

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In this issue:

The Rights of Socialist Enterprise in the Soviet Union

—V. Laptev

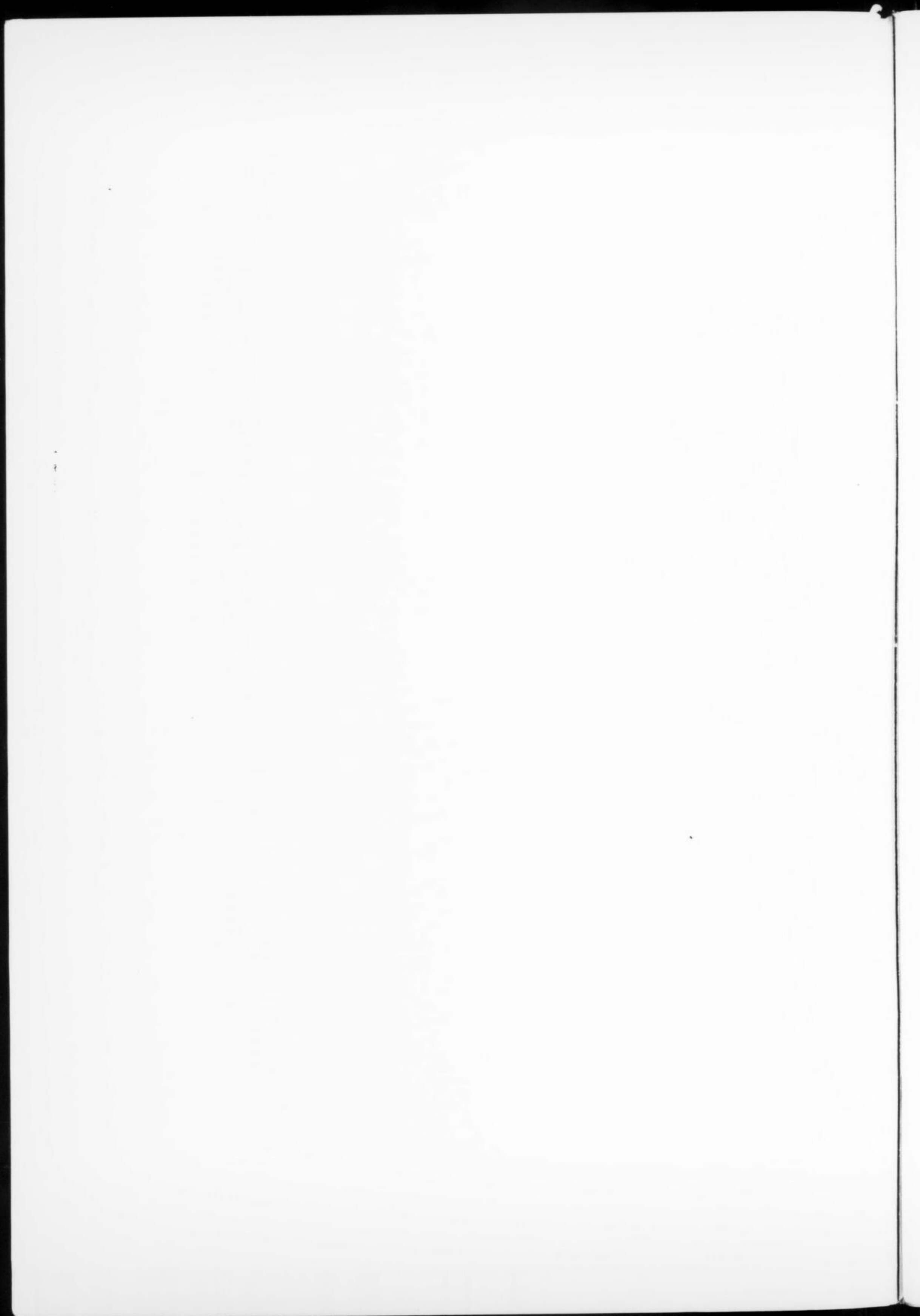
100th Anniversary of the Birth of Romain Rolland

—G. Cogniot

VOLUME 9, NO. 3

March 1966

35 CENTS



- JACQUES DUCLOS **3 Long Live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!**
- VLADIMIR LAPTEV **7 The rights of the socialist enterprise in the Soviet Union**
- MIKHAIL LEMESHEV **12 Working in the new conditions**
SOVIET AGRICULTURE SINCE THE MARCH 1965 MEETING OF THE CC, CPSU
- ASEN CHARAKCHIYEV **17 For unity of the anti-imperialist forces**
INTERNATIONALISM—AN EFFECTIVE FORCE
- J. M. FORTUNY
A. DELGADO
M. SALIBI THE TRI-CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE
- OTTO REINHOLD **28 Monopolies and labor**
FRG: THE FIGHT FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE AND ITS NEW FEATURES
- ANDRE BARJONET
VICTOR PERLO FRANCE'S FIFTH PLAN
EXPLOITATION OF LABOR AND THE MAIN CONTRADICTION IN THE U.S. ECONOMY
- R. ISCARO **49 Viewpoints on current problems**
THE WORKING CLASS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF LATIN AMERICA
- ROQUE DALTON STUDENT YOUTH AND THE LATIN-AMERICAN REVOLUTION
- LUIS FIGUEROA SOME PROBLEMS OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA
- GEORGES COGNIOT **69 In the communist and workers' parties**
THE COMMUNISTS AND THE YOUTH: CHILE, CANADA, CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC
SIXTH CONGRESS OF PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY
PARTY LIFE IN BRIEF
- GEORGES COGNIOT **82 100th anniversary of the birth of Romain Rolland**
ALWAYS WITH US IN OUR STRUGGLE
- A. GEDO
V. RUMI
J. GIBBONS **88 Reviews**
LENINISM AND RESEARCH IN CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY
BONN: THE WAR CRIMINALS' HAVEN

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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

Theoretical and
Information Journal
of Communist and
Workers' Parties

**MARCH, 1966
VOLUME 9
NUMBER 3**

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, 44 Stafford St.,
Toronto 3, 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, 44
Stafford St., Toronto, at
\$3.50 a year.

Published by
PROGRESS BOOKS
44 Stafford St., Toronto 3
Ontario, Canada



WMR*among our contributors*

JACQUES DUCLOS	Member of the Political Bureau, French Communist Party
VLADIMIR LAPTEV	Soviet jurist
MIKHAIL LEMESHEV	Soviet economist
ASEN CHARAKCHIYEV	Bulgarian philosopher
OTTO REINHOLD	Director, Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany
ANDRE BARJONET	French economist
VICTOR PERLO	American economist
RUBENS ISCARO	Member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina
ROQUE DALTON	Salvador writer
LUIS FIGUERCA	Member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Chile; Chairman, United Trade Union Centre of Chilean Working People
GLADYS MARIN	Member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Chile; General Secretary, Communist Youth Union
ALFRED DEWHURST	Member of the National Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

JACQUES DUCLOS

ON MARCH 29, the Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a party which for the past half a century has been playing a prominent role in world events, will open in Moscow.

This Party, founded and led by Lenin, stood at the source of the great socialist revolution in October 1917, the fiftieth anniversary of which will be celebrated next year all over the world. With the triumph of the October Revolution humanity entered a new era, the era of the birth of the socialist society which confronted the capitalist system whose contradictions led to the world war of 1914-18.

Although the old capitalist world was shaken to its foundations by the thunder of the October Revolution, the powers that be and the "theorists" of socialism maintained at the time that the revolution had no future and, consequently, would not be able to build the new, socialist society.

Lenin, who had led the revolution to victory, also asked himself the question whether the young Soviet power which was being attacked from all sides would be able to hold out. It did, thanks to the sacrifices made by the working class and the people of Russia. And from its very inception it began to exert considerable influence on the international working-class movement.

Its power of attraction played a decisive role in the formation of the Communist parties and in the rise of the Communist International, founded by Lenin after the collapse of the Second International which in 1914 had embraced the policy of "war to the victorious end."

The working people and progressives in all countries, filled with admiration and confidence in the future, turned towards the young Soviet state whose existence opened up new perspectives. The working class hailed the victory won by the Russian proletariat in alliance with the peasantry, a victory that was a revenge for the defeat of the glorious Paris Commune.

The victory of October 1917 struck a telling blow at reformism and opportunism in the working-class movement, and demonstrated the superiority of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

However, while the mass of the working people supported the Soviet power, the then leaders of the workers' parties who were incapable of disengaging themselves from the opportunism of the Second International, tried to justify their hostility to the October Revolution.

In France the Strasbourg Congress of the Socialist Party, held in February 1920, evaded taking a final decision on joining the Communist International and decided, instead, to send a delegation to Moscow to inquire about conditions for membership. The people of my generation still remember Marcel Cachin's impassioned arguments in favor of adherence to the Leninist International and Leon Blum's counterattack. "You reckon," he said, "by taking advantage of the favorable circumstances, to carry the vanguard with you, the non-Communist masses who, unclear about the exact aims of the movement, are kept by your propaganda in a state of exalted tension. That is the meaning of your ideas. But what has

Blanquism achieved by this? Not much. . . In recent years it has not even been able to capture the premises of the fire-brigade on the Boulevard de la Villette."

Long before that Lenin had denounced the charge of "Blanquism" which was designed, in this particular instance, to give a false image of the October Revolution. "Blanquism," he wrote, "expects that mankind will be emancipated from wage slavery not by the class struggle of the proletariat but through a conspiracy plotted by a tiny minority of intellectuals."

The October Revolution, prepared and carried out on the basis of Marxist precepts which Lenin enriched by his analysis of imperialism and his corresponding conclusions, was unjustly identified, with the obvious intention of discrediting it, with a Blanquist coup.

Some party leaders tried to offset the powerful influence exercised by Moscow on the working-class movement with another center of influence. "I quite understand," said Marcel Sembat, "that this pole — Moscow — attracts you! But besides Moscow there is another pole, true, a less brilliant, a less attractive one, but one which, nonetheless, attracts us, my friends and me. That pole is England, London! I have in mind the organized and active working-class movement as it has shown itself in Britain."

Who was right? The facts answer the question.

And the facts show us that today, a little more than 45 years after the Tours Congress*, Britain continues to be, despite successive Labor governments, one of the principal capitalist countries, and Wilson's Labor government, one of the most reliable supports of U.S. imperialism in its aggressive war against the people of Vietnam.

We are therefore profoundly grateful to Lenin, who was able to found, in the midst of a hostile world and countless difficulties, the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

It is true that in 1917 Lenin and many other revolutionaries believed that revolutions would break out in other countries in Europe. This perspective, which was also unjustly criticized, proved to be a realistic one, as history subsequently demonstrated.

Thus, immediately after the imperialist war a revolution broke out in Hungary. In Germany a powerful revolutionary movement developed which would have led to victory had it not been diverted from the right path.

*At the Eighteenth Congress of the Socialist Party in Tours, in December 1920, most of the delegates voted for affiliation to the Communist International. The French Communist Party was then founded.—Ed.

France was swept by powerful strikes which in a different international situation would have acquired even greater scope. All this emphasized the reality of the revolutionary movement in the West which was developing as a result of the First World War and the October Revolution.

Unfortunately the working class of those countries did not have a revolutionary party free from the defects of opportunism.

If, for example, the strong Social Democratic Party in Germany—where the revolutionary actions were second to Russia in scale—had not come out in defense of the existing social order, the counter-revolution would not have triumphed. The proletarian revolution would have been victorious and the building of socialism, which would have proceeded not only in the economically backward country that Russia was at the time, but also in a big industrially developed country, would have had to surmount fewer difficulties.

But things took a different turn and the people of Germany, like the people of other countries, paid a heavy price for the defeat of the revolution; when the conditions for change have matured and the social forces whose mission it is to make the change fail to do so, the political, economic and social consequences are bound to be drastic.

Did the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Germany, and later in Hungary, mean that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would have to renounce its gains and thus make possible the restoration of capitalism?

The Leninist party did not for a minute consider such a prospect. Despite incredible difficulties, despite capitalist encirclement, it gave effect to Lenin's new theory about the "possibility of the victory of socialism in one country."

This policy, which corresponded both to the national interest and the spirit of internationalism, manifested itself in the miracles accomplished by the peoples of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the CPSU. This made possible the rapid development of the world's first socialist state which by its existence not to speak of its successes was, and remains, an inspiration to the working-class and democratic movement of the world.

* * *

The Communist parties which arose in many countries after the First World War did not immediately get rid of the opportunism which brought them so much harm, of the sectarianism which set in as a reaction against opportunism.

The Bolshevik Party which played a big role

in the Communist International helped the young Communist parties to become truly working-class, mass parties.

Lenin's "*Left-Wing*" Communism, an *Infantile Disorder* was invaluable in combating sectarianism which hampered the development of the workers' parties of the new type.

The task was to redouble our efforts to achieve a united front of the working class. This orientation stemmed from Marxism-Leninism and the rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The united front policy was the dominant element in the policy of the Communist parties of all countries, although sectarian mistakes and deviations limited the success of this policy.

In their struggle to affirm themselves as revolutionary mass parties the Communist parties drew strength and confidence from the example of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—which, in building socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement and in a country that was still economically backward, demonstrated to the international working-class movement its indomitable will to achieve its revolutionary goals.

* * *

The triumph of the socialist revolution on one-sixth of the earth marked the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism and the aggravation of all the contradictions of capitalism.

After the October Revolution the national-liberation movement acquired unprecedented scope. In his address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East (November 22, 1919), Lenin said in this connection: "Hence, the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their own bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all dependent countries against international imperialism."

The French Communist Party based its policy in respect to the colonial peoples enslaved by French imperialism on the teachings of Lenin and the CPSU, according to which the national liberation movement is part of the general struggle against imperialism and for socialism, and the colonial peoples are the natural allies of the proletariat of the oppressor country.

True to this teaching, the French Party has always striven to fulfil its international duty to the colonial peoples fighting for national liberation.

Combating the colonialist ideology which

penetrated even into some working-class circles, the French Party denounced the colonial wars in Syria, Morocco, Vietnam and Algeria and supported the national-liberation movement in the countries of Africa and Asia oppressed by French imperialism.

Here it is pertinent to note that the correct solution of the nationalities question with regard to the peoples and nationalities formerly oppressed by tsarism, now united in a powerful multinational state, greatly enhanced the Soviet Union's influence in the countries that had known colonial oppression. This example inspired and sustained the peoples in their struggle for national and social liberation. Thus, the Soviet Union and its Communist Party have played a signal role in the development of human society. This was particularly evident during the Second World War.

* * *

No one can obliterate from history the services rendered by the Soviet Union, its people and its Party in the war against Hitler. In the darkest days of the Nazi occupation, patriots in France and in the other occupied countries looked with hope to the Soviet Union.

Without in any way detracting from the role played by the Allies in the War, it is clear that it was the Soviet people who at the price of incredible sacrifices made the decisive contribution to the defeat of Hitler.

Every victory of the Red Army gave encouragement and renewed confidence to the patriots in the other countries fighting fascism. The people of occupied Europe who saw their own "elite" become collaborators or adopt a "wait-and-see" attitude, could not but feel admiration for the national cohesion achieved by the CPSU in the Soviet Union.

The USSR's role in the defeat of Hitler gave a powerful impetus to the working-class and democratic movement throughout the world. After the war many countries in Europe and Asia dropped out of the capitalist system. Socialism emerged beyond the boundaries of a single country and became a world system, retaining, however, its national features.

Today imperialism is no longer the sole world system, it has ceased also to be the dominant system; the correlation of forces has radically changed in favor of the socialist world system and the peace camp.

Imperialism is no longer able to stem the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, a crisis which has entered upon a new phase. Despite long and bloody wars imperialism is

no longer able to prevent the accelerated disintegration of the colonial system.

The colonial and dependent nations and the millions of people who have won national independence have always been given the necessary aid and support by the Soviet Union to carry on the struggle. Thus, the Soviet Union is rendering the people of Vietnam material and moral support in their struggle.

The recent tri-continental conference in Havana demonstrated anew the great prestige enjoyed by the USSR among the peoples who have recently won their independence or who are still battling for liberation from colonial and imperialist oppression.

It is only natural that the prestige enjoyed by the Soviet Union should extend to the CPSU, its leading force, to which the world is indebted for the fundamental changes that have taken place in the international arena.

It is these changes that make it possible to prevent the unleashing of a new world war. The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed, of course; it continues to contain within itself the danger of war. But powerful social and political forces have emerged, forces which, with the support of the socialist countries, can prevent the imperialists from carrying out their warlike designs.

It is to the Soviet Union and its Communist Party that we are mainly indebted for the powerful upsurge of the working-class and democratic movement, which now makes possible peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

It is to the CPSU and, particularly, the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congress that we are indebted for elaborating new theoretical propositions which are of the utmost importance in the fight for peace and socialism. This enabled the 1957 and 1960 international meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties to examine more effectively the decisive problems of working-class unity and an alliance of all the national and democratic forces against imperialism and in support of peace and socialism.

* * *

One cannot fail to stress the role played by the CPSU in the fight for the unity of the

international Communist movement. True to the spirit of the 1957 and 1960 Meetings and to the 1965 Consultative Meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, the CPSU has consistently upheld the unity of the international Communist movement.

The statements and proposals of the CPSU on united action of all the socialist countries and all the Communist and Workers' parties in the capitalist countries in support of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people, have again conclusively demonstrated the CPSU's loyalty to the unity of the international Communist movement which is essential to the success of the struggle against imperialism.

We, French Communists, who in December 1920 responded to Lenin's call, salute the CPSU as a great and glorious party which, blazing new trails, has turned socialism into a reality and communism into a near perspective.

Guided by the teachings of Lenin and the example of the CPSU we have always championed the unity of the democratic forces, united action by the working class and, primarily, of the Socialist and Communist parties in the interests of democracy, peace, the happiness of our people and the independence of France.

It is in the interests of these objectives that we want to draw the broad masses into the struggle to end one-man rule and establish genuine democracy.

Thanks to the successes of the USSR, the socialist countries and the international working-class and democratic movement we know that the establishment of genuine democracy will be the forerunner of the socialist France of tomorrow for which we are fighting.

Inspired by the Soviet Union's latest achievement in science and technology, which has established a "radio bridge" between Moon and Earth, the Communists in all countries are looking forward to the forthcoming Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU to which no one can remain indifferent who wants to see a society based on democracy, peace and social justice, and who sees in socialism the solution to the crucial problems of the day.

The rights of the socialist enterprise in the Soviet Union

VLADIMIR LAPTEV

ASSOCIATED WITH the functioning of the socialist enterprise — the most important link in the economy of the USSR—are several problems of theory and practice. The enterprise manages the property at its disposal independently, yet this property does not belong to it alone but to the state. It is a part of the state economic mechanism, a state economic body, yet it has its own independent rights and duties. While it functions in accordance with the state plan it also enjoys a definite measure of independence in the sphere of production and management.

Guidelines for harmonizing these problems were laid down by a meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU last September devoted to matters of industrial management.

Capitalist propaganda seized on this reform, which, it claims, signifies a departure from the principles of socialism. The *London Times*, for instance, commented that it was impossible to resolve the "constant dilemma" of having "to retain sufficient central control to ensure the fulfilment of national tasks and at the same time permit enough local initiative to promote efficiency."

The *New York Herald Tribune* argued that socialism "ignores human nature and incentives to efficiency." It is impossible, it went on, "to harmonize the objectives of theoretical socialism with the realistic truths of economic progress." And from this the deduction is that, in addition to the Communists, the Socialists, too should be combated since they are for nationalization of certain industries in Western Europe. Thus, the decision of the meeting of the Central Committee of the

CPSU as well as analogous Party decisions in the other socialist countries have become an issue of the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism.

The capitalist critics evidently are unable to grasp the dialectics of socialist economic development. They are unable to appreciate that only the proper combination of centralism and extended rights for the enterprises can ensure the success of the socialist economy, or that the fundamental problem of socialist economic endeavors consists precisely in achieving this combination.

The Central Committee meeting stressed the inviolability of the principle of centralized planning. At the same time the managerial rights of the enterprises were considerably extended, greater emphasis was placed on their initiative and independence, and new forms of stimulating better performance and heightening the responsibility of the enterprises for their showing were worked out.

Economic methods of management, managerial responsibility for outlays and balancing these with the returns, are of prime importance. This implies stimulating production performance in the interests of both the personnel of the given enterprise and the whole of society.

Under socialism there are no antagonistic contradictions between the interests of society and the interests of each enterprise. Nevertheless it would be a mistake to assume that these interests automatically coincide. For example, within the framework of one and the same plan enterprises may qualify

for orders of varying difficulty, and the degree of their responsibility to society for the results can vary too. It is here that contradictions may emerge between the interests of society in the aggregate and the interests of the given enterprise.

Further, when gross production served as the basic plan fulfilment indicator, enterprises often tried to reach the targets by turning out goods for which there was no particular demand. This output piled up in warehouses, but the plan had been fulfilled and the workers received their bonuses and were congratulated for exemplary showing. But the interests of society as a whole suffered, for demand was not adequately met while unwanted, unsold stocks piled up.

Economic methods of management, on the contrary, with their provision of incentives, benefit society as a whole. They presuppose economic stimuli and greater responsibility, thus making it advantageous for the enterprise to be guided by the overall interests of society. As a result the mechanism of the socialist economy will acquire a capacity for self-regulation, the enterprises working well not simply to fulfil orders handed down to them but because they will have every economic incentive to do so.

Profit, too, will play a role. While the bulk of the profits go to the state for use in the overall interests of society, the remainder is left at the disposal of the enterprise to be used to stimulate the production efforts of its workers.

Instead of the previous single factory fund there will now be three incentive funds: one for financial encouragement of the personnel, one for social measures, including housing and recreation, and one for expanding production. The agreement of all three, and their application, depend on the overall performance of the enterprise. These funds, which can be described as collective incentives, combined with individual remuneration, give the worker and the factory personnel as a whole, a direct stake in the showing of the enterprise.

Interesting results in this respect have been obtained at Pit No. 9 in the Lvov-Volynek coal basin where incentives made it possible to raise average daily output by 24.7 per cent in the first half of 1965, whereas other pits, working in the old way, registered a mere 8.4 per cent increase. As regards wages, in the experimental pit average monthly pay per worker rose by 40.8 per cent to 241 rubles; the other pits registered a 22 per cent increase to 199 rubles.

The profit of the socialist enterprise, its net income, is the measure of its efficiency, of the benefit accruing to society from its operation. The fact that part of the profit remains at the disposal of the enterprise fully harmonizes with the objective economic laws governing socialist commodity production. Through profit the most effective use can be made also of the mechanism of material responsibility for rational organization of production and managerial endeavor.

Consequently, the nature of the relationships between economic management bodies and the enterprise is substantially changed. The customary concept that all rights were vested in the top managerial bodies while all responsibilities rested with the enterprises is no longer valid. The economic methods of management presuppose defining the responsibilities as well as the rights of the top bodies and, in addition to the obligations, also the rights of the enterprises.

The nature of the relationships between the top bodies and the enterprises is changed also in another sense. Managerial, planning and organizational elements are now linked with cost accounting, value and assets. Management is based in growing measure on cost-accounting. The changed relationship between the enterprise and the state, and the introduction of cost accounting into these relations, is expressed also in the institution of a charge for basic assets as well as working capital. These charges will not be the former tax deductions but economically substantiated payments directly determined by the value of the assets in question.

The Statute of the Socialist State Production Enterprise adopted on October 4 last year defines the rights of the enterprises in the various areas of production and the managerial functions in a new way.

The very approach to the jurisdictional powers, rights and responsibilities of enterprises is indicative. Until recently the powers of an enterprise as defined by legislation in effect boiled down to the rights of its manager. The new statute defines the economic competence of the enterprise as such, which is regarded as an independent corporate body. In other words, the socialist enterprise independently enters into economic relationships which are by no means reduced to relations between office-holders.

From the standpoint of law this signifies that the enterprise is now regarded as a juristic entity entering into economic and legal relations either with other enterprises or with higher economic bodies. Formerly the enterprise was recognized in law only in rela-

tion to other enterprises or individual citizens, while in dealings with the higher economic bodies the manager acted on his own. The definition of the enterprise as a corporate body recognized in law corresponds to the development of economic methods of management and the change in the nature of the relationships between the enterprises and the higher economic bodies, with the results that there is no difference in principle between these relationships and the relations between the enterprises.

In the new conditions the once widely held view that the manager was the sole authorized representative of the state in the enterprise is no longer valid. Today the entire working personnel, headed by the manager, is responsible to society and to the state which represents the public interest, and hence is vested with corresponding power and duties.

It would, however, be a mistake to think that this new approach to the powers of the enterprise detracts from the role of its manager. One-man managerial responsibility remains an essential principle of the day-to-day functioning of a modern industrial enterprise. Nevertheless, far from all questions pertaining to its functioning are decided by the manager alone. The statute stipulates that the rights of the enterprise in the sphere of production and management are exercised by the manager alone. The statute stipulates that the rights of the enterprise in the sphere of production and management are exercised by the manager, by duly authorized executives, or, in keeping with existing laws, jointly with the respective trade union or with the latter's consent or participation. The view of the enterprise as a working collective is a manifestation of the deep-going democratic processes now under way in the economic life of our country.

State guidance of the enterprises in the new conditions consists in defining the basic economic proportions, channelling investments, regulating prices and determining the basic production and managerial guidelines. Of utmost importance from the standpoint of independent initiative on the part of the enterprises is the reduction in the number of plan indicators handed down by the top bodies.

Instead of gross production, the realized market output becomes the basic production indicator, enabling the enterprises to be guided by consumer demand. The state plans the basic lines of output, lays down the guidelines as regards profits and returns generally, i.e., the general economic indicators. Apart from this small number of indicators emanating from the top, the enterprise

plans its own production activity and decides all other matters.

Thus some functions of planning formerly within the competence of state bodies are now transferred to the enterprises. Consequently, the latter perform not only current managerial functions but also planning and organizational functions.

This applies not only to the enterprises but also to economic amalgamations — the new type of top economic bodies in the Union republics instead of Ministries, or designed to assist the latter. These amalgamations make it possible to take into account the territorial peculiarities. Operating on cost accounting, they perform functions of both general and day-to-day management. The enterprises under their jurisdiction retain their specific economic rights as stipulated by law.

This combining of general and current day-to-day managerial functions is associated with the changes in the nature of planning, which is now effected not only by means of directives but also through economic contracts. Having received from the higher body directives fixing the basic targets, the enterprise determines all the other production indicators, not arbitrarily, but together with the consumers through contracts concluded with the latter. The contract is thus used as a flexible instrument of planning.

This method ensures favorable conditions for the solution of many problems, primarily the problems of stability and continuity in planning. A plan based on contractual arrangements is bound to be more stable, for it can be changed only in consultation with the consumer enterprises.

Moreover, if it is found necessary to revise some of the production indicators before the contractual arrangements between the enterprises expire, this can be done by mutual agreement. This is a guarantee of continuous production planning.

The striving towards continuous planning has nothing in common with the endless revision of the plans of the enterprises by the higher bodies as was the case before. This practice, which interfered with operation of the enterprises, has been shelved. The higher bodies can alter the plans of enterprises only in exceptional cases and after preliminary joint examination of all the pros and cons.

Intra-factory cost accounting acquires exceptional importance. According to the status all factory departments and other internal production sectors should, as a rule, operate on the basis of internal cost accounting. This poses a number of new economic and legal

problems. Although the economic substance of cost accounting on the factory scale and on the scale of its shops and departments is the same, the forms vary: in the first case the commodity turnover is taken into account, whereas in the second, production proper is in question. The department, like any other profitably operating economic unity, enjoys a certain functioning and property independence within the framework of the enterprise as a whole.

Operative independence of a section of an enterprise implies its independent right to decide a certain range of production problems. This is ensured primarily through a certain number of indicators but leaving the detailed ways and means of their fulfilment to the section itself. For successful fulfilment, the working personnel of the department or shop qualify for bonus awards.

As regards property, the autonomy of the subdivisions is of course far less than that of the enterprise as a whole. The subdivisions of the enterprise own only part of the means of production, they have no bank accounts of their own, and they have no relationship to the state budget. However, the property aspect of the cost accounting relationships within the factory is strictly taken into account, and accounts are settled between departments. Should one department cause loss to another by belated or poor-quality fulfilment of its obligations, it must make good the loss.

Under socialism state management of industrial enterprises is exercised in strict conformity with the law, within the framework of economic legislation. And the new system of management is inconceivable without strict observance of the law in all areas of economic activity.

The role of law in regulating managerial and general economic activity is enhanced. Importance is attached to a clear definition in law of the functions and powers, rights and duties of the economic bodies with a view to precluding any duplication and to ensure personal responsibility. Steps are being taken to improve economic legislation, and a series of normative acts are being considered with a view to juridically consolidating the new system of management.

Socialist legality is inseparably linked with the development of democracy. The new system of management is profoundly democratic, as can be seen from the above-mentioned changes in the relations between the center and the enterprises, the modification of the nature of the relations between the top bodies and enterprises, the extension of

the economic rights of the latter, and the development of economic methods of management. At the same time democracy is being deepened at the point of production, with the workers having a bigger say in management.

Workers participation in management is effected through the trade unions, the production conferences and in other ways. Extensive rights are enjoyed by the factory trade union committee. The law specifies a wide range of questions which factory administrations can decide only with the agreement of the trade union. These include many issues relating to the organization of labor and wages as well as problems of a social and recreational nature directly affecting the workers, such as the allocation of the factory fund and other funds designed to provide incentives, systems of remuneration, conditions and indices for bonuses, and similar issues.

The production conference — an elected body working under the factory trade union committee — is the channel through which the workers have their say in resolving production questions. Though its decisions are only recommendations, they carry weight since they are an expression of public opinion. To enhance the role of the conference, it would evidently be in place to make its decisions on some questions juridically binding. This would make workers' participation in running production still more effective.

A network of public organizations making for more extensive worker participation in management is taking shape in the enterprises. For example, in the large Ordjonikidze Plant in Podolsk, which makes boiler units for big power stations, 122 factory-wide and shop councils have been formed with some 3,000 people — practically two-fifths of the personnel — taking part. The management of the plant and the shop and section executives rely increasingly on the recommendations and proposals made by these voluntary associations. As a rule their participants, in addition to working out recommendations, take an active part in their implementation. In this way the principle of democratic centralism in management is put into effect, and one-man managerial responsibility is combined with growing participation by the masses in running production.

The effectiveness of these councils depends in many respects on the support of the Communist Party branches and committees. The extension of the rights of the working personnel stimulates a greater sense of duty on the part of the workers, inculcating in them an attitude of partnership in production and awareness that their labor is a contribution

from which they and the community benefit. Incentive, when correctly used, strengthens the collective spirit, is of considerable educational value and deepens the socialist consciousness. The Party organizations encourage in every way initiative on the part of the personnel individually and collectively.

It should be borne in mind that in the new conditions more is required from Party and business executives. Whereas in the past all the main issues pertaining to the functioning of the enterprise were decided at the top, today the manager should be able to make the right decisions. This calls for psychological readjustment, a knowledge of economics, law, and industrial psychology.

The new system calls for a higher sense of responsibility and initiative on the part of the worker. Only painstaking organizational and educational work by the Party will ensure the successful implementation of the economic reform and the new methods of industrial management.

* * *

The recent report of the USSR Central Statistical Board on the fulfilment of the 1965 plan shows that the economy is making good progress.

Compared with the previous year the gross social product in 1965 increased by roughly seven per cent, the national income by six per cent, and industrial output by 8.6 per cent.

The annual plan both for overall industrial output and for most key items was overfulfilled. In the past seven years industrial output increased by 84 per cent of the 80 per cent envisaged by the Seven-Year Plan.

Industry in 1965 produced 507,000 million kwh of electricity, 243 million tons of oil, 578 million tons of coal, 91 million tons of steel, 72.4 million tons of cement, 31.3 million tons of mineral fertilizer, 185,000 metal-working machine tools, 34,400 forge and die presses, 616,000 motor vehicles, and 355,000 tractors, not to speak of other machines and equipment.

During the year industrial enterprises launched the production of some 900 new lines of output, including powerful multiple units and sets of machines for the electric power and coal-mining industries, highly productive machine tools and automated lines, agricultural machines, etc.

The well-being of the people continued to grow. Average monthly wages and salaries increased from 90 rubles in 1964 to 95 rubles in 1965. With bonuses and benefits accruing from public funds, the increase was from 121 to 128 rubles a month respectively. More than 10 million people moved into new apartments and houses or improved their living conditions in previously built houses.

Our country confidently entered 1966 — the year of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU and the first year of the new Five-Year Plan. Many industrial enterprises have begun to go over to the new methods of planning and stimulating economic endeavor elaborated by the September meeting of our Central Committee. The realization of the decisions of this meeting will provide a powerful impetus to the advance of the Soviet economy, to the fuller utilization of the advantages of the socialist mode of production.

Working in the new conditions

Soviet agriculture since the March 1965 meeting of the CC CPSU

MIKHAIL LEMESHEV

MAIN RESULTS OF 1965

A YEAR HAS PASSED since the meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU last March which adopted a resolution on "Urgent Measures for the Further Development of Soviet Agriculture."

The cornerstone of these decisions is the injunction to develop and improve commodity-money relations between the state and the collective and state farms, between agriculture and industry, for broad utilization of the economic incentives in agricultural management. Our Party sees in the development of mutually advantageous exchange of the products of labor between town and country the key to cementing the worker-peasant alliance—the base of the socialist state. Proceeding from these considerations of principle, the meeting decided greatly to increase investments in agriculture, reinforce the technical base of the collective and state farms, establish stable purchasing plans and raise purchasing prices of agricultural goods. The same aim is served by the considerable cut in prices for agricultural machines, spare parts, motor vehicles, electric power and other industrial goods used in agriculture, effective as of January 1, 1966. Operating in the same direction today is an improved system of taxation based on the tax being levied on net income, not gross income as was the case previously,

and also a revised system of allocating credits and financing the collective and state farms.

Of course, one year is too brief for any summing up of the results of a serious economic reform, especially in agriculture where, as everybody knows, the work is of a seasonal nature and the results are greatly influenced by natural and, especially, weather conditions. This reservation is all the more justified with regard to the year 1965, which was a difficult year for our farmers; many parts of the country experienced severe drought.

According to preliminary estimates, agricultural output in 1965 was somewhat higher than the record level reached in the previous year. Output of animal husbandry grew appreciably. Thus, 9.6 million tons of meat (slaughter weight) were produced, or 16 per cent more than in 1964. The corresponding increases were 14 per cent for milk, 9 per cent for eggs, and 4 per cent for wool.

Because of the drought the grain harvest was lower than in the previous year.

Cereal crops, however, showed a considerable growth. The rice crop, for example, was 21 per cent greater than in 1964, and that of buckwheat—32 per cent. Gains were registered in cotton-growing; the crop amounting to 5.7 million tons of raw cotton—an all-time high.

Investments by the state and collective farms amounted to over 11,000 million rubles,

the farms were supplied with 240,000 tractors, 77,000 trucks, 77,000 grain-harvesters and many other machines. Supplies of mineral fertilizer increased by 23 per cent.

The March meeting of the CC CPSU secured for collective and state farms the right independently to plan the volumes and pattern of agricultural production. This has immediately told on crop distribution. Collective and state farms in the Central and Eastern parts of the country sharply reduced the area shown to corn and sugar-beet chiefly for use as cattle fodder and production of which entailed considerable expenditure of labor and means, and in any case did not ensure the desired growth in fodder output. In regions of adequate rainfall the area sown to perennial grasses was increased considerably, and in arid zones fallow was extended. The area sown to wheat, sunflower, buckwheat and rice was extended. Farm incomes have grown noticeably thanks to the better prices paid for farm produce. Gross income of the collective farms rose 16 per cent compared with the previous year, in the same proportion as the remuneration going to the farmers. The quantity of grain distributed among farmers as part of payment for their work rose by seven per cent. Growth of income plus the introduction of pensions for collective farmers is making rural life more attractive. In 1965, for the first time in many years the outflow of labor from the countryside was halted, and the numbers employed in agriculture rose.

