trade Union Congress and Labor Party which urged a reversal of present British policy. The emergency resolution condemned the government for violating these decisions, saluted the magnificent courage of the Vietnamese people and declared British Communists' complete solidarity with them in their struggle. It put the following demands to the British Government:

Dissociate from the American war in Vietnam;

Call for the immediate and unconditional cessation of the bombing;

Demand the withdrawal of U.S. and allied forces, the implementation of the Geneva agreements, the right of the people of Vietnam to settle their own affairs without external interference,

and the establishment of peace in the South on the basis of the program of the National Liberation Front, which is the real representative of the people of South Vietnam.

During the deliberations a delegation of four Congress delegates took this emergency resolution to the residence of Prime Minister Wilson along with a letter from the General Secretary, John Gollan, asking him to act immediately on the terms of the resolution.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The strong feeling of international solidarity among British Communists, evident when delegates spoke on the situation in Vietnam and what must be done in Britain to end American aggression was demonstrated on a number of other occasions in Congress. It was seen in the unanimous support of Congress for the emergency resolution on Cyprus, which declared:

"The present dangerous situation is the natural outcome of the monstrous London-Zurich Agreements, imposed on the Cypriot people by the British and American imperialists with the help of their satellites, who wish to make Cyprus a Nato base.

"Congress fully supports the struggles of the Cyprus Government, AKEL, and the Cypriot people for the demilitarization of their island, for the right of self-determination, and for making Cyprus a center of peace in the Middle East."

The same solidarity was shown in the Congress message to the people of Zimbabwe and South Africa. It stated in part:

"We greet your leaders, many of whom are in prison or in exile; we greet your heroic freedom fighters now under arms; we greet your peoples in the cities and the villages, in the mines and on the farms, throughout the countries of Southern Africa, now mobilizing for a great new challenge to racism and tyranny . . .

From this Congress, we call on the British people to condemn the sordid maneuvers of the British Government and urge them to demand the release of Nelson Mandela, Bram Fischer, Joshua Nkomo, and the thousands of other political prisoners and to extend active support to your great cause."

And international solidarity was de-

monstrated in the warm, comradely reception given to the fraternal delegates of 18 brother parties, in attendance at our Congress, and the applause which greeted messages received from those parties not able to be represented.

When the Chairman of Congress, Comrade Frank Stanley, thanked the fraternal delegates for their greetings and added: "In all human history there has never been such a universal movement as ours, the international communist movement, and we are proud to be part of it," he was indeed speaking for the entire Congress which earlier in its proceedings had expressed its extreme concern over the situation in the international Communist movement.

"The disruptive activities of Mao Tse-tung and his supporters have created serious problems for the international communist movement and for all people fighting against imperialism," was a point made in the resolution on this question, and further, "We endorse the joint statement issued by our Party and representatives of the CPSU on September 17 that 'the actions of Mao Tse-tung and his group in China must be condemned as completely opposed to Communist principles'."

Congress also warmly welcomed the initiative of 18 Communist parties, including our own, to convene a consultative meeting in February 1968 in preparation for an international meeting.

Congress therefore made clear that British Communists were fully resolved to work for the restoration and strengthening of the full unity of the international Communist movement and to uphold the Party's long tradition of internationalism.

INCOMES POLICY AND POVERTY

The first main debate of Congress concerned the Government's incomes policy, which was the subject of one of the five resolutions put before Congress by the Executive Committee.

The Labor Government, following on from its Tory predecessors, pursues a policy which strives to safeguard Britain's capitalist economic structure at the people's expense. Hand in hand with compulsory freezing of wages, goes economic stagnation, increasing unemployment and reduction of living standards for a majority of working people in our

country. This policy has been bitterly fought from its inception by the Communist Party and is now opposed by a majority of the organized labor movement. The last months have seen a growth of militant industrial struggle in many sections of British industry against the consequences of the incomes policy. Right-wing Labor leaders, alarmed at this development, have tried to undermine the unity and determined fight of the workers by anti-Communist slander and a Red-bogey scare. The Congress debate made clear that while Communists rejected these slanders, Communists were active participants in this militant struggle and proud to be associated in it with many non-Communist workers, including members of Labor Party.

The resolution pledged that Communists would continue to do all in their power to help mobilize the whole working class movement to develop maximum struggle for higher wages, full employment, control of prices, limitation of profits and strengthening of trade union organization.

All this has relevance to another urgent question in Britain, featured in a separate Congress resolution and debate. The extent and nature of poverty in our country.

Despite all the talk of successive Governments and Ministers about Britain as "the affluent society," the gap between rich and poor is as wide as ever. The resolution pointed out that in 1966, "half a million families with 1¼ million children had incomes below the minimum subsistence level" and among "the one-seventh of the population living in poverty are the old, the chronic sick, the unemployed, the low paid and the members of large families with children below working age."

In the contributions of the many delegates who came to the rostrum during this debate these statistics were given flesh and blood as delegate after delegate described his experiences in fighting on behalf of the men, women and children who suffer more sharply than others from the injustice and inhumanity of capitalism.

"A radical reallocation of the country's resources is essential," Congress declared, "to remove from a large section of our people the nightmare of poverty and industry. Our demands are no more than elementary justice. The fight for them is part of the struggle for

a more just system of society—socialism—which will abolish poverty for ever.”

WORLD AFFAIRS

The critical economic situation in Britain is in great part a product of the Labor government's support for the aims of British and U.S. imperialism.

These imperialist policies involve the maintenance of large forces of British troops overseas, huge military expenditure, worsen our balance of payments and impede the development of friendship and trade with the socialist and former colonial countries.

This is why the important resolution before Congress on “Britain's Role in World Affairs” was bound up with the separate discussions which took place on Incomes Policy and Poverty in Britain, as well as making clear our position on the major issues of international policy.

The opening sentences of this resolution characterized the international situation and the challenge facing all those in Britain who want to see our country's influence used to preserve world peace:

“Throughout the world an immense struggle is taking place between the forces of aggression and war and those which stand for peace, national independence, democracy and social advance.

“To protect monopoly profits and strategic interests the imperialist powers led by the United States, are stepping up their intervention in other states, overthrowing governments by military coups, destroying democracy, striving to exercise influence in those areas not occupied directly by them, to thwart the people's struggles for national liberation, and threatening to plunge mankind into a third world war. In this situation, the stand taken by Britain is of major importance.

“Instead of Britain's influence being used on the side of progress to bring about a relaxation of tension, safeguard peace and support democracy and national independence, the Labor government is continuing the same course as its Tory predecessors.”

Congress noted and welcomed the popular movements in Britain which are urging the Government to abandon its alliance with the United States and its pursuit of imperialist aims. The call of the 1967 Labor Party and TUC Confer-

ences for Britain to dissociate from the U.S. war in Vietnam is one of the expressions of this growing movement. But Congress agreed that a still greater and more united effort is required to force abandonment of present imperialist policies in world affairs and their replacement by a policy which would include:

End British support for U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

British withdrawal from NATO.

British support for all measures towards securing general and complete disarmament.

Independence for all territories still under British rule.

Opposition to British entry into the Common Market.

End the ‘East of Suez’ policy and the British backing for reactionary governments in the Middle East.

Sign a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union.

Restore to China its rightful seat in the U.N. Security Council, General Assembly and other U.N. bodies.

These demands and many others were all embodied in the comprehensive international policy submitted to Congress.

One important feature of the debate at Congress on “Britain's Role in World Affairs” was the position taken by the delegates on a resolution submitted by one of the branches dealing with the situation in the Middle East. This resolution called for rejection of the line of the Party which condemned Israeli aggression in June of this year, and supports the position taken then and since by the Arab liberation movement. It was significant that after the debate, only three delegates supported the resolution and voted against the attitude and actions of the E.C. on events in the Middle East.

LEFT UNITY

A major item before Congress was the resolution “Left Unity in Action for an Alternative Policy.” Here was described the present political situation in the country and the task facing the Left forces. “To transform the dissatisfaction and opposition to the Government into support for an alternative democratic, anti-imperialist policy.”

The new stage in the political situation which is opening up in Britain

holds possibilities for changing Government policy, but these will only be grasped if united action is developed and greater unity of Socialists and Communists and all progressive forces forged around an alternative policy to that pursued by the right-wing Labor leaders.

"Agreement on policy is realizable," states the resolution. "For some time there has been a growing consensus of opinion on what the alternative policy to that of the Government should be.

"The main points are:

"Rising wages as part of a policy of economic expansion; rejection of the incomes policy; extension of nationalization and action against the monopolies.

"No support for British entry into the Common Market.

"Opposition to American policy in Vietnam; the end of British nuclear strategy and 'East of Suez' policy; an end to white supremacy in Rhodesia; a 50 per cent cut in military expenditure.

"Extension of the social services and rejection of means tests."

Congress agreed that what is now needed is a still more powerful mass movement strong enough to demand political and economic changes. This requires taking the already developing unity of the left forces to more advanced levels, extending present activities and promoting new actions on those questions on which there is agreement.

Congress made clear that the Communist Party would spare no effort in working to achieve unity on any or all of the demands put forward by the Left and called on others on the Left, while working with us on the issues facing the people to consider how to finish with anti-Communism in the Labor movement, which is used by the right wing to divide and weaken the Left.

The political and economic changes that are necessary in Britain will only come about "if the balance of forces in the Labor movement is altered so that the Left forces grow and the right wing is weakened" states the resolution.

In the conduct of political campaigning by the Left and in the ideological battle for a socialist approach and policies, a daily newspaper is indispensable. This is the case for the *Morning Star*, which since it was launched in April 1966 has carried on the great tradition of its predecessor, the *Daily Worker*.

To maintain a working class newspaper, independent of capitalism and in a situation of increased monopoly control of the press, requires a powerful effort, both politically and financially. The fact that circulation of the *Morning Star* had not increased from that of the *Daily Worker* was a matter of concern to Congress and there was obvious support for the proposition in the resolution that the E.C. lead a campaign to win new daily and weekend readers for the only daily newspaper which supports the aspirations of trade unionists and progressive people.

An increase in circulation of the *Morning Star* will not only assist the Left struggle, it will lay the basis for an increase in membership of the Communist Party. It was reported to Congress that membership of the Party had fallen from 33,539 at the last Congress to 32,562 at the present moment. Yet events are showing more clearly than ever how necessary it is to strengthen the only political party in Britain with a clear theoretical socialist basis and national organization based on branches in industrial enterprises, universities, towns and villages throughout the country. The resolution noted that vital to securing a marked advance in membership is the extension of public campaigning for the immediate policy of the Party and the combatting of capitalist and right-wing ideology with the ideas of Socialism and Marxism. Part of this fight is the activity to secure Communist representation in Parliament and the local councils, an extremely difficult task in the conditions of the undemocratic and biased British electoral system. Congress re-endorsed the electoral strategy of the Party laid down at the 27th Congress in 1961, which involves further extension and improvement of our participation in local and Parliamentary elections. This will not be at the expense of our industrial role. A report was made to the Congress that following on the 29th Congress and its decisions on work in the factories a National Conference had been held on this question. Since then existing factory branches had been given more help and 30 new factory branches established.

Increased public campaigning by Communist Party branches, further extension of electoral activity and a more

determined fight to build and strengthen factory organizations will ensure we convey our policy more effectively, not only to the adult population but also to the youth. This is vital, for as the resolution pointed out:

"One of the most positive features of the British political situation is the militant radical position of important sections of the youth. Among others there is disillusion and dissatisfaction. These conditions make possible not only a major increase in the membership and influence of the YCL. They present possibilities for winning many young people to join our Party."

YCL membership has now grown to over 6,000 and the new *Challenge*, the YCL monthly journal, has just been launched with some success. It is clear that if the Party directs more of its campaigning and policy towards young people it can be extremely fruitful for the development of the present progressive movement in Britain and important for ensuring future successes of the Communist movement in our country.

The resolution on Left Unity concluded on an optimistic and forward-looking note:

"The new political situation that confronts us presents great opportunities to the Left, including the Communists. These opportunities must be grasped. Bold, audacious political action for an alternative socialist policy will win a response from millions of British people and open the way to political victories over the right wing and monopoly forces."

THE PARTY PROGRAM

"The British Road to Socialism" was first adopted as the Program of the Party at our Party Congress in 1952. It was redrafted in 1956, submitted to the 1957 Party Congress and considered at that Congress with 1,500 amendments from Party organizations. The final text of the second edition of the Program was agreed by the E.C. in January 1958 and published in March of that year.

In introducing the new draft at Congress the Executive Committee spokesman said there were a number of main reasons why it was necessary to discuss and amend the Party Program at this time. Among them were:

The ever deepening crisis of the British capitalist economy.

The experiences of right-wing Labor government since 1964.

The speed of technological change and its relevance to the case for socialism.

The need to further develop our views and ideas on how to achieve socialism in Britain without recourse to civil war, through the mass movement and use of Parliament.

The wide-ranging discussion prior to Congress and the debate in Congress itself showed the unity of the Party behind the main concepts and proposals of the Party Program which has now been referred back to the E.C. for further drafting. The next step is that all Party organizations will receive within the next few months this final draft for comment and in the light of these the E.C. will amend and publish the third edition of *The British Road to Socialism* for public sale and discussion.

THE WAY OUT OF CRISIS

There is no doubt that the 30th Congress of our Party will be of great assistance in ensuring that the Party fully meets its responsibilities to the working people of Britain in the days ahead.

The ability, class consciousness, Marxist understanding and closeness to the working people displayed by delegates gives confidence that the Party, led by the new E.C. elected at Congress, will fight hard and unitedly for the policies adopted by Congress.

This is important, for as General Secretary John Gollan said in his speech to Congress, replying to the debate on Left Unity, "The people are sick and tired of perpetual crisis. They want a new way out. They will find it in the decisions of this Congress."

He called for a great national campaign to explain to the working class the need for the Communist Party and the *Morning Star*, to develop still further the growing unity of the Left forces, mobilize the anger and discontent with government policy and turn it into support for an alternative policy and a turn to the Left.

This is now the task before British Communists.

Gordon McLENNAN

15th congress of Mexican Communist Party

Held in Mexico City over June 18-22, 1967, the Communist Party's 15th Congress signified an important step forward.

First Secretary Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo reported on behalf of the Central Committee, and another report, "The Kind of Party We Need," was made by José Encarnacion Pérez, member of the Secretariat.

Taking an objective view (and from a rather long distance) of the Congress resolutions, I venture to say, as a Latin American, that the Congress fully justified the hopes and expectations of Mexican revolutionaries and fully rewarded the efforts invested in its preparation.

For it brought to consummation the period of regeneration which began with the Party's 13th Congress seven years ago. The nearly twenty-year crisis has now been overcome. The Party is rapidly regaining lost ground, reorganizing its ranks, re-establishing and consolidating its unity, forming close contact with the advanced sections of the masses. It has made a searching analysis of Mexican reality as the basis for a comprehensive theory of social and economic development and revolutionary transformation.

The Congress resolutions are bound to exert a big influence on Mexican politics. For the Party has adopted a new concept and has resolutely discarded the old, bourgeois concept of the "Mexican revolution," a concept which hampered its thinking and its work. It has proclaimed, instead, the need for a new anti-imperialist, peoples' democratic revolution. In doing so, it has dispelled the illusions generated by what was known as revolutionary reformism and now stands as the only genuinely radical opposition to the existing system.

The Congress was attended by frater-

nal delegates and received numerous messages from other Communist and Workers' parties. It adopted an appeal for solidarity with Vietnam and a resolution on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution. Other resolutions sum up its analysis of the international situation. However, its international significance is most clearly seen in the Central Committee report and the political resolution. Both have implications that go far beyond Mexico, for they treat of issues presently agitating the minds of many in Latin America and which are the subject of debate in every part of the continent. That is why, I think, any assessment of the Congress should begin with a review of these issues and the solutions the Mexican Communist Party suggests.

MEXICO: SUBJECT OF DEBATE

Mexico is a Latin American boundary in more than the geographical sense. For its people pioneered the continent's anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle throughout the nineteenth century and during the first half of this century.

The revolutionary struggle which began in 1910 was headed by outstanding peasant leaders. But the fruit of their efforts was appropriated largely by the bourgeoisie; the bourgeois-democratic revolution, consummated in the Constitution of February 1917, led to radical social change. It undermined the power of the big latifundists and agents of foreign capital, introduced an agrarian reform directed against the latifundia system, made all the land and natural resources national property, proclaimed basic civil rights and freedoms, including the right to organize and the right to

strike. This paved the way to major socio-economic changes, but the period of change, mainly during the presidency of Cardenas (1934-40), was all too brief. It was during this time that oil was nationalized, state industries built up and the latifundia system broken by the agrarian reform and the organization of the *ejidos* (rural communes). These reforms, which facilitated the emergence of a mass democratic movement, were unparalleled anywhere in Latin America right up to the Cuban revolution, even taking into account the revolutions in Bolivia and Guatemala.