NEW SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURAL PROCUREMENTS AT WORK

The meeting of Central Committee decided on a fundamentally new system of planned procurement of agricultural products, a system which combines personal interest and the interests of the state. A fixed and stable plan for grain purchase has been drawn up to cover the current Five-Year Plan, including 1970.

Basic purchasing prices for wheat, rye and other cereals have been raised; the same is true for livestock and poultry. The new prices have been evolved with due regard to the conditions of the particular zones and will benefit all. Collective and state farms selling grain in excess of plan will qualify for a 50 per cent increase in the basic purchasing price of wheat and rye.

The new system of submitting targets to the farms in the shape of a stable plan-contract for the sale of products to the state for years ahead instill greater confidence, while the higher prices make production profitable.

The example of the Bryansk Region situated

in the non-black earth belt will illustrate the point.

In the past collective and state farms in the region were not only not profitable but at times even showed deficits. Last year, however, with the application of the new system, profitability amounted to 28 per cent. The farms sold to the state double the quantity of grain fixed by the plan. The new purchasing prices and the extension of initiative enabled them to sell grain in excess of the plan, and they gained accordingly.

The same holds true for other regions. The 1965 income of collective farms in Udmurtia, for example, rose by 34 per cent, in the Kirov Region by 36 per cent, Gorky Region 39 per cent, and Ryazan Region 48 per cent. In Moldavia in the South West, each collective farm made an additional profit of some 80,000 rubles, and each state farm an average of 100,000 rubles.

The soundness of the purchase plan is indispensable to success, especially when it is borne in mind that the procurement plans determine in many respects the structure of agriculture, its specialization and, consequently, the entire economic foundation of management.

The wider utilization of economic incentives in planning agriculture would, in our opinion, be facilitated by a gradual transition to a contracting system for sales to the state. The contracts should be concluded with due regard to the needs of the state but on a strictly voluntary basis, the last word in determining volume and variety of the produce remaining with the farm. Thereupon the durable plan for a period of years and based on contracts could acquire the force of law and be binding on the two contracting parties.

This kind of planning would make it possible to engage in purchase with due regard to profitability and economic advantage for each farm, i.e., it would signify consolidating the economic independence of the farms and create conditions for initiative and cost accounting relationships as the basis of an economically sound agriculture. Secondly, the entire work of the farms could be based on the prospects and on their current plans. The farms would be free to grow the most advantageous crops, to employ all the new techniques and really effective methods of management. Thirdly, the farms could engage in fuller and more stable specialization.

The greater independence of the farms in planning procurements does not presuppose any violation or weakening of the centralized national planning. The national plan, compiled with due regard to the requirements of society

as a whole, is the basis for local plans for rural development. The two meetings of the CPSU Central Committee in 1965 reaffirmed the inviolability of centralized planning. What is required is just that the purchasing bodies, carrying out the national plan for procurements, should give the farms greater autonomy in resolving issues pertaining to their economic relationships with the state.

PERFECTING LABOR ORGANIZATION AND REMUNERATION

The new measures in agriculture have paved the way to evolving organizational forms of work and a system of remuneration which see the worker as the central figure in production, directly responsible for the results of his personal labor and for the work of the collective to which he belongs.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the entire countryside is engaged in creative questing. Management and labor organization are being improved and new forms of management evolved. The questing proceeds mainly along the route of introducing cost accounting methods and greater incentives for each farmer, of establishing a direct dependence of the level of remuneration on work efficiency and on the end results of the labor.

Typical of the new forms of labor organization and remuneration is the forming of independent subdivisions based on cost-accounting: specialized groups, farms, mechanized units, etc. Small groups of workers specializing in one, two or three lines of output are proving their worth.

Take, for instance, the Red Banner collective farm in the Altai Territory. All the work groups here are based on cost accounting; fields and machines are placed at their disposal, and account is taken of all expenditure, labor productivity and production costs. Remuneration is based on the principle: the better one works the more one gets. Now that the groups are cost accounting units, it is clear that planning should begin from below — at group level. The plan is drawn up and thoroughly discussed by the group and only then is it submitted to the board of the collective farm. This year only one figure is fixed for each group by the people "at the top" — the profit in rubles per hectare of ploughland.

An interesting experiment concerned with cost accounting was carried out in 1963 by Ivan Khudanko, director of a state farm in the Alma-Ata Region. On this wheat farm, instead of nine crop-growing groups totalling 200, #17 cost accounting units were formed consisting of a few dozen workers and members of their

families. The units were given a definite target—to grow a definite quantity of grain for a definite price. Remuneration was based on results, and the workers received advance payments monthly. The results of the experiment can be seen from the following table:

	1962 old system of labor organization and remuneration	1963 new system of labor organization and remuneration
Average annual number of workers	202	29
Grain production per worker (tons)	15.6	317.3
Average wages per worker (rubles)	896	2,036.5

As we see, the number of workers declined sevenfold, while the quantity of grain grown per worker increased more than twentyfold. The average wage per worker more than doubled. There was, moreover, better utilization of machines and equipment: fewer spare parts and less fuel were expended, and productivity per machine increased. Whereas formerly 132 people were employed in administrative work and in servicing the groups in clerical accounting, general management of the cost accounting units was done by only two persons—the agronomist and the economist-bookkeeper.

Although this experiment cannot be regarded as a prescription for all farms, it nevertheless cogently illustrate the significance of the road opened up by the March meeting.

Careful study of the experience gained by the best farms suggests the possibility of further improving labor organization and remuneration, and developing independent cost-accounting subdivisions on the farms. The relations between the collective farms and their subdivisions should, in all probability, be based more firmly on cost accounting. This means that fields and machines should be allotted permanently to the subdivisions. The collective farm in this case could play the part of a production association whose main job would be to maintain production and economic relations with the state organizations in charge of supplies for the farms; it could concern itself with capital construction, long-term credits and marketing produce. The board of the farm could also be in charge of the transport, repair and storage facilities, irrigation and road-building machines, subsidiaries, housing and public amenities, as well as the maintenance of farm experts.

In this case a major condition of the cost-accounting relations between the specialized

production subdivisions and the board of the farm could be contracts determining the volume and price of the produce, provided that all the receipts from the realized produce go to the fund of the given production unit. From this general fund the cost accounting unit or group should pay a definite sum to the collective farm for the land and other means of production allotted to them permanently or temporarily, pay the income tax, make deductions for public welfare, cover current production expenditure and, naturally, from the wages fund for their own workers.

Evidently, this system of organizing farm production can be applied not only in collective farms but in state farms as well.

In keeping with the spirit of the March decisions, personal incentives stimulating farmers to increase output, to lower costs, and to build up gross and net income should become the basis of labor organization and remuneration in each production subdivision.

THE OPTIMAL FARM AND SPECIALIZATION

The March meeting of the Central Committee took a critical view of the extension of the area of some collective and state farms affected some time ago. While it is generally agreed that large-scale farming is more efficient, for a long time writers on economic subjects and practical farmers took this in a far too absolute sense. For hence too, as in everything else, there are limits beyond which it is irrational to go. Lenin, it will be recalled, underscored the relative nature of the superiority of large-scale farming. "In industry, also, the law of the superiority of large-scale production," he said "is not as absolute and as simple as is sometimes thought; there, too, it is the equality of 'other conditions' (not always existing in reality) that ensures the full applicability of the law. In agriculture, however, which is distinguished for the incomparably greater complexity and variety of its relations, the full applicability of the law of the superiority of large-scale production is hampered by considerably stricter conditions."

Today farms ranging from 10,000 to 30,000 hectares or more are no longer a rarity. These giant farms, it should be said were established in recent years not only in the vast steppes of the Kuban or Siberia, but also in the non-black earth belt of the Russian Federation, in Byelorussia and in the north-western areas of the Ukraine.

As we noted, the establishment of many of these large farms was in effect, a purely administrative measure which hardly affected

the size of the production units (livestock sections, crop areas, etc.) inasmuch as these were determined by terrain, capacity of barns, allocation of labor and other factors. These oversized farms were far too cumbersome for efficient management.

It follows that the problem of the optimal farm, associated as it is with the fundamental problems of rural socio-economic relationships, should be solved without undue haste, on a strictly scientific basis and with the participation of the collective farmers and the workers on the state farms.

One way of improving the organization of collective farming is the establishment of independent production units operating on a cost accounting basis as mentioned above. These units, working on a contract basis, would, in our opinion, help to enlist more people in planning and managing farm production, simplify the management of big farms and facilitate specialization.

With the introduction of the new system of state purchase and the higher purchase prices, the farms are now in a better position to specialize in crops entailing the least expenditure of labor and yielding the biggest returns. Last year steps were taken to promote specialization by regions and districts. For example, an examination of the state of livestock farming in Belorod Region showed that specialization and industrial methods could ensure a rapid growth of output and adequate returns. Extensive experiments were followed up by organizing large specialized farms. Farms specializing in fattening cattle, for example, and operating on factory methods are being set up.

Establishing the optimal size farms and durable specialization backed up by incentives and sound organization of labor are vital to efficiency and steady growth of production.

PROMOTING AGRICULTURE IS A NATIONWIDE TASK

The Central Committee stressed that promoting farm production is a task that must be shouldered by the entire nation, for agriculturists alone cannot solve it. Accordingly, its decisions provide for the all-round heightening of the economic role of the state and society generally in developing agriculture. Investments in farming will grow considerably. Between 1966 and 1970 the state will allocate 41,000 million rubles for the purpose while the collective farms are expected to put in another 30,000 million. Total investment during these five years will exceed that of the previous 19 years. The outlay will be

so channeled as to accelerate the technical requirement of the farms and radically improve the farmers' living conditions. As we see it, more funds should be invested in mechanization and electrification and allocations substantially increased for housing, cultural needs and public services in the countryside in order to make more rational use of the labor force and, in particular, to induce skilled workers, especially young people, to stay on the farms.

A big role in promoting agriculture belongs to the machine-building industry.

In the five-year span we have just entered industry is to provide agriculture with 1,790,000 tractors, 1,000,000 trucks and other machines to a total value of 10,700 million rubles. Some 80 new plants or factory departments costing more than 4,000 million rubles are to be built in the next few years to meet the demand for farm equipment.

The expansion of the technical base of agriculture and the mechanization of new branches of farm production underscore the importance of standardization and universalization of machines and implements. In this respect our farmers have serious complaints against the tractor and agricultural machinery industries. Many farms now have as many as 12 different types of tractors, and in some regions we find 30 or more different types and models. With spare parts in short supply, this complicates things for the farmers, causes long stoppages of machines and reduces efficiency.

The production and financial links between agriculture and industry should also be improved. In our opinion the time has come to establish direct production contacts between farms and factories by going over from the present supply system to free trade in agricultural machinery. This would make it possible for the consumers to exert a more direct influence on the production programs of the enterprises that turn out the machines, implements and mineral fertilizers.

* * *

The year since the March meeting of the

Central Committee has shown that our agriculture has made a good start, that the basis has been laid for its rapid growth.

Party organizations have a bigger role to play in the new conditions. This is not to say that they should arrogate to themselves the functions of the economic bodies or take the place of the latter. Above all it is a matter of improving political, organizational and educational work among the people. The Party branches and committees see their main task in heading the efforts of the rural working people to carry out the decisions of the Central Committee, to create a climate conducive to enterprise and initiative, to encourage initiative in solving economic problems and to combat conservatism.

In accordance with the decisions of the Central Committee, a Collective Farmers' Congress will be held this year. In the meantime a new model statute for agriculture cooperatives is being drafted. The Congress and the adoption of the Statute should reinforce the democratic foundations of the collective farm system.

This year conditions are being created for continued advance in agriculture. The 1966 plan calls for accelerated expansion of its material and technical base. Allocations for agriculture run to 13,200 million rubles, including 6,500 million from the state budget. The farms are to receive 263,000 tractors, 85,500 grain combines, 130,000 trucks and some 30 million tons of mineral fertilizer in the course of the year. The combined efforts of the government and the farmers are expected to yield the desired results; the expectations are that the volume of agricultural output in the current year will exceed the 1965 figure by 8-10 per cent.

The farmers, too, are looking forward to the coming Twenty-Third Congress of the Party. Organized and guided by the Party, they are redoubling their efforts, doing everything in their power to make a worthy contribution to raising the living standard of our people and hastening our country's advance toward communism.

Internationalism — an effective force

ASEN CHARAKCHIYEV

MARX AND ENGELS advanced the principle of internationalism as an indispensable condition of man's liberation from exploitation, oppression and war. The working class in all countries has a common aim — to abolish capitalism and build communism. As Lenin pointed out, "capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed."

Social development has fully borne out the vitality of internationalism. The international solidarity of the working class and of all working people has grown in measure with the growing role of the proletariat on the world arena. The rise of the socialist world system, the irresistible growth of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the extension of the struggle for democracy and socialism in the capitalist countries — these revolutionary developments are the fruit mainly of mutual support on the part of the principal contingents of the world revolutionary movement, the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, against their common enemy — world imperialism.

Although imperialism has lost its world domination, having been greatly weakened by the Second World War, the imperialist powers headed by the USA are making desperate efforts to halt the socialist and national liberation revolutions. However, the revolutionary and peace-loving forces, now stronger than ever, repelling these attacks, are inflicting fresh blows on the imperialists. The wars of aggression unleashed by the imperialists in Indochina, Korea and Egypt ended in a defeat for the aggressors, thanks primarily to the internationalist support accorded the people of these countries by the socialist world system and the other anti-imperialist forces. The peace supporters succeeded in achieving a lessening of the international tension. At the same time the revolutionary movement won big successes, the greatest of which was the Cuban revolution.

Of course, so long as imperialism exists,

the imperialists will carry on their attempts to strangle the revolutionary movements and reverse the wheels of history. They are quick to take advantage of the slightest difficulty encountered by the socialist world system or of any sign of disarray in the ranks of the international Communist movement. In this the reactionaries see a means with which to weaken the world revolutionary process.

Despite the fact that the balance of forces in all the world is far from being in their favor, the U.S. imperialists and their allies have embarked on new aggressive actions in recent years. The most dangerous of these is steady escalation of the war in Vietnam and the tendency to extend it to Laos and Cambodia. Major acts of aggression committed recently by the reactionary forces can be enumerated: the U.S.-Belgian intervention in the Congo (Leopoldville); the landing of the U.S. marines in the Dominican Republic; the colonial war waged by British imperialism in Aden and on the Arabian peninsula generally; Washington's provocations against Cuba; reactionary coups in Brazil, Greece and other countries with open or camouflaged participation by the U.S. intelligence service, etc.

The aggressive activity of imperialism on the European continent finds expression mainly in the intensified militarization and revenge-seeking in West Germany. An attempt at a deal is being made between Bonn and Washington even behind the backs of some of their NATO allies in the matter of the nuclear armament of the Bundeswehr. The Erhard government is taking dangerous steps towards getting the Federal Republic involved in the Vietnam war on the side of the United States.

The growing aggression and the export of counter-revolution are accompanied by renewed attempts to intensify the cold war. Strenuous efforts are being made to divide the anti-imperialist forces. Everything—from ideological subversion to political, economic and military pressure — is used to this end. Anti-communism is invoked in an effort to disunite the national-liberation and democratic movements, and the

reactionary aspects of nationalism are cultivated in order to prevent the consolidation of the worldwide anti-imperialist front.

Faced with the growth of the forces of national and social liberation, democracy and socialism, the imperialists are trying hard to overcome their internal contradictions in order to present a common front to the revolutionary forces. Needless to say, the conditions nowadays are such that they do not always succeed in accomplishing this. For example, France does not support the USA in the dirty war in Vietnam. In several instances France, Britain and other West European states have expressed concern over the policy of revenge pursued by Bonn, etc. But the fact remains that those multilateral, and in a definite sense international, political, military and economic organizations of imperialism—NATO, SEATO, CENTO, the Common Market, etc.—which were formed after the war, play no small part in prosecuting the new aggressive line of world imperialism.

The activating of aggression by the USA threatens the national-liberation movements and the countries of the "third world," the revolutionary and democratic movements in the capitalist countries, as well as peaceful construction in the socialist countries. The further escalation of the aggression in Vietnam, which adds to the danger of a world nuclear holocaust, bodes grave danger to the peoples, to mankind as a whole.

In order to remove this danger, preserve peace and create conditions for the further advance of the revolutionary and democratic movements and for building socialism and communism, an end must be put to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. For this it is essential to invigorate the main revolutionary and progressive forces of our time and, in the first place, to cement solidarity in the world Communist movement.

* * *

The common platform for all Communist and Workers' parties today is the general line of the international Communist movement, worked out jointly by the fraternal parties at the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 which stressed the significance of internationalism for the victory of the revolutionary forces. However, there are deep-going differences within the international Communist movement, which hinder the strengthening of its unity. Hence the task is to find—despite the differences—ways and means of achieving international solidarity reinforcing the joint struggle by the fraternal parties and by all the revolutionary movements against imperialism and, above all, to curb the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Seen in this light the view that proletarian internationalism should be displayed only if the differences are fully overcome in the world Communist movement, that only after the ideological divergencies are removed can all

the contingents of the world revolutionary movement be expected to observe their internationalist duty, seems to us to be both erroneous and harmful.

The call for international proletarian solidarity, it will be recalled, was advanced by Marx and Engels at a time when ideological unity was still non-existent among the working class. It is common knowledge that the followers of Marx were not in the majority in the First International. So in those conditions the slogan "Workers of all lands, unite!" was a call for both united action and for ideological and organizational solidarity of the national contingents of the working class. This call did not in any way make solidarity dependent on complete ideological unity among the various contingents of the revolutionary movement.

Like everything else in the world, internationalism is not something immutable. As the world revolutionary movement forges ahead, the forms and methods of international cooperation and mutual support of the Communist parties, revolutionary movements and progressive forces constantly develop, and the content of internationalism is increasingly enriched.

Marxists have never narrowed down the meaning of proletarian internationalism, nor have they made it a means with which to disunite the various detachments of the revolutionary movement and impose on them an ideological line. On the contrary, it was the majority of the leaders of the Second International who betrayed Marxism and who, during the First World War, placed the interests of their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie above all, saying that there was no room for international proletarian solidarity since, they claimed, the Russian workers and, vice versa, the German workers were now enemies. Inasmuch as these leaders passed over to a jingo position, it was the struggle against the latter and against imperialist war which became the main manifestation of genuine internationalism.

After the October Revolution the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and all working people in the capitalist countries acquired a still greater scale. And the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies, awakened by the salvoes of the *Aurora*, gained momentum. Unity in action and cooperation of all the revolutionary sections of the working-class and national liberation movements broadened and gained in strength. In view of this, Lenin gave a new formulation of the classical slogan of proletarian internationalism: "Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples, unite!" It was, of course, not a question of demanding in advance obligatory ideological unity of the various revolutionary movements. At that time one of the typical features of proletarian internationalism of Communists in all countries was defense of the Soviet Union—the first worker-peasant state in history—against the aggressive activity and hostile propaganda of world reaction.

In the new historical situation which has

taken shape after the Second World War the content of internationalism and the forms in which it is manifested have been further enriched.

A basic internationalist task of the Communist parties of the socialist countries and of the entire world Communist movement is to secure the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp—the bulwark of the forces working for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. This corresponds to the interests of genuinely progressive people in the national liberation movement since the socialist commonwealth is their best ally in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism.

The imperialists, in their striving to split the world liberation movement, are stepping up the struggle against the USSR, making ample use of the poisoned weapon of anti-Sovietism. Hence, along with defense of the entire socialist world system and of each socialist country against enemy attacks, a particularly important task of proletarian internationalism is defense of the Soviet Union which today, too, constitutes the most advanced and powerful detachment of the progressive forces.

Cooperation and united action of the three main revolutionary trends of our time—the socialist world system, the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries—are vital aims of present-day internationalism. To the degree that this unity is realized depends, as stated above, the solution of the main tasks of our time—curbing the aggression of U.S. imperialism, securing peace and creating better conditions for the further advance of human society.

The great variety of political and social conditions pre-determines the multiplicity of the ways and means in which international solidarity of all the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces in their joint struggle to support the people of Vietnam and cut short the U.S. aggression, is manifested.

The people of Vietnam receive steadily increasing aid from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. At meetings, rallies and in the press the people of the socialist countries denounce the Washington aggressors and express their readiness to do everything necessary in order to crown with victory the just struggle of the valiant people of Vietnam. The latter also are aided by some countries and public opinion of the "third world." The Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference held early this year in Havana demonstrated the solidarity of the people of the three continents with Vietnam and resolutely demanded that the U.S. aggression should stop immediately.

The international significance of the Havana conference transcends the bounds of support by the people of these continents for the struggle of the Vietnamese people. The fact that widely representative delegation of 82

countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America came to Havana and unanimously decided to set up a solidarity organization for the three continents is a big success for the unity of the national liberation movement. At the same time the Havana conference signified another step towards the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces, as evidenced by the fact that representatives of the European socialist countries and international democratic organizations were present at the conference as observers and expressed their solidarity with its work.

The working people, democrats and peace fighters in the capitalist countries, aware of their special responsibility, display solidarity with the people of Vietnam and are stepping up their efforts to end the Vietnam war and other imperialist aggressions.

In practically all capitalist countries big rallies, meetings, demonstrations and other actions against the U.S. aggression have been organized and money is being collected to help the Vietnamese people. This struggle is joined by growing numbers of people in all walks of life. The people are exerting growing pressure on their governments to compel them to abandon their support for the U.S. aggression. For the sake of these tasks the Communists are strengthening the unity of the Left and all democratic forces.

Particularly important is the fact that progressives in the United States are in growing measure taking part in the fight against the aggression of their rulers. Washington is trying might and main to prevent the formation in the United States of a broad organized movement against its aggressive foreign policy, primarily against the aggression in Vietnam. Johnson launched a peace propaganda crusade designed to deceive the American public. But the mass protest movement against the dirty war is mounting in the United States, assuming diverse forms: peace vigils and demonstrations outside the White House, peace marches all over the country, declarations of protest by prominent scientists, writers and artists, student action on the campuses, etc.

Progressive forces everywhere display a profound sense of international solidarity, fighting against repressions, terror and the curtailing of rights and freedoms in any corner of the world. This finds expression in the movement against such crimes as the annihilation of tens of thousands of Communists and democrats in Indonesia, the persecution of democrats in Iraq, the ban on the Communist Party in the Sudan, legal arbitrariness in Spain and the USA, police terror in a number of Latin American and other countries.

A conclusion prompted by the entire course of objective development is this: the more persistently and effectively the progressive forces and above all the socialist countries, the working class in the capitalist countries, the developing countries and other peace-loving states

fight for ending the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and all other actions by world reaction, and the greater the number of progressives and countries rendering effective material and especially military aid to the people of Vietnam, the sooner will the war end and conditions be created for a peaceful solution in keeping with the Geneva agreements, the danger of a third world war will be removed and conditions created for the advance of all revolutionary and progressive movements.

* * *

Unbreakable unity exists between the national tasks of the Marxist parties and their internationalist duty. A party that does not march in the van of the working class and the people generally in the fight for realization of the national tasks will not be able to discharge its internationalist duty, cannot render effective aid to the revolutionary movements in other countries, and conversely, a party that shuns its internationalist duty, and displays chauvinism or nationalistic tendencies, ultimately injures the basic interests of the working class and the people of its country.

Building the new society is not only the national task of the Communist parties in the socialist countries but also their main internationalist duty. Social development, as the 1960 Statement points out, confirms Lenin's prediction that the countries of socialism will exert their main impact on the development of the world revolution by their economic upbuilding. The Program of the CPSU stresses that the Party regards communist construction in the USSR as the grand internationalist task of the Soviet people, as corresponding to the interests of mankind as a whole, and all other Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist commonwealth assess in the same spirit the international significance of building socialism in their countries.

In the socialist countries the Communist parties see their tasks in the sphere of home policy in securing the most rapid advance of industry, agriculture, science and technology, in perfecting socialist democracy, raising the standard of living, and strengthening the country's defenses. In foreign policy their tasks are to promote close cooperation with other socialist countries on the basis of full equality, aid for the movements for national and social liberation, resistance to any manifestation of imperialist aggression, and to uphold peace and peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. Successful solution of these basic tasks enables the Communist party in each socialist country to be the vanguard of the people and at the same time to fulfil its internationalist duty.

Unity of national aims and internationalist duty is typical also of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, in the newly independent countries and in the countries which have not yet freed themselves from imperialist

dependence in one form or another. Generally speaking every Communist party, regardless of whether it is in power or not, sees one of its principal aims in skilfully combining the fight for realization of its national tasks and fulfilment of its internationalist duty. In this respect complete equality of all the parties is the basic prerequisite of proletarian internationalism.

On the international arena the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties uphold the slogan of friendship among the peoples. The following example is indicative. The dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, which erupted last year into a military clash, is one of the time-bombs left by the imperialists in countries whose peoples have shaken off their rule. Clearly, any worsening of relations between India and Pakistan, to say nothing about war between them, harms primarily the peoples of the two countries and all the peace-loving forces, and is advantageous only to the aggressors and war-mongers.

The meeting between the delegations of Pakistan and India held in Tashkent last January through the mediation of the USSR government, and the outcome of this meeting—the Tashkent Declaration which became the basis for improving relations between the two countries—was a matter of great political significance. For the first time in history two big non-socialist states accepted the mediation of a socialist power, thanks to which positive results were achieved in settling the issues left from the time of colonialism. As a result the international prestige of the Soviet Union and of the socialist foreign policy advocating peace and friendship among peoples has reached a higher level.

* * *

The facts show that U.S. imperialism and its allies, engaged in the adventure in Vietnam and waging an offensive against the revolutionary forces in other parts of the globe, largely bank on the assumption that the differences in the world Communist movement will hinder any broad manifestation of international solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces, and especially unity of action among the socialist countries.

This makes it even more incumbent on the Communists to channel all their energies towards intensifying, despite the differences, joint struggle to give a collective rebuff to the imperialists. And on its part, the joint, concerted struggle against the common enemy will help to overcome the differences themselves.

All that stands in the way of united action by the socialist countries, the world Communist movement and all revolutionary and peace-loving forces, all that injures the common struggle against imperialism and reaction, must be cast aside. In our day maximum international solidarity is increasingly imperative for curbing the aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialists and for success in the fight for peace and progress.

The Tri-continental Conference

J. M. FORTUNY, A. DELGADO, M. SALIBI

DURING THE FIRST WEEKS of the year worldwide attention was again focussed on Havana, hospitable, bustling Havana, where the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America was in session from January 3 to 15.

This gathering of representatives of the revolutionary movements of three continents was attended by over 500 delegates from 82 countries, and by 100 observers from the socialist countries, international democratic organizations, national organizations in Asia, Africa and Latin America and guests—in all, by over 800 people.

A bare enumeration of the delegations and the numerous conference resolutions would fill many pages, and the full texts of the resolutions a thick volume. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a brief description of the conference and touch on only some of the points discussed.

Many participants stressed that the efficient *organization* of the conference greatly contributed to its success. Considering the complex political situation and the large number of delegates it could easily have become a kind of Tower of Babel (which was what the professional soothsayers of U.S. imperialism and world reaction had counted on). The good organization and the success of the conference attested to the perspicacity and tact displayed by the leaders of socialist Cuba, especially at crucial moments in the deliberations.

Needless to say, the choice of Cuba as the venue for the conference was a happy one, especially considering that just a few weeks before its opening the Cuban people had celebrated the seventh anniversary of their revolution.

In his speech at a public meeting on January 2, Fidel Castro said: "This conference can be a most fruitful one. Irrespective of its

results it will give something which in itself will be highly useful. This something is the establishment of contacts between the many representatives, both men and women, who have come from different parts of the world, contacts between revolutionary leaders between leaders of revolutionary movements all over the world. This in itself will yield abundant fruit, strengthen solidarity, make for broader general or bilateral assistance and, in a word, will be something very positive."

Castro went on to say: "Our conference will be all the more useful and all the more fruitful if everyone of us will display his individuality and act in accordance with his own independent criteria, for only in this way can the right solutions be found."

How to merge these individual, independent criteria into a single united will, how to transform them into unanimously adopted decisions? The conference whose significance extends far beyond the "establishment of contacts" mentioned by Fidel Castro, supplied the answer to these questions. In our view the most important result of the tri-continental forum was that it helped to further the cause of unity between the revolutionary forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America, a unity based on active solidarity and which will make for a still more effective struggle against imperialism (especially U.S. imperialism), colonialism and neo-colonialism. This unity was achieved thanks to the *comradely confrontation of independent views*. In Havana real "unity in diversity," unity of impulse and action were achieved.

The U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam forcefully shows the need for this unity.

The national liberation war of the people of South Vietnam, their heroism in action against the barbarous crimes of U.S. imperialism, and the indomitable resistance of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the armed

aggression of the United States were in the center of attention at the conference. The discussion on solidarity with Vietnam was a kind of catalyst of unity. The liberation war of the people of Vietnam, which symbolizes the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism, the unflinching resolve of the oppressed peoples to win their liberation, helped to unite in one the different criteria and standpoints. The conference's full support for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and its denunciation of Johnson's sham peace offensive showed that conditions exist for organizing joint actions by all revolutionary forces, by all forces fighting against the violence and aggression of U.S. imperialism. The war unleashed by Washington in Vietnam is a challenge to the ideals of mankind. And the movement against this war unites into one powerful stream the proletarian internationalism of the socialist countries and the revolutionary internationalism of the peoples of the "third World," the class interests of the international working-class movement and the common interest of all peoples, including the people of the United States, in preserving peace.

It would be wrong to say that the differences in the international Communist movement did not affect the work of the conference. But the conference resolutions, and especially the resolution on Vietnam, underscore the "points of contact," the issues on which it is objectively possible to achieve unity of action in the anti-imperialist movement. Thanks to the constructive spirit that prevailed at the conference the splitting tendencies were neutralized and the differences were relegated to the background. Here a decisive role was played by the efforts of the Cuban delegation, and the unitary stand of the Soviet and other delegations.

If unity was the main concern of the overwhelming majority of the delegates, the question of armed struggle as a means of liberating the peoples from imperialism in the countries where the objective conditions for such a struggle exist, may be said to have been the leitmotif of the conference. Applause greeted the words of President Dorticos of Cuba when he said, opening the conference: "I think I shall be expressing the general sentiment of all the delegates if I put forward at the inaugural meeting a principle that is valid for the liberation movement of the three continents, namely, when imperialism and reaction make impossible the use of legal forms of struggle it is the right and duty of the peoples to reply to the armed violence of im-

perialism with armed revolutionary violence." President Dorticos stressed that the "choice of the ways of this struggle, of the ways to victory depends, of course, on the conditions in each country and on the world arena."

"Experience shows that when the imperialists and their allies try through repressions to prevent the changes demanded by the exploited peoples then these peoples must use the most effective forms of struggle, among which the armed struggle is one of the highest for winning victory," states the General Political Resolution adopted by the conference. "It is the historical responsibility of the vanguard of the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces to head the revolution where the people have risen in struggle. In this uncompromising struggle against forces trying to halt the advance of man, it is not only a matter of prestige but of the very meaning of the existence of these vanguard detachments."

Important in this context is the definition of peaceful coexistence given in a special conference resolution. This resolution confirms the thesis proclaimed by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, and tested in practice, that there is no incompatibility between peaceful coexistence as the underlying principle of the foreign policy of the peace-loving states and the national liberation struggle (in any form) of the peoples of the three continents against their exploiters and against imperialist oppression. The fact that the resolution was carried by an overwhelming vote demonstrated this. The resolution notes that peaceful coexistence cannot apply to the relations between the exploited classes and the exploiters in one country, or to the struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism. "Consequently," the resolution continues, "peaceful coexistence cannot be used as an argument to restrict the right of people to carry out a social revolution, as imperialism and its accomplices have tried to do. Peaceful coexistence presupposes absolute respect for the principles of the self-determination of nations and the sovereignty of states, big and small." This signifies the condemnation of imperialist aggression and the use of force against the oppressed peoples, condemnation of outside intervention in the internal affairs of states, for aggression and intervention violate the principle of peaceful coexistence. "When democratic and progressive states render every support to peoples subjected to attack," the resolution states, "they are acting in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence."

The conference was an important step toward coordinating the fight of the revolution-

ary and progressive forces, the aim of which is to gain complete national independence, to abolish backwardness, poverty and ignorance, and to solve the social problems of the three continents.

For the countries which have not yet liberated themselves from neo-colonialism and imperialism, the assembly in Havana signified a new stage not only because it gave new impetus to their fight, but also because it posed a number of new problems. We shall mention only what we believe to be the most important.

First, the problem of the practical coordination of the efforts of the socialist world and the national liberation movement. This in turn raises the question of how to overcome the centrifugal forces at work in a broad movement which in every continent and in every country has its own specific organizational, ideological and tactical features. It is essential to neutralize centrifugal tendencies by force of unity and solidarity and the coordination of the anti-imperialist fight on a world scale. This "must" of history becomes all the more imperative in view of the growing global aggressiveness of the main enemy, U.S. imperialism.

The question of the roots, forms and perspectives of the militant unity of the peoples of Asia and Africa, on the one hand, and Latin America, on the other, is part of the general problem of unity. The theoretical principles of this question are set forth in the document, "The Pre-Conditions and Objectives of the Solidarity Movement of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America," which was submitted to the conference. The document states: "The colonial powers that arose as a result of the great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries — the first international adventure of the rising capitalist system — and the subsequent advent of imperialism, have down the centuries pursued a policy of aggression, exploitation and plunder of the three continents . . . In Latin America the colonial exploitation evolved into the neo-colonial forms of dependence which appeared on the continent much earlier than in Asia and Africa where they began to take root only some years ago when many countries of these continents won political independence."

Another point was that of the ways and perspectives of achieving unity between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the non-Communist revolutionary forces.

This conference, we believe, has strengthened the positions of all the revolutionary forces, it has produced a better climate for mutual understanding and closer alliance, the

fruits of which will mature in time. We have in mind in particular the breadth of views regarding the revolutionary processes on the three continents, i.e., the realization that in the fight against imperialism and reaction the people must use *all forms* of revolutionary struggle.

A number of working commissions was set up to study some of the points on the agenda. They drafted a series of resolutions most of which were unanimously approved. The Political Commission, for example, prepared the General Political Resolution, 17 general statements and resolutions, 16 specific resolutions, 18 resolutions on urgent problems, 3 resolutions on aspects of the fight against colonialism and neocolonialism and 2 resolutions on Vietnam. The Organizational Commission submitted a report to the conference presidium; the Economic Commission drafted a general resolution and the Social and Cultural Commission a general resolution and 8 specific resolutions. The closing plenary meeting adopted the General Declaration.

The conference proclaimed the "need to promote close cooperation with the countries of the socialist system, the working class and other revolutionary and progressive forces in Europe and North America." This statement and the fact that the conference was attended by delegations from the socialist countries of Europe and international democratic organizations speak of the growing possibilities for joint actions by all the anti-imperialist forces. An attempt to counterpose the fight of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the two other powerful streams of the world revolutionary movement — the socialist world system and the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries — was defeated. Significantly, the resolution prepared by the Economic Commission urges support for the principles of "abolishing exploitation of man by men through non-capitalist development, and advancing towards socialism in keeping with the concrete conditions in each country."