In the aggregate, these measures created—for the first time in Latin American history—a situation in which a backward and dependent country could chart a course that ruled out a capitalist solution of its problems.

For a number of reasons (the immaturity of the revolutionary labor movement was one) this was not fully translated into reality. Nevertheless the reforms laid a definite imprint on Mexican life and did much to promote its development along *capitalist* lines: in the past three decades Mexico's growth rate has been the highest in Latin America, particularly in the public sector.

Nor is that all. The Mexican revolution broke the militarist stranglehold, uprooted clericalism and gave the country a "guided democracy" (with the Constitutional - Revolutionary Party acting as "guide"). As a result Mexico has enjoyed political stability rarely known in other parts of the continent.

Lastly, of all Latin American countries (with the sole exception of revolutionary Cuba in recent times) Mexico offered sustained resistance to U.S. economic and political infiltration.

In sum these revolutionary gains made Mexico a "special case" and, in many respects, a pace-setter for Latin America, notably in economic and political development. In fact many Latin American popular movements in the first half of the century were inspired by the struggle of the Mexican people and drew on their experience.

Little surprise, then, that there should be so much interest in the objective and critical approach to the problems of the Mexican revolution, evident in the Central Committee report to the Fifteenth Congress. And of especial interest in this context is the *political alternative* (and

its underlying concept) presented by the Congress. True, earlier attempts had been made at an interpretative analysis and generalization of the Mexican revolution. But none of them, not even the most serious, went beyond the traditional framework set by the accepted concept of the Mexican revolution. I might add that the Mexican bourgeoisie has been singularly successful in cultivating a "supra-class" approach to the country's problems, a sort of mystique of the Mexican revolution, an all pervading iron-clad theory sealed to all "alien" ideas, especially new, revolutionary ideas. As a result all attempts to set up an independent revolutionary opposition movement were denounced as fantasies of eccentrics in search of the ultra original.

Now, however, we have the first serious attempt to analyze this celebrated "Mexican phenomenon" from positions that transcend the ideological guidelines of bourgeois-democratic revolution, an attempt at a revolutionary analysis of reality. True, the analysis cannot be considered complete, inasmuch as several issues are still to be examined and will doubtlessly be the subject of further fruitful discussion. But it can definitely be said that even these early results are of inestimable value to Latin America's revolutionary movement, since they help it to define its goals and the ways of attaining them.

The Congress approach to the political and economic dynamics of Mexican life can best be described as scientifically objective. This enabled it to establish the dominant trends, to show that they have nothing in common with the "satisfactory" and "progressive" surface picture.

Until recently Party programs had been based on the need to promote *independent capitalist development* free of imperialist intervention and feudal survivals. This presupposed a major role for the bourgeoisie in the overall socio-economic process and a minor role for the working class, a role that conformed neither to its objective requirements nor to its subjective aspirations. The Communist Party itself was, *ad initio*, cast in a very minor role too. Now, with this artificial structure discarded the Party has an entirely new perspective (discussed in detail below).

The Central Committee report concen-

trated on the postwar period, in which the Mexican bourgeoisie reversed its policy and set the country (though not openly) on a path of *dependent* capitalist development. I would say that the Fifteenth Congress report was a post mortem, because it is now clear that the Mexican revolution is a corpse, though properly embalmed and turned into an object of public worship, into a pseudo-revolutionary myth. What we have now is a counter-revolutionary offensive by the bourgeoisie, particularly its monopolist and financial top crust closely associated with the U.S. monopolies.

To trace that process let us compare the original gains of the revolution with present day realities:

(a) instead of agrarian reform, *reconcentration of land ownership*;

(b) instead of state intervention in the sphere of "free enterprise," *growing intervention of "free enterprise" in state affairs*;

(c) instead of just distribution of wealth and incomes, *an accelerated process of capitalist concentration*;

(d) instead of full economic independence, *accelerated reestablishment of the position and influence of U.S. monopolies*;

(e) instead of elimination of backwardness, *factual hardening of the country's underdeveloped status*;

(f) lastly, instead of gradual democratization, *accentuated anti-democratic and reactionary trends* within the framework of a one-party bourgeois democracy.

AGRARIAN RECONCENTRATION AND "DEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT"

The report clearly shows how Mexican agriculture was deflected to a capitalist path and structure. Features of the process were paralysis of the agrarian reform, which left the peasant farmers to shift for themselves, and an agrarian policy manifestly geared to help the big farms. The transition was effectuated in two ways: the latifundia, which were not divided up, developed into large-scale capitalist enterprises, and more and more *ejidos* came under the control of monopoly concerns. Reconcentration of the ownership of land and other means of production is thus built up on the ruins of peasant farms.

How all this happened is spelled out in the figures cited in the Central Committee report. In the past 20 years the

number of peasant farms has declined, while the number of big farms (with more than 1,000 hectares each) has increased. Furthermore, the top group (more than 5,000 hectares each) has increased at a much faster rate, so that now less than 0.5 per cent of landowners control over 50 per cent of the arable, while more than three million of the rural population have no land at all.

Much the same applies to the non-agricultural economy. Here the operative factors were, over the past 20 years, wide use of imperialist loans, monopoly partnerships, exploitation of the public sector, and steady depression of living standards. All this made for a high level of capital centralization and industrial concentration. The report says: "Several top companies and monopoly groups linked with the six leading banks and closely associated with U.S. monopoly capital, control the greater part of the national economy. . . . A powerful financial oligarchy has emerged, whose representatives operate in the private and public sectors and in government companies and institutions, where they are gaining control of more executive and policy-making positions."

And so, private enterprise, increasingly dependent on U.S. capital, is now stronger than the public sector and is working to bring it under its control. "This oligarchy is tightening its grip on government policy, though it is not yet in full control. For the time being the government retains a relative independence, chiefly due to the economic strength of the public sector." But a lamentable future will be the lot of this "independence" and "economic strength," now eroded by Mexican and North American capitalist infiltration, partnership and downright annexation unless there is revolutionary change.

Having abandoned the independent path, the bourgeoisie has shifted onto the working class the brunt of the burden of the *dependent* development. For side by side with expropriation of the working people and with reconcentration of the national property in the hands of the capitalists, there is a definite trend towards concentration of incomes, i.e., greater inequality in the distribution of the wealth produced by the people. Notwithstanding the "great revolution," the standard of living of the Mexican worker, especially the rural worker—and nearly half of the population live in

rural areas—is lower than in a number of other Latin American countries where there has been no revolution. The figures for 1964 show that 0.3 per cent of Mexican families (33,000 out of 11 million) had appropriated 55 per cent of the national income, whereas 85 per cent of all families (9.3 million) accounted for 23.4 per cent, or only half of what this elite enjoyed.

THE “MEXICANIZATION” COVER

Nationalization has given way to “Mexicanization”—the big foreign enterprises and foreign capital were “naturalized” through the organization of “mixed companies.” This was a cloak for what amounted to outright imperialist control. The result was mounting foreign investments attracted by quick and generous returns, as much as 25 per cent. And foreign capital won one commanding position after another in mining, power, telecommunications, etc. Its present targets are the automobile assembly plants and other areas of heavy industry.

But this, the report emphasizes, has not substantially altered Mexico’s place in the capitalist division of labor: it remains, basically, a purveyor of raw materials and buyer of manufactured goods.

“Clearly, in these conditions the bourgeoisie cannot assure full economic independence, without which full political independence cannot be maintained,” the report points out.

As was to be expected, the chief beneficiary of this emerging pattern is Mexico’s northern neighbor. To quote the report again: “At present Mexican big business is committed to a policy of partnership with U.S. capital and is helping it power a process the outcome of which can only be the merger of our economy with the big U.S. monopolies.”

A SETBACK FOR THE MEXICAN BOURGEOISIE

Spelled out in these words is the simple fact that the Mexican bourgeoisie has failed to eliminate economic backwardness and is incapable of “assuring rapid, balanced and independent national economic development.” That conclusion is fully borne out by the country’s vital economic statistics. Thus, for level of development Mexico holds a middle place in the group of six or seven of the more

advanced Latin American countries. This means that “bourgeois management of the economy has, in most cases, produced very modest results.”

Needless to say, any comparison with the gains of the October Revolution—and such a comparison is fitting and proper inasmuch as the Mexican revolution is the same age as October, and resulted from a more or less similar socioeconomic crisis—will reveal that Mexico’s economic record is even less impressive.

In the opinion of the Mexican Communist Party there are no realistic opportunities for improving that record under the present system. That conclusion, too, is based on a thorough analysis of performance over the last ten years. The report says: “Beginning with 1956, the rate of economic growth declined considerably and there are symptoms of stagnation in per capita national income, and in some years (1958-61) there was an actual decline. There is also a wide disproportion in foreign trade, with exports growing much more slowly than imports. Mexico’s foreign trade is tied to the U.S. economic cycle, and the unequal trade pattern is having an increasingly adverse effect. A lesser share of the national product now goes into investment and investments are more and more used for parasitic purposes. The increase in agricultural output barely keeps pace with the increase in population. The expansion rate in many industries has slowed down and there are frequent stagnation periods.”

To all this should be added the mounting foreign debt and inflation. These and many other factors fully justify the conclusion drawn by the Congress that “Mexico’s *dependent* capitalist economy is heading towards stagnation and chronic crisis.”

That is an important conclusion, and one which is bound to arouse controversy, for capitalist economists consistently maintain that the present state and future prospects of the Mexican economy are absolute proof that the bourgeoisie can set an economically backward country on the path to “stable prosperity” and comprehensive development. That contention is boosted in catch phrases such as “uninterrupted continuation of the revolution,” its “modernization and perfection,” “rectification of past errors,” etc. Mexico is held up as the model for all economically

backward Latin American countries.

"The U.S. imperialists," the report says, "have repeatedly sought to contrast the Mexican 'model' to the path chosen by the Cuban revolution, that is, to rapid and revolutionary reconstruction of a dependent economic structure through industrialization and elimination of semi-feudal relationships in agriculture."

"The alternative proposed by the Mexican bourgeoisie is evolution and reform, i.e., gradual change of the existing structure and adaptation to neo-colonialist forms of imperialist penetration. This and other factors make it politically necessary to expose the so-called 'Mexican' path, which can only be described as movement at a snail's pace."

"One of the main theories designed to justify this 'Mexican' path is that our country will win full independence in alliance with—not in opposition to—the U.S. monopolies, because the latter will 'help' Mexico with loans and 'additional' investments."

The argument is a common one throughout Latin America. Our only choice, we are told, is between the Cuban and the Mexican path (in its present stage). But this ignores a very important aspect of the problem. However modest Mexico's achievements may be, they have been possible only because of the genuine revolution carried out in 1910-17, because of the thoroughgoing *revolutionary* transformations that were part of that revolution, namely, abolition of the latifundia, nationalization of key foreign enterprises, stimulated state investments and, as a direct result of all this, political stability, mass support, etc. This, the start of the celebrated "Mexican path," is deliberately ignored in an attempt to equate this path—its initial stage—with the present "evolutionary" phase of development. In other words, the idea is being instilled in the Latin American mind that every country on the continent can emulate the Mexican model—as it stands at present—without having to go through all the *preparatory work* which in Mexico covered a period of nearly three decades, and entailed much suffering and sacrifice in terms of human life.

As a matter of fact, even if Mexico, in its capitalist development, could break through the economic-backwardness barrier, that would hardly be proof that the Mexican model is applicable to *other* Latin American countries. Certainly it

would be no proof that the "Mexican path" is better and superior to the solution offered by socialism.

For it should be remembered that in Mexico we have a favorable conjuncture of geographical, historical and economic conditions welded into a unique pattern which cannot be duplicated in other Latin American countries. As pointed out above, the agrarian and bourgeois-democratic revolution is a stage passed, but it led to the nationalization of key industries (power, for example). There is also this: Mexico has a relatively big American market, even for some labor-consuming manufactured goods, and American tourists provide a goodly share of Mexico's foreign-exchange earnings. The other Latin American countries do not have these preconditions for "pure" bourgeois-democratic revolutions and, furthermore, do not possess Mexico's advantageous geographical and other factors.

In short, Mexico is in a much better position than any other Latin American country to break through the economic-backwardness barrier and join the developed nations club. And if, all these *exceptional* advantages notwithstanding, it failed to do so, that would be convincing proof that its path of dependent capitalist development *bodes no good* for any country on our continent.

Of course, final solution of the problem will be provided by the future. But already now, after a quarter of a century of the "Mexican path," we can say that in Latin America "bourgeois economic leadership failed to bring rapid, independent and balanced progress . . . failed to weaken dependence on the U.S. monopolies; impeded expansion in heavy industry, lowered national living standards. . . . At best, the bourgeoisie strives for slow, restricted development increasingly dependent on foreign interests."

THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

From all this follows a conclusion that has a direct and important relevance to the situation in Latin America. The report presented to the Congress says: "The Mexican big bourgeoisie is adapting its interests to those of the foreign monopolies. Instead of challenging them on the home market, it is allowing them to gain dominance and is working with them for joint exploitation of the Mexican people. . . . It has abandoned the

struggle against foreign capital in favor of a policy of association with foreign capital."

And it should be emphasized that this applies to a bourgeoisie standing *much more to the Left* than that of any other Latin American country.

In effect, this signifies that the concept of a "*national bourgeoisie*" is no longer valid and, consequently, must write *finis* to its role as a driving force in the revolution. That conclusion drawn by the Mexican Communist Party is logical, politically bold and doubtlessly will be received with keen interest in every part of Latin America.

The Mexican Communists now speak of the maturing prerequisites of an *anti-imperialist, people's democratic revolution*, instead of the old definition of a *democratic, national-liberation* revolution. The old definition confused the revolution with "revolutionary processes in colonial and semi-colonial countries where the aim is national independence, the creation of a national state and independent economic development, processes in all of which the national bourgeoisie is one of the motive forces and in which co-operation between all national forces assumes the form of national unity. These countries have to choose between capitalist and non-capitalist development."

"Obviously that choice does not face Mexico." Political independence was won 150 years ago and now the task is revolutionary abolition of the economic dependence on imperialism and defense of the country's genuine national sovereignty. The political aim of the revolution is no longer formation of a national state (as a national democracy or in any other form), but changing the very nature of the existing bourgeois state. Nor could there be any question of Mexico choosing between the capitalist and non-capitalist path, for capitalist relations are firmly entrenched (and this, incidentally, finds expression in dependence on its stronger neighbor). The new revolution must therefore be directed against the capitalist monopolies and capitalist land ownership. It must undermine the very foundations of capitalism and create the material conditions for socialism. Politically, the aim is the institution of a people's democracy that will prepare the ground for a socialist democracy.

The Mexican Communists do not equate the bourgeoisie with imperialism, nor are they oblivious to the contradictions, present and potential, between the two; they do not rule out *a priori* the possibility of agreement with some groups of the bourgeoisie on concrete anti-imperialist actions. But the Congress stressed the need for an *anti-imperialist, popular-democratic* front composed chiefly of *non-capitalist* elements. i.e., workers, peasants, students, democratic intellectuals, artisans, small businessmen and kindred groups.

In accordance with that policy, the Central Committee proposed changing the Party's programmatic formulation defining the principal enemies of the Mexican people. The old formula singled out "American imperialism and its agents" as enemy No. 1. The new formula amends and extends this definition to include the big Mexican bourgeoisie, imperialism's main partner, and the political authority which defends the interconnected economic and political interests of both and helps to keep alive and extend Mexico's dependent capitalist structure.

SHARPENING CLASS ANTAGONISMS AND REVOLUTIONARY PATHS

Economic polarization continuously widens the gap between exploiters and exploited and makes for sharper conflicts. This explains the sporadic convulsions of recent years, with their attendant violence. For the bourgeoisie has exhausted all its reformist methods and is veering more and more towards repression as a means of preventing the emergence of a mass revolutionary movement. Hence the tendency towards authoritarian anti-democratic and reactionary family") and the National Action also, closer cooperation between the Constitutional Revolutionary Party (the senior member of the original "revolutionary family") and the National Action Party, which speaks for the "traditional" reactionary element.

There is also an attendant process: instinctive popular disillusion with the capitalist path. That lends importance to the Communist Party's final and decisive break with the old concept and the alternative it offers the people — anti-imperialist, popular democratic revolution to carry forward the mass move-

ments which made such a significant contribution to the Mexican revolution, and pave the way for socialism.

In the opinion of our Mexican comrades, the main social contradiction today stems from the abolition of the peasant farms and the reconcentration of land ownership. This clashes with the hopes engendered by the revolution and with the militant tradition of Mexico's peasant farmers. We now have a situation in which more than 2.5 million poor peasants and about 2 million agricultural laborers have come out against the ruthless exploitation by the landed bourgeoisie. They represent the country's biggest revolutionary potential, the widest and, furthermore, most radically-minded section of the working population. The struggle to eliminate reconcentration of land ownership and to replace it by collective and cooperative ownership now becomes an immediate and priority task.

But the problem can be solved only by changing the very substance of the present political system, through sharpening struggle for democratic rights, against the trend towards government by dictatorship, which is becoming more and more pronounced as big business strengthens its grip on the government machine.

The Central Committee report says: "If we add to this the fact that the Communist Party has been deprived of its electoral rights and can no longer put up its own candidates; if we add, also, increasingly open and brazen U.S. intervention, then the prospect facing the country's revolutionary forces, the main features of the decisive confrontation, become perfectly clear. A study of all these trends leads to the inescapable conclusion that in Mexico the most probable path of the revolution will be armed struggle."

However, at present, "there is no aim of capturing power" and "Communist effort is directed at changing the balance of forces." In other words, what we have is a typical period of the building up of forces.

The Mexican Communist Party has singled out three basic lines of activity in this period.

First, reorganization of the workers peasants and mass movements in order to wrest them from bourgeois influence.

Most of the Party membership is active in the peasant movement, where the Party holds strong positions. It has also made considerable headway among the students, who likewise represent a vanguard force. The Party is weakest among industrial workers, where its influence is limited and where the bourgeoisie has built up a strong machine of control and repression. Here the success of the Communists and the degree of their resistance have been modest. The Party is overcoming this by intensifying its opposition to the regime, bringing home to the people its concept of a new revolution and developing a united movement in defense of labor's demands.

And this, the Party has emphasized, is now the main job, one that requires all its attention. This is especially so if we consider the rapidly growing urban proletariat (and, of course, the importance of the agricultural proletariat) and the magnitude of the tasks imposed by this new, genuine revolutionary alternative.

Second, a concerted effort for unity of all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces. Following the crisis of the National Liberation Movement as a united-front organization, the Communist Party is concentrating on *united action* against the threat of reactionary violence (its demands are for respect of the Constitution, release of all political prisoners, trade union rights, re-establishment of the right to strike, introduction of a democratic electoral reform, strict observance of university autonomy, etc.). The Party is also campaigning for other demands of the working people, formulated in its minimum program.

Third, all-round strengthening of the Party and its conversion into an effective factor in the country's political life. Upon this will depend whether or not the revolutionary path it has mapped out can be translated into a viable revolutionary movement. The slogan now is to transform the Party into the vanguard of the working class, as regards both its organization and struggle for the immediate demands of the people, and also politically and ideologically.

In the ideological field, the task is to overcome another "historical weakness, namely, the paucity of the Party's theoretical heritage." A key element in achieving this is elaboration of the strategy of the new revolution based on a

Marxist-Leninist interpretation of Mexican reality.

What has already been accomplished is important, but equally, if not more, important is the clear understanding, revealed at the Congress, of what lies ahead, what has to be done and how. As pointed out above, the Fifteenth Party Congress ended an important stage in the process of regeneration, but in another sense the process is only beginning. That is why all the controversial questions concerning the Party's program have been submitted for discussion to the membership and the final decision will be made at a special conference at some future date. It was decided to continue theoretical study, and measure all the controversial issues against reality, experience and the aspirations of the Mexican people, so that they will find realistic reflection in the Party program. Only after such discussions will the program be given its final formula-

tion. This is evidence of a frank and exacting approach, of realistic, creative thinking. And it holds out the promise of fresh success both in theory and practice, for only in such an atmosphere can the creative potentialities of Marxism be brought to bear.

Documents of this nature and import are symptoms of a new departure in the Latin American Communist movement in which, throughout the last stormy decade ushered in by the Cuban revolution, and in an atmosphere of lively discussion, there began to mature elements of a revolutionary theory that accords with the specific requirements of the continent's social and economic development. Without this theory it will be impossible to accomplish what is most important, and most difficult, for all our parties, namely, the setting in motion of a revolution the objective necessity of which has now matured.

Juan RODRIGEZ

Cadres policy of French Communist Party

Selecting and training Party functionaries, especially from the ranks of the working class, is a constant concern of every Communist Party.

The leadership of the French Communist Party has always stressed the importance of this matter. "The vital political tasks facing the Party," said Waldeck Rochet, its Secretary General, at its last Congress, "call for an increasing number of people combining firmness of principle with a sense of the new. The Party organizations at all levels should single out such people and help them, training them in Party schools and through action."

Thus, the matter of functionaries is very logically viewed in the light of the Party's political objectives. To achieve these objectives, and hence to end one-man rule and establish a new, genuine democracy as an important step towards

socialism, we must organize a powerful mass movement and draw up a common government program in alliance with all the Left-wing parties and other democratic forces.

Success will depend largely on the men and women entrusted with guiding and promoting the fight of all who are opposed to monopoly rule. Communist cadres at all levels have a decisive role to play in this fight. "Not a single class in history," wrote Lenin, "has achieved power without producing its political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organize the movement and lead it."

The strength of the Communist leader is that, basing himself on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and taking his bearings from the ascending movement of the working class and from the role devolving on to the working class,

he has a better and more timely view of the changes already taking place and of those which are maturing.

This concept is far from being new—it has been discussed ever since our Party was founded. It was expressed in specific terms by Maurice Thorez as early as 1930, when, at the age of 30, he was elected Secretary-General of the Party. "None of the numerous tasks facing the Party," he said at the time, "can be accomplished without improving its medium and lower echelons, both qualitatively and quantitatively. And we must admit that the leadership has not made an adequate effort either to train and educate a large body of functionaries or, indeed, to re-educate and utilize the old cadres. A good personnel policy is gauged by the effort for ideological and political conviction expended by the leadership in respect of the whole Party."

A big campaign to build up a real party and its cadres was launched, and made it possible to bring thousands of members into mass work. They headed the big anti-fascist actions in 1934 and, in pursuit of unity, secured a united Communist-Socialist front, and subsequently the Popular Front.

At the Party's Eighth Congress in 1936 Maurice Thorez defined the principles of selecting cadres as follows:

"First, utmost devotion to the working-class cause and loyalty to the Party, tried and tested in battle, in prison, in strikes.

"Second, close contact with the masses, not of pedantic doctrinaires but of popular leaders who really know the masses and are known by them.

"Third, initiative and a sense of responsibility, ability to orient oneself promptly and take a decision by oneself in any situation. He who is afraid of responsibility is no leader.

"Fourth, discipline and Communist firmness in combating the class enemy and in taking an uncompromising stand against all deviations from Marxism-Leninism in carrying out all the decisions of the regular Party committees."

APPLYING OUR PRINCIPLES TODAY

These considerations are as valid now as they were then. We must, however, specify and adjust them to the conditions of today which are not the same as they were thirty years ago.

Political firmness today should express itself, first of all, in appreciation of the Party's stand on all the issues, in particular its attitude to revisionist or adventurist views. It should be coupled with struggle against sectarian narrow-mindedness and opportunism, notably as regards the united front and work among the masses.

An active member should not shut himself up in his shell but should imaginatively further Communist policies. He should be careful not to slacken independent activity by the Party on the plea that labor and democratic unity is making progress, for our contribution to alliance and unity depends on the degree to which every organization and every active member acquaints the masses with the position of the Party, summoning them to action. In the new situation, it is more important than ever for the Party cadre to develop this chief quality of a leader, that is, the ability to keep in touch with the masses.

A leader should carefully study the changes in people's conditions, in their environment. Let us turn to a few examples.

The Gaullist policy, determined by the monopolies, is leading to greater concentration of industry, agriculture and banking. Small producers, small and medium peasants, small tradesmen and handicraftsmen are ousted by the big production units. This development, which is most marked in the steel, electronic, petrochemical and other industries, is aggravating the basic contradiction between labor and capital. Exploitation of the working class is intensified but frequently masked by newer techniques: greater mechanization, extended use of assembly lines, varying work schedules, varying wage rates for work at one and the same production line, varying bonuses and, of course, fines and penalties.

Female labor is used on a growing scale, resulting in overexploitation owing to discrimination over pay, job assignments, etc.

On the other hand, some categories, who in the past were better off in relation to the worker at the bench, are becoming increasingly conscious that they, too, are being exploited. I have in mind, among others, technicians, engineers and managerial personnel. These categories now take a much better part in working-class struggles than before,

as numerous instances of recent date show.

The conditions of bank, insurance and department-store personnel have changed, too, and in growing numbers they are joining in struggle alongside wage workers.

In the countryside, the Gaullist policy is aimed at abolishing family farming. In many Departments the industrial decentralization policy of the government is turning thousands of the smaller peasants into proletarians. As for those who remain on the land, they find themselves in new conditions, for they must use machinery to subsist. Nor is the agricultural laborer the same as he was a few years ago—many are now tractor drivers, mechanics and the like.

Big changes have been taking place in the towns. Towns which a few years ago had 10,000 inhabitants or less have grown into urban agglomerations with 50,000 or more people. The towns have to wrestle with numerous problems, such as the youthfulness of the residents (in some cases the average age is under 25).

These and other problems such as those posed by the growing use of all the modern gadgetry, television, the automobile and so on—cannot be ignored or minimized.

Our Party tries to take these circumstances into proper account in organizing its work, including the allocation of cadres.

PROGRESS IN CADRES POLICY

Roughly 100,000 Party members occupy leading posts. They are members of the Central Committee, of the 96 Federation committees and of the 2,400 sections, the leaders of 19,000 Party branches; deputies, senators, municipal councillors; active members in the Youth Movement; members who are respected by hundreds of thousands of members of various organizations or movements, in particular the General Confederation of Labor, the National Education Federation, agricultural trade unions, the Women's Union, Peace Movement, the associations of tenants, parents, war veterans, etc.

The growth in the number of Communist cadres is a result of the increased influence wielded by the Party, a result of its numerical growth, and also of its sound cadres policy.

The matter of cadres can best be

posed and understood as a political issue with a direct bearing on the Party's entire activity, a permanent and not a transient issue of the period preceding renewal of the leading Party committees, a job for the entire Party and not just for a few top leaders or a few "specialists."

The composition of its cadres and everything else about it really show the Communist Party to be the party of the French working class. The 18th Congress confirmed this by stating that 60 per cent of the membership are workers. This is also reflected in the composition of the leading committees: 51 of the 96 members of the Central Committee are workers, so are 42 per cent of the members of the Federation committees and 60 per cent of the Federation secretaries.

While bearing in mind the difficulties confronting the working peasantry in the period of concentration taking place in agriculture, it can be said that the fundamental alliance—that of the working class and the poor and middle peasantry—is a living reality in the Party, for 6.5 per cent of the membership consists of small peasants, while four members of the Central Committee are of peasant stock, as are also eight per cent of the members of the Federation leadership.

Workers and peasants make up the majority of the Party's rank and file and its leading committees. This is a result of our effort to win workers and peasants for our ideas and for the struggle against capitalism, the common enemy.

Employees of private and government enterprises add up to 19 per cent of the Party membership.

In France the bourgeoisie has always done its utmost to debar women from political activity. The Communist Party, on the contrary, has always tried to further the movement for women's rights, and women have actually gained civil rights in the face of discrimination.

Women constitute 25.5 per cent of our Party membership—an increase of 3.6 per cent over 1959. Nine members of the Central Committee are women, as are about 16 per cent of the members of the Federation committees.

To defeat the Gaullist regime, we must win for democracy and socialism other social strata plundered by the monopolies, in particular the middle classes. For years the Party has supported their aspirations and has urged them to join with the working class, whose interests

are in line with theirs. Nine per cent of the Party membership are intellectuals and about six per cent are shopkeepers and craftsmen.

Fifteen teachers and seven other intellectuals, including writers and research workers, are on the Central Committee. Together with office employees they account for over 20 per cent of the membership of the Federation committees.

Ours is the only party in France that offers the youth real hope for the present and the future. It fully trusts young people without flattering them, and shows them that they must fight alongside their elders if they want to win leisure, to a better life. Thousands of young men and women have joined the Party and the Communist Youth Movement. The Party has been renewed by 42 per cent since the Gaullist regime came to power. Roughly 23 per cent of the Federation leaders are under 30 years of age and the age of Central Committee members averages 45.

RENEWING, REJUVENATING AND BLENDING

To renew and rejuvenate the leading committees is a vital necessity for the Party and its leadership. Maurice Thorez's last speech, made at the closing of the 17th Party Congress, was a real declaration of faith in the Party and its cadres. "In our Party," he said, "young people are confidently assigned responsible positions. There is no greater happiness than to devote one's life to the Communist cause and to see the rise of a new generation to which one can pass on the torch."

Making it easier for young activists to become members of leading committees also makes for greater dynamism and initiative, for ability to carry out decisions. In the final analysis, it is in keeping with the general law of life to rejuvenate the cadres.

The 18th Congress elected 11 young comrades to the Central Committee and refrained from re-electing eight comrades, which enabled the latter to devote themselves to work in parliament or in the mass organizations. As regards the Federation committees, they were renewed by 18 per cent during the preparations for the 18th Congress. Similar changes have taken place in the sections and branch bureaus.

But while renewing and rejuvenating the leading committees is a standing task of the Party, it is indispensable, in the Party's opinion, to blend the young with experienced personnel.

The experience of the older comrades who lived through the great periods of the Popular Front, the fight against the Hitler occupation, the liberation and the struggles of the last two decades, is of unquestionable value in carrying on the political campaigns of today, even though the situation has changed in thirty years. With regard to establishing a united front of the working class and unity of the democratic forces, the close and living connection between the rich experience of the elders and the dynamism and enthusiasm of the young really makes the various Party bodies more efficient.

SELECTION AND TRAINING

The greater the number of new Party members, the easier it will be for us to find the people we need. Of course, we must vigorously weed out shortcomings in the policy of selecting and training people, and this is what the Party does. To remove these shortcomings, which exist in spite of the progress we have noted, we conduct sustained work in respect of the worker, peasant and women personnel, taking into account the real difficulties which comrades in these categories often encounter. There is a need for help, specifically for working women who after a day's work in factory, office or shop must on coming home undertake their household duties.

It is in the struggles we carry on against the American war in Vietnam, in the fight for genuine democracy, against the monopolies, and for the working people's demands that the best militants, those who head actions, come to the fore. And the Federations, sections and branches help them both during and after the action to become real leaders.

Communist cadres are moulded by life and by the work of the Party, primarily in the branches, those living centers of political, theoretical and practical training. Obviously, a correct concept and proper application of proletarian democracy in the Party's work make it easier to bring out and train the best. Better organization and functioning of the Party committees help to educate people.

Effective exercise of collective leader-

ship is a condition for developing and implementing a correct policy. In fact, collective discussion enables us to rule out the accidental and subjective in taking decisions. But effective collective leadership implies that each must bear personal responsibility, from the beginning of discussion to the execution of the resultant decision. Checking on fulfilment of tasks, and constructive criticism and self-criticism underlie the Leninist principles of leadership, which help us considerably in training our cadres.

Active members should not be overburdened if we want them to show maximum efficiency. To avoid piling up responsibilities, we must distribute them more reasonably and fairly. It is possible to share responsibility among a greater number of comrades provided we have confidence in their abilities, even when these have not yet been revealed in full.

The experience of our Party shows that leaders at all levels should know their members thoroughly in order to assign to each a job corresponding to his qualities, aptitude and taste. We should never impose a task but should discuss and explain it, leaving it to the person concerned to show initiative. Experience teaches that this method imparts the greatest efficiency and strength to Party organizations.

Furthermore, we must know well those we wish to advance. Promoting people should be done with due regard to the political tasks of the Party and the labor and democratic movement. On the one hand, we should not rush a decision under the *impression* of, say, a speech, for a rash promotion may dishearten one who is not yet prepared to take up this or that job. On the other hand, we should not wait till the person eligible for promotion has "matured" sufficiently to meet every requirement. A wise policy on promotion is to avoid both pitfalls.

The complex political situation calls for growing numbers of able members of a high political standard, and this makes Marxist-Leninist schooling a necessity. The Central Committee and the Federation committees make constant efforts to educate both the rank and file and the functionaries.

We think that elementary training consists in working in the Party branch and in reading *l'Humanité*. We have introduced an entry subscription for new members; reading the paper enables them to get a clearer view of events and to

work better among the masses in the sphere of activity of the branch and of each member.