A notable immediate result of the conference was the setting up of three bodies (with headquarters in Havana) with the function of ensuring implementation of the conference resolutions and recommendations. These bodies are: the Afro-Asian-Latin-American Solidarity Organization, the Committee to Aid the National Liberation Movements and the Struggle against Neo-colonialism, and the Tri-Continental Committee of Solidarity with the Vietnamese People. In addition, a Latin-American Solidarity Organization has been set up with specific and important functions.

The Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian-Latin-American Solidarity Organization, which will function until the next conference scheduled for Cairo in 1968, includes representatives of 12 countries (four from each continent) and a Cuban Secretary General. The countries represented are: from Africa — the United Arab Republic, the Portuguese colonies, the Congo (Leopoldville) and Guinea; from Latin America — the Dominican Republic, Chile, Venezuela and Puerto Rico; from Asia—South Vietnam, the Korean People's Republic, Syria and Pakistan.

The Committee to Aid the National Liberation Movements is also represented by 12 countries: from Africa — Algeria, Ghana, Tanzania and the Congo (Brazzaville); from Latin America — British Guiana, Guatemala, Brazil and Cuba; from Asia — Soviet Union, Chinese People's Republic, Cambodia and Japan. The Tri-Continental Committee of Solidarity with the Vietnam People is headed by a representative of the National Liberation Front of Venezuela and includes two Vietnam representatives (one from North Vietnam and one from South Vietnam), and representatives of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Congo (Leopoldville) and Cuba.

As regards the Latin-American Solidarity Organization it was decided to set up an organizing committee representing Brazil, Cuba, Colombia, British Guiana, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. This committee will prepare for the first solidarity conference of the peoples of Latin America to be held in 1967.

Warm sympathy was shown for the representatives of the armed liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, "Portuguese" Guinea, Aden, the Congo, Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, Colombia and other countries; solidarity was

expressed with the people of Zimbabwe, South Africa, Palestine Arabs and the Negro population of the United States; racial discrimination and brutal repressions by reactionary forces in many countries of the three continents were strongly protested; Bonn's revenge-seeking policy was denounced; there was a declaration of solidarity with Cuba; the aggression against the Dominican people was condemned and active worldwide support for the people of Vietnam was declared — these are all links in the united front of struggle against imperialism and especially against predatory U.S. imperialism.

We are confident that these manifestations of solidarity will be embodied in effective aid to all the oppressed peoples fighting for national and social liberation. Promising in this respect are the first steps taken by the Tri-Continental Committee of Solidarity with the people of Vietnam, the Committee's call to reply to the renewed bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with concrete actions against U.S. imperialism.

In a speech at the closing session, Prime Minister Fidel Castro said that it had not been easy to ensure the success of the conference, that it had entailed hard work and the elaboration of criteria and decisions acceptable to all. "We are sure," said the leader of the Cuban revolution, "that the contacts established between the different organizations that have been set up by the conference will play an important part in lending support to the revolutionary struggle, that they will help to increase this support and also the solidarity of the participants in this struggle." We are confident that this will be so. We unreservedly believe in the bright future of the new Asia, the new Africa, the new Latin America, and of that new world which has become a reality over a great part of the globe.

The anti-imperialist forces stand solid with the people of Vietnam

THE EYES OF THE WORLD are focused on the fight waged by the people of Vietnam against U.S. aggression. The blows inflicted on the invaders and their Saigon puppets are becoming more and more telling. And in North Vietnam the anti-aircraft defense is taking a toll of the American bombers.

Vietnam has become the symbol of heroism in the fight for freedom and independence.

The democratic forces of the world are joining in active struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression. This struggle is acting as a catalyst which brings to the fore the forces of progress, drawing an increasingly clearly defined demarcation line between the champions of peace and the right of the people to order their own destiny, on the one hand, and the supporters of aggression and reaction who are seeking to strangle the nations launching out on independent statehood, on the other.

The solidarity movement in support of the people of Vietnam is growing in the *capitalist countries*. Although a comparatively short time has passed since the U.S. monopolies' Korean adventure, the difference between then and now is vast indeed. For one thing, the sense of international solidarity is asserting itself among the working people, overcoming the prejudices and misconceptions implanted by the imperialists. And it is the working class and the Communist and Workers' parties which are the initiators and organizers of the solidarity movement.

In those countries where the governments support the U.S. aggression, the Communist parties are working to mobilize the masses to compel the ruling circles to dissociate themselves from Washington's aggressive policy. It has been a long time since the public has been so critical of the foreign policy of the governments. People are urging their governments to stop supporting the aggression in Vietnam, to condemn it and to pursue an independent democratic foreign policy and actively support all genuine peace initiatives. In Britain, for example, large numbers of people have signed resolutions protesting against Mr. Wilson's support of the Johnson war policy. The *Daily Mirror* noted in connection with Wilson's recent visit to the USA that

President Johnson should sense that even if the British Government officially supports U.S. policy very few people in Britain are prepared to go all the way with the USA in its repulsive undertaking. One-third of the Labor MP's have protested against the resumption of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In his report to the recent Congress of the Italian Communist Party, General Secretary Luigi Longo declared that "any attempt to involve Italy in the U.S. adventure would intensify the popular struggle." The Italian Communists and their supporters consider it their duty to ensure the repudiation of U.S. aggressive policy by Italy.

In Australia workers are demanding that the Australian troops be returned home from Vietnam.

In France a movement initiated by the Communist Party for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and recognition of the National Liberation in South Vietnam is gaining ground. The French Peace Movement is continuing to collect signatures to a message to President Johnson demanding an end to the aggression against North Vietnam and for negotiations with the National Liberation Front.

In Japan the solidarity movement in support of the people of Vietnam is spearheaded against the Japanese-South Korean agreements which involve Japan in the aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism in the Far East, and against the projected aggressive Northeast Asia Treaty Organization which would include, besides Japan and South Korea, also Taiwan, South Vietnam and the Philippines.

The people of Japan also demand the liberation of U.S.-occupied Okinawa where the bombers used against Vietnam are based, the dismantling of the many other U.S. military bases in Japan, and the closing of Japanese ports to American nuclear submarines and ships of the Seventh Fleet engaged in the Vietnam war.

The U.S. imperialists are awakening to the fact that the pressure on the governments of other capitalist countries may isolate them in the world arena. A report submitted by a group of U.S. senators to the President on the situa-

tion in South Vietnam contained a warning to the Pentagon not to count on any serious support from any country except Korea.

A feature of the movement in support of the people of Vietnam in the capitalist countries is that it is no longer a transient campaign but is becoming part of day-to-day struggle. The question of Vietnam, the search of new ways and means of strengthening working-class solidarity with its people, stands on the agenda of many national trade union conferences, every Central Committee meeting or congress of the Communist and Workers' parties, every international meeting of Communists or trade unionists. The call for struggle against the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia, Latin America and in other parts of the world was heard at such international meetings of Communists as the Fourth Conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama, the Brussels Conference of West European Communist parties and the international gathering held in Prague on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. "We shall do all in our power to help the people of Vietnam in their struggle," declared the 37 delegations of Communist and Workers' parties and the six delegations of national liberation and other progressive movements which attended the Eleventh Congress of the Italian Communist Party. "We are confident of the outcome of the struggle over Vietnamese brothers are waging with an effectiveness which is growing in step with the help extended to them by the socialist countries, primarily by the Soviet Union, and we shall do all in our power to rally the peoples to combat the U.S. aggressors who are threatening to plunge the whole world into war."

The struggle against U.S. aggression and international brigandry held the center of attention at the recent Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference in Havana. The declaration adopted by the conference condemned the U.S. aggressive war in South Vietnam and the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, branding them as war criminals guilty of outrageous crimes against the Vietnamese people. The conference denounced the Johnson Administration's fake peace moves and expressed wholehearted support of the proposals advanced by the government of the DRV and the South Vietnam Liberation Front with a view to ensuring a settlement of the Vietnam problem.

In a special resolution the conference called for active support of the Vietnamese people, and a tri-continental committee was set up to carry out measures in this direction. The committee has issued an appeal to extend the solidarity campaign through actions such as refusal to load and transport supplies, armaments and other war materials for the U.S. troops, and by sending arms, funds, and medical supplies to Vietnam as well as providing facilities for training volunteers who could, in case of need, take their place side by side

with the Vietnamese in the fight against the aggressor.

The workers' movement in the capitalist countries against the dirty war intertwines with the general democratic movement, primarily the peace movement and the democratic women's, youth and student movements. At the same time it is being joined by other sections of society, men and women of diverse political views and religious beliefs, all supporters of peace and progress.

All this finds expression in the broad worldwide campaign to collect funds in aid of the Vietnamese people. Working people in Austria presented the South Vietnamese Liberation Front with medical supplies and equipment worth nearly half a million schillings. People in West Germany have collected tens of thousands of marks. In Norway all political parties from Communists to Conservatives have supported the Vietnam Aid Fund; more than two tons of medical supplies worth some 446,000 kroner have already been sent. An Italian delegation of peace supporters which visited Hanoi presented 100 million lire worth of equipment for a field hospital purchased with public donations. Money is being collected in Britain, France, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Canada, Japan and Australia.

In the United States, too, the solidarity movement is growing: a March on Washington mustered 50,000 people; a national conference of representatives of nearly 140 organizations worked out a program of action for peace in Vietnam; public meetings protesting against White House policy have been held on university campuses; an open letter to the President, signed by 1,500 prominent Americans urged an end to the bloodshed and negotiations with the National Liberation Front; a letter to the President signed by 76 Democratic Congressmen urged no escalation of the war.

Public sentiment in the USA is reflected also in the capitalist press. Walter Lippmann in his column in the *New York Herald Tribune*, January 26, urged the government to "put aside the hopeless task of searching out and destroying the Viet Cong." The basic formula of U.S. foreign policy, in Lippmann's view, should provide "for liquidating a mistake, for ending a war that cannot be won at any tolerable price, for cutting our losses before they escalate into bankruptcy, and for listening to common sense . . ."

The recent Washington "peace offensive" should also be seen as a kind of response to the growing opposition in the USA and elsewhere to the aggression. Basically, the official "peace initiative" was a diplomatic maneuver designed to mislead world public opinion and to pave the way for further escalation. The true nature of the "peace proposals" was revealed by Vice-President Humphrey when he told the press that Washington was prepared to "put everything into the basket of peace except the surrender of South Vietnam." Even the Western capitalist press commented that

the object of the "peace offensive" was to release the U.S. government of responsibility for the war and to prepare the ground for further escalation. *Le Monde*, for instance, said that Johnson's "peace offensive" was designed to "prove to U.S. and world public opinion in the event of the war continuing to escalate that everything possible had been done to end it."

The U.S. move to have the Security Council discuss the Vietnam situation—a move unequalled for hypocrisy—pursued the same ends. This maneuver was fully exposed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the DRV and the delegates of the Soviet Union and other countries in the Security Council.

An important role in combating the U.S. aggression has devolved upon the *socialist countries*. These countries, firstly have tied up the main forces of imperialism. Secondly, they are not only rendering Vietnam invaluable economic, political and moral support, but are also supplying it with modern weapons enabling it to strike back at the invader and to hurt him.

"The Soviet Union, carrying out its internationalist duty, has rendered and will continue to render the Vietnamese people every assistance and support in the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression," the Supreme Soviet of the USSR declared in December.

In 1965 the Soviet Union, responding to requests from the DRV government, concluded with the latter a number of agreements which have helped to strengthen that country's defense capability. And during the visit of a Soviet delegation to Hanoi in January a new agreement providing for additional aid was concluded.

True to their internationalist duty, the Soviet workers are fulfilling military orders for the DRV ahead of schedule. Millions of rubles have been collected in the USSR for medical supplies, hospital equipment and other essentials for Vietnam.

Speaking of the aid rendered by the USSR to Vietnam, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong stated in his February 10 telegram to the Soviet government: "The conclusion of the agreements between our two countries represents valuable assistance on the part of the Soviet Union towards strengthening the defense capa-

bility and economic power of our country with a view to repelling the U.S. aggressors. It is a contribution to cementing and promoting the militant friendship of the peoples of our countries in the name of our common revolutionary cause." In the name of the entire Vietnamese people, Pham Van Dong voiced "sincere gratitude for the support and aid given in the spirit of proletarian internationalism by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people to the just and victorious struggle waged by the people of Vietnam against the U.S. imperialists and to save their homeland."

The peoples and governments of all the other socialist countries are resolutely backing Vietnam's just struggle. They too have concluded new trade and economic agreements with the DRV. Bulgaria and Hungary, for instance, have extended interest-free credits for financing its economic development. The GDR and the Korean People's Democratic Republic are providing economic aid. Rumania has deferred payments on credits it had extended earlier. Substantial economic assistance is given by Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Mongolian People's Republic. From Berlin and Sofia, Budapest and Prague, Havana and Warsaw, Bucharest and Ulan Bator consignments of blood for transfusion, medical supplies and equipment as well as other essentials paid for by public subscription are being sent to Vietnam. The people of China are likewise rendering substantial aid.

Clearly, the dedication of any contingent of the working class or any democratic movement to the cause of progress, peace and democracy is measured above all by the extent to which it renders effective aid to the Vietnamese people. The statement made by the Soviet Government on February 1 rightly declares: "The struggle of the Vietnamese people for their national freedom is the vital cause of progressives everywhere. United effort on the part of all socialist countries and all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces of the world to help fighting Vietnam acquires enormous importance." This unity is being steadily cemented. It promises to create an insuperable barrier to the U.S. imperialists who are out to plunge the world in disaster.

I. SUMAR

FRG: the fight for a democratic alternative and its new features

OTTO REINHOLD

THE BIG CHANGES in the correlation of forces on the international arena and in the imperialist countries have produced new conditions and new problems which must be tackled if all anti-imperialist forces are to be rallied successfully. These problems also have to be taken into account in the fight against West German imperialism. Thanks to the Warsaw Treaty and, particularly, to the close alliance between the GDR and the Soviet Union, the necessary prerequisites have been created to foil any aggressive action by the West German imperialists against the Socialist camp. But, for the peaceful development of West Germany the decisive task is to rally and unite its democratic forces.

To ensure a correct policy in this direction it is essential to make a critical examination of West German imperialism and the international situation in which it exists. Our Party has, accordingly, analyzed recent developments and has drawn conclusions which it has embodied in a number of decisions on national policy and in a number of theoretical works.

THE MONOPOLIES AND THE STATE

West Germany's development shows that monopoly rule has been restored with the powerful support of U.S. imperialism. As a result, concentration of industry and capital has never been as great as it is today. It shows also that West Germany has again become a seedbed of danger to peace in Europe.

On the other hand, it would be incorrect to see only the restoration of the old balance of

forces and the old property relations. West German imperialism too finds itself in new conditions which profoundly affect its development. It has to reckon with such decisive factors as the existence of the two world systems, the existence of the German Democratic Republic and the growing influence which it exerts on the development of all Germany, and with the technological revolution. These factors have greatly accelerated the transition to state-monopoly capital. Clearly a new stage has begun in the development of state-monopoly capital. The internal dialectics of this development are compelling the ruling circles to pursue a dual policy. On the one hand, they are using state-monopoly rule to intensify economic, political and ideological pressure on the progressive forces and to bolster their aggressive foreign policy. On the other, they are endeavoring to adapt themselves to the new conditions and to alter the forms of their domination accordingly.

The struggle of the two world systems and the growing influence exerted by the socialist world system have engendered many state measures aimed primarily at accelerating economic development and scientific-technological progress. Closely connected with this are the efforts more effectively to control the social consequences of capitalist contradictions and in this way prevent or at least take the edge off big social conflicts. The West German monopolies realize that, considering the proximity of the frontiers with the socialist world, such conflicts can be dangerous for them. They also realize that they cannot afford to be pinned down in a struggle on two

fronts: with the socialist world system, and particularly with the German Democratic Republic, on the one hand, and with the West German working class and other democratic forces, on the other. Anxious to avoid this they are doing everything to paralyze at least one front, that of the democratic forces in West Germany.

Of great importance for state-monopoly development are the motive forces released by the technological revolution. The organization of the economy, financing research, capital construction and market regulation—all this objectively necessitates extensive state activity. However, as distinct from the past, the purpose of this activity is not solely to counteract, even if belatedly, certain contradictions and particularly their after-effects, or to aid particular monopolies in economic straits. Today the technological revolution in the capitalist countries is no longer possible unless the monopolies from the very start enlist the aid of the state in organizing the main processes of social reproduction. *State participation in controlling the country's economic development is vital to monopoly profits.*

The technological revolution is also having a profound effect on militarization, although it is largely determined by the latter. Here, too, state participation is essential, but in a different way, to organize military production in preparation for a new war.

The new types of weapons and, consequently, the different nature of a possible war, produced by the technological revolution, have spurred on the ruling imperialist circles to try already in peacetime to approximate as closely as possible military, political and economic life to wartime conditions. Never has the volume of peacetime military production in the leading imperialist countries and its effect on economic development been so great as it is today.

In his *Automation (A Study of its Economic and Social Effects)*, the West German sociologist Friedrich Pollock describes this militarization of the economy in the United States and other imperialist countries as a "war economy." He notes, among other things, that according to official figures the share of production for military purposes in such basic industries as electronics was still under 20 per cent in 1950, rising to slightly over 50 per cent in 1960 and to about 54 per cent in 1965.

In West Germany the militarization has brought many economic difficulties in its wake. Last November Erhard called for a longer working day and other socio-economic

sacrifices on the part of the working class. Internal contradictions have been aggravated by the continued attempts of the monopolies to curtail democratic rights.

Besides stepping up military production in West Germany, the prerequisites have been created—through the so-called "state of emergency" laws—for unrestricted dictatorship of the most aggressive forces of monopoly capital in all the key spheres of public life.

State-monopoly regulation of the West German economy has greatly accelerated its development and has added to the economic power of the monopolies. As a result, German imperialism is again confronted with the contradiction between its economic power and its inconsiderable political influence on the world arena. "Economically, we are a colossus," remarked Franz Joseph Strauss, President of the Christian Socialist Union, "politically, a dwarf." This contradiction is one of the sources of Bonn's aggressiveness. Hence the demand to change the status quo in Europe, to revise existing frontiers, to be given nuclear weapons, etc. The extreme aggressiveness affects, in turn, the rate of state-monopoly development in West Germany and its forms. The new stage in its development is characterized by the following features:

- monopoly power has merged with state power into a single mechanism of domination;

- state-monopoly regulation of the economy is being carried out on an increasingly bigger scale; the state has become a relatively independent economic force;

- despite contradictions the international state-monopoly organizations are beginning to play an ever more important role in the individual monopolies;

- militarization of the economy and of public life is interwoven with state monopoly development.

The monopolies now hold sway in all spheres of public life: economic, political, ideological and cultural. State-monopoly regulation is making itself felt particularly in the sphere of class relations.

State-monopoly in West Germany and in other imperialist countries poses problems for the class struggle. And one of these is the relations between the *monopoly state and democracy*.

The participation of the state in the process of capitalist reproduction and the wider application of planning and regulation methods are prompted by the objective requirements stemming from the technological revolution. The latter aggravates the contradictions between the productive forces and capitalist production relations, thus confirming

the thesis that the transition from capitalism to socialism is a general law of development and an inevitable process. The state-monopoly regulation is an attempt to find the forms of domination within the capitalist framework that will make it possible to control these processes.

The state-monopoly regulation and state participation in the process of reproduction necessitate measures that meet the vital interests of the monopolies. But their implementation is connected with steps which are directed, temporarily, against the specific interests of individual groups of monopoly capital. Thus, through taxation and deductions the bulk of the national income is concentrated in the hands of the state. This is done mainly at the expense of the working class, although profits are, of course, taxed. The interests of monopoly groups are also sometimes sacrificed in the investment and credit spheres and in foreign economic policy. All this is indicative of the contradictions between monopoly capital and the objective demands of the developing economy, science and technology, and between the monopoly groups themselves.

Many West German ideologists have advanced the thesis that the state now stands above classes and social strata, and that its main objective is social compromise, social justice. Last year Chancellor Erhard advanced the theory of the "established (*Formierten*) society" in which all social groups subordinate their interests, through the state, to a single objective—the "common weal."

The correlation between the monopolies and the state has also been widely discussed by Marxists. They rightly reject the thesis about outright subordination in conditions of state-monopoly capital and underscore the characteristic merging of monopoly power with state power. This means, first of all, that notwithstanding monopoly domination the state enjoys a relative independence which enables it to carry out certain economic processes regardless of individual monopoly interests.

Hence the state's role in the process of capitalist reproduction is sometimes presented as being an independent one. Hence also the conclusion that as state activity expands it will turn against monopoly domination. Even though it is indeed a question of a contradictory process, this point of view can hardly be accepted for it does not take into account actual development and, in particular, its basic contradiction. This contradiction is that capitalism is anxious to preserve the profit system and private ownership of the means

of production, uses ways and means which restrict private ownership and correspond to a higher social order—socialism. It is this that Marx had in view when he said that as soon as capitalism begins to realize that it is an obstacle to its own development it finds itself compelled to resort to means which outwardly appear to strengthen its domination but which actually undermine it and spell its doom.

But the important thing is not the forms but the substance of the processes. *Despite the contradictions these processes are connected in many respects with the growing economic and political domination of the most powerful monopoly groups.*

State-monopoly regulation is aimed, essentially, at preserving the profit system and multiplying monopoly profits, and is least concerned with bringing things into harmony with the general laws of development. Profit is the motive power of this regulation. And through state measures the technological revolution has been turned into a source of superprofits. Thus in West Germany the labor productivity per working hour increased by 121 per cent between 1950 and 1965, while prices rose approximately by 30 per cent. The national income for the same period increased 2.5-fold, whereas the taxed wealth alone of millionaires increased eightfold; the share of the working class in the national income, however, remained unchanged.

A powerful mechanism has been set up through which the top monopolies decide the government's economic policy. In West Germany this is done through the various manufacturers' associations which dominate all important government committees and councils. In Erhard's new government, for example, Stoltenberg, one-time Krupp director, has charge of the ministry concerned with science and research.

The power of any monopoly group is determined today not only by its own capital but also by the influence it exerts on the state and its agencies. In West Germany almost half the national income is concentrated in the hands of the state. In 1965 state expenditure totalled M165,000 million. Full control of the state and of these vast funds at its disposal enables the top monopoly groups to wield far greater power than they could if they had only their own capital with which to manipulate. This, in turn, enables them substantially to extend the material base for maneuvering and, if need be, for making economic and social concessions to the working class. In the light of this the struggle between the various monopoly groups for complete

domination of the state and its agencies is an important aspect of the present-day competitive struggle. In the case of West Germany this domination is exercised by the most aggressive and revenge-seeking part of monopoly capital. And its influence, far from diminishing, is increasing thanks to the tie-up of monopoly and state power. This enables it to subordinate to its interests the economy and all other spheres of social development. It rests with the democratic forces to restrict this domination.

THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT

On the other hand, this system of imperialist rule is insecure, for any democratic influence exerted on the state affects, in turn, policy, economics and also the process of social reproduction. But this influence can be brought to bear only by resolute and consistent struggle against the monopolies and not just through some objective process. Any illusions regarding the complex struggle to restrict the economic and political power of the monopolies can but injure the working class.

As a result of state-monopoly development the fight for democracy and workers' participation in management is becoming a central issue in the conflict with the monopolies. The dominant monopoly groups would like to do away with democracy and thus eliminate any weak places in their system. They realize that in conditions of the state-monopoly regulation of the economy and of social life any truly democratic stand taken by the working class is a threat to their system of domination. In this respect the monopoly bourgeoisie is following two courses: on the one hand it is emasculating parliamentary democracy and giving the executive bodies, government committees and councils where the monopolies are firmly entrenched the right to make decisions. On the other hand, it is stepping up its attacks on democratic rights, particularly by means of "emergency legislation," which allows it to annul any democratic right it chooses.

In these conditions the fight of the working class and its allies for their basic democratic rights and the right to participate in management acquires particular importance. This demand is being upheld by the trade unions. Never have class contradictions been so sharply evident as on this issue. The monopolies display a greater readiness to make economic and social concessions rather than yield on the issue of participation in management. Haunted by this prospect they declare

that all that has taken place before has been simply a skirmish. *Industriekurier*, organ of the monopolies, is flatly opposed to democratic rights in the economy. "Democracy," it says, "is not an economic issue. Those who, like Rosenberg (President of the Federation of Trade Unions—Ed.), want political democracy to be extended to the economy and who insist on managerial participation on the grounds that democracy should not end at the factory gate, have no idea either of democracy or of economics . . . Some time ago we made the comment that 'democratization of the economy is as absurd as democratization of the schools, the barracks and convict prisons'. We still think so."

Clearly the technological revolution and contemporary state-monopoly capital confront the working-class movement with new problems. The question is sometimes asked whether the present emphasis on the fight for democracy and participation in management is due to the fact that since living standards have risen economic demands no longer evoke a response. I don't think so. With the merger of monopoly and state power the technological revolution has led to the interweaving of the economic struggle and the political struggle. Economic demands can be won only if the workers are in a position to exert a democratic influence on the state and win the right to participate in management. This is essential for a number of reasons.

Firstly, the technological revolution gives rise to new requirements which can only be met within the social framework. Automation increases job insecurity and the hazards of work. Better social security has therefore become one of the major demands of the working class, including the demand for training facilities which would enable the worker to switch over to new jobs without difficulty. The nervous strain caused by the new techniques calls for more recreation facilities, i.e., besides social measures the rational organization of leisure, holidays, etc. Consequently, welfare standards are determined not only by the number of TV sets and other durables. It is determined, and increasingly so, by educational opportunities, social security, working conditions, recreational facilities, leisure, in short, by the way in which these problems are tackled in the interests of the worker. For this reason, participation in the management of the economy and the state is essential.

Secondly, the technological revolution is the starting point of a fundamental change in the conditions of the workers. It creates the possibility for doing away with onerous

manual labor and monotonous work, and replacing it with truly creative activity, or with control functions. Man can become the real master of production. But this calls for comprehensive training facilities and high skills. This, however, is only a precondition. Decisive is the worker's position in the enterprise, the right and the opportunity to have a say in determining social development. But, as noted earlier, the West German monopolies are categorically opposed to worker participation in management.

Some time ago 30 Evangelists made a study, as part of their training, of working conditions in a number of big enterprises. They described their impressions in the book *Pilot Information From the Other World*. Professor Helmut Gollwitzer, editor of the book, summed up this information as follows: "The workers still live in the 'other world,' in the world where their rights are infringed, in the world of 'alienation'; they are deprived of the opportunities that others enjoy. The refrigerator, automobile and TV set have changed nothing; if anything they have but confused matters. The view that class antagonisms and the class struggle have been overcome, and that decisive steps have been taken towards a classless society, is simply a myth."

The downtrodden state of the worker in capitalist enterprises is nothing new. But in conditions of the technological revolution and state-monopoly capital it is becoming unbearable.

Never before has the contradiction between the wealth and power of the monopolies and the conditions of the working class been so glaring as it is today. The working class is therefore forced to demand more insistently than ever before in the history of capitalism that it be given the right to have a say in production in order to ensure a more just distribution, to the extent that this is possible under capitalism. The demand for a more just distribution is meeting with increasing support among the West German workers.

On the other hand, the technological revolution is changing the conditions of the workers at an unprecedented pace. The entire structure of the economy is changing, necessitating wholesale shifts from one job to another; former know-how and experience become valueless. Of course similar changes occurred in the rationalization period of the twenties. But the changes of those years cannot be compared with those of the present and the future. As a result, uncertainty is growing, the question arises again how are these problems being tackled, who is shouldering the burden of automation and who is reaping the fruits.

The answer to this question cannot be made solely the responsibility of the future socialist society. It is too important to brook delay. It must be answered now, under the capitalist system as well. But if the workers' interests are to be taken into account in the technological revolution they must be given the opportunity to change their conditions at the enterprises and the right to have a say in management and control.

Thirdly, state-monopoly regulation means that the conditions of the worker now largely depend on decisions made at government level. In other words, on government policy. In conditions of the arms race and war preparations it is impossible to satisfy both the economic and social demands of the technological revolution in the interests of the working class.

The state-monopoly regulation is conditioned, among other things, by the objective requirements of the technological revolution. The working class must, therefore, direct its struggle not against this regulation but, on the contrary, must seek to extend its influence and the influence of other democratic forces in the enterprises and outside, and to curb the economic and political power of the monopolies. Consequently, the fight against the "emergency" policy and for democracy and the basic democratic rights is becoming the central issue in the conflict with monopoly capital. West German trade union leaders rightly note in this connection that the demand to participate in management as well as the demand for a fundamental improvement in the economic and social conditions of the working class can be won only when the latter will be able to influence government policy, particularly economic policy. *The technological revolution and state-monopoly capital, combined with the aggressive policy of revenge, have given the working-class struggle a manifold character: the fight against the policy of nuclear war is closely linked with the fight for economic and social demands, for democracy and worker participation in management.* While the political fight, particularly for democracy, does not replace the economic and social fight, it is becoming a key factor in the effort to consolidate the positions gained in the socio-economic sphere and to win new demands.

Hence the conclusion that there will be a period of anti-imperialist democracy between the present system of state-monopoly domination and the socialist revolution. This democratic alternative to state-monopoly capital is essential not because of any socialist aims but in order to ensure normal conditions for the bulk of the population. Adherence to the prin-

ciples of this anti-imperialist struggle is extremely important if a broad alliance is to be established of the non-monopoly sections of the people and if they are to become an anti-imperialist force. Decisive in this respect is not their concept of the socialist revolution but their readiness to fight the omnipotence of the monopolies and for a genuinely democratic system. Every success, needless to say, alters the balance of forces and creates conditions more favorable for a socialist revolution.

FOR UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS, OF ALL ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

The issue of democracy and participation in management raises the question of our attitude to reforms and reformists.

The attitude of Communists to reforms under capitalism was clearly defined by Lenin. We uphold all reforms which serve the interests of the working class. We consider them as a component, a step forward, in the struggle for power by the working class and its allies, but never as a substitute for this struggle. This Leninist viewpoint holds true today as well. However, it is obvious that the fight for reforms is taking place in new conditions. On the one hand, the growing influence of the socialist world system and the contradictions engendered by the technological revolution are strengthening the working class and other democratic forces in the fight for economic, political and social reforms. On the other hand the monopolies, trying to adapt themselves to the new conditions, are prepared to revise the forms of their domination if necessary. The more these factors are exploited the greater the possibilities of securing reforms of more far-reaching significance than has been possible up to now. Thus, the demand that workers be given the right to participate in management in all spheres of economic life is of reformist origin. But in the light of the present balance of forces this demand is having a far-reaching effect—it is rallying the working class and thereby making it possible to curb the economic and political domination of the monopolies.

With the growth of state-monopoly capital the attitude of reformists, too, has changed. Since the slightest crack in this system, i.e., the slightest sign of democracy in the economic or political sphere, imperils the financial oligarchy it clearly can no longer rely on the advocates of reforms as its support in the working class. As a result there is taking place, parallel with state-monopoly development, a striking process of differentiation in the Social Democratic parties. Some reform-

ists have aligned themselves with state-monopoly capital. The Wehner and Erler groups, for example, are a case in point. As to the advocates of reforms they are more and more coming into conflict with monopoly capital. This opens new avenues for joint struggle by the Communist and Workers' parties, the Social Democrats and the trade unions. The Party has concentrated its fire on the CDU/CSU, the party of West German monopoly capital, and is working to reach an understanding with the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions.

The comrades sometimes ask whether it would not be better to unite with the Left Social Democrats and at the same time enter into polemics with the Right-wing leaders who have long since adopted the platform of state-monopoly capital. Of course freedom of criticism is important. But it is by joint actions against monopoly capital rather than by polemics with the Right-wing Social Democrats that monopoly influence in the working class can be curbed. Thus, as the trade union struggle against the "state of emergency" dictatorship and for democratic participation in the management is winning increasing support among the working class, the Right-wing Social Democrat leaders are losing influence accordingly.

Now that monopoly power is interwoven with state power, a close alliance of the working class with the non-monopoly sections of the population acquires particular importance. The intelligentsia, peasantry, handicraftsmen and other middle sections and small and medium manufacturers account for more than 20 per cent of the West German population. The monopolies are sparing no effort to set these different social groups against each other and all of them against the working class. This is how the CDU/CSU was able to extend its influence among some of the middle sections in the last general election. The monopolies allege that the trade union policy of participation in management is fraught with negative consequences for the middle sections.

The joint struggle to ensure peace, the onward march of the technological revolution and state-monopoly capital are factors objectively making for a greater community of interests between the working class and the non-monopoly sections. This, in turn, creates new opportunities for establishing a solid alliance. We will mention some of them.

1. The technological revolution has led to the rapid growth of the proportion of office workers and technicians in the working class. In 1950 the proportion was 28.4 per cent, rising to 37.5 per cent in 1962.

This development is closely connected with certain changes among the intelligentsia. The number of scientists, engineers and technicians is growing as a result of the technological revolution, and an ever larger part of the intelligentsia is being drawn into the process of production. In other words, their position is beginning to approximate to that of the working class, particularly that of the office worker. This shows how interconnected is the fight to win over this section of the working class with the effort to establish an alliance with the intelligentsia. The success of such an alliance is vital to working-class unity.

Furthermore, the West German monopolies' revenge-seeking policy aimed at abolishing democracy is more and more impinging on the humanitarian ideals of a large section of the intelligentsia and restricting its creative life. This policy, expressed in attacks by Chancellor Erhard, again made possible last year's public burning of books by writers whose homes were also put to the torch. This is opening the eyes of intellectuals to the true nature of West German imperialism and they are coming to realize that they can defend their humanitarian ideals only in joint struggle with the working class. Hence their growing opposition to Bonn's policy, a fact which prompted *Die Welt*, organ of the big bourgeoisie, to comment that West German intellectuals are "not performing their duty."

2. Then there is the question of an alliance with the peasantry. Only a few years ago West German bourgeois ideologists were still advocating the theory of "family farming" as the underlying principle of agrarian policy. Actually, however, a process was under way of the small farms being squeezed as a result of government measures and monopoly pressure. Thanks to the existence of the GDR and the pressure brought to bear by the West German farmers this process of elimination did not proceed at the planned pace. Contradictions arose between the interests of the industrial monopolies, which need markets for their agricultural machinery and chemical products, and the structure and property relations of agriculture. So the "family farming" theory was shelved and the state-monopoly organization of agriculture was speeded up instead. A system of vertical integration was introduced under which the big monopolies,

on the basis of agreements with the peasant farmers, fix the kind and volume of output. The effect is that the peasant farmers become hired workers. A bill is now being prepared according to which the peasants will become members of monopoly-controlled associations.

In these circumstances the policy of the working class must not be confined to preserving the small farms. The peasants must be united against state-monopoly domination in agriculture. This offers new opportunities for forming an alliance of the working class with all peasants, big peasants included.

The technological revolution has resulted also in new relations between the monopolies and the many thousands of artisans and big and small manufacturers. Although, juridically, the enterprises of the latter are independent, they are, for all that, steadily being turned into suppliers of various concerns. Siemens, for example, has 30,000 subsidiaries working for it, Krupp—20,000 and Daimler-Benz—18,000. According to official data on concentration in industry some 15 per cent of these factories supply more than half their output to the respective concerns. Approximately 2,500 small and middle automobile factories work for the Flick concern. In other words, these enterprises are economically and otherwise directly dependent on the policy of the given concern. Besides the fact that part of these enterprises face ruin, the technological revolution makes them more dependent on the concerns. For many of them, therefore, the pressing question is not one of survival or ruin, but of influencing the policy of the concerns and having a say in all important economic decisions, i.e., of participating in management.