The Party leadership is striving to provide active members with materials for advanced studies. This is the purpose of such political and theoretical publications as the weekly *France Nouvelle*, *Cahiers du Communisme*, *Economie et Politique* or *Nouvelle Critique*. There are also periodicals and newspapers intended for peasants, teachers and other sections. To help the Party branches organize their work and their actions, the Central Committee publishes *La Vie du Parti*, a monthly dealing with organizational, propaganda, educational and other problems.

Readers who have attended one of the Party schools find it much easier to read these publications. We are now working hard on the organization of thousands of elementary schools for new members. The elementary school is divided into five terms and is designed in the main to impart the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, encouraging the student to think and, above all, to engage in discussion on developments in his factory, in his village or his neighborhood.

The Federations organize permanent weekly or fortnightly schools of a higher type.

Central Committee functionaries attend the national Maurice Thorez School. Every year 500 members take a course for one month or four months. Peasants in winter attend two fortnightly courses. Communist students engage in refresher training for about twenty days in September.

We may add to this the effort to give people a Marxist-Leninist education by arranging lectures and talks.

Mention should be made of the "new universities" organized in the cities. The Thorez Institute held, from October 13 to 15 last, a symposium on the subject "The October Revolution and France," which attracted considerable attention. Once a year the Marxist Research Center holds a Week of Marxist Thought in Paris. This year the Week was devoted to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The Week is held also in other cities.

Education includes dissemination of our literature, ranging from distribution in the Party branches to annual book fairs.

Lastly, there are the Communist Youth Movement, the General Confederation of Labor and other mass organizations, which have their own schools. The French Communist Party is doing all in its power to have now, and in the future,

members and functionaries capable of serving with growing efficiency the cause of all working men and women, the cause of democracy, peace and socialism.

Roger GAUDON

On the effectiveness of party work

(From the experience of the Chelyabinsk Regional Committee of the CPSU)

Many forms and methods of work among the masses and principles of leadership have been evolved in the decades of our Party's existence. The Party especially values those associated with Lenin's name. These have become the compass for our generation of Party functionaries.

But life does not stand still. And the experience of the older generation of Communists is constantly enriched. Answers to the innumerable problems arising in the course of building the communist society cannot be found in the Party's past activity alone. The Party urges its functionaries always to be on the lookout for everything new and progressive.

In this period of vigorous renovation and improvement of forms and methods of Party work, when the usefulness of every initiative is verified by practice, importance attaches to experimentation, to organizational experience, to the scientific approach to Party work.

The Twenty-Third Congress of the Party provided answers to the current problems of our life. The Party adopted a new approach to economic development and to the further improvement of social relationships. New tasks are posed before the Party organizations by the economic reform and the transition to the five-day working week.

Perfecting Soviet democracy, active participation by the masses in managing state and public affairs, the growing interest in public life displayed by the people—these features of our time find expression in the work of the Party organizations.

What concretely, has changed or is changing in the style and methods of Party work?

To begin with, the attitude towards many aspects of this work. Further development of the Leninist norms of Party life and the inner-Party democracy is making itself felt in carrying out Party policy.

Party committee members are working more actively. Their participation in drafting and implementing Party decisions has grown. The committees rely more on the collective thinking of the membership. Their work is increasingly characterized by the Leninist approach, while elements of window-dressing and "commandism" are disappearing. The Party organizations have become more exacting as regards observance of the Party Rules, and at the same time display more confidence in local officials. As a result, the latter too have greater confidence in themselves and act more independently. Party life has become more interesting and varied, and the

influence and role of the branches have grown.

In the not too distant past the Party committees tended to rely on the Party apparatus for a solution to many economic matters, whereas the local economic and governmental bodies with large numbers of specialists at their disposal were often unable to display initiative and work to full capacity. This led to irresponsibility, to a weakening of the authority of the economic bodies, to fetishism as regards directives from the top and, as a result, to serious deficiencies in work.

Today Party organizations, moving away from wire-pulling, petty tutelage and hasty decisions, are concentrating on the key problems of economic life, on an analysis of the concrete situation and economic expediency. Before decisions are reached there is, as a rule, a genuinely collective discussion of all aspects of the particular problem.

The transition to management by branches of industry, to economic methods of management poses in a new light the questions of the place and role of Party committees in economic-political guidance, of the forms and methods of their work. The guiding principle is that the leading role of the Party organizations consists in their carrying out political and organizational tasks, and not administrative functions. Pointing out that all Party organizations should focus attention on successful fulfilment of the new Five-Year Plan, the Twenty-Third Congress emphasized: "However, they should use the organizational and educational methods typical of them, allowing no substitution for or petty patronage of local authorities or economic bodies."

To show how this decision is being implemented I will cite a few examples.

The Chelyabinsk Regional Committee of the Party, concerned about the declining rate of the growth of labor productivity in industry and building in recent years, decided to look into the matter, to pinpoint the causes and take corrective measures.

The industrial departments of the regional committee secured the participation of the local Party committees, leading specialists and research establishments in a study of the dynamics of labor productivity over the past fifteen years. The results of the study, together with relevant data for the leading enter-

prises in the country, were discussed at Party and workers' meetings and later at a regional scientific and technical conference on labor productivity in industry and in building. This enabled the regional committee and the factory managers and Party committees in the enterprises to chart measures for overcoming the obstacles to growth of labor productivity.

Mass emulation was launched in the region for fuller utilization of capacities and greater productivity at each bench. The initiators of the emulation pledged themselves to overfulfil the Five-Year Plan assignments as regards labor productivity, reach the level planned for the first quarter of 1968 on or before the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, and secure 70 to 80 per cent of growth of output through increased productivity of labor.

At the beginning of the jubilee year the workers formulated their pledges in a letter to the Central Committee. Aided by the local Party and trade union organizations and economic executives, they kept their word. The output plan for the first ten months of the year was fulfilled 102 per cent, with all the above-plan increase obtained through greater productivity of labor.

Mention should be made of the efforts of the Chelyabinsk Party organization in promoting scientific organization of labor and production. As a result of the emulation organized by it for the title of the most efficient enterprise, section and shop some of the enterprises in the city became pilot plants for their respective ministries in introducing scientific organization of labor.

The striving of Party organizations to engage in economic analysis, to go into the pivotal problems of production, to heighten the sense of responsibility of each worker for the results of the overall work is characteristic not only of industry, but also of agriculture.

The Party's concern for all-out development of agriculture has had a big impact on life in the countryside, stimulating a renovation of the forms and methods of work of the rural Party organizations. The role of the district committees, district production boards and branches of the Farm Machinery Supply Agency has grown, as has their sense of responsibility for the state of affairs in their localities.

The selfless labor of the people and

the large-scale organizational and political work carried out by Party, government, trade union and Komsomol organizations have yielded fruit: this year the region delivered to the state 1,630,000 tons of grain, of which over 700,000 tons was in excess of plan.

This is not to say that there is nothing to worry about any longer. Some district Party committees persist in believing in the magic power of a command issued over the telephone, of a conference and fiat. But this is becoming a thing of the past. The spirit of initiative has come into its own since the 23rd Congress. There is taking shape a style that accords with the new tasks, a style characterized by a desire to enhance the role and militancy of lower Party organizations, encourage their initiative and give more effective guidance to ideological work.

"... The more profound the change we wish to bring about," Lenin said, "the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary." That is the heart of the matter, the essence of the political approach to the solution of any economic problem.

It is common knowledge that politics and economics are inseparable, that they exist and operate together. It is hard to find the line between Party work and economic work.

That Party organs are abandoning the practice of supplanting the economic organs and of meddling in their operational functions should not be understood in a simplified way. The formula "not to supplant," if misused, can breed inactivity and irresponsibility. While relinquishing the old habit of petty tutelage over economic, government and other organs, the Party committees have no intention of relinquishing guidance of the economy or of relaxing control over it. Party committees, and Party officials cannot keep aloof when things go wrong in their factory or office.

For instance, the regional committee held a meeting to see how emulation pledges and plan assignments for 1967 were being carried out. Somewhat earlier it had recommended the district and city committees to take up that matter in their own localities. Is this "supplanting" or not? I think that's what Party work is. The working people had made very important pledges for the jubilee year

1967, and things, on the whole, were running smoothly. But a number of enterprises were lagging. How could the Party committee be indifferent to this? No harm will be done if economic matters predominate in Party work for the time being. The vital thing for a Party committee is not to maintain a balance between political and economic or technical matters, but to approach them politically, not from a narrow economic standpoint.

The weeks following the meeting were marked by a heightened sense of responsibility for the fulfilment of jubilee pledges and plan assignments, and by a more efficient operation in the lagging enterprises. For instance, after criticism at the meeting for failure to keep up with the plan, the personnel of the tractor plant were able to eliminate the lag in the second half of the year.

Sometimes one can hear this kind of talk: last year thrifty saving on fuel and raw materials had top priority. Earlier still, the regional committee had called for better utilization of basic production assets and high quality production. This year it is labor productivity. How is one to understand this? Are we not orienting the Party organizations on campaign-making? This is a wrong way of reasoning. The current emphasis on labor productivity does not mean that we forget about better utilization of basic production assets, quality of output, or thrift, for all these are components of one general task — making production more efficient.

The success of any undertaking, no matter how well substantiated scientifically and economically and the implementation of any task no matter how clearly formulated depends in the final count on people. The greater the initiative, political awareness, sense of responsibility and organization, the greater our achievements. That is the criterion of our ideological work.

But these qualities have to be cultivated. Hence the increased interest displayed by the Party organizations in working with people, the striving to reach every man. This is manifested in promoting initiative in work and participation in public life, in concern for raising the educational, cultural and technical level — in short, in educating a harmoniously developed individual.

Education is an essential factor of political consciousness and social activ-

ity, and without raising the educational level of people there can be no question of their active participation in building communism, of making our work more effective.

Not only has our region changed beyond recognition in the fifty years of Soviet rule, the spiritual make-up of man too has changed. Before the revolution 83 per cent of the inhabitants in our region were illiterate. There were only three specialized secondary schools, with a total of 200 students, and no institutions of higher learning. Today our higher and specialized secondary schools have a student body of about 115,000, and the total school attendance is 1,200,000.

But average figures alone won't do in Party work, and one of the reasons for our concern is that about 120,000 young people in the region have not had eight-year schooling, and that the education of many members of the rural Party organizations is of primary-school level.

The importance of education is well understood, for instance, by the Magnitogorsk blast-furnacemen, 920 of whom (out of a total of 1,130) are studying in general, secondary or higher schools or attending various courses, and by the steel-makers in the city of Zlatoust who have decided to help all the workers in the leading trades to obtain a secondary technical education. This, without doubt, is one of the secrets of the successful operation by the best enterprises in the region.

Our Party sees it as one of its principal tasks to draw all working people into the socio-political life of the country, to enable every citizen to take part in public life. Leonid Brezhnev said in his report on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution: "By its nature communism is a society created by the masses themselves and in the interests of all the people. To advance towards communism signifies involving the people more widely in the practical work of running state, economic and social affairs."

Participation in public life is volunteer work for society, done without counting on remuneration, without any established quotas. It helps to cultivate a communist attitude to labor and is an essential element of the communist labor movement.

Participation in public life is not just

a contribution to the spiritual life of a body of workers or society as a whole, it is a **school also for the participant himself**, who thus becomes not merely a working man, but also a public figure. Communists and hundreds of thousands of non-Party people cannot visualize living without some kind of public work. Hence the importance of stimulating interest in social activity and of displaying consideration and respect for activists. We often come across people listed as activists, but who in reality do no social work. At the same time, many activists perform several social assignments. If care is taken to harmonize assignments with the interests and abilities of people, this will help make performance of social functions an organic need of man.

The effectiveness of our work grows considerably when Party committees and economic and public organizations take into account the social peculiarities of collectives of workers and plan their development. For the political awareness and the social initiative of people are cultivated and manifest themselves first and foremost in the collective. As a rule, they are best where a genuinely creative atmosphere prevails, where much attention is paid to fostering the immanent culture and discipline of every individual, where pride in one's trade is inculcated and high standards are combined with profound respect and solicitude for the individual.

The striving of the Party organizations to impart greater scope and perspective to their work demands a thorough analysis of all aspects of our reality.

Making Party work more concrete is an important means of increasing its effectiveness. But concrete guidance presupposes the availability of exact, timely, full, and scientifically-processed information. The Party organizations have many sources of information. Of late a growing role has been played by sociological research.

The 23rd Congress of the Party stressed the importance of sociological research in educating the new man. Hence the need for a thorough study of the possibilities provided by this research for improving Party work.

Data of sociological research are used today in preparing subjects for discussion by Party committees and in planning and organizing Party work. For instance, we relied on sociological data

when preparing the regional committee's meeting to discuss "The Tasks of the Regional Party Organization in Enhancing the Political Consciousness and Social Activity of People in the Light of the Decisions of the 23rd Party Congress."

At present sociological research is conducted in the Chelyabinsk, Magnitogorsk, Zlatoust and in other Party organizations. The sociological research center, run on a voluntary basis under the auspices of the regional committee, regularly issues a bulletin which is sent to all Party committees. The center has conducted a number of interesting studies. For example, it studied the organization of the political education network in Chelyabinsk and pinpointed serious omissions in staffing the network and in the quality of lectures. This impelled the city committee to make a deeper analysis of the ideological and theoretical level of lectures, take fuller stock of the interests of Communists as far as assimilating Marxist-Leninist theory is concerned, and to take measures to remove the shortcomings.

Concrete sociological research is an important instrument in studying all aspects of reality, and it should be treated accordingly and not replaced by superficial poll-taking which has little practical value and often leads to erroneous conclusions and subjectivism. It is also important that analysis of the research data should be followed up by practical conclusions and measures.

The regional committee adopted a special resolution on sociological research in the next two years. Branches of its sociological center are being set up at all district and city committees, in enterprises, on state farms and in offices. Methodological centers are being organized to help Party committees in their sociological studies. The social sciences chairs of the pedagogical and polytechnical institutes have established sociological laboratories.

Exchange of experience of Party work is also important. Of late some of our members have been to other Soviet cities and have visited fraternal socialist countries, among them Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Cuba. We also see to it that members visit other cities and districts in our own region.

For instance, when preparing for the regional committee's session devoted to the observance by members of the Party

Rules, the majority of regional committee members as well as secretaries of city and district committees visited neighboring cities and districts and allied enterprises to exchange experience and views. This enabled them to gain a clearer understanding of many aspects of Party work.

Many Party committees are searching for new ways of making meetings more effective. For example, a somewhat unusual procedure was adopted for the meeting in one of the districts to discuss Party guidance of the youth organizations. Instead of the usual intermission of 15 to 20 minutes after the report by the secretary of the district committee, they had a two-week recess. The members were thus able to check up on some points made by the secretary, go deeper into the work of the youth organizations and discuss with Communists and Komsomol members as to how to overcome the shortcomings. Reassembling two weeks later, they had plenty of new ideas and plans.

In the Lenin District of Chelyabinsk, district committee officials regularly visit local enterprises with a view to familiarizing themselves with the work of the Party organizations, to contacting every Party group and helping it in its work. The result is that the Party groups in the district are very active, full of initiative, and Party work in the district as a whole stands out for purposefulness and good organization.

Some city and district committees have set up organizing centers with methodological councils staffed with voluntary helpers who study and summarize the experience of the Party organizations, offer advice on problems of Party building and organize discussions of articles printed in periodicals. These methodological councils are good helpers of the Party committees.

The important and complicated problems confronting us today demand a new approach also to the matter of the efficiency of our Party officials. The city and district committees are quite right in devoting much thought to this question. We cannot be indifferent to the work of our officials, whether it is productive and effective.

A Party official is a worker of a special kind. He is a man of an unusual profession, a representative of an area of knowledge which might be called "humanology." The work he performs in-

volves great responsibility. Our job is to see that every Party official displays the maximum initiative, that his work produces the greatest effect and brings joy and satisfaction and does not become a routine technical function. The productiveness and scientific organization of the work of our officials are far from being simple matters, and the Party committees should pay close attention to them.

The committees are searching for ways of increasing the effectiveness of their work, improving the guidance of Party organizations and groups, improving the system of verifying implementation of decisions and promoting criticism and self-criticism.

Close attention is paid to selecting and educating officials, to strengthening all sectors of Party work with active and competent people.

Along with making greater demands on leading officials, the Party committees are giving them more help in assimilating Marxist-Leninist theory, economics and other specialized knowledge, acquiring skill in the spheres of organizing political and economic work and in cultivating Communist adherence to principle, a critical attitude towards their own work and a respectful, considerate, attitude towards other people.

Many new initiatives are displayed by Party organizations in the process of renovating and enriching the experience of the political and ideological work accumulated by the Party. We endeavor to use this experience creatively, with due regard to concrete conditions, to discern that which has become obsolete and replace it by that which conforms to the new situation and tasks and yields the greatest effect.

The work of our Party organizations is aimed at ensuring maximum success in our industrial enterprises, on state farms, collective farms and in all our cities and districts. But economic results cannot be the sole criterion of the level of organizing political and ideological work.

The success of the Magnitogorsk metal-makers and builders is widely known in our country. Under the guidance of the Party organization, and thanks to the help of the Central Committee and the entire country, they performed a feat of valiant labor which has gone down as a splendid chapter in the history of the Soviet state. But the work

of the Magnitogorsk Party organization cannot be judged merely by the tons of metal turned out in excess of plan or by the number of new furnaces put into operation.

It should be borne in mind that much educational and ideological work has been and is being carried on in Magnitogorsk. When the foundations of the first blast-furnaces were being laid in the early nineteen-thirties, the education of the workers averaged two grades. Today it is eight grades. One in every three residents of the city attends school or college. The number of books in the public libraries and subscriptions to newspapers and magazines have increased many times over. Special attention is paid to the aesthetic education of the children and adolescents, to musical culture. Much that is new and valuable is being contributed by our members to ideological education work at places of residence. All this is the direct result of the efforts of Party organizations and should be taken into consideration when appraising their work.

To be sure, the effectiveness of Party work can and must be gauged by tons of steel and grain, by the number of new schools, hospitals and clubs, and other accomplishments (i.e., by the economic level achieved, the indices of plan fulfilment), for Party organizations are the spearhead of the effort to build the material and technical foundations of communism and raise the well-being of the people. But that alone is not enough. The multiformity and many-sidedness of Party work cannot be squeezed into the bounds of the economic criterion. Man does not live by bread alone.

To build the communist society, it is necessary to keep on improving socialist relations, to inculcate in all members of our society revolutionary consciousness and selflessness, proletarian internationalism, a communist attitude to labor and to public property.

An analysis of all aspects of the life of society—the economy, production, living conditions, culture—makes clear that *the criteria of the effectiveness of Party work are the level of socialist consciousness, initiative, organization and sense of responsibility, the frame of mind of the public. We must also measure the effectiveness of our work by the degree to which we instil in people the sense of dignity of the Soviet citizen, patriotism, readiness to defend the country and*

to render fraternal internationalist aid to other socialist countries and all peoples fighting for national independence and social justice; by how successfully we explain the lofty aims of the Party and inspire the masses for the achievement of these aims; by how vigorously we champion irreconcilability towards shortcomings and cultivate exactitude towards ourselves and others; by how ef-

fectively we combat negligence and indifference.

The effectiveness of Party work is measured by the ideological growth of man, by the success of our efforts to enhance the prestige of the Party and its Central Committee and strengthen the unity of our ranks.

Nikolai RODIONOV

Jordanian Communist Party in action

The Jordanian Communist Party recently published a document of vital importance for the Party and its work. Undoubtedly, it will have far-reaching effects on the future of Party work among the masses and its allies on a national scale.

The document is the Provisional Party Program, the draft of which was prepared by the Central Committee at a meeting held last July. The draft was submitted to all party organizations and branches for discussion, after which all amendments and remarks were sent to the Central Committee, which in turn studied them and incorporated many of them into the draft. The provisional program was then approved unanimously by the membership.

Outstanding in this provisional program, which reflects the plan of work for the next period, is the emphasis on the gravity of the situation in the area as a result of the Israeli aggression. Thus the prime task of the Party is outlined as working for the liquidation of the vestiges of the aggression. The program stresses that the main struggle in the Arab area continues to be, in its totality, between the Arab national liberation movement, on the one hand, and colonialism, imperialism and their partners, Zionism and reactionary agents, on the other.

To achieve this task the program stresses the need to fulfil the following obligations at the national level:

The Israeli occupation has deprived the country of the considerable territory known as the West Bank of the Jordan River. The occupation has uprooted 260,000 who, driven from their homes, have had to seek refuge on the eastern bank where they are living in tents, exposed to hunger and disease. Danger of death is a real threat to large numbers of them. Despite the pressure of international public opinion on the rulers of Israel, very few refugees, not more than 14,000, have been allowed to return to their homes on the Western Bank. This has created a critical economic situation in Jordan. The aggression and the occupation of the West Bank, the most developed part of the country (48 per cent of all industrial enterprises are concentrated here; it accounts for 65 per cent vegetables, 60 per cent fruit and 80 per cent olives grown in the country) have paralyzed economic life, causing unemployment and the stoppage of construction projects.

Thus, the Party on the West Bank is resisting the occupation and fighting for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops to the positions they occupied before the aggression. The Party, heading the mass struggle, has called for no-cooperation with the occupation authorities. It has called for a broad national united front, comprising all patriotic parties, movements and personalities. The front is now taking shape and is organizing popular resistance demanding an end to

the occupation. Its call for a general strike met with a fine response in all towns on the West Bank. It is leading the strike of lawyers and judges which is still going on under the slogan of no-cooperation with the occupation authorities. It is at the head of the strike of students and teachers, protesting against the action of the occupation authorities in changing the school curricula.

Day by day growing numbers of people are rallying to the front, and the resistance to the occupation authorities is gaining strength. This explains the failure of all the attempts of the aggressors to impose a shameful solution to the Palestinian problem against the interests of the Palestinian Arabs, a solution which envisages a puppet Palestinian entity which would be at the mercy of the Israeli rulers.

In the unoccupied areas of Jordan the Party in drawing up its policy is guided by the following objective reality: the efforts of the imperialists and their agents during the past decade to turn Jordan into a conspiratorial base of aggression against the Arab national-liberation movement and to split the Arab anti-imperialist front have failed. True, the governments in power in Jordan in the past ten years did in essence, pursue an anti-popular policy. Reactionary laws were enacted with the aim of restricting the activities of the Party and the other patriotic and progressive organizations. An anti-Communist law empowered the government to imprison anybody for 15 years simply on suspicion of being a Communist; and this law has not yet been repealed. Israel is at present threatening to utilize it against those patriots on the West Bank who reject the occupation and call for the unity of the Jordanian territories.

The Communists and other patriots are demanding the annulment of this law and a guarantee of freedom for political and trade union activities and freedom of the press. They support the conscription law passed a month ago, which will change the character of the army and will eventually mean that it will no longer be a professional force recruited mainly among the Bedouin tribes. The outlook for a broad national united front on the East Bank is good. The Party is also working to strengthen its base and to consolidate its relations with the working population in town and countryside. More than ever it is being realized that strengthening the Party is the guarantee for the fulfilment of the tasks facing the Jordanian people.

The Party also considers that clarification of the Arab attitude towards the Palestine problem and the demand for a just and peaceful solution to this problem will deprive the imperialists and the Zionists of the weapon used by them to mislead world opinion, which is now playing an increasingly important role in resolving international problems and conflicts.

The Party also stresses "that the people of Jordan, like all the Arab peoples of the world, want to live in peace and security, without threatening or committing aggression against anybody, being threatened themselves or made victims of aggression; they refuse to surrender and thus reward the aggressors for their aggression. The people consider the liquidation of the vestiges of the aggression and the withdrawal of the Israeli forces to their positions of June 5 as necessary and decisive preconditions for guaranteeing a just peace and security."

Ameen SALEM

Catholics and Communists in Latin America: Some aspects of the present situation

ROQUE DALTON

Catholicism came to Latin America together with the Spanish conquistadors. In the process of colonization the Church became the biggest landholder, concentrating in its hands enormous wealth. The "conversion to Catholicism," monopoly of education and vast political influence enabled the Church to penetrate all spheres of the nascent Latin-American society, to become an ideological force that determined practically all aspects of the social life of that period. The system of "colonial Christianity" that thus took shape continued for several centuries without undergoing any significant changes.

However, in the 19th century, beginning with the wars of independence, the Church came into collision with the new ideas emanating from Europe, then shaken by revolutions; it lost a substantial part of its land and property, its hierarchy became disorganized, the clergy split. This process culminated in the liberal reforms of the second half of the last century (separation of the Church from the State, secularization of various administrative bodies, etc.), and clashes (some armed) between the state power and political Catholicism.

The "restoration" of conservatism in the first decades of our century and the subsequent development of capitalism helped the Catholic Church to recover from its state of prostration and became the starting point of a new upward trend.

Although the Church failed to regain its former absolute powers, it was able to secure many privileges and to assert once again its political influence. After the October Revolution, anti-Communism began to figure prominently in the ideological and political activity of the Church.

Such, in the most general outline, has been the process of the Church's inclusion in the structure of Latin America's societies of today.

It should be stressed that Latin American Catholicism does not end with the Catholic church, just as the "black legend" and the Inquisition are not the history of the Church. It should likewise be noted that the Church was not always monolithic and completely on the side of the oligarchies. Priests like Las Casas, Hidalgo, Morelos, Camilo Henriquez, José Simeon Canas and Medina, helped to foster the humanistic and, later, revolutionary liberation traditions which are today espoused by the finest representatives of Catholicism.

Before critically examining the present situation in Latin American Catholicism it is essential first objectively to examine the ideological differences in the Church. It would be incorrect to construe rigid definitions of the social role of the Church today simply by listing certain historical facts (for example, that the Church is an "ideological instrument in the service of the local ruling classes

and foreign exploiters"). Such *a priori* definitions are particularly dangerous in our time when the Church, traditionally conservative in its "continuity, organization and universality," is experiencing a period of profound change and adaptation to the new reality. The force and sharpness with which the problems of Latin America's political development are advanced today oblige us to be particularly precise in our generalizations, to adopt a more clear-cut and, at the same time, more flexible attitude. It is in this spirit that we shall try to examine the relations between such socio-political concepts as the "Catholic church," "Catholicism" and "revolution" on the scale of the Latin American continent.

I.

What, then, does the Catholic church in Latin America represent today—fifty years after the Great October Revolution; in the period of socialist construction in Cuba, the revolutionary armed struggle in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia, the sweeping mass actions in Uruguay, Chile and other countries of the continent?

According to statistics, Latin American Catholics account for 30-40 per cent of the world's Catholics. "In the year 2,000, that is, in 34 years from now, Latin American Catholics will constitute half of the total number of Catholics," writes Professor Carlos Rama of Uruguay. "Every second Catholic will be a Latin American . . . The future of the Catholic church is being decided in Latin America." In Latin America 93 per cent of the population profess Catholicism. The proportion fluctuates from under 72 per cent in Haiti up to 97.7 per cent in El Salvador.

There are between 35,000 to 40,000 priests on the continent today. (This does not include monks and others of the cloth specially trained for religious services.) In the year 1800 the number was 25,000. The growth rate has been slow—a little over 10,000 in 167 years. In 1800 there was one priest for every 900 parishioners, today the figure is one for every 5,000-6,000.

*It is true that "practising Catholics" constitute only 14 per cent of the population. The American sociologist Smith Hempstone writes in this connection: "Most younger Latin American priests are prepared to admit that the segment of the population that can be called Catholic in any meaningful sense of the word is not 93 per cent but somewhere between 5 and 10 per cent."

However, the Latin American priest now has at his disposal all the modern means of communicating with his flock. Besides, the slow numerical growth of the clergy is supplemented with priests sent from abroad. (Hence the not unjustified claim by Fathers Houtait and Le Pin that in the realm of world Catholicism Latin America will in the next ten years have top priority). The influx of foreign clergy to Latin America has become so intensive in recent years that there is talk about an ecclesiastical version of the fourth point of the Truman doctrine. In Bolivia, for example, only six of the 20 bishops, and 200 of the 800 priests are Bolivians. In Brazil which has 60,000,000 Catholics, 41 per cent of the priests came from abroad.

Between 1958 and 1965 the number of clergy from *Canada* increased from 1,000 to 1,762. *Belgian* priests are beginning to play an increasingly bigger role in our continent: in September 1954, the first nine graduates of a special seminary in Louvain arrived in Latin America as missionaries; today the number of Belgians is in excess of 100. *Spanish* clergy, long since predominant, numbered, in 1962, besides a thousand diocese priests, 7,703 men and 9,025 women of Spanish origin engaged in religious work. Clergy come also from Ireland, West Germany, Italy, France, Portugal and the United States. The number of priests from *North America* is carefully concealed but is evidently pretty high. It is generally known that the Catholic church in the U.S. plans to have a corps of approximately 22,000 in Latin America by 1970.

The Church is working persistently to penetrate into all the pores of public life. At present there is not a single important socio-political sphere without its institutions studying the corresponding problems. The political and trade union spheres, women's and children's organizations, private education, the use of the mass media, human relations, community activities, the social sciences—in all these spheres the Church and the organizations grouped around it are exceedingly busy. In the case of the Latin American continent it is clear that all this activity is directed from the outside. The explanation for this offered by the International Catholic Center for Social Research in Brussels is that Latin America is "short of creative groups capable of elaborating their own original models of culture for solving national

problems. . . . Hence the first step towards a sensible solution of Latin American problems is to take ideological concepts from abroad. . . ."

The multiform activity of the Church on the continent is headed by a Latin American Episcopal Council formed in 1955, which includes the archbishops and bishops of the entire continent. John XXIII called it one of the most important bodies of the universal Catholic structure. The Council coordinates at the highest level not only the religious aspects of the Church's activity, but also Catholic activity of a "secular order." At its last session in Mar del Plata, in October 1966, the Council gave its blessing to the reformist concept of development advanced by the imperialists as an alternative to the revolutionary way. The Council, evidently, has been assigned the task of "Latin Americanizing" the results of the universal decisions of the Vatican Council, and of ensuring utilization of human and economic resources coming from abroad. (In April 1966 a conference of European Catholic organizations in aid of Iberoamerica convened in Louvain, at which a permanent union of these organizations was formed with representatives in France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Holland and Federal Germany. The Union's President, Monsignor D. Smedt, Bishop of Bruges, is trying to enlist also representatives from England, Ireland, Austria and Switzerland.)

The Church now wants to make a "big leap" in private education, in the trade unions, in the free professions, in women's unions and in developing the as yet small number of "Catholic Action" groups. What it really boils down to is a *new conquest of Latin American society*. Existing organizations include the Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unionists and a continental trade union school (the Padre Alberto Hurtado School in Chile). There are also Catholic organizations of manufacturers in each country. With the help of the Alliance for Progress agents, attempts are being made to bring the organizations catering to peasants, students and cooperators under Christian banners. With this end in view, a number of research and planning centers have been formed on the continent and in other parts of the world to study socio-economic problems.*

Space does not allow for even a brief

*This point was examined in an article by O. Millas, published in No. 5 of our journal for 1966.

review of the facilities at the disposal of Latin American Catholicism for spreading its influence: countless libraries, clubs, newspapers, journals and other publications, radio and television—in short, all the modern propaganda media. "In view of the purely Latin American disregard for statistics, it is well-nigh impossible to estimate the Church's investments in the continent," writes Carlos Rama. "The biggest investments are in newspapers, printing, the cinema, film companies, publishing, distribution centers, cellulose and pulp and paper mills. . . ." The Church also invests in real estate, trade, industry, in aircraft and shipping companies, in the handicrafts and in much else. It will suffice to mention in this connection the intensive activity displayed of late throughout the continent by manufacturers associated with the secret Opus Dei organization.

An important instrument for strengthening the influence of Catholicism (and its more reactionary circles at that), is the so-called "meeting of minds" of the Church and the armed forces. It is not only a matter of the Church intensifying its ideological penetration in the army, but also of the armed forces and militarist governments beginning to use Catholicism as the ideological base for their "anti-Communism." The figure of a 'gorilla' on his knees before a Cathedral altar—although not anything unusual in our continent—can be seen more and more frequently of late. One need only recall, in this connection, the Onganía regime, which the Communist Party of Argentina characterized as a "clerical fascist" government, and the statement by Brazil's President Marshal Costa e Silva, that he will govern the country on the principles of the encyclical "Populorum Progressio."

In their aggregate, the mass organizations and various other institutions, trained personnel, Christian-Democratic parties,* etc.—set in motion by powerful international financial resources—constitute the political base, and more broadly, the material foundation of the Catholic church in Latin America. Some of these organizations are traditional; others have

*The problems of the Christian-Democratic parties in the countries of Latin America, their attitude to the present trends in the Church, and also the attitude of the Communists to these parties are not discussed in the present article (although they are closely related in content) since we consider that this question calls for a special article.

appeared only recently. There is every reason to maintain that Catholicism on the continent today represents a system of powerful and well-staffed institutions, wielding a strong influence on the bulk of the population.