To sum up. State-monopoly creates new opportunities for forming an anti-imperialist alliance. The fight for democracy and participation in management makes it possible to unite all democratic forces in a broad anti-imperialist front: workers, technicians, scientists, peasants, artisans, intellectuals and also non-monopoly manufacturers. State monopoly capital, then, leads not only to the subordination of all to monopoly rule; it also creates new opportunities for rallying the forces which can, in defiance of monopoly capital, ensure the viability of basic democratic rights.

France's fifth plan

ANDRE BARJONET

OF ALL CAPITALIST countries, France is unquestionably the most advanced in the matter of planning. But what French planning amounts to requires more precise definition.

To throw light on the matter a brief excursion into history is essential. At the time of Liberation, France was in ruins. Industrial output was barely 40 per cent of the 1938 level, which, in turn, was by no means high. Memories were still fresh of the period following the 1914-18 war when rehabilitation was completely unplanned and wholly dependent on private interests.

Hence the program of the National Resistance Council called for rehabilitation on the basis of a general plan and a number of far-reaching reforms, such as nationalization of the monopolies existing at the time.

Owing to popular pressure in a situation marked by a new trade union unity and the influence exerted by the Communist members of the government, the period from 1944 to 1946 was marked by many important democratic reforms, such as the establishment of a comprehensive social security system, the setting up of factory committees, nationalization of some basic industries (coal mines, power stations, etc.) and a number of banks and insurance companies.

This was the context in which the first plan was drawn up with the participation of the trade unions. Strictly speaking, the "plan for modernization and retooling," as it was called, was more of a guide than a plan in the true sense of the word. Moreover, it affected only those vital sectors where urgent measures were imperative, particularly coal-mining, iron and steel, electric power, cement, rail transport and the agricultural machinery industry.

It is difficult to give a precise assessment of the results of the first plan, for a shift in policy and the emergence of a "plan" of an

entirely different order—the Marshall Plan—soon radically changed the country's economic orientation.

But for all that, at least in the beginning, the first plan was the concrete expression of a striving to build up the economy, a striving in striking contrast with the economic Malthusianism propounded by the trusts in the period between the two wars. Moreover, it was largely inspired by the Keynesian idea of full employment, which, regardless of its affinity with Keynes' non-scientific "general theory," was, in the long run, fairly progressive.

The genesis of this plan should be borne in mind in order to understand why the French capitalists for quite some time regarded planning with caution, if not with hostility. This lag of consciousness compared with the material conditions engendering it had a reverse effect on the leaders of the Christian trade unions who continued to extol the plan years after planning had become merely an additional state-monopoly capitalist instrument for accelerating concentration and bigger profits.

This metamorphosis of the aims and substance of the planning took place imperceptibly in the second and third plans. The qualitative change became marked in the fourth plan (1962-65), the realization of which de Gaulle did not hesitate to call an "imperative duty."

The fourth plan above all brought the economic policies of the leading monopolies and the state in close "concert"* with a view to maximum intensification of capitalist concentration.

However, owing to inertia possibly connected with the origins of planning mentioned above, the fourth plan still envisaged econo-

*The term "concerted economy" belongs to the banker Chellandon, Secretary-General of the Gaullist UNR.

mic expansion and relatively full employment. It likewise called for some "collective investments" of a social nature.

The fifth plan, on the contrary, is retrogressive and anti-social in every respect. It is a plan frankly geared to unemployment and its sole aim is to impart to the economy a qualitative pattern meeting the interests of the top monopolies. It is no longer a program to promote capitalist concentration in general, but a blueprint of concentration within the orbit of the principal capitalist groups so as to ensure their absolute domination in the economy.

SUPER-CONCENTRATION

As regards the striving towards greater concentration of which de Gaulle spoke at a meeting of the Council of Ministers on October 20, 1965, the underlying causes should be sought in the current aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions.

Without going too far back into history, it should be recalled that the Common Market (which stems from openly anti-Soviet policies and the objective need for the monopolies to emerge beyond the circumscribed boundaries) failed to justify the hopes of those who thought it was enough to abolish import quotas and customs duties for harmony to be established between capitalist states.

On the contrary, the Common Market, as the Communist parties had foreseen, gave rise to new and serious contradictions both within the member countries and between them, and also between the Six, on the one hand, and Britain and the United States, on the other.

Hence the effort French imperialism is compelled to invest today in the fight for markets. It is precisely this that Massé, the then Planning Commissioner, had in mind when he said at a press conference last July that "*competitive capability is the prime goal, for it is the key to everything else . . . The fifth plan will thus be a plan of effort.*"

It should be noted that the problem of competitive capability is not something invented by the trusts, but simply a manifestation of the Leninist law of the uneven development of capitalism. Suffice it to mention that Federal Germany now produces roughly 70 per cent more electric power than France although the difference ten years ago was only 50 per cent.

But the fifth plan does not even attempt really to come to grips with this relative weakness of the French economy; as we see, this "plan of effort" is in no way a program

of general economic advance. In reality its object is merely to give some French monopolies "international stature" enabling them to withstand the pressure of other monopolies. Hence it is clear why the efforts of the government and the planning bodies to increase productivity and competitive capacity in sectors with the highest degree of concentration—efforts which government propaganda depicts as a step towards greater national independence—actually leave numerous sectors of industry at the mercy of foreign competition, as can be seen from the massive growth of foreign investment (especially American).

The fifth plan delineates two basic ways of achieving super-concentration: more self-financing of enterprises and use by the trusts of private savings.

The striving to cover up to 70 per cent of the total investment by self-financing presupposes, needless to say, a high rate of profit and, consequently, an anti-social wage policy. At the same time the authors of the plan admit that if self-financing were to exceed the 70 per cent limit, it would be difficult to ensure an equilibrium acceptable to all. Actually, self-financing is a classical cause of soaring prices, and the planning theoreticians fear that excessive emphasis on this aspect might act in the long run as a spur to the strike movement.

INROADS ON CONSUMPTION

The salient feature of the fifth plan is encouragement of savings by cutting consumption. Massé, while declaring that thrift is a matter of the "free will" of private individuals, stressed that they should be encouraged to exercise this "freedom" by reducing consumption. He holds up the example of West Germany whose economic advance, he claims, is due by and large to "abstinence." As regards the root causes of the relative weakness of the French economy, he "forgot" to mention the vast sums spent on the colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria, or its expenditure today on the *force de frappe*. He likewise "forgets" that the "German miracle" was largely the result of heavy U.S. investment prompted not only by economic considerations but also by obvious political reasons which hardly need to be enumerated here.

The class policy underlying the drive against consumption is quite transparent.

It hardly needs saying that the question has never been raised of cutting, even in the slightest, the excessive consumption by the propertied and parasitic classes, and, still less,

military consumption on which we shall dwell later.

The only kind of consumption slated for the axe is consumption by the masses (the working class, working peasants, middle sections, etc.).

The fifth plan clearly sets forth a reactionary social policy aimed at curtailing consumption.

The prime aim in this sphere is to restrict wage increases to 2.8 per cent per year (3.2 per cent if the sliding scale for the various categories of working people is taken into account). In view of the practically inevitable increase in prices, this amounts to a wage freeze. There is no mention whatever of what will happen to the guaranteed inter-trade minimum wage which, inadequate though it may be, nevertheless is the last legislative instrument for safeguarding the interests of the lowest-paid workers. The fact that the plan evades this issue is an ominous portent.

The same applies to the social benefits won at the time of the Liberation which play a very important role in France. The plan contains no provision as regards the further evolution of the social security system. As a matter of fact, despite the numerous official declarations to the contrary made on the eve of the presidential election, the plan presents a series of grave threats to the system of additional pensions and social security in general.

By encroaching on the social guarantees won by the working people in recent decades, the fifth plan pursues the very definite aim of compelling them to resort to such systems of private insurance against a rainy day as exist, for instance, in Switzerland or the United States.

This would force the workers, who already feel the squeeze of low wages and insecurity, to make still greater sacrifices in order to put something aside for the future. These compulsory savings would naturally be channelled by the financial institutions of state-monopoly capitalism (for instance, the Caisse de dépôts et consignation) and private commercial banks to the monopoly-dominated sectors of the economy.

But this is easier said than done.

In recent years the Gaullist government has met with many setbacks in its attempts to clamp down on wage increases and to combat the workers' struggle for their demands. Suffice it to recall the fiasco it suffered in 1963 when it tried to force the miners to return to work by orders from Colombey.*

*De Gaulle's country residence.

Because of this the capitalists and their mercenary economists have once again seized on the idea of using unemployment as a check on wages. This is not a mere assumption on our part but something which is clearly evident from the *basic trend* of the fifth plan with its "warning indicators."

The "warning indicator" method, the plan specifies, consists in selecting the most important economic magnitudes for which the plan lays down the development rates, defining the margins of deviation from these rates and establishing an indicator representing each of these magnitudes plus the tolerance amplitudes. Any overstepping of the latter would be taken as an alert signal.

As regards unemployment, the indicator is based on the 520,000 job-seekers officially registered at employment exchanges although they constitute no more than 2.5 per cent of the total labor force. Consequently, allowance is made for an unemployment level such as existed in France before the Second World War.

Inasmuch as it is perfectly clear that besides the officially registered unemployed there is a whole army of partly unemployed (the fluid, latent and stagnant forms of relative over-population of which Marx wrote), it will be easy to see that actual unemployment is somewhere in the neighborhood of *one million*. That this is so is confirmed by a closer examination of the official "guidelines" of the plan for 1970 and also by the unemployment level (five per cent of the labor force) which is considered normal in the United States.

Needless to say, there is no evidence that these guidelines will be realized. But what is important is to ascertain the real aims of the plan. From this standpoint the 2.5 per cent unemployment "alert indicator" is in itself an extremely ominous symptom. Moreover, this figure was fixed on instructions from the government in spite of unanimous criticism on the part of the Economic and Social Council.

Hence, without trying to paint things blacker than they are, we must point out that the growth of unemployment is indeed one of the principal objects of the fifth plan, the "last word" in "income policy."

The national wealth which the plan is designed to increase is clearly the wealth Destutt de Tracy, the economist of the rising bourgeoisie notorious for his cynicism, had in mind when he wrote in 1826: "The poor nations are those whose people live well, and the rich nations those whose people are usually poor."

REDUCTION IN PUBLIC SPENDING

In the social sphere the fifth plan has a detrimental effect not only on individual incomes but also on public investments which are being sacrificed on the altar of competitive capacity.

In this sense too the fifth plan is a step backwards as compared with the fourth, which skillfully covered up the offensive against wages with some provisions, albeit limited, for promoting education and recreation.

Today, Massé says, "concern for general equilibrium and even more so the need to balance the state finances have prompted the reduction by a few per cent of funds for public investment, or, if you wish, for spending to meet public needs."

The cut affects public education in particular. Judge for yourself: the School Commission which took part in drawing up the fifth plan set the minimum at 32,864 million old francs (under the heading "Inadequately Met Needs"), while admitting that more or less normal satisfaction of present needs in the sphere of education would require 43,047 million. The final figure in the plan is even less: 25,500 million. In other words, the cut effected by the government amounts to 25 per cent of the sum required to cover the "inadequately met needs" and 42 per cent of the sum needed to ensure "more or less normal" satisfaction of requirements. And this the Planning Commissioner calls a reduction by a few per cent!

The same applies to research, even though the importance of this is obvious to all at a time when science is becoming a productive force in the proper sense of the word. The fifth plan allocates for research in 1970 a sum amounting to 2.5 per cent of the gross national product, whereas in 1962 the USA and the USSR assigned for this purpose more than three per cent. At present the United States, with a population four times that of

France, has twelve times as many researchers. Our lag in this field is great indeed.

The state of affairs is the same in the sphere of health care. The fifth plan puts it last, deeming it worthy of only a few lines of a purely descriptive nature without any definite allocation of funds.

Lastly, appropriations under the heading of public spending were earmarked only for extending the telephone system (in this respect France is practically an underdeveloped country) and for motor roads.

It is not these extremely modest allocations as such that should be criticized but the fact that the funds needed for the purpose were obtained at the expense of public education and research.

Here we see direct evidence of the impact on the budget of military spending, which in general is given priority and which decisively influences all other expenditures.

Extremely heavy already at the first stage of nuclear armament (development of the A- and H-bombs, construction of a plant producing fissionable material, and the Mirage-4 bomber), military spending may become completely unbearable for the French economy at the second stage (production of missiles, nuclear submarines, etc.) towards which the Gaullist government is now heading.

Such, then, are the main features of the fifth plan.

As a follow-up to a series of plans also drawn up with an eye to the interests of the monopolies but nevertheless aimed at promoting the economy generally and ensuring a relatively high level of employment, this plan ushers in a new stage when the sole objective is capitalist super-concentration through accumulation of savings, which in itself presupposes freezing wages by creating an army of unemployed.

Consequently, the fifth plan, both in principle and as regards its objectives, runs counter not only to any democratic programming, however limited, but also to the interests of the working people and the country.

Exploitation of labor and the main contradiction in the U.S. economy

VICTOR PERLO

A BETTER UNDERSTANDING of the new policies of the U.S. Government designed to moderate or prevent economic crises and to stimulate economic growth necessitates a look at the contradictions tending to thwart these efforts of American imperialism. Above all it is essential to examine the development of the main economic contradiction — between rising production capacity and restricted mass consuming power — and its origins in the dynamics of capitalist exploitation of wage labor. Social contradictions do not

mount continuously and without barriers. They proceed unevenly, often impeded or interrupted by counteracting factors. Without such counteracting causes, capitalism would long since have collapsed in insurmountable economic cataclysms. However, capitalism develops its own moderating and protective devices, some arising more or less spontaneously, others organized consciously by groups of capitalist monopolies, and, most important now, by the state as the instrument of the most powerful monopolies as a whole.

A. THE MAIN CONTRADICTION

The tendency of production and productive capacity to outrun mass consuming power is the most decisive factor in the cyclical course of capitalist economy. Marx was certainly not a crude under-consumptionist. None the less he wrote: "The last cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared to the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces in such a way that only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit.." (*Capital*, Vol. XII.)

The capitalists tend to base their projections of production on the trend of national income — that is, on the "absolute power of consumption of the entire society"; or, if they are dealing with consumer goods, on disposable personal income, that is, the potential private consuming power of all classes in society. But a large share of the surplus value available to the capitalists is saved for possible profitable investments, and is never in-

tended for consumption. Thus the limitation of the market arises not out of the trend in disposable personal income in general, but out of the trend in the disposable income of the working people. The tendency of the latter to fall behind the former, and behind the trend of national income, eventuates in overproduction and crises.

The contradiction arises, ultimately, out of the process of exploitation of wage labor, but it is the amount and dynamics of the rate of exploitation that are crucial for cyclical development. If the rate of exploitation were constant, and the surplus value extracted were invested and consumed by the capitalists in fixed proportions, such as would preserve a balanced structure in the overall economy, especially between investment and consumer goods, and between capacity and production — if these things were to happen, the economy would develop more or less smoothly, without real cycles. But in practice these simultaneous conditions are never met and are only approximated for comparatively brief moments.

1. RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE AND LABOR'S SHARE IN PRODUCTION

The most important single element of instability lies in the dynamics of the *rate* of exploitation of labor—or rate of surplus value. The capitalists continuously strive to increase this, through raising the intensity of labor and other means of raising labor productivity, through holding down wage increases or imposing wage reductions, through increasing the working week, and through increasing the cost of living. The working class in its struggles, consciously or unconsciously, strives to reduce the rate of surplus value, or at least to prevent its further increase.

Here we will see what has happened to the rate of exploitation of labor in the postwar period. But we will not attempt to measure this rate directly, partly because of statistical difficulties and partly because a related measure corresponds better to the approach to the struggle of the American working class. This is the measure of labor's share in the value of the production. It moves in the opposite direction from the rate of surplus value.

Suppose that at a given time a worker receives wages equivalent to the first four hours of his labor, while the produce of the remaining four hours accrues to the employer. Then the rate of surplus value is 100 per cent, while the worker's share in the value of his output is 50 per cent (four out of eight hours). Now suppose the working day is increased to 10 hours, and daily real wages remain unchanged. Then the employer receives the produce of six hours, while the worker still receives only the produce of four hours. The rate of surplus value goes up to 150 per cent (100 times six divided by four), while the worker's share goes down to 40 per cent (four out of ten). Similarly, a decline in the rate of surplus value from 100 per cent to 67 per cent corresponds to a rise in labor's share from 50 per cent to 60 per cent. Thus the measure of the rate of surplus value not only moves in an opposite direction, but changes more radically than the measure of labor's share.

We do not attempt here to calculate labor's share in production absolutely, but only its change, expressed as index numbers. To measure labor's share we calculate the index of real wages per unit of output. This compares the physical volume of goods the worker can buy with the net physical volume of his production. This type of measurement was first used by the American trade unions nearly forty years ago. It is statistically superior to other available methods, although it, also, is

subject to biases resulting from manipulations of statistics by the bourgeoisie. On balance, there is probably some upward bias—that is, labor's share declines more rapidly, and the rate of surplus value increases more rapidly, than shown by the statistics. Nevertheless the results are sufficiently decisive to reveal important facts about postwar development in the U.S. economy.

2. THE TREND IN MANUFACTURING

Manufacturing is the core of the productive economy, accounting for 80 per cent of wages and salaries paid for commodity production, and 40 per cent of all private wages and salaries. Politically as well as economically, the trend of labor's share in manufacturing production has great influence over that in the remainder of the economy. The index of real wages per unit of output in manufacturing is shown in Table 1.

Table 1.

Real Wages and Salaries per Unit of Output
Manufacturing, (1957-1959 = 100)

Year	Index	Year	Index
1947	99.5	1956	101.3
1948	98.8	1957	101.0
1949	100.0	1958	101.4
1950	95.9	1959	97.6
1951	96.8	1960	96.6
1952	98.5	1961	95.1
1953	99.8	1962	93.4
1954	101.2	1963	91.4
1955	98.4	1964	90.2

For eleven years the index of labor's share remained almost unchanged, except for year-to-year fluctuations, mainly of cyclical significance—the index increased in recession years and declined in the first year of upturn. But after 1958 the index declined continuously and rapidly, regardless of the production trend. In six years the index of labor's share fell from 101.4 to 90.2, or by 11 per cent. Preliminary data show a further decline to 89.0 in the first half of 1965.

This meant a rapid rise in the rate of exploitation of labor, or surplus value. Suppose that the rate of surplus value was 100 per cent in 1958. Then by 1964 it reached 125 per cent! Instead of getting 100 dollars in open or hidden profits for every 100 dollars of wages and salaries, the monopolies are now getting 125 dollars. That is a drastic increase, and a source of significant disproportion in the economy.

Because of the importance of the trend of

labor's share for manufacturing, we have verified it with the use of Census statistics. The percentage of wages and salaries to value added by manufacture is roughly comparable to real wages per unit of production. The percentage of wages and salaries to value added by manufacture in operating establishments dropped moderately between 1947 and 1958, from 53.8 per cent to 52.2 per cent, and sharply thereafter to 48.9 per cent in 1963. Both the timing and the extent of the decline are close to that of the index numbers shown in Table 1.

The Census statistics give the data for wage earners and salaried employees separately. The share of wage earners fell continually and rapidly throughout the postwar period, from 40.7 per cent in 1947 to 32.6 per cent in 1963. But up until 1958 this was largely counterbalanced by the rise in salaries. However, between 1958 and 1963 even the share of salaries in value added declined somewhat.

The rise in salaries, in comparison to wages, partly reflects the scientific-technical revolution, increasing the relative role of white collar to blue collar workers. Partly, also, it reflects the big rise in armament production and in the corporate bureaucracy, both involving a mushrooming of salaried personnel of a largely parasitic character. And partly it reflects the rise in profits hidden as official and managerial salaries. Despite the parasitic functions giving rise to much of the salaries, most of them are included in the pool of mass consuming power of working people, the relevant factor for economic analysis. Hence the ratio of wages and salaries combined to value added is a significant figure.

The significance of the fall to 48.9 per cent is apparent when we compare this with pre-war experience. During the present century the ratio of salaries and wages to value added usually remained in the range 50-53 per cent. *Only once did it fall below the 48.9 mark. That was in the year 1929, when it fell to 46.7, from a level of 52.2 per cent in 1923.* As history showed, the contradiction between the expansion of the productive forces and the restricted mass consuming power in 1929 reached an extreme, culminating in the most severe crisis of overproduction in the history of capitalism. Now again the 1929 ratio is being approached, and at about the same speed as during the twenties. In fact, considering the further increase in the rate of exploitation of labor since 1963, it is possible that the 1929 low may already have been breached. This shows the existence of a profound and dangerous source of instability in the economy. Other conditions reminiscent of

1929, outside the scope of this article, have also reappeared.

Of course, not everything is like 1929. The monopolies, through the government, have unprecedented and powerful weapons for offsetting some of the effects of developing contradictions and thereby for staving off deep crises of overproduction. Yet the similarities cannot be laughed away. They give cause for alertness to economic dangers, for doubting the justification for that unbounded optimism which periodically sweeps Washington and Wall Street—as was the case in 1965.

3. THE ENTIRE PRIVATE ECONOMY

We have found decisive declines in real wages per unit of output since 1957-59 for manufacturing, mining, utilities and agriculture, with additional earlier declines in all of these except manufacturing. There was a similar decline in recent years in transportation. Less reliable data for construction and retail trade show level trends. Statistics are not available for finance, services, wholesale trade, and communications.

But all of commodity production and the bulk of the entire private economy are covered with the irrefutable conclusion of a major decline in labor's share and a corresponding increase in the rate of exploitation or surplus value.

The President's Council of Economic Advisers prepares estimates of productivity per man-hour and compensation of labor per man-hour in the entire private economy. Combining these with the consumer price index yields an index of real labor compensation per unit of output in the entire private economy. These official series are biased to place the trend in labor's share in a more favorable light than the actual situation. Even so, it shows a decided downtrend in labor's share since 1956, as shown by Table 2.

Table 2.

Real Labor Compensation per Unit of Output in the Private Economy, 1947-1964

(Index numbers 1957-59 = 100)

Year	Index	Year	Index
1947	101.3	1956	102.0
1948	98.4	1957	100.9
1949	99.1	1958	99.3
1950	96.8	1959	99.5
1951	95.7	1960	99.6
1952	97.1	1961	98.7
1953	98.0	1962	97.0
1954	99.0	1963	96.1
1955	97.8	1964	95.5

This index declines 6.4 per cent from 1956 to 1964, about half as rapidly as the decline shown for manufacturing in Table 1. It suggests an increase in the rate of exploitation for the entire private economy of about one-eighth, instead of the increase of one-quarter shown for manufacturing alone. But because of the biases in the series for the entire pri-

vate economy, the true picture may be closer to that shown for manufacturing. In any case, even the official figures of the Council of Economic Advisers confirm the decided downtrend in labor's share and the decided uptrend in the rate of surplus value for the period since the late fifties.

B. COUNTERACTING FACTORS

As we have seen, rising exploitation of labor since World War II, and especially since the late 1950's, has undermined the relative consuming power of the masses of working people. Another factor operated in the same direction. During the first postwar years workers had tens of billions of dollars in forced savings, accumulated during the war, which became available for spending as commodities appeared on the market, over and above the current incomes of the workers. The structure of production during this period, then, developed under conditions of an exceptionally high and temporary demand for consumer goods.

As the workers' special accumulations were liquidated, the total consuming power tended to decline, relative to current production, reinforcing the effect of a declining workers' share of production.

Despite these crisis-breeding trends, internal balance was maintained in the economy much of the time, and crises were rather minor in depth and duration. Obviously, offsetting factors must have been at work. These fall into two main categories:

a) Shifts in the destination of the national product, reducing the relative role of private consumption, and correspondingly reducing the relative share of labor income required to balance the output of mass consumption goods.

b) Provision of additional consumption income to workers through means other than payment for labor in production and distribution.

As we shall see, changes did take place in both of these areas, with government-sponsored changes acting on a more massive scale than those arising out of the private economy.

1. SHIFTS IN THE DESTINATION OF THE NATIONAL PRODUCT

After 1950 there was a sharp drop in the share of personal consumption in the gross national product and a corresponding rise in the share of government consumption.

During the four years 1947-50 consumer expenditures averaged a little over 68 per cent of the gross national product, but thereafter less than 64 per cent, with little change from year to year. Government spending for goods and services averaged 13 per cent of the gross national product during the first four years, and a little over 20 per cent thereafter. There was little change in gross private domestic investment, which stayed close to 15 per cent of the gross national product throughout, except for a few years in which exceptional conditions prevailed. Net export of goods and services, a composite of dubious statistical validity, amounted to several per cent in the first few postwar years, but only about one per cent thereafter.

Thus the big shift in composition took place during the Korean War years, and it was a shift from personal consumption to government military consumption. Economically, this balanced the exhaustion of extra mass savings accumulated during World War II. But after the Korean War there was no significant change in the general composition of the gross national product. So this did not exist as an offset to the rapid decline in labor's share of production beginning in 1957-1959.

Thus the other type of factor, provision of additional income over and above that earned as wages in production of private commodities, must have provided the main balancing elements offsetting increased labor exploitation. This took place in several ways.

2. EXPANSION OF THE FINANCIAL AND SERVICE INDUSTRIES

Financial operations and services are traditional areas of rapid expansion along with the profits and wealth of powerful exploiting classes. By 1963, when wage and salary payments in manufacturing reached 231 per cent of the 1947 level, they reached 332 per cent of the 1947 level in finance and 299 per cent in services. Expansion of services in the United States is referred to boastfully by bourgeois economists as a source of economic stability and as a symptom of the increasing welfare of the masses.

While there are *elements* of truth in these claims, they are basically distortions. The principal content of increased services has nothing to do with the welfare of the masses. The limited contribution to economic stability is of uncertain duration, and under certain conditions could be converted into its opposite.

Most of the increase in employment and payrolls in financial industries is to account for and handle the enormous and growing sums passing through and into the hands of the very rich and their companies, and to coordinate the increasingly complex transactions of their monopolistic organizations. A disproportionately large number of personnel is required to handle the overseas transactions of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which are growing more and more important relatively and absolutely.

Workers do use banks more than formerly, but mainly to pay tribute on instalment loans and mortgages, and to cash checks which employers now prefer to use in meeting payrolls. This is hardly a symptom of increased welfare. Moreover, the overwhelming bulk of financial activity continues to be for the capitalist class.

The rapidly expanding service industries are those which cater to the business and personal interests of the wealthy, and not those which provide for the needs of the masses. For example, wage and salary payments in the mass-oriented amusement and recreation industries have increased more slowly than manufacturing wages and salaries (partly, this is because of the substitution of television for traditional amusements). It is instructive to examine those groups of services with the most rapid increase. Wage and salary payments in the following groups were multiplied more than four times between 1947 and 1963:

Type of Service	Wages and Salaries 1963 as per cent of 1947
Business services, including advertising	558
Medical and other health services	482
Educational services (non-governmental)	475
Legal services	428

It is not accidental that first place is occupied by advertising and related fields, the most rapidly mushrooming form of parasitism in the American economy. Legal services, also, are almost exclusively parasitic activities on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

The other two examples do not present such a clear-cut picture. While the rich are spending much more lavishly than formerly on medical services, the working people also have been hit by radically higher charges, and sections of the better organized workers are obtaining more medical services than formerly. Part of the rising private educational expenditure is by working people, including the use of parochial schools. But the major source of expansion is the increasing use by the wealthy of private rather than public elementary and high schools, and of privately endowed colleges and universities, as a means of training their offspring for financial success and for securing their place in the upper layers of society, for which the private schools provide an entry ticket.

Table 3 shows the relative growth of wage and salary payments, expressed as percentages of consumer expenditures.

TABLE 3.
Financial and Service Industries
Wage and Salary Payments
Compared with Total Consumer Expenditures

Year	Wage and Salary Expenditures	
	billions of dollars	% of consumer expenditures
1947	16.0	9.7
1948	17.3	9.7
1949	17.9	9.9
1950	19.3	9.9
1951	21.1	10.1
1952	22.6	10.3
1953	24.3	10.4
1954	25.5	10.7
1955	27.8	10.8
1956	30.5	11.3
1957	32.8	11.5
1958	34.8	11.9
1959	37.7	12.0
1960	40.7	12.4
1961	43.4	12.9
1962	46.4	13.0
1963	49.3	13.1
1964	52.6	13.2

Between 1947 and 1964 total payments increased three and one-quarter times, as compared with a rise of two and one-half times for all private wages and salaries. Comparison with consumer expenditures indicates how the growth of these industries buttressed markets. Financial and service wage and salary payments increased from 9.7 per cent of consumer expenditures in 1947 to 13.2 per cent in 1964. If all of the relative increase were spent on consumption, it would have ac-

counted for 14 billion dollars of consumer outlays in 1964, which is more than a drop in the bucket. Actually, not all of the increase was spent on consumption. Part went for taxes, part was saved, and part represented merely a transfer of income from other workers paying for services.

Yet, an increase of quite a few billions remained, representing a transfer from surplus value paid out by capitalists for services to consuming power in the hands of working people.

The table shows that wage and salary payments in these industries increased absolutely in each year, and relatively in all but two. Thus it has been a factor of steady, if modest, growth in mass consuming power.

The biggest relative increases tended to be in recession years, a cycle-moderating influence. Moreover, the most rapid rise was during the six-year interval 1955-1961, the period of maximum stagnation in the economy as a whole. Undoubtedly, the financial and service upsurge helped somewhat to forestall really deep crises during this period. But, considering the small annual relative changes, emphasis should be placed on the *modest* stimulating and stabilizing effect of growth in these industries.

Those bourgeois economists who regard this as a firm anti-crisis guarantee are mistaken. The support is contingent on a reasonable degree of stability in the general economy. With a major shock, it can be turned into its opposite, and the financial and service industries become a source of additional weakness. During the 1920's there was also a rapid mushrooming of financial and service activity. It provided a slightly larger proportion of wage and salary payments in 1929 than in 1964. But when the deep crisis of the 1930's hit, the financial and service industries contributed to the general deflationary spiral instead of stopping it, with wage and salary payments falling 38 per cent in four years.

3. CONSUMER CREDIT AND HOME MORTGAGES

Installment credit has become a major institution in American life, with important effects on consumption patterns and a significant economic impact. Most consumers durable goods are now purchased on installments. For example, 70 per cent of all new automobiles are bought through installment loans averaging over \$2,800—roughly equal to the price of the average car. The ease of buying on installments has encouraged a relative growth in the purchase of durable goods, as compared with non-durables.

Consumer credit is highly regarded by bourgeois economists as a means of stimulating consumer purchasing and general economic activity. Also, regulations governing its use can be amended readily for contra-cyclical purposes. Terms can be tightened up to dampen inflation, as during the Korean War, or loosened to help stop a recession.

The volume of consumer credit outstanding has expanded fantastically during the postwar period, from \$8.4 billion in 1946 to \$76.7 billion in 1964. Most of this is installment credit. The total of consumer credit is turned over—repaid and reborrowed—more than once a year. The critical figure is the net change in the amount outstanding. In most postwar years credit outstanding has increased by several billions. The increase in 1965 was probably a record of over \$8 billion.

Certainly this seems a painless and profitable way of overcoming capitalist contradictions. Since the workers do not get enough to buy the output of consumers goods destined for mass consumption, loan them the difference, and make an extra profit thereby, through collection of interest and other charges.

So it seems to the self-deluding bankers and their apologetic economists. Indeed, consumer credit has stimulated economic growth during the postwar period, especially in the durable goods industries. But, in the opinion of the writer, that stimulus has come to an end. Meanwhile, in the mounting consumer debt, American capitalism has accumulated one of the gravest sources of instability, one of its most dangerous fuses for a potential major financial crisis.

The first flaw in the bourgeois argument is the failure to consider the interest burden. Despite all the advertisements about "low interest rates," a recent National Bureau of Economic Research study showed that actual rates in 1959 averaged 13.3 per cent per annum, besides various extra charges.

In the early postwar years, when the outstanding debt was relatively low, and increasing very rapidly, extensions of additional credit exceeded interest charges on the old debts, providing a net addition to mass consuming power. But now, when heavy interest charges are levied on a huge backlog of consumer debt, the total of interest collected exceeds the net increase in outstanding debt. For example, in 1964 consumer credit outstanding increased by \$6,800 million, a record amount. But interest payments on the outstanding debt amounted to \$8,600 million or \$1,800 million more. If the bankers are transferring part of

the idle pile of surplus value into active mass consuming power, they are now taking back and returning to the pile of surplus value a still larger amount. The net effect of all consumer credit operations is to reduce the effective consuming power of the masses, and to intensify the underlying contradiction between productive capacity and that consuming power.

The balance is worst in recession years, when there is little or no increase in consumer credit outstanding. In 1958 consumer credit increased by only \$300 million, while interest payments on the outstanding debt amounted to \$5,100 million or \$4,800 million more. In 1961 the negative balance was \$4,900 million. Thus the burden of old consumer debts tends to deepen a recession, and makes its reversal more difficult.

Today American financiers have a tiger by the tail in the consumer credit situation. Any attempt to seriously curtail this phenomenon would lead to a drastic reduction in effective mass consuming power during the period of curtailment, as \$6 billion of installments come due every month. In the absence of replacement loans, this would precipitate a major crisis in consumer goods industries. Even to hold the amount outstanding steady would mean that the full \$10 billion of interest charges that will accrue during 1966 will be a drain on mass buying power.

But to let consumer credit grow continually, not only absolutely but relatively to consumer income, creates an increasingly speculative situation that can eventuate in a collapse. Yet just such a situation is building up. In 1947 consumers had to use 6 per cent of their after-tax income to repay installment debts, by 1950 it was 9 per cent of their incomes, and by 1965 over 14 per cent of their otherwise disposable incomes. Since the bourgeoisie, by and large, do not carry such relatively large debts of this type, the percentage for workers is much higher. Think what this means. Already one dollar out of seven in the workers' paycheck must go to pay back on debts, and the proportion is rising continually!

But the bankers are making so much money out of the high interest on consumer loans that they have thrown customary caution to the winds, and see no end to this process. The Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, in its *Business Review* for July 1965, writes: "There are reasons to believe that future increases in income may be associated with even larger proportionate increases in consumer credit... Installment credit outstanding in the next five years could easily repeat the 50 per cent

growth of the past five . . . The ingredients are there for a significant upswing in consumer credit, and upswing which could dispel even further the idea that some natural lid exists on consumer repayments as a per cent of disposable income."

Sooner or later, the burden of consumer credit is likely to be relieved in some drastic fashion. One way would be through inflation, which would effectively devalue existing debts. Another would be through a war economy, in which high-pressure demand in other areas would permit the stoppage of new consumer loans without critical impact on the economy. The other way would be through a traditional crisis of overproduction, with corresponding mass defaults.

Of course, the state *could* regulate matters so as to gradually reduce the relative consumer debt burden, while providing compensating alternative peaceful sources of mass consuming power. But there is no sign as yet that the leading groups of American big business are oriented to such a reasonable easing of the strain, or even to recognizing that a strain exists which must be relieved.

Expansion in home mortgage debt has been as spectacular as that in installment loans. The amount of home mortgages outstanding passed the \$200 billion mark in 1965, doubling in the past eight years and multiplying ten times in the past twenty years. However, the economic impact of this debt is less marked than that of the installment credit. Repayment terms are long, so annual payments are smaller. Interest rates are half as large.

In reality, the mortgage payments, principal and interest, correspond more or less to rentals. Nominally, the workingman homeowner becomes a property owner. Actually, in effect, he becomes a tenant of the lending bank. This is taken for granted by many of the worker-borrowers. Since down payments are low, they do not hesitate to default on their mortgages and let the banks take the houses back when they lose their jobs and want to move elsewhere for work.