II.

The work of the last two popes—John XXIII and Paul VI—their social encyclicals and the Pastoral Constitution "The Church in the Modern World," adopted at the Vatican Council, are the foundation underlying the "aggiornamento" of the Catholic Church, that is, its modernization, essential if the Church is to continue to play an effective role in the world which has undergone fundamental changes as a result of political, socio-economic and technological transformations. Beginning with a revision of ecclesiastical customs and the liturgy, "aggiornamento" developed into intensive Catholic activity in the most diverse spheres. It is under the influence of "aggiornamento" that most of the institutions, mentioned earlier, appeared in Latin America. Of course, the attitude to this reformist trend is far from unanimous at the different levels of the hierarchy, Catholic organizations or among the parishioners. For Latin American Catholics "aggiornamento" has become a disquieting problem of religious conscience, fraught with internal doubts and contradictions, a problem of conscience and being, which has shaken to its very foundation the bedrock on which the spiritual life of "Christ's flock" rested.

What are the "secular" tenets of the "aggiornamento" Rome has proposed to Latin American Catholicism? Roughly, they can be summarized as follows: in this divided world, in danger of being destroyed by a nuclear holocaust, and rent by the contradictions between the "poor nations" and the "rich nations," changes are called for in the obsolete socio-economic structure, otherwise the destruction of humanity as a result of war, or the collapse of capitalist societies as a result of revolutions, will be inevitable. In the light of this, the Church considers the consolidation and growth of the socialist world forces, and the unprecedented scope of the national-liberation movement in the economically underdeveloped countries, on the one hand, and the aggravation of the internal contradictions in the capitalist world, on

the other, to be highly portentous objective facts. Reforms aimed at establishing a new balance between the opposing forces, one that would not be a balance of fear, are proclaimed as the most suitable way of "revising and modifying" existing socio-economic structures. The advocates of "aggiornamento" even go so far as to condemn certain fundamentals of the capitalist system without, however, attacking the bedrock of the capitalist mode of production — private ownership. Consequently, condemnation of this kind can also be used as a tactical means to perpetuate the capitalist regime. However, even such an attitude in respect to capitalism, although profoundly contradictory, would have been utterly inconceivable in the past.

As regards Latin America (considered part of the "poor countries," according to the earlier mentioned conception), the Church proposes a program of economic advance through peaceful evolution based on a series of economic and social-political reforms. It underscores that Latin American integration is an indispensable condition for such an advance.

There is no doubt that on our continent where anti-imperialist and revolutionary sentiment is strong, support for the Alliance for Progress by some circles of the Catholic church is seen by the reformist bourgeoisie and the imperialists as a gift of Providence. True, in a situation of irreconcilable class struggle even such a compromise position is a double-edged weapon. Thus, among the more reactionary circles (mainly the latifundists, the wealthy families connected with finance capital and the intermediary bourgeoisie that feeds on foreign trade), "aggiornamento" literally caused a fit of rage and hysteria. This development in Catholicism was denounced as surrendering to the "temptations of socialism," and even to "Marxism" and "Communism," which must be combated by every means. This attitude was reflected by considerable groups of the clergy and, to a lesser degree, by several Catholic organizations, especially in the interior, where feudal and semi-feudal survivals still prevail. This is how the *Right or reactionary trend* in the Church and in Catholicism originated and took shape in Latin America.

The *centrist-reformist trend* which expresses the position of the present Pope and the Ecumenical Council, the

position of "aggiornamento" within the limits established by Rome, has met with varying success in the different countries. But by the very logic of the ecumenical structure of the Church, and especially in view of the socio-political causes that have generated this trend, it has every possibility of becoming the dominant one in the near future. For that matter, it has already become sufficiently widespread to cause considerable differences in its own midst and different degrees of adherence to its fundamental tenets. Thus, two distinct groups have now emerged—the Left reformists represented by Don Helder Camara, Archbishop of Recife and Olinda*, and many other Brazilian bishops who, in the summer of 1967, signed the Manifesto of the Bishops of the Third World (the Manifesto calls, in particular, on Christians to accept socialism "as the form of social life which best meets the exigencies of the present and the spirit of the Gospel"), and the trend among the Christian-Democrats who favor the "non-capitalist way." The other group consists of Right reformists like Monsignor Luis Chavez y Gonzalez, Archbishop of San Salvador, who, while criticizing the intolerable socio-economic conditions in his country at the same time affirms that the only way to overcome all misfortunes is to support neo-capitalism and the policy of U.S. imperialism in Latin America.

In the generally accepted opinion of specialists, the Catholic hierarchies in Mexico, in many countries of Central America, in Peru, Colombia and Ecuador are, with very few exceptions, fundamentally conservative. They resist everything new in the sphere of the liturgy as well as in the socio-political sphere. In the Argentine, Uruguay, Venezuela and Guatemala the principles of "aggiornamento" are gradually gaining ground, although the process is a slow and zigzag one, the insignificant advances alternating with retreats. In Brazil, the country with the largest Catholic population in the world, and in Chile where the Christian-Democratic Party is in office, the Church has made a decisive step in its transition towards neo-reformism.

Besides the conservative and reformist

trends, representing the principal ideological and political currents in Latin American Catholicism, another, third trend has surfaced in recent years. Represented in the early stages only by individual priests or small groups of Catholic intellectuals, it is now making inroads in nearly all the countries of the continent and may well become a third force of Latin American Catholicism. This *left trend* possesses a high degree of social dynamism; it includes Catholic laymen and priests who see *revolution* as the only way to solve the problems of the continent. They see this revolution as an anti-imperialist one, destined to clear the way to a direct struggle for the building of a socialist society. This trend is gaining influence among the urban petty-bourgeoisie, and particularly among students and Catholic intellectuals, and also among the peasantry and some sections of the working class. Its advocates want to deepen the dialogue with the Marxists; they call for united action by all anti-imperialist revolutionary forces, are concerned with such problems as the ways of developing the revolution and the forms of revolutionary struggle. They accept the view that armed struggle as a means of the conquest of political power by the people is possible and morally justified. At the same time, however, they formulate their own views regarding revolutionary tactics, which often diverge from those of the Communist parties.

The representatives of this trend do not share the concepts of the reformist advocates of the principles of "aggiornamento." They favor these principles only to the extent that they create a favorable climate for discussion and facilitate the appearance of conceptions formerly inconceivable in the Catholic world. The heroic guerrilla priest Camilo Torres, killed by the Colombia military, was the outstanding representative of this wing. In the Argentine this trend is represented by the group that publishes the journal *Cristianismo y Revolucion*, edited by Juan Garcia Elorrio.* Speaking for the interests of the "third world" the journal publishes material of a revolutionary content. It argues the case, for

*This eminent prelate who carries considerable weight in religious circles in his own country and also in the Vatican, has stated: "I am against violence. But I do not condemn those priests who, like Camilo Torres, have chosen violence. I understand them." In November, 1967 he proclaimed the Communist, Che Guevara, a "martyr of America."

*Garcia Elorrio hit the headlines as the principal actor in the daring political demonstration on May 1, 1967, in the Cathedral in Buenos Aires when he snatched the microphone from Cardinal Caggiano's hands and delivered a fiery revolutionary speech, attacking, from a Catholic standpoint, the military dictatorship.

example, for the national liberation guerrilla struggle on the basis of Catholic theology.

In Chile, this trend is headed by Patrio Hurdato, expelled together with other of his colleagues from the ruling Christian-Democratic Party for defending the Cuban revolution. There is a left trend also in the Chilean Christian-Democratic Party itself, especially in its youth organization. On many issues its views coincide with those of the aforementioned group.

In Brazil, the leaders of the Left Catholics are the Bishop of San Andre, Don Marcos; Padre Laje from Belo Horizonte (known for his work in the rural trade unions and "favelado" organization); Padre Ruas from Manaus; Padre Almery and Padre Senna from Recife; Padre Alipio from Freitas who helped to form the peasant leagues; Padre Guerra, the author of many outspoken works on the real mission of the Church in relation to the people; Josapha, director of *Brazil-Urgente*, not to mention a large group of secular leaders and religious personalities directly associated with the mass struggle. Just how influential this group is may be gathered from the brutal repressions against its members following the coup d'etat of April 1, 1964. Some of the Left priests were expelled from Brazil; Padre Alipio who emigrated to Mexico, was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment in absentia; Padre Laje was arrested, tortured and sentenced by a military tribunal to 28 years imprisonment (he subsequently found asylum in Mexico). *Cristianismo y Revolucion* writes that these sentences were the harshest ever passed by the dictatorship on leaders of the popular struggle.

II.

The increased activity of Catholic social practice makes its study one of the most urgent tasks of the national vanguards of the proletariat and the people generally. Many of the Latin American Communist parties have been focussing attention of late on the general problem of the mutual relations between Catholics and Communists, and some of the Central Committees have formed special bodies to study this question.

We believe that an analysis of this kind should proceed from recognition of both the differences and the similarity of views that exist between Communists

and progressive Catholics on many of the issues of our time. Catholicism's attitude to our movement should not be seen as something homogenous for it shows, on the one hand, a tendency of more or less marked antagonism towards us and, on the other, a tendency to draw closer to us. But irrespective of this, our analysis should take as its starting point the present-day reality of the Latin American scene, if we are to find more or less effective forms of social and political cooperation between Catholics and Communists.

The Catholic church has its own internal dynamics. It changes not only as a consequence of the objective changes taking place in the world around it, but also as a result of the changes in its own secular, socio-political activity, as a result of socio-psychological changes in the conscience of the ruling classes (and hierarchies), on the one hand, and the Catholic masses on the other. It has become traditional that at first the Church adopts an irreconcilable attitude to everything new; then begins a process of adaptation, ending with the Church accepting the new and looking for ways of using it to its own advantage. The present "aggiornamento" is further proof of the Church's flexible pragmatism. The dialogue between Catholics and Marxists to achieve common action should, therefore, revolve on the concrete problems of the modern world, and in the case of our continent—on the development of the revolution. Of course, the dialogue demands that Communists constantly study the complex processes of the ever-changing reality of the continent.

Naturally, most Catholics, at any rate at present, envisage the future of Latin America differently from the way we do and, for all the differences between the different trends in the Church and among laymen, approach the ways leading to this future from criteria that do not coincide with ours and which often are the very opposite. This is a natural phenomenon; it has deep historical, class and ideological roots. However, although these differences are fundamental, they no longer rule out, as was the case in the past, the possibility of joint actions in the socio-political sphere, of finding points of agreement.

In the conditions of "aggiornamento" particular importance attaches to the fundamental principles of Christianity—the trend in human thought which ap-

peared on the historical arena as the ideology of the most oppressed classes of Roman society and, consequently, introduced a revolutionary element into the slave-owning structure of that period. Indeed, in the world of today, when the revolutionary masses are becoming the most dynamic force, the Catholic church is drawing ever more extensively on the spiritual legacy of early Christianity which affirmed human solidarity, disdain for earthly comfort and wealth, equality of man before God. Here it is pertinent to quote Engels, who wrote: "The history of primitive Christianity offers points of coincidence with the contemporary working-class movement worth considering. Like the latter, Christianity arose as a movement of the oppressed; it emerged initially as the religion of the slaves and the freemen, the poor and the downtrodden, the peoples subjugated or dispersed by Rome. Both Christianity and worker socialism preach liberation from slavery and misery; Christianity seeks this liberation in the after-world, in heaven, socialism on the contrary seeks it in this world, in the reconstruction of society. Both Christianity and the socialism of the toiler were persecuted and hounded; their leaders were baited and exceptional laws were applied against them: to the one as enemies of the human race, to the other as enemies of the state, religion, the family and the social order."

The classics of Marxism closely studied these problems and left us as a legacy the basic principles by which we should be guided in our relations with believers. In pursuance of these principles, Communists have always tried to establish ties with the religious masses and thus broaden the field of revolutionary activity. "Don't mix politics with religion," "Communists and Catholics can unite to build Paradise on earth, leaving aside the question of whether Paradise exists in heaven" — these oft-repeated phrases and recognition and strict observance of the principle of freedom of conscience may be said to be the synthesis of this policy. When calling for joint action with progressive Catholics, Communists emphasize that such action should go hand in hand with the ideological struggle, for we do not conceal the incompatibility of the religious doctrine and the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

There is no doubt that this attitude of the Communists has gone a long way

to achieve unity with the Catholics and made possible many joint victories. We consider, however, that in the light of the present changes, this problem should be attentively re-examined in the context of the concrete tasks to be tackled and the revolutionary perspectives now opening up before Latin America.

The feature of the present stage is that many Catholics in Latin America are participating in the social struggle today as believers or, in other words, precisely because their religious convictions are prompting them to do so. Therefore, when Communists say that the acceptance or the denial of God should not create difficulties in matters of politics, they reply that they want to participate in the movement for progress just because they are "God's people."

Views like this reflect with growing frequency the obvious desire of some social sections to participate in the defense of revolutionary principles without abandoning their religion or spiritual inclinations. However, they were able to come to the fore only because the Church radically modified its approach to society's basic problems, to the problems of social change, that is, using our terminology, to the problems of the class struggle.

It is these fundamentally important changes that make possible a serious and profound comparison of Catholicism and Marxism and defining more exactly the basic difference between them and the degree of coincidence or similarity.

First of all, about the *differences*. Marxist thought, it should be noted, has essentially overcome the "infantile disorder" of abolishing religion right away, a view prevalent in our ranks for some time. Its supporters in those days expended considerable energy trying to prove that while the ideals of scientific socialism were humane, those of Christianity were, in essence, inhuman and anti-humane, that the social standard of behavior and morals preached by religion "pursued the sole purpose of perpetuating exploitation and oppression." We now realize that arguments of this kind are out of step with reality, that the standards, the sentiments by which people should be guided in their relations with one another are similar, in certain respects, in Christianity and in socialism, and that the basic difference, consequently, lies elsewhere. The difference is not so much in the *ideals as such*, as

in the *origin of these ideals*. For the believer the truth, the ideal—with all its power over the conduct of the individual—is something external, existing apart from his own perceptions and from the world, and the nature and origin of which are transcendental and unknowable in principle, whereas the materialist deduces the necessity of these standards of human relations as the optimal conditions for the existence of the human race from the social experience of many generations.

It is true that this basic difference between Catholics and Communists in the *philosophical, gnosiological* sphere is an irreconcilable one. But it is also true that in *socio-political practice* it is not an insuperable obstacle to joint activity. For such activity is motivated, as we know, by the ideals of an individual, or a group of people, and not by the origins of the said ideals. It is in this very sphere that the elements of similarity between contemporary anti-conformist Christianity and Marxism most clearly manifest themselves. But what unites Communists and Left Catholics, above all, are their lofty dedication to the ideal, their desire for truth and justice, their constant search for spiritual values and, their common stand against the dehumanization and fetishism imposed by modern capitalism.

Naturally, the possibility and need to draw closer does not mean that we should abstract ourselves from the concrete problems standing in the way to such rapprochement and its effective use in the interests of the revolution. It would also be absurd to assume that Communists are prepared to agree to a "capitulation of convenience" in the ideological struggle. We should also avoid the dangerous course of trying to reach "unity on all issues." On the contrary, we do not intend to refrain from critically examining certain Catholic concepts and actions. Our prime concern is to achieve unity on those common, revolutionary objectives on which our joint activity should be based. Evidently the time has come to make a serious study, in the light of present circumstances, of the *relationship between joint political action and ideological confrontation*.

In this respect we hold that the thesis concerning simultaneous joint political struggle should not be seen as an absolute. This by no means implies that we want to minimize the importance of the

ideological struggle which is a vital instrument of social development. The character of the ideological struggle is of very great importance, too. We see it as a dialectical confrontation of two different attitudes to the problems of concrete reality in which practice will have the last word, since practice is the criterion of truth. In current politics it is necessary when tackling the problem of unity of diverse social forces to take into account a series of concrete factors which might be overlooked in the maze of theory. We have in mind, for example, the daily interests of social groups, the specific features of their cultural level, their reaction to changes, their understanding of their role in social development. By absolutizing the importance of waging irreconcilable ideological struggle against Catholicism—without taking into consideration the limits dictated by political expediency—we often risk being accused of acting "from positions of strength," of wanting to achieve unity on our terms. The ideological struggle against Catholicism calls for a specific, differentiated approach. It should not be waged in an abstract way thus making it possible to oppose it to common action in one form or another. We should therefore avoid taking issue with Catholicism in its entirety and rather examine individual concrete tenets. This should be complemented with a constant search for points of coincidence in the sphere of ideas as well as in practical activity. In this way we shall prove that the realization of an alliance of Catholics and Communists, pursuing long-term and fundamental objectives, is incomparably more important to us than any renunciation of Catholicism by a group of the population.