So long as real estate values continue to rise, or at least do not decline, this makes little difference to the general economy. The banks taking back the houses have little difficulty selling them again without loss. But should real estate values decline, it would be another matter.

Almost all of the earning assets of mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations are in mortgages. A deep financial crisis, should it occur for any reason, would engulf the home mortgage system. The entire net-

work of savings banks and savings and loan associations would go into receivership. The U.S. Government, which guarantees deposits in these institutions, would lack the funds in the necessary reserve accounts to make good. The financial structure of the country would pass through a crisis rivaling that of 1933.

4. GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTION TO MASS CONSUMING POWER

Government fiscal policy is the most important anti-cyclical tool, through its ability to significantly modify mass consuming power. Mass consuming power can be increased by increasing wage and salary payments to government employees and to workers of government contractors, by increasing pensions and social security benefits and relief payments, and by reducing taxes levied on workers. Mass consuming power can be reduced by opposite actions.

In official and bourgeois academic analyses, the economics of this process are presented in oversimplified fashion, obscuring the class essence of the adjustments. The bourgeois economists measure the stimulus of government finance by the size of the budget deficit. When there is a large deficit, they say, the government is paying out more to "the public" than it is taking in and therefore it is adding to purchasing power and stimulating the economy. When there is a budget surplus, the opposite is taking place, and the government is holding the economy back.

But there is no single "public." There are different social classes and strata. The real effect of government fiscal actions depends not on the budget deficit or surplus, but on the extent to which government finance transfers uninvested surplus value into mass consuming power, or, restraining the economy, transfers mass consuming power into idle surplus value.

Thus, payment of old age pensions to workers out of money borrowed from banks is no more stimulating economically than such payments financed by taxes on the estates of the rich, although the first method involves deficit spending and the second method does not. On the other hand, payment of over \$10 billion yearly in interest to holders of government bonds, insofar as this is financed by taxes levied on the working people, reduces mass consuming power and is deflationary, even though no budget deficit or surplus is involved.

Anti-cyclical manipulations affect the timing and exert some influence on the amount of government spending and taxation but do

not determine the content nor, in the main, the size of various government programs. Thus the size of the military budget is determined *primarily* by the program of the dominant imperialists for overseas expansion, and by the ability of the Pentagon and the arms contractors to enhance their power and profits through expansion of the armament race. However, within a given military program, the fluctuations in spending from year to year and month to month are influenced very strongly by anti-cyclical considerations.

Similarly, the general size of government programs for educational and other socially useful facilities is determined by the political power of labor and other social forces favoring these projects, but again, fluctuations in spending are greatly influenced by anti-cyclical considerations.

Federal military spending is many times larger than federal civilian spending because the forces favoring the former are so much more powerful. But both types of spending are pushed upward to a certain degree by the determination of the leading circles of finance capital to use government spending as a lever to stimulate economic growth and buttress the economy against crises.

Here we try to measure the government economic stimulus, adding the items representing contributions to mass consuming power and subtracting taxes collected from the working people. The difference we call the "net government contribution," a term used by one of the earlier groups of Keynesian economists. This "net government contribution" is not the only kind of government economic stimulus. But it is the main type, and it is the one which directly counteracts the main contradiction between rising productive capacity and relatively stagnant mass consuming power in the private economy.

That part of the government contribution consisting of wage and salary payments is included in the gross national product under the caption "government expenditures for goods and services." But pensions and other benefit and relief payments that are not payment for services rendered are not included in the gross national product. These are called "transfer payments." Since these transfer payments have been increasing quite rapidly, the economic influence of the government on the economy has continued to increase since the early 1950's, even though the share of the government in the gross national product has remained about constant.

The taxes subtracted to determine the net government contribution are income and social security taxes withheld from workers'

wages. Here we do not deduct the excise and sales taxes, which are included in the prices paid by the workers and hence do not appear as a direct curtailment of their consuming power.

For 1964 the calculation of the net government contribution is as follows (in billions of dollars):

Government wages and salaries	\$64.3
Government contractor wages and salaries	36.0
Government transfer payments	36.6
Similar private transfer payments	8.5
Total	145.4
Less tax deductions from workers' pay	57.7
Net Government contribution	\$87.7

The use of the term "contribution" refers only to the specific economic function of contributing to mass consuming power. It would be a grievous mistake to accept the argument of bourgeois apologetics that this is some sort of gift of the government to the working people, a means of ending social inequalities, etc.

Against the net government contribution must be reckoned \$71 billion of indirect business taxes and employer contributions to social insurance funds, most of which are passed on to workers in the form of higher prices. Thus the ultimate gain in the real consuming power of the masses, as distinct from the gain in dollars appearing on the market, is comparatively small. And for this comparatively small transfer, the monopolists who benefit from the services of the government and its armament contractors obtain the labor of over 11 million government employees and 7 million private employees hired to fill government contracts, directly or indirectly. In comparison with labor costs on the private market, the bourgeoisie obtains the services of these 18 million workers very cheaply indeed, considering the totality of financial transactions involved.

The growth of the net government contribution, as we have defined it, for the postwar years is shown in Table 4.

The table shows the rising trend of the net government contribution, from \$22.4 billion in 1947 to \$87.7 billion in 1964, a fourfold increase. As a percentage of total consumer expenditures the net government contribution increased from 13.5% in 1947 to 18.4% in 1956 and 22% in 1964. The increase nearly to

the 1964 ratio during the Korean War can be ignored in determining the trend. From these figures we conclude that the rising net government contribution has been the major long-term factor countering the declining share of labor in the private product.

It was also a vital contra-cyclical factor. It jumped \$6.1 billion in 1949, \$9.2 billion in 1958, \$8.5 billion in 1961 (1954 was an exception, when the recession was precipitated by the cutting of the government's Korean War expenditures). In the recession year 1958, for example, consumer spending increased \$8 billion, but the net government contribution increased \$9.2 billion. Without the rise in the latter, there would have been an absolute decline in the former, and the recession might have gone much deeper. Similar relationships obtained in the recession years 1949 and 1961.

Increasing sharply in recession years, the net government contribution tended to stagnate in most recovery periods. Increases in regular government programs were offset by sharp declines in unemployment compensation payments and in special government relief programs, and by higher receipts from payroll taxes.

This pattern can be seen in 1955-56 and in 1959-60. But in the 1962-63 recovery there was a moderate rise in net government contribution, corresponding mainly to the rather rapid increase in the military budget during

Table 4.

Net Government Contribution to Mass Consuming Power, 1947-1964		
(Including similar private contributions)		
Year	Net Government Contribution	
	billion dollars	% of consumer expenditures
1947	22.4	13.5
1948	26.0	14.6
1949	32.1	17.7
1950	33.4	17.1
1951	40.1	19.1
1952	47.3	21.5
1953	50.7	21.8
1954	49.3	20.7
1955	49.2	19.2
1956	49.7	18.4
1957	54.9	19.2
1958	64.1	21.9
1959	63.8	20.4
1960	64.4	19.6
1961	72.9	21.6
1962	75.7	21.2
1963	78.3	20.9
1964	87.7	22.0

the Kennedy Administration. Then in the boom year 1964, contrary to precedent, there was a large jump in the net government contribution. The increase, \$9.4 billion, exceeded that in any earlier postwar year. The main element of increase was the large 1964 tax cut. As a result of this unusual boom-time rise, the increased government contribution accounted for two-fifths of the consumer spending gain.

Undoubtedly this exceptional rise made the difference between the moderate gain and a possible late-year recession, expected by most analysts at the start of 1964, and the accelerated boom which actually occurred. The more rapid increases in net government contribution during the 1960's tended to offset the accelerating decline in labor's share in production.

Simultaneously, these more rapid increases signified the emergence of the new government policy of continuous economic stimulation aiming for uninterrupted and faster economic growth. That policy was continued in 1965. Enactment of Johnson's legislative programs set the stage for a rise of \$2 billion yearly in federal civilian expenditures, instead of an estimated \$0.7 billion under former programs. There were some excise tax cuts. But these were comparatively minor moves, judged by many economists as insufficient to counteract the developing contradictions in the private economy. The main new feature is the big increase in military spending linked to the Vietnamese war. It appears that the escalation will involve a rise of about \$5 billion a year for two or three years in military spending.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

It is technically possible to calculate the amount of net government contribution needed to roughly balance demand and supply at any stage of development of the contradiction between production and consuming power in the private economy. This is true only in an approximate, economy-wide fashion. Fiscal policy cannot overcome rather sharp industry-wide and geographical fluctuations arising from an anarchic capitalist economy. For example, cycles in steel, aerospace, and housing have taken place within the continuous general uptrend since 1961. The favorite method of the aggressive imperialists and arms contractors, expanding the military budget, itself causes sharp fluctuations in activity in particular places and industries, as the composition of the military budget is frequently overhauled and the winners in the competition for the most business among the munitions trusts change.

Even in a general way, the technical possibility of successful application of fiscal policy does not mean that it will be realized. Inaccurate estimates of the real economic situation and prospects can cause a failure in timing sufficient to thwart the continuous growth objective. Political conflicts within the ruling classes, and between them and the working class, can prevent or defeat policy moves.

Most important of all, the economy is subject to other contradictions, besides the one between production capacity and mass consuming power, which strain the economy in different ways and may render difficult or impossible the adequate application of counteractions to the main contradiction.

Major methods of containing this contradiction—use of consumer credit and use of government budget deficits—increase the tension in the financial structure and lead to justified fears of a possible major financial crisis. Military escalation and increased "interventionism" increase the balance of payments deficit, which in turn puts more and more pressure on the internal economy.

The American bourgeoisie adopted the policy of intense government contra-cyclical intervention later than did the West European and Japanese bourgeoisie. Much more than the other imperialists, they have given this policy a predominantly anti-popular, militaristic, aggressive content. Therefore American workers derive little economic benefit from the present boom, and they are deprived of many social gains promised them. Therefore, also, U.S. imperialism is subject to setbacks which will increase all tensions within the country, including possibly the reopening of major differences on economic policy within the monopoly bourgeoisie.

It would be wrong to think that the aggressive and highly dangerous course of U.S. imperialism will be defeated by economic difficulties, or to assume that U.S. imperialism will fail to achieve a certain increase over its historic average growth rate. It would be equally wrong to think that U.S. imperialism has become invulnerable to economic crises. It is vulnerable indeed, and its aggressive course, regardless of temporary dividends to the bourgeoisie, increases the likelihood of later serious economic, as well as political, setbacks.

American progressive forces fighting for a radical change from the aggressive foreign policy, and for the satisfaction of the social and economic demands of the working people, are thereby calling for new policies which would also improve the economic health of the country over the long run.

The working class in the struggle for the liberation of Latin America

R. ISCARO

IN SPEAKING of the place occupied by the working class in the fight for the liberation of Latin America, one should not lose sight of the role of the working class on the world arena; one should not forget that our continent is a part of the world in which, discounting particular national features or those of a particular geographical region, the entire process of social development is affected in no small measure by the influence exerted by the working class and the socialist world system.

In this respect Latin America, viewed as a whole, is no exception. Here, too, the working-class movement is the backbone, as it were, of the forces fighting for national and social liberation. Along with the working class, the struggle is being joined on a growing scale by peasants, the middle sections, intellectuals and by some of the national bourgeoisie. However, the radicalization of non-proletarian social sections and their drawing closer to the revolutionary positions do not free the working class from its responsibility or cancel its historic mission of being the vanguard and principal motive force of the revolution. On the contrary, these processes render working-class unity and the rallying of all the democratic and anti-imperialist social forces in a united front for national and social emancipation more imperative and urgent. It is on the working class and its party that the responsibility devolves for achieving this unity, for guiding and organizing the struggle.

Most countries of Latin America have enjoyed a formal independence since the first half of last century when the continental liberation movement put an end to the colonial domination of Spain and Portugal. Since then the development of these countries has proceeded unevenly; in one and the same country it is not uncommon to find zones with pronounced feudal and semi-feudal survivals and zones where industry and culture are on a fairly high level.

Without losing sight of this variety of conditions, we can say that in Latin America taken as a whole there is a numerous industrial and rural proletariat, tending to be concentrated in particular areas. This proletariat, playing an important role in the economic and political life of the respective countries, is relatively well organized, in trade unions and in political parties. There are Marxist-Leninist parties in all the countries. Trade union centers function in some of the countries, especially in the South.

In our view these important factors of the objective and subjective order should be borne in mind in examining the role of the working class in the present-day liberation movement in Latin America.

* * *

In this context the meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties of Latin American countries held at the end of 1964 defined the tasks of the working-class movement on the continent.

The documents of the meeting show not only the "quantitative" growth of the working-class struggle on the continent but also, and mainly, its qualitative evolution, the deepening of its political, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist, profoundly revolutionary character. The meeting stressed the influence exerted on this process by the Cuban revolution, which has ushered in the era of socialism in the Americas and imported new strength to the working-class movement on the continent. The documents point to the danger emanating from the designs of U.S. imperialism to maintain at all costs its domination over the economies of our countries and to continue meddling in their political, social and cultural life; they pointed to the need for unity and solidarity of the working-class movement in order to frustrate the predatory designs of the monopolies and to extend — both to the South and to the West — the socialist breakthrough effected by Cuba.

In the trade union sphere a big section of working people have combined in recent years under the impact of ideas, which bring them closer to the political vanguard of the working class.

At the beginning of 1964 a Latin American Congress of Trade Union Unity held in Brazil was attended by delegates from 18 countries. The Congress resolved to constitute itself as a permanent body in order to enable other union centers to join it and thus form a powerful continental center based on class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle.

Trade union unity is growing thanks to the participation in the movement of Socialists and Christian Democrats in Chile, Left Nationalists in Brazil, Socialists and the "Colorado" Party in Uruguay, some sectors of the Peronist movement in Argentina, supporters of the Left Revolutionary Movement in Venezuela, the People's Socialist Party in Mexico, and working people adhering to different political trends in many other countries of the continent.

The Latin American Congress of Trade Union Unity declared warm support for the Cuban revolution; approved a program of joint action; called for democratic rights and national independence and struggle for peace; specified the historical mission of the Latin American working class in the fight for the liberation of the continent.

* * *

These two gatherings took place on a foundation of growing social awareness of the Latin American proletariat.

The strike movement on the continent is an indication of the growing militancy of the Latin American proletariat. In the early 1950's an average of 2.5 million people participated in strikes in Latin America. By 1954 the figure had risen to about six million, and by 1957 reached nine million. In 1958 a total of eleven million downed tools, and by the 1960's the average number of strikers reached 20 million.

In recent years reaction has displayed greater activity in Latin America and the standard of living has declined.

Towards the end of the 1950's so-called "development" plans began to be implemented through the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Bank of Development and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Latin American Free Trade Association and the Central American Common Market were set up, and the "Alliance for Progress" announced.

It was claimed for these plans and associations that they would take Latin America out of its stagnation and backwardness, transform its socio-economic structure, promote development and raise living standards.

Behind these schemes was the International Monetary Fund. However, the measures proposed by the IMF, which included the demand for a wage freeze, quickly made it unpopular. Hence it was found necessary to offer a plan which, while pursuing the same ends, would

be acceptable not only to the governments but also to the masses. And so the program adopted in Punta del Este in 1961 was born.

It was advertised as the remedy for all the ills of the continent. In reality it boiled down to an attempt to bring together the various systems of loans and investments used by the U.S. monopolies with the aims of concealing their true nature and to make it appear that a helping hand was being held out to the peoples, by grasping which they would be able to pull themselves out of the morass of poverty and backwardness.

But although some union leaders have tried and are still trying to subordinate the unions to the imperialist designs, the majority of the working people have refused to take the bait, for soon they realized that the built-in mechanism of the "Alliance for Progress" was aimed at curtailing the sovereignty of our countries, interfere in their internal affairs; control the economic policy of the governments through bodies dominated by the monopolies; impose on the Latin American countries goods, raw materials and services from the United States; secure a total blockade of Cuba; adapt public education in our countries to U.S. aims; safeguard the U.S. companies operating in Latin America by extending the market for their goods and establishing a monopoly on the supplies of machines and raw materials so as to regulate arbitrarily the process of industrialization.

It is common knowledge that the U.S. monopolies miss no opportunity to utilize any economic "integration" in order to bring it under their control. Only a vigorous anti-imperialist struggle with the participation of the working class and the masses can create the conditions for effective economic integration of Latin America, an integration truly corresponding to the interests of each country, and enable all of them to enjoy the fruits of trade with the countries of other continents, primarily with the socialist countries.

* * *

After the assassination of Kennedy, after the Goldwater aggressive electoral program now being implemented by President Johnson, after the proclamation of the Mann doctrine and the reactionary coup in Brazil and, especially, after the naked aggression against the Dominican Republic, no one can have any doubts as to the true aims of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. As was the case at the time of the "big stick" policy, when U.S. imperialism was still young and when the marines joined with the "conquistadors" of the United Fruit Company in sowing death and destruction in the republics of Central America, Washington is again burgling other people's houses. Acting as world policeman and cynically declaring that it will not admit the emergence of another Cuba either in Latin America or elsewhere, Washington is arrogating to itself the right to commit unilateral aggression against any country in the Western Hemisphere trying to win liberation.

The point is, however, that the people of the Dominican Republic and other Latin American countries, like the people of Cuba in the past and the people of Vietnam today, are ready to fight the aggressor, relying on the solidarity of the working class and people of the world.

In these conditions the historical responsibility of the Latin American working class has grown immeasurably. The nation-wide character of the struggle facilitates the achievement of unity of the working class and its alliance with other progressive sections as well as mutual solidarity of the Latin American countries in the fight against the common enemy. In this respect the example of Argentina is significant: in this country the trade union center heads the united actions of the people—workers, students, intellectuals, office employees, peasants, women and the democratic parties. At the time of the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic the General Confederation of Argentine Working People demanded of the government that not a single Argentine soldier be sent to aid the aggressors. To a certain extent this aim was reached — the government had to abandon its intention to send troops for the so-called “inter-American peace force.” Similar situations (and their number is growing) have emerged also in other countries of Latin America.

* * *

Clearly, it would be wrong to try to fit the situation in Latin America as a whole into cut-and-dried formulas, since conditions differ from country to country. Some of the countries, for instance Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and others, have attained a definite level of industrialization (and, in some branches, a fairly high level). The economy of others is characterized by priority development for a particular branch (although this has not prevented these countries from reaching a definite level of industrialization)—mining (Chile, Peru, Bolivia), oil (Venezuela), coffee (Colombia), fruit growing (Central American republics). The specific features of this one-sided development, imposed by imperialism, determine the difference in the degree of economic and political dependence of the countries on foreign capital and the correlation of the class forces—proletariat, national bourgeoisie and middle sections.

For the working-class movement, which in its turn is at varying levels in different countries, this presupposes differences in tactics and strategy, and a variety of the ways and means chosen by each workers' party and each trade union center in the course of the revolutionary process.

This is in keeping with Marxist-Leninist teaching the correct application of which calls for cognizance of the diversity of phenomena and processes engendered by capitalist exploitation.

However, diversity does not negate the basic common feature, namely, the existence of capitalist exploitation, especially in the group of countries the history of which, both at the time

of Spanish-Portuguese colonial rule and in the period of imperialist rule, has much in common, and which determines the general trend of their liberation struggle.

The situation in the countries of Latin America shows that, notwithstanding the differences between them, the roots of their troubles are to be found in their economic structure, the basis of which is common to all Latin American countries: imperialist domination of the national economies plus semi-feudal survivals in the countryside. The principal adversaries of the people are the big (mainly North American) monopolies and their associates—the local oligarchies. This analysis provides a compass for the Latin American working-class movement, regardless of the methods or tactics of its struggle in the particular country.

Even since its inception the organized labor movement in Latin America has been permeated with strong anti-capitalist sentiment. This had its origin in the fact that at the end of the last century a considerable part of the wage workers in some countries (for instance in Argentina and Uruguay) consisted of emigrants from Europe, and also because at the beginning of the century anarchist ideology prevailed in the trade unions. This sentiment developed into a spontaneous revolt against capitalism. It is to the credit of the Marxist-Leninist teaching that, among other things, it made a profound analysis of social life and drew conclusions making it possible to determine the main enemies of the working class and the people.

The deeply *anti-imperialist* character of most of the struggles fought by the Latin American workers shows how firm are the positions won by this new and correct orientation in the working-class movement. In the course of many strikes anti-imperialist demands have been made, which is proof that the political advance of the working people in town and countryside is towards the ideas of national liberation and socialism. Of course, immediate demands—higher wages, better conditions, etc.—now have priority in the programs of the working class. However, the economic fight is becoming entwined with the political fight, with defense of democratic rights, national independence, and the principle of self-determination and non-interference, for nationalization of the foreign companies, expropriation of the latifundia and division of their lands, for trade with all countries without exception. These are anti-imperialist demands.

From the fight for immediate economic demands, which has united and rallied masses of people, a turn is being made, accompanied by ideological struggle, to large-scale national actions—for example, the fight waged by the people of Panama—for sovereignty and territorial integrity by the people of Venezuela against the domination of the oil monopolies; by the people of Brazil for the restoration of democracy and for basic economic reforms. In Chile the popular front has been close to power. In Argentina and Uruguay general

strikes have led to the fusing of the struggles for economic demands with the struggle for structural changes.

Whereas the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy nature of most of the actions is obvious, no less obvious is the clearer assessment of the class contradictions in society, the tendency to determine the basic contradiction in each instance, instead of dispersing efforts against the common enemy.

In some countries with long traditions of peasant struggle (Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, etc.) the working class has been able to win over large numbers of small-holders and agricultural laborers. In others (Argentina, Uruguay, etc), with a numerous middle class and a developed national bourgeoisie, the proletariat has been able to draw part of these social sections into the common struggle for democratic rights and curtailing the power of monopoly. Thanks to this, broad alliances have been built and popular movements have arisen, embracing diverse social sections who see their aim in fighting for concrete common aims. As a rule, these movements have a clearly expressed anti-imperialist character and, being directed against the common enemy, contribute decisively to the development of the revolutionary process.

* * *

The growth of the revolutionary movement proceeds unevenly, and in some countries the movement is still weak. It should be borne in mind that, along with the repressions by the reactionary authorities, imperialism employs various means to corrupt some trade union leaders and infiltrates the top committees of trade union associations. This cannot but have a retarding effect on the growth of the consciousness of the working class and on its unity. But in the given instance we wish to single out the new elements emerging today and which tend to develop despite all the difficulties.

On the other hand, it is indisputable that the alliances of the working class with a part of the bourgeoisie are in most cases short-lived. The bourgeoisie generally has lost its revolutionary potential. Even its new, nascent sections, which at times adopt a progressive attitude, display inconsistency and, under monopoly pressure, surrender or even commit acts of treachery. This was so in Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Argentina and other countries. The masses have learned much from this bitter experience. But one of the lessons is that if the alliance of the working class with all the social groups and sections whose interests are infringed by the monopolies and the oligarchy sometimes ends in failure, this is not because the unity policy was incorrect but because the leadership of the movement was seized by the bourgeoisie. Although it is true that in some countries the bourgeoisie plays a dominant role owing to the slow advance of the working-class movement, nevertheless the national boundaries are powerless to prevent the spread of the ideology of the most advanced class of modern society.

This ideology exerts a growing influence on the most revolutionary groups in the other social sections, thereby giving new strength to the anti-imperialist movement. Hence the working class, far from renouncing broad alliances, should fight for the leading role in them. Whereas yesterday this proved impossible, today it can become feasible, and primarily as the working class, strengthening its political parties and trade unions, becomes the decisive and determining force in the political life of the country. Working to win hegemony through developing and rallying its own forces, the working class can provide a clear-cut platform for the national-liberation movements and direct them along the path of consistent and victorious struggle.

Imperialism is well aware of this, and for this reason it spares no effort to divide the working class and to strangle trade union democracy, split the parties and thus weaken the working class and isolate it from the other sections.

It will be recalled that one of the aims of the "Alliance for Progress" is to set up or reinforce the labor aristocracy in our countries on the pattern of that in the imperialist metropolis. Imperialism seeks to bolster up the "free" trade unions, i.e., to influence the working class with a view to sidetracking it from the road of class struggle and neutralizing it on the basis of the principles of so-called "class peace." In 1964 the Argentine newspaper *Nacion*, in an editorial, defined this aim as "an important contribution by the trade union movement towards realization, now under way on the continent, of plans for economic development, including the Alliance for Progress—plans whose implementation requires sincere and free cooperation of the basic sectors of workers and employers."

In May 1963 the ministers of labor of Latin American countries, at a meeting in Bogota, held that the "free" trade unions should take an active part in the "Alliance for Progress." In November of the same year a meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, held in Sao Paulo, set up a permanent trade union committee within the framework of the "Alliance for Progress." On July 2, 1964, Thomas Mann, then Under-Secretary of State for International Affairs and the architect of the "tough line," declared in Washington that the labor movement of Latin America is decisive for the success of the "Alliance for Progress." And these were not mere words. To establish control over the labor movement, dollars poured into the accounts of reformist trade unions, the true purport of which was concealed behind such labels as "loans for housing," "deposits for trade union banks," "union-controlled social security funds," etc. Those trade union leaders who have made a deal with the class enemy and buy personal prosperity at the price of treachery are abandoning class positions. The American Institute for Free Labor Development, functioning in Washington and headed by Serafino Romualdi, AFL-CIO repre-

sentative for Latin America, has set up, with the support of these leaders, subsidiaries in a number of Latin American countries. Spokesmen of the big monopolies have expressed full support for this initiative. Henry Woodbridge, president of the True Temper Corporation, said in this connection that there can be no free enterprise without free trade unions just as there can be no free trade unions without free enterprise. The budget of the American Institute for Free Labor Development in 1963 amounted to \$1,141,509. This sum, undoubtedly, was provided by the monopolies. However, the efforts of the imperialists are doomed to failure. The revolutionary process in Latin America is irreversible. Whatever steps are taken by the International Monetary Fund and the "Alliance for Progress," they cannot even patch the holes in the system, the crisis of which is deepening year by year and month by month. Even the sponsors of these measures admit that they have suffered a fiasco. On the other hand, the steady progress made by the socialist world is exerting a growing influence on Latin American working people, while the example of the Cuban revolution impels them to step up the struggle. The ideological struggle is gaining scope. The propaganda machine of the imperialist monopolies is powerless to safeguard the dominant ideology when it contrasts

so sharply with the social reality. In Argentina, for example, the people are moving to the Left. The shift has not yet assumed any organizational form, but it has helped bring about the realization of the need for *structural changes* which has inspired the Plan of Action proposed by the General Confederation of Argentine Working People. Similar trends are observed in Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador and other countries, where the people are coming to realize the need for basic changes. Agrarian reform, nationalization and self-determination are no longer simply slogans but aspects of the day-to-day fight.

After years of selfless and difficult struggle conducted in the conditions of persecution, arrests and assassinations, the unremitting work of the Communist and Workers' parties is beginning to yield fruit. Ever bigger sections of the working-class movement recognize the Communist parties as their vanguard, which is exerting a growing influence on the struggle of the working class, a struggle now gaining momentum in all countries of Latin America. The people have a common goal—abolition of imperialist rule and liberation of their countries. Cementing the bonds of solidarity, the people are marching ahead towards their common future—freedom, well-being, progress and socialism.

Student youth and the Latin-American revolution

ROQUE DALTON

I.

OF LATE THERE HAS BEEN a marked growth of interest in Latin America in the theoretical elaboration of the socio-political, economic and organizational problems posed by the continental revolution. The deep-going changes in the situation on the continent under the impact of the Cuban revolution, the crystallization of a tangible socialist perspective in Latin America, and the new U.S. imperialist strategy of aggression make it all the more imperative to systematize and generalize the complex revolutionary experience of recent years. In the circumstances it is natural that new theoretical and political theses should be put forward, that

research and discussion should acquire an increasing scale and that conferences and meetings be held on these issues.

Salient among the problems now being studied and debated is that of the motive forces and the social vanguard of the revolution. It is important to find the correct solution of this problem in order to work out the strategy and tactics of the struggle against imperialism and the local oligarchy both on a national and continental scale.

I should like to pose in this article a number of problems connected with the socio-political activity of the *student youth*. The significant role which this social group plays today in the revolutionary movement in most Latin Ameri-

can countries is underscored in political documents of recent years beginning with the Second Havana Declaration, and also by research on the subject.

Already in its initial phase the student movement on the continent emerged beyond the narrow confines of struggle for its own specific, parochial demands and advanced as its main aim the solution of key national problems. Students became the harbingers and active participants of the fight against dictatorships, for democratic rights, against foreign domination and exploitation, for the consolidation of newly-won national independence, and in support of the socio-economic demands of the working class and the peasantry.

The continent-wide movement for university reform in the twenties was one of the sources of the present-day revolutionary movement in Latin America.

It was the students and recent graduates of the Havana University and other Cuban colleges, led by Fidel Castro, once a student leader himself, who accomplished the assault on the Moncada Barracks and who later formed the initial core of the Rebel Army in the Sierra Maestra as well as of the underground anti-Batista movements in the towns.

In the 'sixties the Central University in Caracas, the cradle of the popular armed revolutionary struggle in Venezuela, became a "little Stalingrad." And in May last year, when the "gorillas" broke into the northern precincts of embattled Santo Domingo, they shot on the spot not only those local people whose clothing showed signs of their having carried rifles, but also those who were in possession of a *student's* card. This fact, so reminiscent of the shooting of the men with calloused hands in the streets of Paris in May 1871, is indicative of the role played by students in the revolutionary movement of Latin America and the recognition of this role by a mortal enemy at a critical juncture.

What place do students occupy in the class structure of our countries? What is it that impels them to join the revolutionary struggle? The answers to these questions will lay the groundwork for an examination of their present struggles and their role in the united anti-imperialist front.

We can agree with the French sociologist Gilbert Muri that the class affiliation of a student is determined by the source of income of his parents.

Most Latin American students come from families belonging to the urban middle classes. The percentage of those of working-class and peasant origin is still small. For example, in Chile only 0.8 per cent came from worker and peasant families in 1964, and in Uruguay only four per cent are workers' children. In most of the other countries the percentage is still lower.

Although individually students belong to different classes and social strata, they all share a specific common social mode of life; in other words, they are a *social group consisting of a*

number of classes. Gramsci, whom most Latin American writers on the subject quote, described them as a *derivative* social group.

Students find a common denominator in the fact that they are being trained to be the future technological, scientific and socio-cultural cadres of society. Hence their aggregate knowledge of the structure and problems of society, and also the degree of their participation in the activities of other groups, strata and classes, are rather considerable. The very heterogeneity of their social composition—connected as they are to a lesser or greater extent with all the sections of a society in which the productive forces, seeking room for expansion, come into collision with the production relations and which is divided into antagonistic classes—dialectically results in a specific kind of unity. Students are aware that the structure of the society in which they propose to enter the production process or to perform other important functions limits their development potential.

This is strikingly manifest in the economically underdeveloped Latin America. "The semi-feudal and semi-colonial structure," the journal of the Association of Latin American Students in Federal Germany says, "offers no opportunity for large-scale training of national technical and scientific cadres; a substantial part of the population is illiterate; university students have extremely limited opportunities for research and invention; the interests of the national technical cadres are sacrificed to the technological missions of big U.S. companies." Such well-known facts as the predominance in the universities of the continent of the humanities and law departments (in spite of the crying shortage of technological personnel and the lack of opportunities which the humanities graduates often experience) or the emigration of specialists from some of the countries (Chile in particular) to more developed areas of the world are very much in the order of things.

The total of social relationships in the Latin American countries objectively acts as a brake on science and the training of much-needed national cadres, and restricts opportunities for application of their knowledge. This contradiction is all the more acute because of the problems posed by the technological revolution and the awareness of these problems on the part of our students.

This is one of the main factors underlying the students' resolute opposition to the existing order of things.

Students are impelled to the revolutionary movement also by such intrinsic elements of their way of life and psychology as the *traditions* of democratic struggle, which in the course of the past half century have become a material force; by the university autonomy and relative inviolability of the campuses won as a result of this struggle; by the comparative ease with which students can be organized, and the consequent high degree of organization characteristic of them.

Then there is the traditional student non-conformism, their indifference to conventions

and defiance of bans, their spirit of rebellion and gravitation towards the new.

These are some of the environmental and psychological factors which in Latin American conditions make students especially receptive to progressive ideas and facilitate their enlistment in the struggle to realize these ideas. Their socio-political role and the nature of their struggle are determined also by a number of more far-reaching and deep-seated motives.

It is natural that the student youth and the intelligentsia—the “intellectual elite” of Latin American society—should be the first to realize the need for change and to see the kind of change the people need. This is the rule in all countries on the threshold of revolutionary changes, especially those at the stage of historical development now reached in Latin America.

The general deterioration in the conditions of the middle classes likewise tends to make students more radical-minded. Neither the social groups from which the majority of the students come nor those to which most will belong after graduation have any social perspective in the present conditions in Latin America which imperialism is doing its utmost to preserve. While it is true that the preponderance in the student body of middle-strata people is the source of much ideological and political vacillation, it is equally true that this is also one of the factors determining the radicalism of our student youth.

Of enormous importance is the circumstance that in Latin America (as distinct from many countries of Western Europe, for instance) the principal political issues have long revolved around struggle for national independence and dignity, for political rights and civil liberties, and against the military-police dictatorships, puppet regimes and legalized corruption, other socio-economic problems with more far-reaching implications often remain in the background for the time being. How large this struggle looms—practically to the exclusion of everything else—to the student youth and to petty-bourgeois democrats in general is common knowledge. It is not fortuitous that the Latin American student youth have written some of the finest pages in their history precisely in the struggle against dictators (Machado, Batista, Perez Jimenez, Ubico, Martinez, Trujillo and the present military junta in Ecuador) and against naked U.S. intervention (Panama and the Dominican Republic).

Lastly, the students being part of the *youth generally*, reflect all the features of this period in one's life, including class consciousness still in the process of crystallization, high-minded idealism, revolutionary romanticism, and faith in their own powers (not to speak of the predominance of emotion over reason). These, then, are the factors which in mid-twentieth-century Latin America impel students to join the ranks of the revolutionaries.

Alas, youth and student years are transient. Usually it is taken for granted that after

graduation young people often forget the revolutionary principles they once upheld, frequently at the risk of their lives, and settle down to a measured life within the framework of the existing order. This has indeed happened often enough. But times are changing. The evolution of the socio-political views of the student youth and, what is more important, changes in the objective situation are creating the prerequisites for putting an end to the traditional concept of young people “coming to their senses.” For what yesterday was only a radiant but vague ideal has become the reality on the first free territory in the Americas and is becoming a tangible prospect in all other countries in this part of the world.

We all know how much in accord with the aspirations and mood of young people are the practical realities of the socialist revolution in Cuba with its struggle against all forms of human alienation, with its sense of dignity and fulfilment, and with its capacity to infuse the youth with a lofty sense of responsibility for the future of society. And is not the story of people like Che Guevara a tangible embodiment of the cherished dreams of the youth about the new, full-blooded, liberated man, the man of the future who is already knocking at the door?

II.

These, as we see it, are the basic factors which account for the high degree of socio-political activity displayed by the Latin American student youth.

Nevertheless we should not close our eyes to the contradictions peculiar to their socio-political life which are reflected in the student movement throughout the continent. Above all there is the likelihood of objective class affiliations prompting some to become champions of the foundations (“modernized,” perhaps) of the present system.

There are student centers (in Catholic universities and elsewhere) which serve as ideological strongholds of reaction, and in the student movement as such we find many different political trends, including fascist groups such as the MURO in Mexico, official and pro-government organizations, conservative Catholic trends and liberal bourgeois groups. (The Tacuara, a Nazi organization in Argentina, for instance, consists mostly of students.)

The student movement also suffers from a number of serious shortcomings which might be called “outgrowths” of its positive features. The fact that at times, when the struggle is mainly centered around socio-economic issues, students tend to stand aloof from the common struggle is the reverse side of their sensitivity to “purely political” problems, primarily the problem of political and civil rights. The opposition offered by the majority of the university youth in some of the countries to the main forces of the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy movement in the postwar period is to some extent a case in point. This has happened, in par-

ticular, where bourgeois nationalists with more or less pronounced anti-imperialist leanings and enjoying support by the working people have come to power and the traditional quasi-democratic attributes of oligarchic rule have been broken down by revolutionary processes.*

Owing to objective reasons and their narrow class outlook, the groups at the head of the new regimes were in no hurry to set up democratic institutions, or actually resisted "democratic institutionalization." This is one of the main reasons why the student youth was opposed to the Peronist regime in Argentina and to the revolution in Bolivia. In both cases this was a big factor in splitting the progressive front.

In Bolivia it was clearly a matter of the student youth being prompted also by more prosaic, narrow class motives (the threat to the estates and other property of their fathers, and fear of losing their future position in the ruling elite). Still more indicative in this respect is the example of Guatemala where successive generations of students have always fought against the dictatorship; but there in the 'forties and 'fifties, as the revolutionary process became increasingly spearheaded against the property interests of the dominant classes, it affected the students who, in the majority, sided with the reactionary opposition bloc. After the democratic victory in 1944, 80 per cent of the National Congress consisted of students and leaders of the student movement, but a few years later only 10 per cent remained supporters of the revolution. The majority of the students supported the counter-revolution throughout the entire period of the Arbenz administration. This seriously retarded the consolidation of the revolution and hastened its defeat in 1954.

The growing influence of the *Christian Democrat trend* is another complex and contradictory process characteristic of the student movement on our continent to which the revolutionary parties should pay special attention. This trend is stimulated both by factors impelling the student movement as a whole leftward and by the transition to the camp of Catholic reformism of the Right-wing and once politically passive elements. The growth of this trend is a response to the advance of the revolutionary movement and to its difficulties, to the evolution of middle-strata social psychology, to our own weaknesses and, needless to say, to the new attitude towards the traditional order of things taken by influential sections of the Catholic hierarchy. (Suffice it to recall the words of the Cardinal of Recife in Brazil: "It is not the fact that there are many Communists in the revolutionary movement that should worry us, but the fact that it includes so few Catholics.") In an increasing number of countries (Chile, Venezuela, Bolivia, Argen-

tina, El Salvador, Guatemala, etc.) it is the Christian Democratic trend which is today the main rival of the revolutionary forces in the student movement, or, on the contrary, their principal ally, or both at once, depending on the time and place.

Speaking of the contradictions in the continental student movement, mention should be made also of internal weaknesses of its revolutionary democratic sector. But despite the difficulties and contradictions this sector is the most influential and most dynamic contingent of the Latin American student youth.

III.

The rise of the socialist world, the intensification of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and the revolutionary upswing in Latin America which began in the late fifties, which found its supreme expression in the victory and development of the Cuban revolution and which is continuing today, despite the gingerbread of the Alliance for Progress and the knout of the Johnson-Mann doctrine, have exerted a powerful influence on the student youth of our continent. I should like to dwell on three interconnected aspects of this influence.

First, there is the *direct impact of the ideas* and also the *practice and organizational methods of the Cuban revolution*. Second, the *growing participation of students in popular struggle* and the fact that they identify their interests with the fight for national liberation. Third, the fact that more than ever before they see in *Marxism* in guide to action.

The circumstance that the leaders of the victorious struggle of the Cuban people had not long before been participants in battles fought on college campuses made the students more receptive to the message and lessons of Cuba. Although the overall tendency of student actions on the continent had always been towards more far-reaching and radical aims, 1959 ushered in something entirely new in this respect.

The fact that in Cuba the students came to play a key part in building socialism is proof of the advance in the political thinking of the Latin American student youth. This evolution has now assumed an even broader continental character thanks above all to the example of Cuba and also to the activities of Communist organizations. The traditional Right-wing groups (conservative, Right-wing Catholic, etc.) are disintegrating in the Latin American universities. More and more student movements adhering to revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist positions are springing up. As a matter of fact, most Latin American universities have become strongholds of the revolutionary struggle. Even the growth of Christian Democrat influence does not signify that the student movement is not becoming more radical. For it is the struggle against the oligarchies and imperialism, for national liberation and the establishment of a democratic government advanc-

*The inevitability of a certain contradiction between the requirements of the revolutionary process in Latin America and the demand for the continued functioning of institutions of formal democracy was correctly pointed out by P. Motta Lima in his recent article in this journal.

ing towards socialism that determines to one or another extent the political actions of most young people attending secondary and higher schools.

The influence of the revolutionary Left is now predominant in the universities of Mexico, Venezuela, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Panama, Nicaragua, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru and Uruguay. In Chile and Argentina the majority of the students support the revolutionary trends and the Left Christian Democrats; in Colombia, Honduras and Bolivia the Left and conservative groups are about equally balanced.

Needless to say, U.S. imperialism and its local flunkies are doing everything to suppress students actions and prevent them from taking a revolutionary direction. Undermining student unity at national and international levels; planting spies and provocateurs in the movement; gangster methods; bribery of students and faculty members; raising obstacles to genuine student participation in university self-government; brainwashing under the sponsorship of the U.S. State Department (anti-communist propaganda and exchange of students and hand-picked teachers between Latin American and U.S. universities); press campaigns against university institutions and the student movement; economic pressure on the part of the government to get university authorities to control student activities; attempts to turn higher schools into private profit-making undertakings—these are some of the maneuvers of the reactionaries.

But regardless of this, the political consciousness of the student youth is growing.

The broadening of their objectives throws light on the potential which students represent at the successive stages of the fight for national liberation and, eventually, for socialism. It is doubtful if the adverse turns which accompanied the development of the democratic revolution in Guatemala and Bolivia will be repeated in the future. We believe that the prospects of student participation not only in the revolution but in the subsequent consolidation of people's rule are much better.

* * *

The revolutionary students are by no means confining themselves to propaganda or to activities on the campus.

Their affiliation with the Left and commitment to the revolution are borne out by their active participation in all aspects of the struggle against imperialism and the reactionaries, for the revolutionary regeneration of the continent. In this respect 1965 was symptomatic. Revolutionary student struggles gained ground in nearly all Latin American countries. In the Dominican Republic the students were, as they still are, in the forefront of the fight against the U.S. intervention, sealing in blood their dedication to the revolution. In Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Peru thousands of students supported the armed struggle waged by the revolutionary vanguard, joining guerrilla

detachments and helping to rally the people against the reactionary regimes. In Argentina and Uruguay, Chile and Mexico, the Central American countries, Columbia and Venezuela they took part in mass actions in solidarity with the people of the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. In Ecuador, Brazil, Bolivia and Paraguay, despite the difficult conditions and repressions, they continued to fight the dictatorships. Panamanian students carried on an unflagging struggle for the restoration of their country's sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

In many countries student organizations have become, or are in a process of becoming, important links in united anti-imperialist fronts, movements for national sovereignty, and Left coalitions (especially in Guatemala, El Salvador, Panama, Venezuela, Ecuador, Brazil, Uruguay and, latterly, Argentina).

In recent years revolutionary students have played a big role in *bringing the masses in action* and, in a number of cases, in *organizing* them. Venezuelan experience is useful in this respect. Despite the brutal repressions, young people attending secondary and higher schools were to the fore in organizing militant actions. In many cases the Communist Party first struck root in the lyceums and universities. "First the lyceum student becomes a young Communist," a leader of the Venezuelan student movement told the author of this article, "then the young Communists establish contact with the people in the given locality, and in this way help form a Party branch." Students of the country's five universities carry on similar work during the vacation when they go to all parts of the country. The experience of the Venezuelan students in organizing the people is all the more valuable since it has been accumulated at a time when the revolutionary organizations are being subjected to the most exacting of all tests—in the crucible of the popular armed struggle.

Students in El Salvador have also shown that they are an effective mobilizing and organizing force. When the Lemus dictatorship was overthrown in October 1960 and a progressive military-civilian junta came to power, the chief shortcoming of the popular movement—its organizational weakness—became patent. The new climate made it possible for the first time since the massacre of 1932 to establish contact with the working people, primarily in the countryside, the University Students Association embarked on intensive organizational activity. During the three months of junta rule more democratic political organizations, resistance groups representing an embryonic form of revolutionary committees, and local united front committees were formed than in the preceding thirty years of popular struggle. Consequently, the popular movement had its organizations throughout the country when a reactionary coup re-established military tyranny in January 1961. Most of these organizations exist to this day, providing a base for the present upswing of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement. Much of the credit for

the progress made in rallying the people thus belongs to the students.

Further proof of the students' readiness for self-sacrifice and their organizational abilities is the fact that many of them have joined the most advanced forms of revolutionary struggle in the countries where these forms have been entered on the order of the day.

In Cuba, Guatemala, Venezuela, Peru, Paraguay, Honduras and Nicaragua students have played a decisive role in armed struggle, at least in the initial phase of the guerrilla movement. In Venezuela, according to an Army report, four out of five guerrillas taken prisoner, killed in actions or identified by the authorities in the first few months of guerrilla action were students. (Today the situation is somewhat different: the guerrillas have firmly established themselves in the countryside and are replenished mainly by the rural population). Apprehension has been voiced in some quarters that the consequences of this state of affairs might be highly undesirable. The fact that many students have lost their lives in action is taken as evidence that, having been brought up in an urban milieu, they are ill-adapted to the conditions of guerrilla warfare. As we see it, the problem of their participation should be approached from the standpoint of the needs of the struggle in each instance, instead of trying to apply some general pattern. There are, however, also other political and theoretical questions with a direct or indirect bearing on this problem which, we believe, are both important and highly debatable.

IV.

As noted above, the students, or rather their majority, are regarded in nearly all Latin American countries as *part of the revolutionary vanguard*. What does this imply?

On the broad historical plane the social vanguard of modern society is the working class since its aspirations and interests accord with the needs of social development. In this sense the working class is always the most progressive class regardless of the present level of its political consciousness or actual participation in the concrete political struggle at any particular time. The party of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist party, is the conscious vanguard of the revolutionary movement expressing its fundamental and general interests. History, including the history of the recent past which has delivered pretty severe blows to many dogmatist distortions of Marxism, shows that "... society can launch out on the non-capitalist path under the leadership of any democratic class. But this path can be traversed to the end and the transition to socialism effected only under the leadership of the working class ... headed by the Marxist-Leninist vanguard." (*WMR*, No. 2, 1963, p. 44). In this respect Cuba is a striking example.

So that when we say that students are part of the revolutionary vanguard in Latin America this should be understood primarily in the

sense that many of them are in the *front ranks of the liberation struggle, that most students uphold, and at times express, the interests of the working class and equate their own interests with the national demands of the people*. Careless use of the term "vanguard" in its two meanings—as a historic-theoretical category and in the sense of analogy with military terminology in the generally accepted political language current in Latin America—has caused much confusion, which found expression in debates on the issue of the "vanguard" and the specific role of the students in the revolutionary struggle.

Nor have the revolutionary forces always succeeded in avoiding this confusion. "A desire to play the leading role," "vanguardism," "rejection of revolutionary theory," "paternalism with regard to the working class" (the latter mainly in the Caribbean countries) were among the charges levelled against the student movement. In Venezuela, for example, students were charged with having "arrogated to themselves the right to speak on behalf of the majority of the population." At the same time, the revolutionary leadership was rebuked for "following the lead of the youth and the students." Comrade Motta Lima, in the article referred to above, mentioned that some time ago in ednt movement" appeared even in the Communist Party and that, moreover, "attempts were made to weaken it on the pretext that it questioned the leading role of the working class."

In recent years, however, the Communist parties have rid themselves of sectarian tendencies in this matter, thanks to the part played by the students in the united anti-imperialist and national fronts. Today charges list and disruptive groups, or by spokesmen of the pro-imperialist leaders of trade unions affiliated to ORIT.

Without denying the need to combat "hot-headed," extremist (and at times defeatist) tendencies or unstable views among the students, it should be said that most of the Left student organizations lay no claim to any leading role in the revolutionary movement; on the contrary, they frankly condemn actions of an extremist or vanguardist nature. Their declared purpose is to help to organize and enlighten the working class, to make it the dominant class. Of course these tasks are fulfilled primarily by the Marxist-Leninist parties, and students do their bit as members of these parties or of their youth organizations. Decisions of the Latin American student organizations stress that the leadership in the political struggle, which is an expression of class struggle, whatever its level or forms, "belongs to the revolutionary parties as the parties of the exploited classes and social groups participating in the revolution" and "other revolutionary organizations of the exploited classes in a united anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy front."

This is the attitude of the majority of the

Left organizations of the Latin American university students with regard to their place in the revolutionary vanguard, an attitude which, we feel, fully accords with Marxist ideology. Exhortations to fight for "student hegemony" or "against student domination" are, in our view, mistaken. To pose the question in this way, whatever the subjective intentions might be, is to sow confusion, to provoke differences between the working-class and student movements and thereby weaken the revolutionary movement as a whole.

* * *

What has been said here should not be taken to imply that in some countries in some circumstances and at particular moments the student movement cannot *objectively* become a force capable of being in the van of the revolutionary struggle and, in a sense, of taking the lead in the struggle. On the contrary. This is a possibility which in the northern part of Latin America has been realized on more than one occasion.

Such developments are clearly due to the operation of objective laws. History shows that in an advanced capitalist society hegemony can belong to one of two classes. The dominant class, i.e., the class which imposes its solutions of the basic problems of social life, which unites under its leadership the greater part of the politically active forces of the country and whose ideological influence extends to the bulk of the population, can be the bourgeoisie, in which case we have a "normal" capitalist society. Or the dominant class can be the working class, in which case a socialist revolution (or its decisive stage) is imminent. In these conditions the "autonomy" of other classes (petty bourgeoisie, the urban middle sections, the peasantry) and derivative groups is, generally speaking, short-lived and illusory. (The sole exception perhaps is the administrative bureaucracy, and even then only in the definite crisis phase of development).

In the earlier phases of capitalism, and especially in those parts of the world and in those countries experiencing these phases in the twentieth century in conditions of economic enslavement and under-development, things are different. Here—we have in mind Latin America (although the foregoing applies, perhaps in greater measure to African and Asian countries)—by virtue of commonly known factors, the process of the *bourgeoisie becoming the hegemonic class* has lagged hopelessly compared with the development of *industry and capitalism*. In most countries on our continent the bourgeoisie as a class does not, and now apparently never will, play a role similar to that played by the West European bourgeoisie since the nineteenth century.

The Latin American bourgeoisie proved unable, or unwilling, to head the struggle for the destruction of the traditional semi-colonial and semi-feudal structure, for democracy and for overcoming economic backwardness, i.e., for the solution of objective tasks with which history confronted Latin America in the mid-

twentieth century. On the contrary, this bourgeoisie in most cases acted as an additional social impediment to this struggle. And in all likelihood Latin America will make its "leap into the twentieth century" under the leadership of entirely different forces, antagonistic to the bourgeoisie. Many of the factors which determined the fate of the bourgeoisie in Russia, along with other factors associated with the domination of foreign imperialism, are operating in this direction.

On the other hand, for reasons we shall not go into here since they require special examination, the working class in many of the Latin American countries has not yet become the hegemonic class. At the same time disintegration of the old socio-political structure, based on the omnipotence of the traditional oligarchies and the passivity of the enslaved peasant masses, has since the thirties acquired an irreversible and general character. Thus, in our societies there have appeared elements of a "vacuum of public leadership," skin to the "spinelessness" of which Ortego-y-Gasset spoke referring to the Spain of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Herein we have one of the reasons why the process of transition from the old political superstructure to the new has assumed such protracted and specific forms in most Latin American countries (the establishment of authoritarian-nationalistic regimes in a number of countries and dictatorships of a semi-fascist type in the countries of the Andes and the Caribbean basin, the *violencia* in Colombia, the Christian Democrat experiment in Chile, etc.).

In these conditions the *Army, the intelligentsia, students, the bureaucracy*, and—although to a lesser degree—the *peasantry, the urban middle classes* (and also declassed elements) play a *bigger* and more *independent* political role over a longer period of time than was formerly the case in Western Europe.

In the final analysis, of course, the activity of these classes and groups is an expression of one of three main objective trends of development in Latin American society (reactionary, corresponding to the interests of the oligarchy and imperialism; bourgeois-reformist; the national and social revolution). But it should be borne in mind that the main section of the Latin American *bourgeoisie* is no longer capable of supporting the actions of "its" intellectuals and other groups, actions objectively directed toward creating the conditions for independent capitalist development. And yet in most of the Andes and Caribbean countries the *basic* section of the working people, including the main forces of the proletariat, have not yet taken an active attitude in support of the revolution, in support of the vanguard which, expressing their own objective interests and doing everything to awaken the consciousness and activity of the masses, is paving the way for revolutionary solutions. (This occurs where the working class is not numerous and where its organizations have been weakened as a result of splits, or where the working-class move-

ment, owing to the influence of reformism or to ruthless exploitation, is less militant). A situation of this kind sometimes occurs in countries where many objective conditions for revolution already exist and where a revolutionary situation is maturing.

In these circumstances the students, who in the Caribbean countries (and in the Upper Andes) often comprise the most active and mobile section of the revolutionary vanguard, emerge as a kind of *social detonator* (or catalyst), which extends the revolutionary tension of the moment to other social groups and classes objectively interested in the struggle. In some cases student actions (guided by the revolutionary political movements) take the form of street manifestations, in some, the formation of insurgent centers, and in others, powerful political campaigns.

It can be said that, against the background of a maturing revolutionary situation, the positive (and at times negative) attitudes of the students as a social group become particularly manifest. In these conditions the specific character of the socio-political motivation of the student actions is more clearly revealed than at any other time.

But this specific quality is manifested above all as the students' preoccupation with the *common* (the national, democratic interest. At such moments the immediate interests and demands of the students as a social group are relegated to the background. On the other hand, the working class, peasantry and other sections of the working people join in the struggle primarily in defense of their own class interests which, objectively, for them are synonymous with the "common interests." This is perhaps one explanation for the swift and active reaction of the students at times of political crises and for the relative instability of their movements.

In other words, the real difficulty in the relationship between the working class and the students in the context of the revolutionary movement, of the revolutionary vanguard of Latin America, consists, we believe, in the following.

The history of many countries—and particularly at the stage at which Latin America now finds itself—knows of situations when the radical intellectual youth "awakens," enlightens and organizes the working-class movement. This took place at one time in France and in Germany, in Russia and in the Balkans. There this situation was relatively shortlived, for the working class became the basic force of the socialist movement. The revolutionary intelligentsia merged with this basic force in the mass working-class parties, losing its specific status precisely because it had fulfilled its *historical mission*.

In Latin America, however, this situation appears to be considerably more prolonged; the development of the working class as a "class for itself," the growth of its political activity and independence, is an extremely tortuous and zigzag process. It seems to us in fact that in

most of the countries on our continent, outside the "southern cone," these processes have not yet reached the degree of maturity they acquired, say, in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century. On the other hand, for the reasons cited above, the political and revolutionary activity of the intelligentsia and the students is on an extremely high level. Moreover, in our view, despite the qualitative advance observed in the working-class movement, this discrepancy between the level of consciousness and militancy of the vanguard, on the one hand, and the basic mass of the working class, on the other, has not diminished here even in the years of the present revolutionary upsurge. That is why, we believe, situations can arise in this part of our continent where the working class, the "historical vanguard," does not head the "concrete struggle in a concrete period"—in which case the role of the shock force of the movement is assumed by "the real, concrete vanguard," i.e., as often as not by one or another contingent of the intellectuals, which is joined by and in which are "integrated" the progressive sections of the working class (and not vice versa).

It should be stressed again that situations of this kind arise irrespective of the will of the revolutionary intellectuals, whose efforts are directed precisely at "impelling" the main mass of the working people to the forefront of the struggle as quickly as possible. Such a disposition of social groups indicates primarily that that weaknesses of the movement have not yet been overcome. It may perhaps be said that the lag in the process of joining in *conscious revolutionary struggle* on the part of the basic masses of the working people has, in the situation prevailing on the continent after the Cuban revolution, been the principal internal obstacle to the development of the Latin American revolution, the objective foundation for the disagreements in the revolutionary camp and the mistakes committed by the revolutionary forces. This, it seems to us, is something which those studying the problems of the Latin American revolution today often forget.

The difference in the rate of the growth of political consciousness is the cause at times of a real gulf between the "concrete vanguard" and the main mass of the proletariat. And this has its dangers, particularly at times when the revolutionary situation and the revolution itself are developing.

In Latin America—even in its Caribbean section—the "radius of autonomy" of the actions of the derivative social groups and petty-bourgeois strata with whom as a rule they are associated is far less than in the Asian and African countries. For here the influence and potential of imperialism and the bourgeois-latifundist bloc (and, since Cuba, their resistance) are much stronger. On the other hand, wage-earners comprise the bulk of the population here. On our continent the objective trends and imperatives lead to situations in which, in successfully developing revolutions, the socialist aspects come to the fore much more

quickly, and this, apart from everything else, drives a considerable part of the petty bourgeoisie into the camp of reaction. *In these circumstances the vanguard*—the advanced sections of the proletariat, the revolutionary students, the revolutionary-minded intellectuals, some groups of the peasantry, etc.—*must as quickly as possible build a firm unity with the main mass of the working people, and primarily with the wage-earners of town and country who become the leading force of the revolution* (as was the case in Cuba), *or suffer a crushing defeat.*

But this correlation between the vanguard and the main forces is fraught with danger in the phase immediately preceding the revolutionary situation as well. It leads, as we have pointed out, to a deepening of the *differences within the revolutionary camp*. As a result, there is a diffusion of effort, so to speak, some groups and trends of revolutionaries concentrating on preparing and carrying out vanguard actions (however restricted this vanguard might be) and elevating this to a principle (such thinking has on more than one occasion ended in adventurism), others focussing their attention exclusively on “the main forces”—a dangerous tendency that at times led to passivity, to regarding all direct—at first glance isolated—actions of the vanguard as “putschism” and “Left adventurism.”

It seems to us, however, that this contradictory situation derives above all from the general advance of the revolutionary process. In certain conditions the further development of

the struggle of the vanguard (including transition to armed struggle) may prove to be the way to remove the contradiction, the decisive lever for “catapulting” the masses to the front line of decisive action. The selfless actions of the vanguard may be the “small engine” that sets the “big engine” of mass struggle into motion. This is the essence of the course consciously pursued by the revolutionary forces in Cuba in the mid-fifties, and in Venezuela and Guatemala in the early sixties.

Of course the *success* of such a course presupposes a complex of political and socio-psychological conditions (the “big engine” must be properly “fuelled” and its “batteries” must be charged).

It is the task of the revolutionary parties of the continent to establish, to sense the maturity of these conditions as accurately as did Fidel Castro and his comrades in Cuba ten years ago.

* * *

One of the tasks of revolutionary leadership is constantly to strengthen contacts with the student movement, to extend its organizational base in this movement, promoting the unity of the working class, peasantry and students on a national scale on the basis of a realistic and flexible program of joint action. This brings us to another point, namely, that of the work of the party of the working class—the political vanguard of the revolution—among the students and other derivative groups. But this, we believe, should be the subject of another article.

Some problems of the working class movement in Latin America

(Notes of a trade unionist)

LUIS FIGUEROA

WHAT ARE THE MOTIVE forces of the liberation struggle in Latin America and, specifically, what is the *principal* and *leading force* in this struggle? This is the subject of a lively discussion in the anti-imperialist camp and particularly among the revolutionaries of Latin America.

Even if this were a purely theoretical discussion with a view to clarifying the general concept, it would be both interesting and worthwhile. But (on our continent at any rate) it is more than that: it is prompted by the urgent need to find solutions for the problems of the day-to-day revolutionary struggle in the conditions of a maturing revolutionary situation in Latin America. In these circumstances the question of the basic force is directly linked with the problem of tempos and results of the development of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, and, subsequently, the socialist revolution.

Some comrades maintain that the main force in the Latin American revolution is the peasantry led by the revolutionary intelligentsia, or that the vanguard is to be found among the middle strata or the students. There is a body of opinion which holds that while historically the working class is destined to lead the social revolution, in the concrete conditions of Latin America it is as yet too backward, poorly organized and lacking in revolutionary consciousness to be able to do so.

It is true that in the initial stages of the anti-colonial or agrarian-anti-imperialist revolution such a correlation of class forces is possible. But it is likewise clear that the victory of that revolution and the further development of the revolutionary process toward socialism cannot be ensured unless the positions

of the proletariat are consolidated, unless there is a steady growth in the influence wielded by the revolutionary vanguard, equipped with the working-class ideology—Marxism-Leninism.

In this connection we should like to draw attention to some aspects of the problem of the working class and the present stage of the revolution in Latin America, which in our view are sometimes overlooked in the present discussion. Numerically, the working class in Latin America is growing rapidly. Moreover, the process of the proletariat becoming a "class for itself" is expressed in the broadening and deepening of the working-class struggle on the continent, in the evolution of its objectives and in the changed forms and methods of its struggle, and in the fact that the first of its national contingents—the Cuban proletariat—has become the ruling class.

This is not to say that in all the countries the entire working class (or its major part) has already gone over to the side of the revolution. Nevertheless it is important to appreciate how great a potential force is the Latin American proletariat, and how much depends on whither its energies are directed. In the meantime considerable changes are taking place in the general socio-economic situation on the continent. These should be studied both on the scale of the continent as a whole as well as in the national context in order the better to perceive the levers that can open the floodgates of the revolution destined to liberate our peoples, and to act accordingly.

SOME TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Just as the October Revolution in 1917 and the building of the first socialist state acceler-

ated the march of history and greatly influenced the development of the entire international revolutionary movement, primarily in Europe and Asia, the Cuban revolution and the establishment of the first socialist state in the Americas have radically changed the situation in Latin America. The class struggle on the entire continent has been raised to a higher level; the Cuban revolution posed a series of new problems, and confronted our revolutionaries with the urgent need to study and assimilate the new experience as quickly as possible.

The impact of Cuba is felt to a greater or lesser degree in all our countries depending on the level of the class struggle in each. The enduring power of this influence is explained not only by the enthusiasm with which the peoples of the continent reacted to the legendary exploit of their brothers, the boldness of the challenge to the common enemy, and the victory over the imperialist Goliath. The impact of Cuba on the masses of our continent has its "material basis" as well—the acute crisis of the traditional socio-economic structure common to all our countries.

Imperialist exploitation and latifundist ownership of lands are a burden on the national economy of all these countries, retarding its development. The working people bear the brunt of the rapacious policy of imperialism in league with the oligarchic minority, and the costly concomitants of that policy. The people retaliate by broadening and deepening the front of anti-imperialist struggle, and primarily against the domination of U.S. imperialism which extends to all aspects of life in the Latin American countries. With each decade, each new upsurge of the revolutionary wave, the scope of the movement against the existing order expands: some sections of the bourgeoisie go over to the camp of reaction, but at the same time more and more working people awaken from their political lethargy to join in the struggle. Radicalization of new sections of the middle strata takes place.

A new alignment of forces favorable to the development of the struggle for national and social emancipation is emerging on the continent. Latin America is becoming one of the main fronts of the world battle against imperialism, for the world socialist revolution.

It is important, however, to see that this is by no means a smooth process. It has its ups and downs, its development is determined by the correlation of forces in each country and in the hemisphere as a whole, by the greater or lesser degree of united action of the anti-imperialist forces, by their correct or incorrect tactics.

Experience shows that although the political situation in the countries of the continent differs even more than the level of their economic development, it, too, has features common to all. The fight to defeat imperialism and the local oligarchies, to end their political and economic rule and win power for the people is

the common denominator of the political struggle of the revolutionary forces on the continent at the present stage. How this prime objective will be achieved and the revolutionary process directed onto the socialist path will depend in large measure on the consolidation of our positions among both the peasant masses and the urban middle sections. However, we should like to stress that the successful development of the revolution in the majority of the countries of the continent depends above all on our ability to draw the main forces of the working class into active struggle for these basic objectives, on this class being able to rally around itself the working people of town and countryside, and to win the leadership of the movement, the dominant role in that movement.

GROWTH OF THE WORKING CLASS

Big changes have taken place in the social structure, and the structure of production and employment in recent years. An idea of the changed ratio between the urban and rural population may be obtained from the following table:

	1950	Years 1955	1965
Total population (in thousands)	156,120	178,802	237,200
Urban population	61,369	77,063	119,362
Rural population	94,751	101,739	117,838
Percentage of urban population	33.5	43.1	50.3

Thus, whereas fifteen years ago rural inhabitants made up more than 65 per cent of the population of the continent, today more than half reside in urban areas.

The rate of urbanization is higher in South America and somewhat lower in Central America where two-thirds of the population still dwell in rural localities.

The wholesale migration from the countryside to the towns is due mainly to the pauperization of the peasants caused by exploitation by the landowners and the penetration of capitalism into the countryside. The peasants, and particularly the rural youth, go to the towns in search of a livelihood since the crops they grow do not belong to them. At the same time, with the accumulation of capital by the industrial bourgeoisie which battens not only on direct exploitation of the workers but also on the barter of their country's national wealth and sovereignty, branches of industry have sprung up which offer no competition to imperialist interests.

It should be stressed that industrial development in our countries proceeds at a much slower pace than the ruination of the countryside and the growth of the towns. Industry cannot absorb the mounting flood of peasants leaving the land and the increase in the number of workers lags behind the rate of growth of the urban population (we shall return to

this problem). Nevertheless the non-agricultural labor force more than doubled between 1940 and 1950.

Total labor force	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960
(in thousands)	42,810	47,210	52,950	60,200	68,630
Engaged in agriculture					
(in thousands)	24,830	26,410	28,160	30,030	32,260
(in percentages)	58.0	55.9	53.0	49.9	47.0
Engaged in other branches					
(in thousands)	17,980	20,800	24,790	30,170	36,370
(in percentages)	42.0	44.1	47.0	50.1	53.0

In addition to the industrial proletariat, the working class of Latin America includes agricultural workers and those engaged in services, the bulk of the clerical workers in industry, trade and even in government offices (with the exception of those directly connected with the employers and the ruling circles). From this one may conclude that the working class constitutes the majority of the labor force in Latin America.

By 1950 the number of workers on the continent—industrial and agricultural—exceeded 19 million, with the total number of wage-earners amounting to 29 million, i.e., over 35 per cent and over 50 per cent respectively of the total labor force.*

In the early 'fifties wage-earners comprised more than 70 per cent of the labor force in Cuba, Chile and the Argentine, more than 60 per cent in Uruguay and over 50 per cent in Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador and El Salvador.

During the past 15 years the working class has continued to grow. According to some estimates, the number of wage-earners at present totals approximately 40 million (the industrial and agricultural proletariat comprise three-fourths of all wage-earners), amounting to about 60 per cent of the labor force of the continent.

THE DANGER OF SUPERFICIAL FORMULAS

The picture has not always been the same. In the 'twenties the Latin American proletariat was a comparatively small and slowly developing class. True, even at that time it waged a bitter struggle against local and foreign exploiters, and some of its more advanced and seasoned contingents formed the backbone of the first Communist parties on the continent. It is nonetheless true that for some time most of our parties mechanically transferred to the specific conditions (especially at the time) of Latin America many of the lessons and experience of the struggle of the European proletariat standing at an entirely different stage of development. This was due both to the immaturity of the Communist parties on the continent and to the fact that in some countries these parties consisted almost exclusively of immigrants; another reason perhaps was the exceptional influence exerted by the Russian working-class movement and the revolution in Russia (not to speak of the post war struggle of the West European proletariat) on the vanguard detachments of our proletariat. Our documents of those days tended to exaggerate the role of the working class; all too often we saw the working class not as a numerically weak and as yet none too class-conscious force, but as the major force it was destined to become in the future. (This applies particularly to the situation in some of the Andes and Caribbean countries).

Later, the programs of the revolutionary organizations were modified to bring them into line with the actual conditions in each country and at each stage, but the method of posing the question concerning the main force of the revolution remained essentially unchanged, acquiring a purely formal character. Some theories about what "should be" were repeated so frequently and so categorically that we really came to believe that the "should be" had already "come to pass," forgetting that formulas alone cannot provide a solution for any problem. While maintaining, for example, that the working class is the leading force of the revolution, we are apt to leave it at that, to make no attempt to probe the essence of the question, to analyze the actual process of the formation of the working class and the shaping of its traditions, to examine the sum of actual problems confronting it, its specific reactions to one or another development. This superficial optimism based on cut-and-dried formulas sometimes conceals an inability to engage in patient research for more suitable methods and forms of work within the working class with a view to winning over its main masses to the side of the revolution and hastening the process of its evolution as the dominant class.

These shortcomings made themselves particularly felt during industrial booms when the small but battle-seasoned and to a considerable degree class-conscious core of the industrial proletariat was in many countries overwhelmed by the millions of yesterday's peasants and artisans pouring into the ranks of the working class. This gave rise to a new situation, one with which we were not always prepared to meet.

The revolutionaries sometimes preferred to work among sections of the population other than the working class either because the forms and methods of activities among these social groups were more traditional and familiar, or because in these spheres we were able to spread our revolutionary ideas more rapidly.

Now things have changed. True, by no means everyone yet fully realizes that without strengthening the political and trade union unity of the working class, without heightening its militancy and revolutionary conscious-

*In Asia and Africa wage-earners constitute roughly one-third and one-fifth of the population respectively.

ness, it will be extremely difficult to consolidate the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, to unite around the proletariat broad sections of the population whose interests are infringed by imperialism.

SUCCESS AND DIFFICULTIES OF THE PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE

In the past quarter of a century the Latin American working class movement has grown considerably stronger. This has not been a smooth process: periods of upsurge alternated with periods of stagnation and retreat. As a rule, the latter have coincided with the ebb and flow of the continental revolutionary movement as a whole, and were in large measure determined by it. But on the other hand, the ups and downs in the working-class movement have exerted a tremendous influence on the entire course of the liberation process on the continent.

The 'forties were marked by an upsurge of mass struggle and of the strike movement. An important role here was played by political and trade union unity of the proletariat on a national and continental scale. In many countries the working class was drawn into the anti-fascist struggle and played a big part in it.

In the early 'fifties the strike wave subsided, the effect undoubtedly of the split in the world trade union movement, which had its repercussions in the split in the Latin American Confederation of Labor and the setting up of the U.S.-financed Inter-American Regional Labor Organization (ORIT). The split in the various countries impaired the struggle of the working class and reduced its political influence.

It was only some years later, after the victory of the Cuban revolution, that working-class unity was to some extent restored. It is noteworthy that as the Communist parties in many countries engaged in joint actions with other progressive forces and strengthened their positions in the working class, national trade union unity became stronger, the prospects of extending that unity to the entire contingent brightened and the level of the struggle rose. The number of strikers in Latin America rose from 3 million in 1950 to 20 million in 1960.

In recent years the strike movement has been more and more spearheaded against imperialism and the local oligarchies. In some countries it has assumed an openly political character, witness the general strikes in Uruguay and Chile in protest against U.S. intervention in Cuba; in the Argentine for trade union and democratic rights; in Panama, in defense of national sovereignty; in Columbia against repressions and soaring prices; in Bolivia, against the military dictatorship and in Brazil in defense of the Goulart government (1961-63).