Experience has shown that Catholics and other religious groups supported not only the forces of reaction. In Latin America Catholics—from Hidalgo and Morelos to Jose Antonio Echevarria and Camilo Torres—have played a considerable role in the revolutionary struggle. Communists should not adopt the criteria of a decrepit anti-clericalism. Our experience so far and the new conditions prevailing in the world, afford, in our view, every opportunity for achieving a unity with Catholics that will mean much more than just a "muffling" of differences, a postponement of the decisive confrontation between the two world outlooks. We therefore conclude

that there now exists not only the historical necessity for joint political action by Catholics and Communists, but also real points of coincidence in the ideological sphere. We are also of the opinion that this situation will continue for some time and that this, in turn, will enable Catholics to take a vigorous part in the revolutionary struggle at all stages.

Examining the possibility of ideological coincidence in certain areas, Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, wrote the following lines which in my view are fully applicable to the Latin American scene: "Nobody doubts that in the sphere of philosophy profound differences exist between us and the Church, between Marxism and religion. I say in the sphere of philosophy because it is here that the differences are most fundamental and concrete, and also because we must clearly delimit the sphere of possible accord and divergence. I think nobody will take exception if I add that in other spheres of ideology the coincidence of criteria can be complete. Political economy, for example, is a component of ideology, and in this sphere a considerable group of Catholics declare themselves supporters of the economic forms of socialism. I might note that something similar occurred among the followers of another world religion—Islam. Politics too comes within the realm of ideology and it is therefore only natural to expect ideological coincidence between Catholics and us also in the political structures of democracy and socialism. And if to date coincidence in these concrete spheres of ideology has not manifested itself on a broader scale, the reasons for this are of a class rather than religious charac-

ter. From the foregoing it follows that there are spheres in the Marxist-Leninist ideology where not only coexistence but also coincidence, are possible, and this makes feasible cooperation in practice."

Of course, we should not indulge in illusions. We know that on our continent the groups of the clergy and Catholic masses who are capable of a revolutionary assessment of the present situation and of acting accordingly, are still in the minority. However, history has already shown Communists and Catholics the way to joint actions. It can confidently be said that things are rapidly moving in this direction. Take the events of the last few months of 1967—the growing activity of the Left trends in the Christian-Democratic parties (Chile, Venezuela) and, the acute aggravation of differences between the Church and the dictatorial regime in Brazil, the mass demonstrations in the working-class quarters of Buenos Aires in support of the Left Bishop Podesta, removed by the hierarchy, and the withdrawal of Christian-Democrats from the government in Peru, the active preparations for a continental meeting of revolutionary Catholics in Montevideo and the profound resonance evoked in Catholic circles by the heroic death of Che Guevara.

Only the future will be able to answer the question: how and in what direction will Catholic-Communist relations in Latin America develop? In this article we have attempted to pose some of the problems and to advance some hypotheses, proceeding from the need to extend to the maximum the social, political and ideological front against imperialism—the main enemy of humanity, religious and non-religious.

Revolutionary perspective in Mozambique

Half a century after the October Revolution, one is likely to recall the many evil prophecies of its enemies — the revolution would fail, the socialist state would not last. But the revolution triumphed and the socialist Soviet Union has advanced from strength to strength.

More, it infused in the exploited the world over a firm feeling of confidence that the end of exploitation was in sight, a matter of the foreseeable future, that classless society was a realizable goal for every people. And the emergence, after World War II, of the socialist camp infused in the peoples of the Third World a firm feeling of support in their fight for national emancipation. This helped to break colonial and imperialist domination.

Economically, politically and militarily, the socialist camp is a world force that has weakened imperialism, broken its world domination and foiled its criminal gambles.

In that lies the contribution the October Revolution made to the Third World's fight for freedom. For with the support of the socialist camp its peoples were able to launch out on a movement that shattered the fetters of colonialism and imperialism and culminated in national independence.

And today, too, in advancing toward economic independence, they fully appreciate the value of socialist solidarity, embodied in the moral and material support of the socialist countries.

The fraternal solidarity generated by the October Revolution is a tremendous factor in the struggle for national liberation. Its importance lies chiefly in the fact that the October Revolution was the first experiment in the concrete application of dialectical and historical materialism, which today has become a

universal force. And having enriched this theory, the October Revolution and its great leader, Lenin, set a heartening example, one that is being emulated by all the peoples, notably those battling for freedom.

By applying the scientific theory of dialectical and historical materialism to an analysis of Mozambique realities, we can disclose the nature and depth of the conflict between the people and the Portuguese fascist colonial regime. We can show up the capitalist nature of colonial exploitation and the class character of the liberation struggle. Ranged against each other in that struggle are the Portuguese bourgeoisie, working hand in glove with the bourgeoisie of the United States, Britain, Belgium, South Africa and other countries, and the majority of the Mozambique people, primarily the plantation workers, miners and factory workers, railwaymen and dockers and the peasants. This conclusion about the class nature of our struggle has revolutionary implications, but it should not lead us to underestimate its anti-colonial and nationalist features.

Our accumulated experience clearly shows that only an analysis based on dialectical and historical materialism can enable us to understand the peculiarities both of the internal and international situation, work out a correct perspective for the movement and define its character and aims at every stage of the fight for economic, political and social emancipation. And this is important—we must always be able to see the process not only in its entirety, but also in its multiformity, the distinctive features and aims of each of its phases. All this is vital to the harmonious, uninterrupted and irreversible development of the national liberation movement.

Internationally, we must always keep in view the two mutually opposed forces, the socialist camp, the standard-bearer of solidarity with the national-liberation movement, and the imperialist world system, with all its aggressive propensities.

The chain of coups d'état in Africa, the tangled events in the Congo, escalation of America's criminal war in Vietnam, the aggression against the Dominican Republic and, lastly, the recent aggression launched by Israel at the instigation of the United States, Britain and West Germany, are conclusive proof that imperialism is not prepared to accept even a minimum of democracy in countries that have broken through to independence, and that it is dead set on regaining its lost positions in what was once the colonial world. The growth of the worldwide anti-imperialist movement has compelled imperialism, out of sheer desperation, to step up its aggression.

The peoples of the Third World have reached a stage of political maturity when they fully realize that only economic independence can fortify their political independence, wipe out poverty and hunger and give the people a higher standard of living. Scientific materialistic analysis enables us properly to assess the role of economic independence and map out the stage-by-stage path leading to it.

Up to September 25, 1964, the chief object of the movement was to deploy a minimum network of political organizations to support the first guerrilla detachments, the pioneers of the popular armed struggle.

In a country ruled by a fascist colonial regime, as the whole of Mozambique then was (and some areas still are), this presented formidable difficulties. Of course, we could set up underground organizations, but this would not have been the best course. Instead, the Mozambique Liberation Front decided to foster anti-colonial sentiments and a desire to join the struggle. In this we succeeded through direct propaganda, for the conditions of the people made them receptive to the slogan of immediate liberation. Parallel with this we built up a minimum political structure to concretize and direct popular support of the guerrilla fighters. The armed struggle thus became a necessary objective factor stimulating the growth of our political

organization, without which the struggle could not develop.

The armed struggle began on September 25, 1964. At present we control 25 per cent Mozambique with a population of about 800,000, or one-ninth of the total.

New problems now face the movement, and chief among them is extension of the armed struggle to every part of the country. But in doing this it is important to keep in touch with realities, take advantage of all changes and, guided by revolutionary theory, see the situation in all its political implications, so as to be able to chart a correct course.

In the liberated areas some of our immediate problems are the following:

—developing agriculture, the handicrafts and industry;

—promoting education and a concerted campaign to wipe out illiteracy;

—developing trade;

—developing a public health service.

All these measures first arose out of the people's concrete needs — food, clothes, even such elementary things as salt and soap. We exerted every effort to satisfy these requirements, for without this it would have been impossible to continue the armed struggle.

There were other problems, too, and they had a direct bearing on the structure and activities of our party. Now the Mozambique Liberation Front, besides directing military operations and political actions, has to cope with constructive tasks, of which the chief is developing and extending production. In fact, this and related efforts have become the motive force in the development of our political organization.

Everything the people in the liberated areas produce is at their disposal. Local production is the initial material basis for the expansion of the national-liberation movement and the earnest of its victory.

We have introduced universal military training for men and women and have begun the organization of self-defense units. This gives us a strong and reliable hinterland and assures the guerrilla units more mobility and more possibilities for carrying the armed struggle into every part of the country. There is thus close inter-connection between political organization and armed struggle, which react on and complement each other.

The popular nature and scope of the guerrilla war enables us to take over the

initiative and in the near future attain military superiority over the enemy. This, in turn, will make it possible to deal mortal blows at Portuguese colonialism and the imperialist coalition on which it relies.

Of course, it would be wrong to make sweeping generalizations on the basis of our experience. However, it can safely be said that, in present-day conditions, peoples waging an armed struggle for national liberation have excellent opportunities to combine independence with the elimination of all reactionary forces, local and foreign, in the economic, political and social fields, and, employing revolutionary methods, rapidly build up

the country on a genuinely democratic basis.

Armed with the revolutionary theory of dialectical and historical materialism, the people can successfully counter imperialism and deal it telling blows. Our own experience, short as it is, furnishes ample proof of that.

Now, after 50 years, the October Revolution, which opened a new epoch in the history of mankind, continues to be the beacon that illumines the path of oppressed nations to freedom. And its great leader, Lenin, will always live on in the minds of men.

Marcellino DOS SANTOS

Changes in Burundi

(Letter from Bujumbura)

On November 28, 1966, the people of Burundi, led by the National Unity and Progress Party, overthrew the reactionary regime which had served as a tool of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Unlike other military coups in Asia and Africa, usually carried out by puppets of the imperialist powers, ours was an expression of the will of the people, who had enough of the corrupt and tyrannical regime.

Ever since that eventful day, Burundi has stood in the ranks of the world democratic forces. The revolutionary government has made it its aim to build a new life, based on democracy and guided by the NUPP, the only progressive party in the country. It has travelled a difficult but glorious path. It led the people to victory over feudalism and neo-colonialism, restored their freedom and dignity, brutally suppressed by successive reactionary regimes.

The NUPP was founded in 1959 by Prince Louis Rwagasore, a man supremely devoted to the people. Throughout his all too short political career he was

the target of constant harassment and persecution by the Belgian colonialists and their servitors. He was repeatedly jailed together with other NUPP leaders. But NUPP militants continued to awaken the patriotic consciousness of the masses and could always rely on their support. The Party's aim was independence and a new, socialist oriented Burundi.

In 1960 the NUPP secured abolition of the institute of feudal chiefs, who had been pliant tools of the colonialists. In the same year an agreement with Belgium gave the country home rule, but the Belgians were able to instal a puppet government. The NUPP refused to be represented in it and demanded free elections under United Nations supervision. These were held in September 1961.

The Party was compelled to conduct its election campaign in underground conditions, whereas the reactionary puppet groups could conduct theirs openly. The Belgian colonialists and local reactionaries knew only too well what a victory of the NUPP would mean for

them. To prevent that, they knocked together a bloc of reactionary organizations to oppose the NUPP. But this did not help—the NUPP won a resounding victory at the polls. Thereupon the reactionary forces, again supported by the Belgian authorities, engineered a series of plots against the progressive government. On October 13, 1961, Rwagasore was dastardly assassinated by a colonialist agent, but the Party and the people continued the fight and on July 1, 1962 won independence. This was an important landmark in our struggle.

Our enemies were obliged to modify their tactics. They exploited dissension within the Party to engineer a split which all but demolished the Party's entire structure.

The monarchy, now in full control, could not bring the country anything like political stability, nor could it rescue it from economic stagnation. Burundi became easy prey to the neo-colonialists. Successive governments were recruited from among venal politicians concerned only with their own selfish interests.

It was against this background that the more revolutionary elements of the NUPP continued the illegal struggle, circulating leaflets and using other methods to expose the regime and prepare the people for its overthrow. They were able to penetrate the army and the gendarmerie and win over the youth. All

this made for the success of the 1966 military coup which overthrew the monarchy. The NUPP was made the ruling and only party. A National Revolutionary Council was established and Colonel Michel Micombero, a true son of the people, was placed at the head of the new government.

The NUPP and the government are determined to set the country on a democratic and socialist course. Work has begun on organizing cooperative farms, strengthening the Party and the mass organizations, particularly the Trade Union Federation, the Revolutionary Youth League and the Burundi Women's Alliance.

Our revolution is developing successfully, overcoming the resistance of hostile forces — the imperialists, neo-colonialists and reactionary monarchists who want to turn the clock back, the numerically small national bourgeoisie, and venal bureaucracy which thrived on plunder of the nation's wealth. The National Unity and Progress Party, now in firm control, is suppressing subversion by these elements. The people of Burundi, their Party and government, are making the first steps in social progress and are sorely in need of the support and assistance of the world's revolutionary forces and peoples.

Andre YANDA

White terror in Guatemala

The counter-revolution in Guatemala has unleashed a terror unparalleled in the history of the country.

The pro-American journal *Vision* wrote in its August issue that more than 2,000 people have been put to death in the past two years and Vice-President Marroquin Rojas noted in *La Hora* that more people had been killed in a year of the present government than in the past hundred and twenty-five years. Political prisoners are subjected to hellish torture. People in no way associated with the revolutionary movement—Christian-Democrats, Protestant ministers and Catholic priests — are harassed and threatened.

The purpose of the terror is to intimidate and muzzle the people, especially the more politically conscious sections, and thus make it easier for the men in power to achieve their main objective: destruction of the revolutionary movement, and particularly, the Communists.

Isolation of the revolutionaries was one of the principal aims the present government set itself from the very beginning. The outcome of a compromise between the military camarilla and the so-called Revolutionary Party (P.R.) which won the March 1966 election, the new government came to power in a political situation favoring the counter-revolutionary designs of U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries. The government was headed by a university professor. The people were led to believe that the law would be upheld in keeping with the 1965 Constitution (this Constitution was approved by the Constituent Assembly convened by the military dictatorship which subsequently handed over power to the present government). President Julio César Méndez Montenegro assumed the pose of being above "factional strife" and "political extremism," extending a "cordial hand" to all as a token of his goodwill. The brutal repressions carried out by the

Army and the police were larded with demagoguery. In short, the government began to play a double game, relying on demagoguery and terror.

The Méndez Montenegro government would have the world believe that it represents the will of the people, that it represents the law. It even calls itself "revolutionary." This, however, is a sham, and the people of the world should be told the truth about the terror it has unleashed in the country.

From the very beginning the revolutionary forces laid bare the true character of the new government, pinpointing that while the President was "extending a cordial hand" to the revolutionaries and urging them to cease their militant activity, the preparations for an offensive on the "Edgar Ibarra" guerrilla front in the northeast of the country continued. The President's aim, clearly, was to blunt the vigilance of the revolutionary forces and thus make easier their destruction.

The reactionary press was instructed accordingly. Méndez Montenegro informed the directors of the newspapers that they could help "pacification" by not publishing news emanating from revolutionary or opposition sources. While most papers complied with the President's demand, some continued to keep the public posted on the more important events. As a result, all kinds of sanctions were applied against them and some, in particular *El Grafico*, were threatened with dire consequences.

The government's next target was the Autonomous University which was denounced as a center of communist activity. In view of the fact that many of the students play an important part in the armed struggle, the Vice-President proposed closing the University for ten years. This proposal fully coincided with the position of the military who have also threatened repressive measures against the University. Many student

leaders have been persecuted and some threatened with death as in the case of Vinicio Gonzales who had to go underground. When the police failed to find him, they arrested his father, brother and two sisters and subjected them to torture in an attempt to find out Gonzales' whereabouts.

The next move on the part of the government was to circulate "lists" of people labelled "Communists," "Communist sympathizers," "members of the Party of Labor," "propagandists," "peasant agitators," "collaborators with the Rebel Armed Forces" and "white Communists" (the reference is to Christian-Democrats, clergymen, and even some church dignitaries). The entire leadership of student associations, professors and faculty members were also included.

These "lists" are equivalent to a death sentence and therefore part of the psychological warfare aimed at crushing all political opposition. They include the names not only of known democrats and revolutionaries. Listed are also militant Catholics and even people far removed from Left politics, government officials as, for example, a deputy Minister, Congress deputies belonging to the Revolutionary Party, alcaldes and ambassadors. The aim is to create an atmosphere of condemnation of revolutionaries, of "general dissatisfaction" with the situation allegedly caused by the actions of the popular and revolutionary forces.