However the rise of the working-class movement is not a general and continuous process; there are still enough blank spots to give us food for thought. Does this mean that those contingents of the working class which per-

manently or periodically manifest a relative passivity with regard to the struggle (primarily the political struggle) are satisfied with things as they are? Hardly. Nevertheless many workers have not yet grasped the significance of the problems confronting them, they do not see the need to fight for the solution of these problems, they do not understand that without unity and political struggle they will not be able to win their demands and defeat their enemies.

In order to understand the reasons for the uneven course of the working-class struggle in Latin America it is necessary to analyze the process of its formation and evolution and also the relation between the elements of proletarian and bourgeois ideology in its thinking. This will help us to understand the concrete actions of the working class, its attitude to one or another political development, the reasons for its militancy or passivity in critical situations. (For example, the attitude of the proletarian masses in some countries during reactionary coups. While the natural response in such cases, one might assume, should be active struggle against reaction in all forms, this has not always been the case).

True, the working class by its social nature is, objectively, militant. But the greater or lesser scale of its actions is determined by the degree of unity and organization, the level of class consciousness and political understanding, and also by the quality and ideological grounding of its leadership. Moreover, in our view, what is most important is the role of the proletarian vanguard, the influence it is capable of exerting on the working-class movement as a whole or on its main contingents (from the standpoint of numbers, branch of industry, geographical location), and its choice of the correct tactics in each given instance.

THE PROLETARIAT AND BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

It should be borne in mind that while the Communists and other progressives are working to win the working class over to the side of the revolution and to spread Marxist-Leninist ideas, the bourgeoisie for its part spares no effort to enlist the support of the workers, to win them over to its own class positions, to educate them in the spirit of class collaboration or, at any rate, to paralyze their revolutionary activity.

Some sections of the Latin American bourgeoisie which once raised (and still raise today) the banner of nationalism, anti-feudalism, sought the support of the working-class movement when it first emerged or at later stages through so-called preventative social reforms. Taking advantage of the weaknesses of the working-class movement, making use of the specific structure of the proletariat and of its immaturity, the insufficient influence of, or errors committed by the Communist Party (and in some cases the non-existence of the latter), these groups, operating through the state ad-

ministration, succeeded in some cases in winning the dominant position in the labor movement. Their paternalist efforts in the 'forties and 'fifties affected the psychology of a substantial section of the proletariat. And despite all the bitter lessons, despite the mass struggle and the persevering efforts of the Communists, this tendency—to await the solution of problems from "God, king or hero"—is still felt in our countries. With this bourgeois-bureaucratic paternalism and its consequences are associated some other problems of the working-class movement. We have in mind the clear elements of parochialism, particularly in the attitude to the rural workers, and the corruption in the trade unions, which plagues the movement in some countries of the continent.

Ideological struggle is of paramount importance at present when a united anti-imperialist front policy is so essential. It is precisely the combination of the fight for unity with ideological struggle that can ensure the consolidation of this front and the independence of the working class. This combination alone can enable the working class really to become the vanguard class around which other sections will unite.

The danger of an alien ideology and policy being imposed on the working class emanates not only from the local reformist bourgeoisie (or fascist-like demagogues), but also from the "boss," namely, U.S. imperialism. For years the U.S. monopolies have used diverse means to penetrate the Latin American working-class movement in the formation of the U.S.-sponsored Institute for Free Labor Development.

Founded in 1962 as a semi-official organization with the direct participation of State Department officials, executives of companies operating in Latin America (which largely finance it), and leaders of the AFL-CIO, this organization has branches in nearly all the cities on the continent directly connected with U.S. embassies. Working in close contact with the CIA, it has its network of "schools" and "courses" training anti-Communists, informers and other "experts," with a view to forming dissident groups or organizing subversive centers in the event of the landing of U.S. troops.

The Institute has millions of dollars at its disposal. Every "scholarship" student sent to study in the United States receives 10 dollars a day. The pupils of local schools and courses too qualify for lavish grants. Moreover, the Institute acts as a sort of agency through which "loans" are transmitted to trade unions or co-operative organizations for building workers' settlements, trade union premises, etc. Loans (or donations) are extended by the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Development Association or the AFL-CIO "social fund." Although the Institute represents an obvious danger to the working-class movement, the democratic forces of the continent have not yet fully realized its role and confine themselves to sporadic protests. Full exposure of the sinister activities of this organization.

would help to reveal the true nature of imperialism and the corrupt methods it employs.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES—NEW PROBLEMS

The changes in the numerical composition and the structure of the working class on our continent poses important problems.

First, let us draw attention to the rapid growth of the urban proletariat in the biggest Latin American countries. This, we believe, is a development of major political significance. It explains to a certain extent some of the zigzags in the working-class movement and, in particular, the dynamics of the influence of trends expressing the fundamental interests of the proletariat and relying on the relatively more class-conscious sections of the working class.

Let us compare this growth of the Latin American proletariat with corresponding figures for pre-revolutionary Russia. In the 14 years preceding the first world war (which were also the years when the Bolshevik Party won over the main masses of the working class), the industrial proletariat in Russia (employed in enterprises subject to factory inspection—Ed.) increased from 1,692,000 to 2,282,000 i.e., by nearly 35 per cent (or more than two per cent a year). The growth of the factory proletariat in some Latin American countries was as follows:

Argentina—from 876,000 (in 1948) to 1,700,000 (in 1958), an almost 100 per cent increase in 10 years;

Brazil—from 669,000 (in 1939) to 2,000,000 in 1956), a 200 per cent increase in 17 years;

Mexico—from 379,000 (in 1945) to 1,000,000 (in 1958) a more than 2.5-fold increase in 13 years;

Uruguay—from 90,000 (in 1936) to 263,000 (in 1958), an increase of nearly 200 per cent in 22 years.

Thus the rate of growth of the proletariat in our countries is four and five times higher than in pre-revolutionary Russia.

This, of course, is a matter of general historical progress. But the fact remains that the rapid growth of the proletariat clearly offers wide opportunities for the spread of diverse shades of bourgeois reformist and petty-bourgeois ideas in the working-class movement and poses a host of new problems.

These problems can be solved, particularly in the pre-revolutionary climate prevailing on our continent at present. Given the correct policy on the part of the vanguard, the new sections of the proletariat will quickly become class conscious and adopt the class line of action (suffice it once again to cite the example of Russia in the period following the February revolution of 1917). But to elaborate such a policy is far from simple; it requires careful Marxist analysis, free from any trace of sectarianism, and a profound grasp of the national realities.

In connection with the problems of the structure of the Latin American proletariat I should like to draw attention again to the class com-

position of our *countryside*. We often make the mistake of lumping together the entire rural population under the term "peasantry." This sometimes leads to incorrect methods and tactics. In some countries with a predominantly agrarian economy the basic mass of the workers are *braceros*, seasonal workers and permanent agricultural laborers who are part of the proletariat. Besides farming, they work on construction, road-building, etc. How do these groups differ from the landless or land-hungry peasants whose plots cannot provide for themselves and their families? This problem, it seems to me, has not yet been fully solved either on a theoretical or practical plane.

The significant changes in the structure of the urban proletariat in most economically developed countries are in evidence also in Latin America.

Our proletariat is passing through a process of periodic renewal with the influx of new contingents of young workers. At the same time the growth of industry is changing the place and role of some of the basic sections of the working class. In many countries the place of sections that played an important role in the struggles of thirty years ago thanks to their numerical strength and militancy is being taken by new groups which need to be helped to acquire their own experience of struggle and to deepen their revolutionary class consciousness. With the emergence in some countries of a rudimentary heavy industry and the gradual development of the chemical and other modern branches, not only physical strength and traditional manual skills but also some measure of technological knowledge is demanded of the workers. In the capital-intensive, mass production and technologically more advanced branches of industry (primarily in monopoly-owned enterprises) the workers have been able to win comparatively high wages and social benefits exceeding the average. As a result there emerge "objectively privileged" strata of workers. (Previously in similar circumstances it was mostly a matter of deliberate corruption of a very small number of workers in U.S. monopoly-owned enterprises.) These new sectors of the working class are a far cry from the labor aristocracy in the developed capitalist countries (as a rule the highest wages paid in our countries fall short of the subsistence minimum). Nevertheless the workers tend to allow their class consciousness to be eroded and to gravitate towards bourgeois ideology.

How can these sections be prevented from keeping aloof from the common front of working-class struggle? For experience, including the experience of the Latin American countries, shows that higher wages and a higher standard of living *in themselves* do not necessarily lead to the bourgeoisification of one or another part of the working class. And what concrete or general demands would have the most direct appeal to one or another section or most sections of the proletariat? Clearly, the answers to these questions can be supplied in each country only by the vanguard units of the work-

ing class with their knowledge of the national realities as well as the situation on the continent as a whole. This is another problem awaiting solution.

Then there is another, in some respect contrary, process under way which may have the same consequences unless we pay due attention to it, examine it thoroughly and display the necessary activity and flexibility.

In nearly all the countries of the continent the capitals, principal seaports and industrial centers are growing at a disproportionately rapid rate, spilling out into shanty towns—the *favelas* of Brazil, *villas miseria* of Argentina and *poblaciones callampas* of Chile. Here, in conditions of appalling over-crowding, lacking the most elementary conveniences and public services, live former peasants who have fled from the villages, the lowest-paid workers, unemployed, poverty-stricken workers with big families, the lumpen proletariat and declassed petty bourgeois. All these sections who find common ground in their poverty and protest against things as they are, burst into the arena of political struggle demanding the right to have a roof over their heads and a plot of land to put up a house, the right to live in a city which the ruling classes have denied them.

However, this protest can take different directions. True, organized struggles are being waged and revolutionary ideas disseminated in the poverty belts. Their inhabitants are a potentially revolutionary force; indeed, time and again they have demonstrated a high degree of militancy in "direct action" (seizure of plots of land, demonstrations, clashes with the police, etc.). But wherever the influence of progressive parties is weak, they offer a receptive soil for bourgeois reformism or, still worse, supply hirelings for the extreme reaction. All told there are on our continent millions of these dispossessed and downtrodden. It is imperative for us to intensify our work among them and win them over to our side. In particular, besides drawing them in joint *political* actions, it is essential to bring the trade unions and the population of the depressed areas together in common actions.

UNITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AND THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The experience of many Latin American countries shows that even when there are political and tactical differences between various revolutionary forces it is possible to wage a joint struggle for common anti-imperialist and democratic aims, to achieve unity of action and even some forms of organizational unity. At the initial stages, of course, each of the participants in the united front retains its autonomy and carries on ideological work to bring its views on the problems of the revolution to the masses.

Political and trade union unity are the two main levers in rallying the working class in the struggle for revolutionary changes. Wherever unity of action is achieved between the prin-

cial contingents of the proletariat, the link between the workers and the peasants is strengthened, the militancy of the masses is heightened and revolutionary activity as a whole is elevated to a higher plane.

Hence struggle against sectarianism, isolationism and both Right and Left opportunism is indispensable in order to give full rein to the liberation movement.

It is precisely through joint actions by the popular and democratic forces on the national and continental scale that decisive defeats can be inflicted on imperialism and the domestic reactionaries. The recent formation of an organizational committee to prepare for the first Latin American solidarity conference was an important step towards the unity and solidarity of the liberation movements throughout the continent. This decision, taken by the representatives of 27 Latin American countries during the recent Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference in Havana, is of epoch-making significance for the liberation movement in our countries.

This initial step should be followed up by intensified effort to build political and trade union unity in each of the countries. At the same time it is more imperative than ever to resolve the problem of organizational unity throughout the continent. This is something we have been working for over the years. If we hold that the success of our struggle, the success of our revolution, depends on the proletariat asserting its leading role, it is essential above all to unite the scattered forces of the working class, to pave the way to the establishment of a Latin American trade union center which would be a broad mass organization and at the same time firmly adhere to class and anti-imperialist positions. To this end, any tendency to stand aloof from politics, parochial

insularity and preoccupation with economic issues alone should be combated with redoubled vigor.

Unity is built not through abstract theorizing but in concrete struggle for the urgent demands of the masses. All the problems, big and small, facing our continent today are in one or another way interwoven with the problem of liberation from imperialism. Hence the workers' socio-economic demands should be linked with the great revolutionary aims of the struggle to change the existing political, economic and social structure. In the trade unions free rein should be given to the initiative of the members. The march of events makes it imperative for the movement to combine legal and illegal work and to prepare for the use by the proletarian masses of all forms of struggle.

* * *

The problems discussed above are only a partial reflection of the complex and multiform developments of the day. Moreover, the opinions expressed are the personal views of the author. At the same time, however, I have drawn on the collective experience gained by our Party over the years. It is our desire to make our contribution to the unflagging search for the shortest and surest way to the liberation of our peoples.

These notes were written immediately after the epoch-making Asian, African and Latin American Solidarity Conference which ushered in a new stage in the worldwide struggle against imperialism. This conference left us with the firm conviction that by re-examining and deepening our views on the problems of the revolutionary movement of our continent and comparing them with the realities of the day we can hasten the hour of victory.

The Communist and Workers' Parties attach much importance to the participation of the youth in the revolutionary struggle. One aspect of this question is discussed in the article by R. Dalton on "Students in the Latin American Revolution" published elsewhere in this issue. Below we print some of the contributions our journal has received from various countries on the attitude of the Communists to the youth.

The Communists and the Youth

CHILE

IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS confronting our Party in the present world situation it is imperative for us Chilean Communists to have the militant support of such a substantial component of the nation as the youth. We consider it of the utmost importance for the young generation to take a stand together with the working class for revolutionary change.

A battle for the youth is being waged among the different political forces in our country. The imperialists are trying to win over the young generation in order to neutralize and prevent it from taking part in political life. They employ every possible means to disorientate the young people, to hinder them from becoming a militant factor of social development.

Through Christian Democracy the bourgeoisie poses as a champion of the youth. It flatters them, offers them false concepts and is lavish with promises. One such concept, that of the "Young Homeland," for example, depicts the struggle of the youth in a false light, reducing it to a conflict of the two generations—a futile attempt to win over the youth and wean it away from the popular movement.

Nevertheless young people are playing an increasingly important role in the life of society, and hence we cannot devote too much attention to the youth movement.

One of the more significant developments of recent times is the growing participation of young men and women in politics, as was evidenced by the presidential election campaign and the subsequent events. The youth are eager to fight for social changes in Chile, although

many of them do not as yet have a clear idea how to bring about these changes.

The anti-imperialist movement is spreading. The ideas of the Left forces are having an impact on the masses, and Marxism is winning more adherents. In these circumstances, and in the light of all the political processes at work in the country, there are excellent prospects for drawing the youth into the noblest cause of our time, namely, the defense of peace, to bar the way to the new fascism inherent in U.S. finance capital, to enable our country to develop along democratic lines in the interests of the people, and to speed the process leading to the establishment of an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy government.

The conditions of the youth are deteriorating. Unemployment, soaring prices, lack of housing for newlyweds and a shortage of schools—all this is opening the eyes of thousands of young men and women to the fact that the Christian Democrat government cannot solve these problems unless it breaks with imperialism and the oligarchy.

The movement of working-class youth for their demands, their participation in strikes for higher wages, in defense of trade union rights, and especially their actions in the past year are clear evidence of their desire for change. The fighting spirit of the working-class youth has been a feature of all the strikes of the recent period.

The actions of the student youth, especially the senior pupils in secondary schools, is particularly noteworthy. Their strikes and sit-ins to demand new school buildings are evidence

of a high level of maturity, and it is imperative to win this section of the youth over to the struggle. It is significant that whereas a few years ago this struggle was headed by the Students' Federation alone, now in many cases the initiative is taken by the senior pupils of secondary schools, industrial, commercial and teacher training colleges.

Youth participation in the trade union struggle is a positive factor. In the course of strikes and similar actions the young people gain experience and imbibe the ideology of their class. Moreover many trade union leaders are young men. However, the working-class youth movement, beginning with the national youth department of the Trade Union Federation, needs strengthening organizationally.

Young people are more exploited than their elders, since they are paid less. Moreover, it is harder for them to obtain jobs. Thousands of young people are unemployed. The plight of many of them is tragic indeed.

The problems of our people and consequently of the youth demand urgent solution. Yet the Christian Democrat government either ignores these problems altogether or postpones their solution.

The young people see that their conditions have not changed, they see no sign of the "revolution" that is purported to be taking place; they are constantly put off with promises and are expected to be content with superficial reforms. Their problems are no nearer to being solved under the present Christian Democrat government than they were under the Liberal, Conservative and Radical governments that preceded it.

It is on the effectiveness of our work, on our influence and the success of our ideological struggle against bourgeois ideas in all the mass organizations that the militancy of the youth movement, their political awareness and, consequently, their broader participation in the common struggle will depend.

There is every opportunity for promoting the youth movement and the struggle for the satisfaction of its demands. We, Communist youth, have time and again voiced our readiness for joint action on big and small issues with all the forces working for a solution of problems of vital concern to the people and the youth. We stand for a constructive dialogue with all who favor progressive changes, and we shall support all actions toward this goal.

All the youth organizations supported the Communist demand for youth voting rights from the age of 18, with the result that a clause to this effect was included in the draft constitutional reform approved by the Chamber of Deputies after the first reading. Our appeal to the youth organizations of the Socialist, National Democratic, Radical and Christian Democratic parties for joint action in this connection met with a positive response.

This shows that joint action with the participation of the majority of the youth is possible, and that good opportunities have

opened for satisfying youth demands. This will depend on how resolutely the young people themselves work to this end, on whether they will be able to join with the broad sections of the population to fight for these demands, on ability of the youth movement to rely on all the national forces in sympathy with these demands, and primarily the working class.

When the federations of university students published a paper protesting the "Johnson doctrine" and urging all Chileans to take action against it, we Young Communists, who initiated the action, regarded this as confirmation that a mass patriotic youth movement to check the onslaught of U.S. imperialism could be organized. Actions of this kind which rally and inspire the revolutionary youth elicit an immediate response from the student organizations led by the Christian Democracy, which shows that the anti-imperialist struggle can unite different youth groups—both those in the opposition to the government as well as those who support it.

On the other hand, the present situation is conducive to extensive explanatory work among the youth, and a deeper study of the Christian-Democratic youth today, among whom some complex and highly interesting developments are to be observed.

That real possibilities exist for drawing the Christian-Democratic youth into the anti-imperialist struggle was demonstrated by the adoption in Buenos Aires of a declaration against the "Johnson doctrine" and against the creation of an inter-American force, and for self-determination of nations. The declaration was signed by an absolute majority of the youth belonging to student, political and trade union organizations, Christian Democrat included.

However, the Christian Democrat youth are joining this struggle with some hesitation and inconsistency.

The chief enemies of the youth and of the Chilean people in general are imperialism and the local oligarchies, and to combat them it is necessary to unite the youth who were on opposite sides during the recent election campaign and who at present have differing views vis-à-vis the government. Certain contradictory trends are to be observed at present in the Christian Democratic youth organization and this explains its inconsistency. In some of its documents it speaks of the plunder of Chile by the U.S. monopolies, but at the same time it keeps silent about the copper agreements which jeopardize Chile's interests and does nothing to expose the ruthless exploitation of our workers by the foreign monopolies extracting our iron ore, nitrates and copper. It acts through the student organizations against the aggressive policy of imperialism, but says not a word about the *Unitas 6* maneuvers sanctioned by the Christian Democrat government. It urges more speed in carrying out reforms and at the same time keeps silent when funds for state universities are cut. It demands

greater participation by the people in the country's affairs and at the same time it violates the long-standing tradition in its own student movement of solidarity with striking workers. It supports the demand for voting rights for 18-year-olds and illiterates, which accords with the task of democratizing the country, yet allows instances of repressions against the people by the government to go unchallenged.

Nor is this surprising. It is the result of the inner contradictions and vacillation peculiar to the youth organization of this bourgeois party. The Left youth cannot be mere passive observers of the processes at work among the Christian Democrat youth, they must intervene in this process and endeavor to induce the latter to adopt a more determined and progressive policy. The attitude to the Christian Democrat youth organization, in the light of the influence it enjoys, is one of the cardinal problems of the youth movement today. We would like to see the Christian Democrat youth taking a more Left position than its party and the government, and making its contribution to the complex processes taking place in the Christian Democratic Party. We believe that the Christian Democrat youth should strengthen its anti-imperialist position and participate more consistently in all forms of struggle; that it should take a firmer stand in favor of the changes demanded by the young people who took part in the presidential election campaign. We are convinced that our policy of joint action wherever possible, a policy which accords with the interests of the young generation and the people generally, combined with simultaneous struggle against vacillation and reactionary policies, will help us to come closer to a solution of some issues, and enable the youth to advance along the road of revolutionary changes.

The recently formed Youth Committee for agrarian reform in which the youth organizations of the Communist, Socialist, Christian Democratic, Radical and National Democratic parties took part, as well as the youth department of the Trade Union Federation and all the student federations, is a step in the right direction.

It would be wrong to ignore the complex processes taking place among the tens of thousands of young people who supported Frey's candidacy, who repose great hopes in him and believe that his government will change things. It should be remembered that

among these young people there are many—of this we have no doubt whatever—who will eventually join us in the fight for a genuine popular government. The young people who supported Frey have found their hopes misplaced and their illusions are vanishing. The Christian Democrat youth organization is at present marking time. It has been unable to realize a single major initiative since the elections. This of course is not the fault of its members, it is evidence of the disappointment of the people's hopes, the loss of faith in the government's capacity to solve the country's problems.

United action by all the Left youth forces is more necessary than ever, above all unity between the Socialist and Communist youth. The youth of the Popular Action Front must strengthen its influence and continue to give organizational support to the youth movement which sprang up during the election campaign. One of the biggest movements of its kind our country has ever seen, it has left its imprint on the minds of every young Chilean who took part in it. We believe that a powerful popular youth front based on the unity of Socialist and Communist youth could be built up. Our organization attaches the greatest importance to this unity. Unless the progressive forces exert organizational effort to raise the fighting spirit of the youth, to awaken new sections of young people to political life and build broad unity it will be difficult to win the majority of the youth over to the side of the revolution.

Definite progress has been made in organizing the people. But this does not apply in full measure to the youth. There is ample opportunity for improvement in this sphere and for putting an end to the unorganized condition of a large section of our young people. It is especially important to work more effectively to this end among the working-class youth, and also among the young men and women in the cities. Under the present conditions youth organizations can be built up that would unite all young people of a given locality. To do this it is necessary to take a more active and imaginative attitude to the needs of the moment, bearing in mind the broader perspective.

We live at a time when success in the youth movement is a tangible possibility. If we act boldly with flexibility and with firm faith in the future, we shall be able to turn events in favor of the forces of progress and revolution.

Gladys MARIN

CANADA

CANADA'S POPULATION is young in terms of the average age placed at 29 years by the 1961 census. In sharp contrast to this the average age of Communist Party members approximates 50 years. This unsatisfactory situation negatively affects the campaigning abilities of the Party and, consequently, lessens the impact the Party makes on the political life of the country. This in turn is reflected negatively in the numbers of new members brought into the Party.

The aging process is a natural one which is compensated for in nature by natural replenishment. However, we Communists cannot rely upon nature to replenish our ranks. The Communist Party, the party of revolutionary change, needs both the experience and wisdom of the veterans and the spiritual and physical vigor of youth if it is to attain its lofty aims. To maintain this quality the Party must unite in its ranks people of all ages; it must consistently and deliberately replenish its ranks with young members.

Our Party has always understood that a Communist Party cannot measure its influence upon events solely in terms of its organizational strength. For the main attribute of the Party is that it is the organized expression of Marxism-Leninism. However, after establishing this salient point, it must be recognized that the organizational strength of the Party is of the utmost importance in mobilizing the working class and its allies in practical struggles for the fulfilment of the Party program and policies. The numbers and quality of the Party's ranks, and the devotion, vitality and creativity of its members and leaders are indispensable factors in spreading the Party's influence among the people.

Certain factors exist in Canadian life which make quite difficult the Party's work among the working people. Chief among them are monopoly's cold war against communism, and the illusions of prosperity held by the mass of working folk. The combination of these two factors has operated fairly consistently for the past two decades. However, it must be said that despite all the difficulties and hard years the Party has contributed much to the progressive life of Canada in the fight for peace, Canadian independence, united working-class political action and the democratic alternative to the rule of monopoly.

In the Fall of 1963, in preparation for the Eighteenth Convention, the National Committee initiated a party-wide discussion on the urgent need for an all-round growth of the Party. The National Committee was of the opinion that the political situation referred to above was undergoing a change for the better, this providing more favorable opportunities for Party growth. The all-round growth envisaged by the Party leadership includes increasing numbers of members; improving the vitality and campaigning ability of the Party; and

extending the Party's influence on the political life of the country.

This discussion was not closed off by the Convention which was held in March 1964. Rather the Convention marked a turning point from a fairly general discussion, containing elements of abstraction and subjectivity, to one of concrete examination of certain concepts and phenomena. On those questions around which there was substantial agreement the Convention made decisions. In this article we will confine ourselves to those concepts and decisions which bear on the relationship of the Communist movement to the youth of Canada.

* * *

The key concept under debate was whether it is the Party or the YCL which is responsible for conducting communist work amongst the youth. We are not speaking here of indirect responsibility but rather of direct responsibility. In other words: was it sufficient to confine the Party's work for its program and policies amongst the youth mainly to the medium of the YCL, or should the Party engage in this activity among the youth in its own name?

It must be noted that a similar debate was taking place throughout the ranks of the YCL at the same time. There the question was being posed as to whether the YCL should concentrate its attention on the teenagers, becoming a socialist youth organization mainly of teenagers, becoming a socialist youth organization mainly of teenagers at school or work, or seeking work.

The Convention agreed in principle that it is the Party which is responsible for conducting communist work among young Canadians. A motion of the National Committee meeting of January 1965 formulates this basic guideline for the Party's work among youth in these words: "This meeting of the National Committee . . . reiterates again that work among youth is a *direct* (my emphasis) responsibility of the Party. This should guide the work of all Party organizations."

A practical step in implementing this motion on youth was the establishment of a National Party Youth Committee, headed by the Party Youth Director who is a member of the National Executive Committee. The National Youth Committee is the direct responsibility of the National Executive and is in turn responsible *solely* to the National Executive. Similar youth committees and directors are being established in all main centers across the country.

The motions of the National Committee stress that the Party Youth Committees should in the main be composed of young comrades actively engaged in various facets of youth work. These committees are to maintain and develop liaison with other youth groupings and organizations, and to serve as Communist Party spokesmen among youth. These committees have the task

also of developing appropriate forms of youth activity, such as teenage groups, university campus forms of youth activity, such as teenage groups, university campus clubs and other forms as the need and opportunity arises. For the present period, the concentration of activity among youth is being focussed on the localities rather than on a national scale. In order to ensure the best possible conditions for the coordination of Party work across the whole country, national and regional Party conferences, meetings and seminars on policy matters relating to youth questions will be held as the need arises.

Another practical step towards improving the Party's work among youth is the publication by the Party of a youth magazine. This magazine, *Scan*, appears monthly and is edited and written by young people. The editor is responsible to the National Executive of the Party. The Party sees *Scan* as being a decisive medium for taking its ideas to young Canadians as well as providing a forum of opinion for questioning young people. *Scan* has been in publication for a year and has been modestly successful in fulfilling its initial aims. It is attractive in form and is written in the language of the times. The materials it carries, and the opinions expressed, are concentrated mainly on the issues of the day commanding the attraction of the youth community. As evidence that *Scan* is on the right track is its acceptance by democratic youth organizations and groups as being a legitimate spokesman on youth questions. Non-communists active in the youth community contribute articles or have given interviews to the magazine. (Incidentally, interviews are generally taped and published without censoring.) The editors receive, either as guests or observers, invitations to attend meetings and conferences of non-Communist youth organizations. Other practical steps have been taken to bring youth to the fore within the Party. For instance, the Eighteenth Convention elected a number of young comrades to full membership on the National Committee. This action was facilitated by the unselfish devotion to the Party of a number of veteran members of the Committee, who declined nomination in the interests of the youthful replenishment of the Party's leading committee. Youth is being taken into account in the appointment of new Party cadres and functionaries.

* * *

What were the main reasons motivating the Party in deciding that it must assume *direct* responsibility for communist work in the youth community? The National Committee had to begin with the fact that the YCL had practically ceased to function as a national organization during 1964. Thus, the basic question the Party had to answer was: why had the YCL been unable to survive as a national organization at this time? The search for answers to this question compelled the National Committee to examine more deeply than heretofore

the real situation existing in the youth community of Canada.

There can be no questioning of the fact that socialist-minded young Canadians should have their own organization. But experience over the years has shown that such an organization is not necessarily the YCL. Experience so far gathered in present-day conditions indicates the need for flexibility. In some localities, YCL groups function. In other localities different types of socialist-minded youth organizations as well as teenage discussion groups have come into being — not to speak of youth organizations dedicated to the struggle for peace and democracy which tend to lean in the direction of socialist solutions. In still other centers Communist Party clubs composed of young people have been established.

From its review of the existing situation in the youth community the January 1965 plenum of the Party came to the conclusion that there was need of further clarity and perspective with respect to forms of organization best suited to attract young Canadians to socialist ideas. The meeting concluded also that out of the developments mentioned and other diverse forms of activity and practice the groundwork will be laid for the formation at a later stage of an all-Canada youth organization. Such an organization would be more assured of success if it emerged from the ground up rather than being established from the top down. And, in the long term, the success of the magazine *Scan* can be a cohesive force in the Party's efforts to weld a Canada-wide youth movement arising out of the young people's own experiences and practice.

The present stage of socialist interest among young Canadian workers and students is expressed partly in the development of independent Marxist oriented youth groupings. This development is encouraged by *Scan* which stands ready to serve as a medium for the exchange of ideas and to provide assistance for such groupings to come into being. *Scan* committees, formed for the purpose of advancing the magazine's interests, can play an important role in this respect. The magazine's staff and supporters aim to make *Scan* an institution in the youth community able to conduct broad youth activity and discussion in its own name. Also, the magazine's editors are striving to extend their participation on behalf of the magazine in major youth and student conferences and actions. This work encompasses the idea of the emergence of an all-Canada youth organization of a socialist character, as well as advancing the practical struggles of the day.

* * *

Distinct, though not disconnected, from that section of democratic youth which thinks in terms of youth groups and movements only, are those young Canadians who have passed that stage in their social development. Such young people are examining political parties and their programs and policies. This examina-

tion of political parties is not a question of age alone. Rather it has to do with social consciousness.

These young people are the leaders and organizers of sit-ins, teach-ins, demonstrations and student and youth movements in defense of peace; civil rights; democracy; national, racial and sex equality; educational, recreational and job opportunities for youth. They are the young radicals of today, not yet wedded to any particular political philosophy. Most of them have an open mind when it comes to discussing the merits of communism, while insisting on discussing the demerits, as they see them, of communism. To win these young men and women for the Communist Party is a question of first-rate importance for the Party.

Then there are the young adult workers, students and farmers who, because of the problems they face as a result of their economic and social status, need the Communist Party — the party of the socialist future. And the Party needs them, for that socialist future will not be won without them.

These young adults are in their twenties in the main. Their adulthood is not determined so much by age as by their place in the society. These young people compete in the labor market for jobs with older workers. They get the same wages in accordance with their skills and abilities as do older workers. But because of their lack of experience and proficiency in skills, as well as seniority provisions protecting older workers in industry (won through trade union struggles), young workers find many doors to promotion and better paid jobs closed to them. When slack times come they are the first to be laid off. When they are seeking work the high-skilled older workers get first preference.

Complicating their economic problems are the early marriages and families which are definite trends in Canada today. These trends are evident not only among young workers and farmers but among students as well. It is not uncommon for young men to continue their university education while their wives go out

to work to make this possible. The problems of home-making and raising a young family bear heavier on young couples than is the case with older families.

One could go on listing the economic problems facing young adults in Canada. But enough has been detailed to get the picture. The social problems are similarly complicated and space does not allow for elaboration. But they are well-known, and include securing higher education, trades and technical training and retraining, job security and advancement; maternity leave, nursery schools, child day care and playgrounds; the psychological effects of "comic book" and TV exposition of crime and brutality on children; decent housing and living environment; questions of peace and war, human dignity and morality.

The whole point of this discourse is to show that a youth organization is not the answer for these young people. They are adults in every sense of the word and must solve their problems in an adult fashion. Their interests are not those of teenagers who can be attracted to a youth organization or movement. The pressures of their economic and social problems require them, as they become conscious of the need to do so, to look for political solutions and to perhaps join or support a political party. The Communist Party of Canada is of the opinion that their place is with the Communist Party. The task is to convince these young adults to think likewise.

It is for the foregoing reasons that the Eighteenth Convention of our Party and the January 1965 Plenum of the National Committee took the steps outlined decisively to turn the Party's attention to winning greater numbers of young people to its ranks and to assuming direct responsibility in conducting communist work among the youth of Canada. It is too early to make any real assessment of the results. Although it can be said that results promise to be positive as the work in this direction gains support in the Party's ranks.

Alfred DEWHURST

CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

For several years now a discussion sponsored by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on youth problems has been under way in this country. The press, radio and TV, as well as the cinema and the theatre, likewise devote much attention to the life of our young generation. The widespread interest in these problems is explained by the fact that the postwar generation accounts for more than one-fifth of the population, three million out of the total of 14 million being in the 14 to 26 age bracket.

Problems concerning the youth came to the fore particularly after the Twelfth Congress of the Party, which underscored the fact that antagonistic relationships had been overcome in the economic and political spheres and that Czechoslovak society had entered the stage of

building socialism. Those of 40 and 50 or over who launched the country on the socialist path often judge of the social significance of the problems of the day from the standpoint of their own experience. But, as spokesmen of the older generation have noticed in the course of the discussion, the world of today's young people is quite different from the world of their own youth.

The dialogue between the Communist Party and the young socialist generation in its present form was begun, following thorough preparations, in October 1965, and by the end of November some 15,000 talks had been held with more than 800,000 young men and women participating. These talks were conducted by Party members engaged in diverse spheres of

activity in the enterprises, schools and cooperatives, in towns and villages. The subject matter was chosen from the standpoint of general interest and covered such areas as the world situation and the struggle between the forces of peace and the forces of war, the development of our society in the economic and ideological spheres, more precise definition of the place of the youth in society, their problems and views as well as their wishes and suggestions, participation of the youth in solving tasks affecting the whole of society, and choice of profession. Attention was also focussed on the role of the Youth League as an organization expressing the interests of young men and women, guiding their aspirations and enlisting them in public life.

This mass campaign, which was envisaged from the outset as a new form of regular exchange of views between the Party and the young generation, was given impetus by the heightened theoretical, political and mass activity of the Party on the eve of its Thirteenth Congress and the need for a more profound examination of current political issues, the structure of society and the economy, and other topical problems.

* * *

The dialogue with the youth is being conducted at a time when our society, entering a new stage in its development, is soberly reviewing the past record and assessing the potentialities of the future. The complex international situation marked by the war in Vietnam, the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and the revanchist demands voiced in Federal Germany, as well as the technological revolution, on the one hand, the problems of economic management, reorganization of the economic structure and the wealth of information now available to young people, on the other, are exerting a very definite influence on the young generation of today.

Our young people live in a society with the shaping of which they had very little or nothing to do. A person becomes an active member of society at about 20, even though he enjoys electoral rights from the age of 18. No wonder, then, that his approach to social problems is quite different from that of the mature adult. His ideals are conditioned by his education, experience and expectations for the future.