Nor are matters confined to threats and psychological duress. Many of those whose names figured in the lists have been killed or brutally attacked.

The official version is that the authorities have been compelled to do something to counter the revolutionary forces, to take the law into their own hands and form counter-revolutionary groupings. This is how there originated the "clandestine" Authentic National Organized Movement (MANO), the New Anti-Communist Organization (NOA) and the Anti-Communist Council of Guatemala (CADEG).

At a press conference summoned by the leadership of the Revolutionary Party on August 25, answering a question about the armed groups responsible for the assassination of democrats and revolutionaries, two members of the leadership — one of whom is Minister of the Interior — said that these were "groups of military operating in mufti"

under the control of the Army and the police and that they would continue their operations until "pacification" had been achieved. This was a frank admission of government responsibility for the actions of the said groups. This statement is all the more significant considering that many of the victims were actually members of the Revolutionary Party. Luis Edmundo Lopez Duran, a deputy, divulged (he was expelled from the Revolutionary Party for doing so) that "army agents" (civilians used by the army to shadow the local population) had killed the principal officials in his department, 11 rank-and-file RP members and a municipal councillor in Senarate, the deputy and chairman of the Finance Commission and candidate to the post of Congress president, Antonio Soto Beteta, and many, many others.

Besides the aforementioned groups there are groups operating on behalf of other reactionary forces, but also with the backing of the government.

There is not, however, complete accord in the government on this matter. The existence of so many groups reflects the antagonisms in the government and the internal fight for power. Some top-ranking officers maintain their own special shock force which accounts for a certain anarchy in the actions of the counter-revolution.

In its inhuman treatment of political prisoners the government of Méndez Montenegro, which the Party of Labor has described as a "constitutional dictatorship," has surpassed the worst brutality of Guatemalan reaction. The government believes that it is better not to have any political prisoners, for their existence threatens exposure.

The terror has evoked the condemnation of the Catholic Church. In a pastoral of May 9, the Guatemalan Episcopate while condemning revolutionary action sharply attacked the counter-revolutionary violence, employed to maintain the injustice, hunger and misery that are the lot of the people. The Church described the measures as "terrible crimes," and later, when the names of Catholic priests and other clergy appeared on the lists of persons threatened with death, the Catholic Secretariat qualified the circulation of the list as one of these "terrible crimes."

This attitude of the Church enraged the reactionaries. Even Archbishop

Casario became the target of their furious campaign. In their leaflets the counter-revolutionaries charged him with being a "guerrilla" and "white Communist," that he had used his residence to hide Luis Augusto Turcios Lima, commander of the Rebel Armed Forces, and had helped him to escape in the official car of the Archbishopric. Another leaflet threatened the Archbishop with direct action unless the Apostolic Nuncio intervened against the prelate who, the reactionaries declared, "was not worthy of being the spiritual leader of national catholicism."

The courts of justice are doing nothing to enforce observance of constitutional guarantees. These guarantees are totally disregarded and trampled upon by the security police who kidnap people in their homes, on their way to work and in other circumstances.

There is no such thing as habeas corpus. Those arrested are concealed in basements at Army headquarters, in private houses converted into detention centers and torture chambers, in concentration camps in the eastern part of the country or in the jungles in the north.

Entire families have disappeared. For

instance the two Rosales-Hernandez sisters and three brothers (one a minor) were seized in their house in broad daylight. The sisters returned a month later, too terrified to say what had happened to them. The three brothers never returned.

The document "The Terror in Guatemala," prepared by the Guatemalan Human Rights Committee, notes that according to the press 589 people were kidnapped, killed or maimed between July 1966 and September 30, 1967. According to the far from complete figures those killed included 184 peasants, 26 workers and trade union officials, 17 students, 12 women, 11 children and one priest. The terror has taken a particularly heavy toll of the revolutionary movement which has lost hundreds of its finest people.

International solidarity has always helped to halt the criminal activity of governments like the present one in Guatemala. A broad international campaign to stop the terror and secure the release of the prisoners could help to stay the hand of the assassin this time, too.

Herman BARRERA

BOOKS AND JOURNALS

Friedl Fuernberg, *50 Jahre. Die Sozialistische Oktoberrevolution und Oesterreich*. (Fifty Years. The October Socialist Revolution and Austria.) Globus Verlag, Wien, 1967, 144 pp.

"The October Revolution of 1917 fundamentally changed the world. This is recognized by all, by friends and foes alike," writes Friedl Fuernberg, Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Austria, in his book.

The influence of October did not end with the revolutionary period. It has continued throughout the 50 years. Building socialism in the USSR, the victory over fascism in World War II, the rise of the socialist world system, the disintegration of the colonial empires and the gains won by the workers of the developed capitalist countries in the class struggle—all are associated with the fact that 50 years ago the working class of Russia led by the Communist Party founded by Lenin, took power.

The book examines in detail the universally applicable features of the October Revolution in relation to the specific features of the different countries. The struggle in Russia confirmed the Marxist view that the bourgeoisie would frantically resist all measures to expropriate the means of production.

The victory of the October Revolution in Russia and of socialism in the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the defeat of the working-class movement in Central Europe, on the other, showed that basic to social development is what class holds political power. Of course the capture of political power by the working class can be achieved differently today in many countries, for the balance of forces between capitalism and socialism has changed greatly.

The book examines many of the current problems of the international movement and Austrian Communist and working-class movement, such as the working class party and its role, the multi-party system under socialism, and the peaceful way to socialism.

It describes the struggle for broader democratic rights in the factories and communes, worker participation in fac-

tory management and in running the economy. Writing about the social gains won by the Austrian working class in the period under review, the author notes that it owes many of them to the October Revolution and its continuing influence.

R.S.

Jurij Krizek, *Rijnova Revoluce a ceska spolecnost*. (The October Revolution and Czech Society), Praha, Academia, 1967, 80 pp.

Every paper on the October Revolution and its social impact on a particular country adds to our knowledge of the many-sided processes of our time. In this sense, the merits of the book under review—study of the influence exerted by October on social change in the Czech lands—far exceed its modest size.

The author examines the Czech society of the days before the First World War, defines the degree of social differentiation taking place in it, its political and economic aims and the national aspirations of its various components. He points to the growth of new forces and processes under the impact of the revolutionary upheaval in Russia, showing that the powerful mass manifestations inspired by October had a strong bearing on the emergence of the Czechoslovak Republic. Without the October Revolution, Krizek infers, the independent state of Czechoslovakia would not have materialized.

He shows that this influence continued in Czechoslovakia after her independence, that under this influence the Czechoslovak workers, who had their historical mission to perform, began to build a politically alert and well-organized proletarian party whose formative stage ended in 1921, a time when the influence of the Russian revolution on Czech society was growing apace. The founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its affiliation to the Communist International marked the beginning of a new phase and paved the way to the ultimate victory of the working class in Czechoslovakia.

F.S.

R. P. Arnot. *The Impact of the Russian Revolution on Britain*. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1967, 188 pp.

Arnot studies the impact of October on the political scene in Britain against the backdrop of events unfolding in Russia between February 1917 and the end of 1920. His investigation is based on newspaper reports of the time, speeches in Parliamentary debates, state papers made available to researchers, documents of international socialist congresses and the first Decree of the Soviet Government.

The book demonstrates how the revolution in Russia, the Soviet drive for a just peace, the dedicated stand against the foreign intervention and the counter-revolutionaries at home revolutionized the British workers and evoked the sympathy of the broad public, generating the Hands Off Russia movement and the Councils of Action in 1920, when Pilsudski's Poland launched military operations against Soviet Russia. These councils, Arnot says, were the culminating point in the Hands Off Russia movement, which championed peace and friendship with the Russian people against all the plans and designs of the capitalists to put an end to Bolshevism.

The founding of the Communist Party in August 1920 was also influenced by the October Revolution.

Y.S.

Philosophie und Politik in unserer Epoche. (Philosophy and Politics in Our Epoch.) Sonderheft. Deutsche Zeitschrift fuer Philosophie. Berlin, VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1967, 240 pp.

The collection reviews the relevant philosophical problems of our time from the vantage point of fifty years of socialist development and revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

It shows that Marxism-Leninism, far from being a dogmatic schema of ossified postulates, is a dynamic theory heeding the voice of reality, and it is this close contact with life that provides its main source of strength and influence, winning for it a mass following and ever-growing respect.

Hence, "the problems of our time," says

the introductory article, "are indissolubly associated with the Party, with the class, with the historico-materialist appreciation of the revolutionary path travelled by the CPSU as the vanguard of the international revolutionary movement, of its universal experience and its conclusions."

The book consists of three sections, dealing with the interrelation of philosophy and politics, the relationship between revolutionary consciousness and practice, and the Marxist concept of humanism. It dwells, too, on future growth in the context of the technological revolution.

The German philosophers show that the ideas of October—the turning point in man's spiritual development, as well as in the material sphere—provide the key to the scientific understanding of our times.

A.B.

Ib Norlund. *Det Knager i Samfundets fuger og band . . . Rids af dansk arbejderbevaegelses udvikling* (Society is Splitting at the Seams. An Essay on the Development of the Labor Movement in Denmark.) Kobenhavn, 1967, 356 pp.

This book by a leader of the Danish Communist Party examines the basic trends in the Danish labor movement since its inception. The main events in the socio-economic life of Denmark and the international working-class movement are carefully depicted. There is a detailed account of the emergence of the Communist Party and of its activity, notably its contribution to the wartime Resistance. The final chapter surveys Party documents on the strategy and tactics of the Danish labor movement in the fight for socialism.

The book, its author notes, makes no claim to be an exhaustive and conclusive investigation with regard to various periods and events, especially the more recent developments. It stresses the need for unity of the movement and makes the point that revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, enriched by experience, has always been a beacon for the Danish workers' movement.

E.N.

Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication.

LENIN, V. I. *O sovetskoi sotsialisticheskoi demokratii* (On Soviet Socialist Democracy), Second (supplemented) edition. Moscow, 1967, 254 pp.

LENIN, V. I. *Protiv dogmatizma, sektantstva, "levogo" oportunizma* (Against Domatism, Sectarianism and "Left" Opportunism), Second (supplemented) edition. Moscow, Politizdat, 1967, 440 pp.

A nagy forradalom kroniaja (The Chronicle of the Great Revolution), Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1967, 560 pp.

BOFFA GIUSEPPE, *La rivoluzione Russa. Storia delle rivoluzioni del XX secolo* (Revolutionary Russia. The Story of the 20th-Century Revolutions), Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1967, 650 pp.

Borba bolshevistskoi partii za sozdaniye politicheskoi armii proletariata (mart-oktyabr 1917) (The Struggle of the Bolshevik Party to Build up the Political Army of the Proletariat. (March-October 1917)), Collection of articles. Moscow, Mysl, 1967, 164 pp.

COGNIOT, G. *Prométhé s'empare du savoir (La révolution d'Octobre, la culture et l'école)* (Prometheus Assimilates Knowledge (The October Revolution, Culture and the School)), Paris, Editions Sociales, 1967, 264 pp.

Die Grosse Sozialistische Oktoberrevolution und Deutschland. Zwei Bände (The Great October Socialist Revolution and Germany), two volumes, Berlin, Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sektion Geschichte, 1967, 1,100 pp.

Oktyabrskoye vooruzhennoye vosstaniye (Semnadtsaty god v Petrograde) (The October Armed Uprising. The Year 1917 in Petrograd), two volumes. Book I, On the Way to the Socialist Revolution. The Dual Power. Leningrad, Nauka, 1967, 454 pp.

LEHEN, T. *Punaisten ja valkoisten sota* (The War of the Reds and Whites) Helsinki, Kansankulttuuri, 1967, 256 pp.

Rewolucja Pazdziernikowa a Polska. Praca zbiorowa pod redakcja T. Cieslaka i L. Grosfelda (The October Revolution and Poland. Collection edited by T. Cieslak and L. Grosfeld), Warszawa, PWN, 1967, 438 pp.

ROSS, E. *Veliky Oktyabr i rabocheye dvizheniye Avstralii* (The Great October and The Labor Movement in Australia), Moscow, Politizdat, 1967, 144 pp.

Sovety v period oktyabrskoi revolutsii i grazhdanskoi voyny. (The Soviets During the October Revolution and the Civil War) Three volumes. Book II, *The Soviets During the First Year of the Proletarian Dictatorship. October 1917 - November 1918.* Moscow Nauka, 1967, 418 pp.

SHIRENDYB, B. *Vliyanie Velikoi Oktyabrskoi sotsialisticheskoi revolutsii na Mongoliyu* (The Impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution on Mongolia), Moscow, Politizdat, 1967, 99 pp.

TIMOFEYEV, T. T. *Proletariat protiv monopolii.* Ocherki po problemam klas-sovoi borby i obshchedemokraticeskikh dvizheniy v SSHA, (The Proletariat Is Against the Monopolies. Essays on the Problems of the Class Struggle and the General Democratic Movements in the USA), Moscow, Profizdat, 1967, 356 pp.

V ognе revolutsionnikh boyev (Raioni Petrograda v dvukh revolutsiyakh 1917 g.) (In the Flames of the Revolutionary Battles. The Petrograd Districts in the Two Revolutions of 1917), collection of reminiscences by veteran Petrograd Bolsheviks. Moscow, Mysl, 1967, 583 pp.

Velikiyat Oktomvri (The Great October), collection of speeches by D. Blagoyev, G. Kirkov, G. Dimitrov, V. Kolarov and T. Zhivkov. Sofia, BCP, 1967, 400 pp.



Editions of the journal

"PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"



EDITIONS IN ENGLISH
(World Marxist Review):
Central Books Ltd.,
37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England

Progress Books,
487 Adelaide St. West,
Toronto 2B, Ontario,
Canada

FRENCH EDITIONS
(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale)
Société d'Édition et
d'Information 9, Boulevard des Italiens
Paris (2e) France

Librairie Du Monde Entier,
5, Place St-Jean,
Bruxelles

Librairie Rousseau,
36, rue J.-J. Rousseau,
Geneve

RUSSIAN EDITION
Stredisko pro rozšírování tisku,
Praha 6, Thakurova 3
Czechoslovakia

BRAZILIAN EDITION
(in Portuguese)
Rua da Assembléia, 34
3.º andar, sala 304,
Rio de Janeiro, Estado da Guanabara
Brazil

BULGARIAN EDITION
Raznoiznos,
1, Rue Tzar Assen
Sofia

CEYLON EDITION
(In Sinhalese)
91 Cotta Road
Colombo, Ceylon

CYPRUS EDITION
(in Greek)
Laikon Praktorion,
Tricoupi Street, 53 T. Nicosia

CZECH EDITION
Artia, Praha 2,
Nove Mesto, Ve smekach 30

DUTCH EDITION:
Progressief Algemeen Vertaalbureau,
Chr. Snouck Hurgronjehof 22",
Amsterdam W

GERMAN EDITIONS
Deutscher Buch-Export und Import
GmbH,
Leipzig C 1, Leninstrasse 16

"Globus" Vertrieb ausländischer
Zeitschriften, Wien XX,
Höchstädtplatz 3,
Austria

Genossenschaft Literaturvertrieb
Zürich, Zürich 4, Feldstrasse 46,
Switzerland

HUNGARIAN EDITION
Kossuth Kiado, Budapest, V,
Arpad-U6

ITALIAN EDITION
Libreria Rinascita, Via delle Botteghe
Oscure 2, Roma

JAPANESE EDITION
Nauka Ltd.,
2, Kanda-Zinbocho
2-chome, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo

MONGOLIAN EDITION
Mongolgosknigotorg,
ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator

POLISH EDITION:
P. K. W. Z. "RUCH", Warszawa,
Wilcza 46

RUMANIAN EDITION
Directia Difuzarii Presei,
Palatul administrativ C.F.R.,
Bd. Dinicu Golescu, Intrarea G.
Bucuresti

EDITIONS IN SPANISH
Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa
Praha 6, Thakurova 3

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Nacional 1253,
Bogota, Colombia

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos,
Casilla Correo 589, Montevideo,
Uruguay

Fondo de Cultura Popular
Apdo. postal 2352
Mexico 1, D.F.

Empresa Editora Austral
San Francisco 36,
Casilla 13201
Santiago, Chile

Editorial "Anteo,"
Entre Rios 1033,
Buenos Aires,
Argentina

SWEDISH EDITION
Arbetarkultur, Kungsgt 84,
Stockholm K, Sweden

VIETNAMESE EDITION
So'o xuất nhập khẩu sách bao 32,
Hai Ba trung, Hà-noi