There are also other circumstances which impinge on the postwar generation. For one thing, correct appraisal of complex foreign policy and domestic issues requires a certain grounding. Even members of the older generation with all their experience at times find themselves facing intellectual and emotional crises. For instance, they were dismayed by negative phenomena in the Communist movement and socialist practice. And it was only gradually that they came to see the need for a more profound knowledge of the operation of economic laws affecting people's lives.

These factors affected the youth as well. Young people reacted to the crystallization of

socialist society emotionally rather than rationally. While their elders have experience and first-hand knowledge of deep-going social changes to help them to overcome crises in thinking and to rectify mistakes and are able to discern the shape of things to come on the basis of a study of economic, political and social problems, young people lack these advantages. They are provided with abundant information by the mass communication media, but they lack the experience, knowledge of life and theoretical grounding necessary for piecing together a full and objective picture from the mass of fragmentary information at their disposal.

Most of the young people taking part in a discussion are interested in what the future holds for them, in their place in life. These questions loom large indeed in the minds of the postwar generation. And the views they express testify to a profound sense of responsibility to society.

Problems pertaining to education, science and technology are very much in the center of attention, not only because young people are naturally interested in this sphere, but also because they are aware of the role they will be called upon to play in the building of socialism and in the scientific and technological revolution. Here they are confronted with the social aspect of the question. The present technological revolution is closely linked with the building of communism, just as the industrial revolution of the last century was associated with the growth of capitalism. The problems involved can be consistently solved only by the socialist and communist society, and young people are increasingly becoming aware of this.

One of the many problems which occupy their mind is the complexity of the world they are entering. They want to know more about this world than they have learned in school or by their own experience. This is evident from the questions they ask and the eagerness with which they look to more experienced comrades for the answers. As a rule the discussions, which often last for hours, begin with foreign policy problems. The young people not only want to fill the gaps in their knowledge but also to obtain a more profound understanding of the interconnection between phenomena whose existence they logically divine. In particular, they are very much interested in political developments in West Germany, not only in the light of past history in which our German neighbor was always the aggressor, but also in view of current statements by West German politicians. Young people want to have an idea of the trends west of our frontiers. They are non-plussed by the contradiction between the so-called democracy lauded by the rulers of West Germany and the continued disclosure of the crimes committed by its public and political leaders. Our young people have no faith in the kind of democracy which exists in that country.

Another group of topical questions relates to

the balance between the forces of peace and the forces of war and the possibility of preventing war. Young people want to know what the prospects are for preserving peace, they want more information about the organizations and activity of the peace forces, and ask why in the present situation, when the war in Vietnam presents a deadly danger not only to the people of Vietnam but also to the people of all Asia and the world, the efforts of the peace-loving forces have not been more successful.

Although there are many things they do not always understand, they want information to be objective, sober and truthful. And the more they learn about the outside world the more they want to know, and the more eager they are to visit other countries. Their interest in neighboring countries, both socialist and capitalist, is not so much a matter of idle curiosity as of a desire to know more and better to prepare themselves for their future callings.

This aspect of the discussion is of a markedly internationalist nature. Young people unhesitatingly side with social progress, peace and socialism, giving their active support to international solidarity campaigns.

No less interest is evinced in art, literature, new theatre productions, art exhibitions and scientific achievements, even though the degree of this interest differs considerably between students and workers or urban and rural youth. It should be noted in this connection that the youth publishers in both sections of the country put out annually over three million books, that the May Readers' Club has over 220,000 young subscribers, that there is a club of devotees of poetry most of whose members are young, and that "little" theatres founded by young people are becoming increasingly popular.

Particular attention in the discussions in vocational and factory training schools is devoted to professional training. Bringing young men and women into the production process is not a simple matter, especially at a time when far-reaching changes are being introduced in industry and the new system of management is being launched. This naturally is a cause of concern both for the youth themselves and for industrial executives in the branches they expect to work in. At times difficulties are caused by lack of understanding and direct contact between administrative bodies and young people, and also by bureaucratic attitudes. No wonder, then, that some youngsters strike a rather sharp note, demanding unequivocal and straightforward answers to their questions. In most cases they do get these answers, and practical solutions are often found for the problems raised.

* * *

The striving of the youth to get together and to engage in social activities finds embodiment in the Youth League. The relationship between

the League and individual young people is inevitably affected by the objective environment. The youth want their interests to find a collective outlet, and in this respect the League has a natural place in their life. On the other hand, however, insufficient flexibility and at times belated response on the part of the organization to the interests of the youth, the element of formalism in some Youth League branches which are slow in finding new forms of activity tend to repel young people. These are shortcomings which can be easily overcome if the proper conclusions are drawn and a deeper study made of the interests, requirements and attitudes of the youth.

According to figures for the beginning of last year, the Youth League had a membership of over 1,250,000 — 41.6 per cent of all young people from 14 to 26. It does not include the entire youth, nor can it be expected to do so. But what the Party and society as a whole need is an organization capable of influencing all young people.

It should be mentioned that at all stages of socialist construction the League has shown itself to be capable of stimulating initiative among the youth. After the Second World War it was the youth who were the first to settle in the frontier areas. The history of the League is associated with young people's construction undertakings, the best-known being the restoration of the village of Lidice, housing developments for miners in Most and Litvinov, and the construction of the Klement Gottwald Iron and Steel Works near Ostrava, railways, dams, etc. These construction projects gave an excellent grounding for many active builders of socialism and militants of the youth movement who now hold leading positions in the economic, political and cultural spheres.

Although facts and figures afford an idea of the active attitude of the youth towards society, they fail to give a full picture of what is most important from the standpoint of society: the shaping of personality, the inculcation of a correct attitude towards one's fellowmen, and the acquisition of knowledge and experience.

No less important than its social activity, which is widely reflected in the press, is the work done by the youth organization to prepare young people for professional careers. Here a number of problems arise: in particular, how to help them most effectively to launch out on life, to make the best use of time in their formative years. The question of free time occupies a prominent place in the work of the youth organization, for the importance of organizing leisure properly and directing group interests in harmony with the interests of society is obvious. An idea of the situation in this respect is afforded by the following survey by the State Statistical Board of the young members, aged 16 to 20, or 1,790 families.

HOW YOUNG PEOPLE USE THEIR WEEKLY LEISURE TIME

(Break-down in percentages)

	Self- education	Social activities	Active recreation	Dancing, walks	Passive recreation	Other activities
Schoolboys	26.9	6.6	12.0	14.5	38.4	1.6
Students, male	40.4	7.3	13.5	9.1	27.4	2.3
Schoolgirls	23.0	6.4	6.2	18.4	44.5	1.5
Students, female	45.9	5.0	8.2	11.5	26.8	2.6
Workers, male	21.8	4.1	11.0	21.8	39.8	1.5
Office employ- ess, male	21.5	13.1	18.8	14.5	28.6	3.5
Young women factory workers	17.4	5.3	7.6	26.5	39.0	4.2
Young women office employees	30.4	6.3	7.9	15.4	37.6	2.4
Cooperative farmers:						
winter	19.7	8.8	10.6	5.3	51.3	4.3
summer	18.8	14.7	2.2	4.3	56.4	3.6
Cooperative farm women—winter	15.6	8.5	2.1	16.3	52.2	5.3
summer	19.0	3.6	1.7	22.4	48.0	5.3

As can be seen from the above table, young people show no desire to divorce themselves from the life of society. They are not out only to amuse themselves.

Most of the youth covered by the survey devote from 20 to 30 per cent of their leisure time to self-education. Young men are of course attracted to such forms of recreation as tourism, sports and cultural activities. Needless to say, the urban youth enjoys better opportunities to visit theatres, exhibitions and concerts than the rural youth, and there are differences in this respect between school-children, students, young workers and young farmers. These differences will be gradually ironed out with the erasing of distinctions between town and countryside. The striving to live a full-blooded life, to deepen one's knowledge and in general to make effective use of spare time has, of course, its own laws which must be reckoned with.

The table affords an idea of the purposeful, serious approach taken to preparing oneself to embark on life on one's own. Here a number of factors are at play. Besides the family, school and public organizations which all have a pedagogical and socio-political influence on young people, the deep-going changes in the structure of society also leave their imprint. Although a young man or woman may not have a clear idea where he or she is going to work and live, the knowledge that they are being trained to take their place in life in a specific way, and that this way is logical and justified, has a beneficial influence on them. They are, of course, guided by their own plans for the future, but as a rule these plans coincide with the needs of society. And this opens up broad opportunities for the individual to find fulfilment.

* * *

The forms in which the Party carries socialist ideas to the people evolve in step with the

changing social conditions. Moreover, political education work among the youth differs from work among adults. Quests are now under way for forms that appeal to young people. The dialogue between them and the Party has afforded new insight into the whole question of ideological education. The keen interest evinced by young people in political and production problems has refuted the view held by some people that they are indifferent to the political issues of our times.

For the dialogue with the youth to provide a timely answer to urgent questions it is essential that concrete political conclusions be drawn from this important aspect of our mass work. The fact that the Party has chosen the right time and the right form for this dialogue testifies to its sensitivity to the needs of the youth. The exchange of views is useful to both sides. Young people receive answers to their questions while the Party is provided with a channel through which it can keep them abreast of the political issues of the day and help them to see the future development of our society in proper perspective.

At times the questions take the form of critical commentaries on one or another aspect of our life, and some of them suffer from a one-sided approach or betray a lack of understanding of fundamental political problems.

At the same time, however, a closer examination of these critical remarks shows that they are made from a socialist standpoint, that the criticism is directed not against socialism but against distortion of socialism, against shortcomings and blunders.

In the course of the discussion pressing problems are examined in the light of their dialectical evolution in a concrete context. This helps to enrich our experience. For one thing, the initiative of the Party in this respect has a direct bearing on our practical work and influences the attitude of the older generation

to the youth, helping to overcome the incorrect views still encountered here and there. The opinion voiced long ago by the Party that the majority of the youth are politically-minded and that their critical attitude towards nega-

tive phenomena stems from their profound dedication to socialism, from their sense of responsibility for both the present and the future, has been borne out.

Miroslav LAB

Sixth congress of the Portuguese Communist Party

THE PORTUGUESE Communist Party, as we know, operates in incredibly difficult conditions of illegality, in the conditions of Salazar's fascist dictatorship with its monstrous machinery of persecution.

The holding of a Party congress in these circumstances is, then, a momentous event. This is doubly true of the recent Sixth Congress, for this congress adopted new Rules and a new program defining the Party's line in the situation that has developed in the eight years since its Fifth Congress.

In his report Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Party, analyzed the new conditions in which the Party has to work and the new tasks confronting it.

Reviewing the internal situation Cunhal singled out the following developments: the people have stepped up the struggle and their political actions have reached a scale unprecedented in the history of the dictatorship; the people of Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique are now engaged in armed struggle; the fascist regime has entered the most crucial phase of its existence.

During the years under review the Party was able, despite the brutal persecution, to strengthen its contact with the working class and the people. That is why, said Cunhal, "to speak of the struggle of the people in this period is to speak of the activity of the Party and, vice versa, to speak of the activity of the Party is to speak of the struggle of the masses." The Party has strengthened its position as the main party of the anti-fascist opposition, the party without which freedom cannot be won.

The congress noted that the Party's successes and growing strength are enabling it to carry on its activities in a situation characterized by: 1. Rapid development of the mass struggle, growth of political consciousness among the people and the beginning of open political actions against the dictatorship. 2. Increasing control by the big monopoly groups over the country's economic and political life. 3. Increasing subordination to foreign imperialism. 4. Subordination of agriculture to the interests of big capital leading to the rapid development of

capitalism in the countryside, unemployment among agricultural laborers and the ruin of the middle peasant. 5. A colonialist policy of terror and war. 6. Intensified repressions.

This situation, states the report of the Central Committee, places a great responsibility on the Party. It must guide the struggle against the fascist regime, organize defense of the people's interests and make the most of the favorable conditions to develop revolutionary actions. At the same time the Party has to grapple with growing difficulties due to mounting repressions. "Although the prospects for Party activity and for the anti-fascist movement are most favorable, intensive work and great sacrifices lie ahead," states the report.

The tasks of the Party, Alvaro Cunhal continued, are to extend and strengthen the unity of the democratic and patriotic forces, based on unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry; to strengthen organizationally the Party and the unitary organizations and to step up the fight to overthrow the dictatorship and establish a democratic system.

The congress reviewed the major mass actions of the past eight years against the fascist regime and noted that the proletariat, led by the Communist Party, had been in the van of the struggle. This experience shows that fascism was forced onto the defensive, and that the mass struggle has opened a new revolutionary perspective.

As noted earlier, the government's economic policy is characterized by increasing subordination of the country's interests to the demands of the big monopolies.

Portuguese and foreign monopolies are seeking foreign markets for their expanding production. They cannot rely on the home market because of the low purchasing power of the population. This, however, is fraught with danger since the slightest fluctuation on the world market immediately affects the national economy.

The colonial war against the people of Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique is a heavy drain on the Portuguese economy. In

order to meet the cost of this shameful war the regime has imposed new direct and indirect taxes on the working people.

Needless to say the growing domination of the monopolies, the increasing subordination to foreign capital and the colonial war are adversely affecting the conditions of the working people.

Congress noted that the revolutionary process in the different countries was developing in accordance with the specific conditions in the countries concerned. The Central Committee elaborated the Party's new draft program which was discussed and approved by the Sixth Congress, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the economic and political situation in the country.

The program states that the Party's supreme goal is the carrying out of a proletarian revolution and the building of a socialist and, subsequently, a communist society in Portugal. The PCP believes that in the conditions of Portugal the road to socialist revolution lies through a national-democratic revolution the struggle for which is now being waged.

It is a democratic revolution because it will put an end to the fascist tyranny and the domination of the financial oligarchy, will ensure political freedom, uphold the interests of the people, implement far-reaching reforms which will benefit the bulk of the people.

It is a national revolution because upon ending imperialist domination over Portugal and Portugal's colonial domination of other peoples, it will ensure the sovereignty, territorial integrity and genuine independence of the country.

The national-democratic revolution, states the program, is a component of the fight for socialism.

The PCP holds that the basic aims of the national-democratic revolution are: 1. To destroy the fascist state and establish a democratic system. 2. To abolish monopoly rule and ensure general economic progress. 3. An agrarian reform to give the land to those who till it. 4. To raise the standard of living. 5. To ensure a democratic system of education and culture. 6. To liberate Portugal from imperialism. 7. To recognize the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence and to ensure this independence. 8. To pursue a policy of peace and friendship with all peoples.

Since liberties are non-existent in Portugal and the government pursues a policy of terror; since the fascist state is a centralized state with a well-organized military, policy and legal apparatus at its disposal; since the ruling circles will resist with violence to the end, it is only through armed insurrection that the people will be able to overthrow the dictatorship.

"However," the program states, "if, as a result of the development of the mass struggle and the approach of a revolutionary situation, of contradictions in the regime and differences among the ruling circles and attempts by them

to forestall a national insurrection conditions will be created for establishing a democratic system the peaceful way, the Communist Party will do everything possible to make the most of these conditions."

The Party's main tasks in creating the conditions for a victorious insurrection are to improve all aspects of Party work, ensure unity of action of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry, the organization and unity of the democratic and patriotic forces and to further the struggle of the masses for their economic, political and social demands.

These tasks were concretely defined in the Central Committee report to the Sixth Congress.

But before these tasks of the national-democratic revolution can be accomplished political freedom must be won. As a result of 39 years of fascist rule, the masses, all anti-fascists, including the political forces who until recently supported Salazar, (Catholics and monarchists for example) see this as their immediate task. The policy of the dictatorship which impinges on the interests of the nation, is creating the conditions for establishing a broad front of struggle against the monopolies, foreign imperialism and fascist government. The Party aims to make full use of these opportunities for achieving unity, and first and foremost unity of action.

In the fight against the dictatorship and for a democratic system the allies of the working class are the peasantry (small and middle), the urban petty bourgeoisie and some groups of the middle bourgeoisie. In the specific conditions of Portugal an alliance with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies is particularly important.

Differences of course exist in the ranks of the anti-fascist forces on political, tactical and organizational issues.

The Portuguese Communists in particular oppose the view held by some anti-fascist groups that the regime can be overthrown by a military coup organized by a handful of officers. Some putschist illusions have already caused grave harm to the democratic movement. They should not be allowed to spread.

The militarist nature of the state confronts the Party with serious problems. These problems were discussed at the congress and are reflected in the new program which states that a popular insurrection can be successful only if a substantial part of the armed forces participates in it and is neutralized. As a result of the Party's activities in this direction many men and officers are now, at great risk, fighting against the colonial war and doing everything to hamper the punitive operations of the Salazar troops.

Successful development of the democratic movement greatly depends on the organizational strengthening of the Patriotic Front of National Liberation which includes the Party and other Left groups (Socialists, Liberals, Catholics.) The shortcomings in the Front's activities can be overcome if the Communists

are critical of the vacillations and compromising tendencies of the liberal bourgeoisie, stressing at the same time, however, the need for unity of action.

The Party also has to grapple with problems connected with the fascist policy of terror. The congress noted that although the Party has stood its ground in these complex conditions it has not always taken timely protective measures against the constantly renewed repressions. Defense of the Party and the consolidation of its unity is the duty of every Communist.

The congress devoted considerable attention to the international communist movement. It stressed that the PCP has always advocated unity of the world communist movement on a principled basis. It adopted a resolution on the situation in the international communist movement in which it resolutely condemned divisive activities, opposed public polemics in the communist movement and stated that slander and invective against the CPSU and the Soviet Union serve the interests of the common enemy. The Congress underscored the importance of bilateral and multilateral meetings of Communist Party representatives and expressed itself in favor of holding a new international meeting of Communists. "Defense of

the unity of the international Communist movement,' the resolution states, "is the duty of the Communist and Workers' parties and the touchstone of their fidelity to Marxism-Leninism."

The Congress also adopted an appeal summoning the working class, the Portuguese people and all anti-fascists to struggle.

In a message of greetings to the people of the Portuguese colonies the congress declared that the Portuguese Communists and the working people support the just struggle of the people of Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique for their liberation from colonial oppression. The congress noted that the fascist dictatorship is the common foe of the people of Portugal and the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. The congress' support for the struggle of the peoples of the colonies was further confirmation of the Portuguese Communists' loyalty to their internationalist duty.

In a resolution on Vietnam congress expressed its admiration of the valiant struggle waged by the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and called on the working class and democrats of Portugal to increase their solidarity with the embattled people.

The Sixth Congress marks a milestone in the life of the Party and in the anti-fascist democratic movement.

C. SILVA

Party life in brief

GUATEMALA

THE FOURTH CONGRESS of the Guatemalan Party of Labor scheduled for 1965 has been postponed for a year. The Central Committee thought this advisable in view of the pressing tasks of the armed struggle being waged by the Guatemalan revolutionary forces and the fact that certain internal matters, including problems affecting the Party and the revolution, still need to be elaborated.

The Central Committee statement notes that the blows struck by the enemy last year made preparatory work difficult. However, "these difficulties were overcome relatively easily," and the Central Committee decided to hold in 1966 a "representative national conference of Party leaders and functionaries, which will examine the main problems of Party unity and the composition of its leadership pending the convocation of the Fourth Congress which alone is competent to resolve these questions."

Adducing the reasons for postponing the congress, the Central Committee stresses the following: the congress should be the culmination of the ideological discussion and political and

organizational development taking place in the Party in conformity with its strategic line. Acting in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, the congress should summarize the results and the experience of the current revolutionary struggle; it should reflect the strategic line and elaborate the problems arising from national features and the development of the revolutionary war, and thus chart the way the conquest of power, to the victory of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. This will bring nearer the perspective of a socialist and, later, a communist society.

Keynote of the forthcoming congress, the Central Committee decided, should be militant unity of the revolutionary party of the workers and peasants, a unity determined by their needs and interests, by the revolutionary aims and dynamic principles of Marxism-Leninism. "Hence the Fourth Congress," the statement continues, "cannot but take cognizance of the growing class struggle in the country, the upsurge of the world revolutionary movement

and the outstanding successes of socialism." On the other hand, "it should provide the solutions to the problems of the internal ideologi-

cal struggle and thus ensure the strengthening and development of our Party which is heading the revolutionary struggle."

FRANCE

DURING 1965 more than 43,000 new members joined the French Communist Party; of this number 4,000 joined during the general election campaign last December. Seven hundred and fifty new branches were formed, including 250 in factories, 195 in residential areas and 205 in villages and agricultural enterprises.

This makes a total of 19,000 primary organizations. The 1965 increase is the biggest in the last three years which can be described as years of steady membership growth. The Party now has 20,000 more members and 2,500 more branches than it had before de Gaulle came to power.

Always with us in our struggle

GEORGES COGNIOT

ALL WHO ARE DEDICATED to the noblest of all causes, the cause of peace, observed on January 29, 1966, the centenary of the birth of Romain Rolland, indefatigable opponent of war, organizer of united mass action to combat that scourge of mankind. Representatives of the most progressive class, the revolutionary proletariat, cherish the memory of this great intellectual, who in the period between the two world wars crossed the divide, to use his own expression, and sided with the USSR and the international working-class movement. All nations, both those recently liberated from the colonial yoke and those still fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism, remember Romain Rolland's solidarity with the "irresistible upsurge of new forces" rising against imperialism in India, Indochina, China and other countries.

The brilliant mind of this eminent master of the written word who at the height of his talent and renown placed himself wholly in the service of the most humane cause, continues to illumine the path traversed by those who have chosen to combat war, class oppression, national enslavement and contempt for man.

FROM ABSTRACT INDIVIDUALISM TO ACTIVE SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE

Romain Rolland did not participate in political and public activity all his life. His career was a tortuous and contradictory one. At first he believed in the "power of the individual conscience" and the "free spirit." He inclined to individualism and liberalism, although Jean Christophe, the hero of his great novel published before the First World War, already entered the lists against those who (as Rolland expressed it in his message to Gorky) "exploit art and thought, against their hypocrisy, against the idealistic illusion of the aesthetes and rhetoricians," who sought to dull the perceptions of the masses and divert them from the problem of social responsibility. The author expressed his disgust for "social egoism," "cheap opportunism" and "parliamentary cor-

ruption." His book *The People's Theatre*, written in 1900-1903, ended with Faust's words: "In the beginning was the deed." Romain Rolland tried to found a People's Theatre in Paris, but failed and was forced to admit that spiritual emancipation was dependent upon social emancipation, that the first thing to do was to set about "building a nation . . . that would not be crushed by poverty and unremitting toil . . . a nation that would command its own destiny and win the battle that is raging today."

At that time, however, socialist ideas had only just begun to penetrate the writings of Rolland, at times in spite of himself, as is evident from the entries in his diary. He was a socialist only in a vaguely philosophical sense, and the characters of his novels, failing to find their way to the people, confined themselves to passive contemplation.

When war broke out in 1914 Romain Rolland gradually and imperceptibly became involved in politics. He wanted to build a realm of the spirit, of free conscience, of independent judgment, he wanted to be "above the battle." In this he had the support of such eminent humanists as Albert Einstein and Albert Schweitzer. The point of departure for Rolland at that time was defense of abstract freedom of conscience against rabid chauvinism; but he had not yet realized that in order to transform the phantom of freedom into the substance, freedom must first be won, the social basis for it must first be laid.

The years 1918 and 1919 opened Rolland's eyes to the close connection between war and imperialism. It was then that he arrived at the conclusion that social revolution was a necessity.

During the war he made the acquaintance in Switzerland of Lunacharsky who introduced him to Russian revolutionary thought. On August 19, 1918 Rolland wrote of the new leaders of Russia: "These men are greater than the men of '93." This was praise indeed coming from such an ardent admirer of the French Revolution and the Jacobins. The invasion of Soviet Russia by the Entente evoked his violent

protest, and for a long time he continued to agitate against the blockade, against the attempts of the combined forces of the world bourgeoisie to strangle the land of Soviets, to crush the Russian revolution.

In those sorrowful days when the Soviet people and the entire world mourned the passing of Lenin, Romain Rolland publicly voiced his esteem for that "apostle of such indomitable faith," "the most unselfish leader of human action," the man who, "in his lifetime carved a spiritual image in bronze that will defy the centuries," as Rolland wrote a letter to *Izvestia*.

Romain Rolland was not a Communist. Indeed he knew very little about the Bolshevik doctrine at that time. The profoundly humanistic and moral content of the revolution was not always sufficiently clear to him; moreover, he was swayed by other influences, among them the ideas of Ghandi. He believed that socialism tended to ignore the individual, that it was concerned solely with questions of organization, with establishing a better economic system.

Enemies of the revolution missed no opportunity to lead him astray. Among other things they attributed to the Communists an idea that is totally alien to them, namely, that the end justifies the means. This explains Rolland's refusal officially to adhere to the Communist cause. It was the source too of his famous polemic with Henri Barbusse in 1921-22.

In this debate Barbusse denounced the lack of interest in political struggle displayed by those who preached "independence of the spirit." He correctly pointed out that destructive criticism of the old social system should be accompanied by constructive effort to build a new social order. In time Romain Rolland came to see that under certain conditions force might be a historical necessity, although, as Lenin said, it never was the Communist ideal. He understood that for Marxists the dictatorship of the proletariat was only a stage in the struggle, not the goal. Summing up the evolution of his thinking in 1931, Rolland condemned "the vice of idealistic thinking" that paralyze action.

It was then that Romain Rolland took leave of abstract individualism and contemplative liberalism. The path he had traversed was now strewn with "discarded prejudices" and "shattered illusions." Influenced by Gorky, he accepted the socialist concept of freedom to develop all the energies and abilities of the individual, the idea that it is precisely socialism that guarantees fulfilment of the individual. Rolland declared that "the new classless society, the offspring of the class struggle" would be the custodian of the highest moral values, that communism was synonymous with humanism. As Marcel Cachin observed, Rolland identified communism with the loftiest spiritual values. In our time, he wrote, the spirit can have no nobler mission than to be a soldier in the battle to remake the world.

Henceforth he spoke of individualism, understood in the spirit of the "petty property aspirations of intellectuals who cling jealously to the narrow confines of their own camp," as "the puerile dream of the bourgeois intellectual elite" and a delusion. In exchange he offered them the solidarity of social action, i.e., "a broader individualism whose roots reach down into the very substance of the human community," the interchange of energy between the masses and the individual in a fraternal collective. He justly compared individualists who withdraw into their own shells with those pre-Copernicus and pre-Galileo scholars who, "horrified and dismayed because their planet had been deprived of its sovereign immobility, now found it faced with endless infinity and doomed to destruction." In this respect the reactionary intellectuals of today have much in common with those who passed judgment on Galileo.

ROMAIN ROLLAND, THE FIGHTER

The thirties found Romain Rolland engaged in intensive political and social activity directed largely against colonialism and imperialism. "The spectacle of the modern world," he wrote on February 15, 1933, "resembles an inferno. Anyone who succeeds in breaking with the interests of a handful of privileged nations . . . sooner or late finds that the whole of the civilization he enjoys and takes pride in rests on the cruel, shameful, deadly exploitation of nine-tenths of the earth's population. And when this discovery takes possession of his soul, the joy of life dies within him . . . until the moment he resolves to destroy the ulcer . . ."

Every instance of repression in the colonies, and primarily in the French colonies, evoked the passionate and courageous intervention of this soldier "of the great battle that is being fought today throughout the world to throw off the yoke of imperialism." For him the advance of civilization was inconceivable without the intellectual and moral contribution of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The solidarity with "the inevitable revolt of the enslaved peoples" preached by Rolland was not a solidarity of words but of action. "In the face of oppression there are no neutrals."

Champion of "those who constitute the vanguard of the army on the march," Romain Rolland had great confidence in and esteem for the French Communist Party. He actively supported all the efforts of the Party, as for example, the organization of a People's University in Paris in 1932. In his message to the National Party Conference on January 20, 1937, he stressed with remarkable insight that the Party "by the logic of historical development and thanks to its own wisdom has become not only the true representative of the French people and its international mission, but also the expression of a rational and sound French national policy." Rolland expressed his admiration for the "wisdom, patience and sound

political judgment of the comrades upon whom had devolved the lofty and difficult task of leadership of the Party." His message to the Ninth Congress of the Party in December 1937 is striking evidence of Rolland's esteem for the Party. While not formally a member, he regarded the French Communists as comrades and brothers.

I had occasion to visit Rolland together with Maurice Thorez in 1938 in his little house at Vezelay in Burgundy. And I can testify to the affection the aged author had for the working class leader. In conversations that lasted all day, the two men would discuss a wide range of problems, above all that of unity. Theirs was a genuinely fraternal, informal and spontaneous relationship.

In the Soviet Union which he visited in 1935, Rolland saw "the fruit of the most fervent hopes of the peoples of the world," "a reliable guarantee of social progress," a bulwark of peace for all nations. He realized full well that the peaceful coexistence of the two economic and social systems was the best way to demonstrate the superiority of socialism over capitalism. This thought was cogently expressed in his message on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. Advising the Soviet republic not to enter into armed struggle outside its country and to concentrate on "building its own house," he wrote: "The day when this new edifice is completed we shall see many a decayed building in Europe and elsewhere in the world crumbling to dust . . . For the day conquers the night." It is through peace that the "mighty, fecund flood of revolution" is affirmed.

The threats levelled against Soviet Russia Rolland saw as an alarming indication of the mounting reaction in Europe. Branding in 1929 the maneuvers of the Franco-German industrial magnates and the plans to build a common army of the two countries, or exposing in 1930 the "Pan Europe" idea of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi as an anti-Soviet Holy Alliance, he spoke of the USSR as "a necessary barrier against European reaction." He saw in it the embodiment of socio-economic effectiveness and heroism in the service of men, and was proud to be fighting on the same side as the Soviet Union.

In the meantime Romain Rolland himself was destined to become the moving spirit of a powerful movement reflecting the universal alarm at the imminent threat of a second world war. Few men did more at that time for peace, and for unity in the name of peace, than Romain Rolland.

INITIATOR OF THE AMSTERDAM ANTI-WAR CONGRESS

In 1932 the negative results of diverse international conferences, the feverish arming of the big capitalist countries, the Japanese aggression in China, the attempts clearly aimed at provoking trouble and a rupture of diplo-

matic relations—all evoked a mounting sense of uneasiness. On March 1, in the most tragic days of Japanese aggression against continental Asia, Romain Rolland wrote:

"We appeal . . .

"In the name of invaded China, in the name of the imperilled USSR, in the name of all the nations of the world, in the name of the great hopes of mankind evoked and sustained in us by the awakening of the oppressed peoples of Asia and the heroic rebuilding of proletarian Russia I appeal to you for help against the assassins!"

Shortly afterwards, a representative committee was set up to prepare for a world congress against imperialist war. On May 27 Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland issued a manifesto:

". . . It is perfectly clear that we are threatened with another world war . . .

". . . We call upon all men and women of all political views, on all working class organizations—cultural, social and trade union . . . to join with us in an international congress of peace against war.

"This Congress is called upon to do everything possible to rally all forces in a mighty effort against the barbarism of a new war . . ."

On June 1, Romain Rolland appealed once again to all nations, to all parties, to all men and women whatever their place in society, whatever their convictions and aims. "Our purpose," he wrote, "is to evoke a mighty wave of public opinion against war of any kind and from any source . . ." Peace for him was not a matter of the interests of any one party, it was a universal boon. The Congress should not be divided into majority and minority, settling scores in the spirit of rivalry. Its purpose was to find a common basis for agreement and on this basis to rally and set in motion all the forces opposed to war.

The appeal issued by Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse elicited a wide response. In France many trade unions, Socialist Party organizations, Masonic lodges, pacifist groups, sections of the League for Human Rights and other organizations joined with the Communist and revolutionary organizations in setting up local committees. The appeal of the organizers was heard in a number of other countries as well. Believers joined with free-thinkers, Socialists with Communists, Democrats with Socialists.

We recall the impact of the Congress that met in Amsterdam on August 27-29, 1932. As its sponsors had wished, it did indeed become a center for rallying all the forces of peace and against war. The 2,200 delegates, among whom were 291 Socialist members of the Second International and many delegates from reformist trade unions, officially represented more than 30,000 groups uniting a total of some 30 million people. The Declaration read at the opening session stressed the spirit of broad unity on which the gathering was founded. ". . . Each one of us, each party makes its own

contribution . . . Let us endeavor to coordinate all the efforts of those earnestly dedicated to this cause."

Romain Rolland unfurled the banner of the united front. He noted the consternation of some "armchair leaders" of the old parties, their reluctance to part with old methods. "They saw some sinister machination in our efforts to build a united front against war," he wrote. "Owing to the shortsightedness of our contemporaries, who have buried themselves beneath heaps of paper and in talking-shops, who have lost the élan of the great revolutionary epochs, the glorious words 'united front' have been turned into a bogey. Let us venture to utter them here . . . on the threshold of the Congress . . . this will emphasize the true meaning of the Congress, its purity and its integrity."

This was indeed the meaning of the Amsterdam Congress. Under the banner of the united front, broad sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, intellectuals and workers still under bourgeois influence joined with the revolutionary workers to combat the deadly peril of another war, to block the political machinations of the imperialists. A broad-based militant platform emerged. The attempts made by some Socialist leaders to sabotage the Congress or to take action to the point of expulsion from the Party of Socialists who had attended it, failed. In countries like France the Congress served to establish contact between Communist and Socialist workers, it laid the foundations of their brotherhood in the struggle against war. It helped the revolutionary vanguard to rid itself of tendencies which in the past had caused them to reject joint action with those holding different views, who did not clearly understand the roots of war and the effective means of combating it—fatal tendencies which could only lead to the isolation of the most progressive elements and thus strengthen the hand of the enemy.

The Second Plenary Meeting of the Bureau of the International Anti-War Committee elected at the Congress stressed that the movement, with a sincerity and candor attested by reality, appealed "to the most diverse groups which had pronounced against war and to all who sincerely desire to combat the modern organization of destruction," and reaffirmed its resolve "to work for the fruitful unity of all anti-imperialist forces, to build a mighty united front of working people and intellectuals."

AT THE HEAD OF THE WORLD COMMITTEE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Events in Germany developed fast. Hitler came to power. In a number of manifestos Romain Rolland denounced the Reichstag provocation, the suppression of elementary rights and liberties, the mounting toll of crimes, the racialism and anti-semitism. In a devastating reply addressed to the *Koelnische Zeitung*,

he compared the Germany of the great thinkers and humanism of Nazi Germany which was trampling upon the traditions of the past.

When the European Congress against fascism met in June 1933 in Paris Romain Rolland was elected honorary chairman of the International Anti-Fascist Committee. The anti-fascist front never had a stauncher defense of the Communists during the Leipzig trial, his intervention helped to rescue Georgi Dimitrov from the Nazi butchers.

Romain Rolland regarded Thaelmann and all the anti-fascists confined in Hitler dungeons as "German hostages of peace." He exhorted the world "humiliated by the outrages against justice and liberty" not to succumb to "revolting indifference" but to exert every effort to wrest the victims from the hangman's clutches. On another occasion he wrote a brilliant piece on the martyrdom of Antonio Gramsci. He voiced his concern at the danger menacing Luis Carlos Prestes, and after the February events in Vienna he wrote a moving introduction to the *Book of the Austrian Anti-Fascists*.

Addressing the working people and intellectuals of Paris after the fascist putsch of February 6, 1934, in the French capital, the author, reviving Voltaire's slogan invested with a new meaning, urged the people to "Crush the monster!" He took pains to show the youth how their confidence was being abused by the dishonest and corrupt putschist leaders who talked about serving the national community, while in reality serving only the venal interests of big capital.

The veteran fighter rejoiced in the success of the Popular Front, and in his talks with Aragon in 1936 he said that the struggle being fought in France should be extended and continued on a world scale.

Until the very eve of the war in 1939 Romain Rolland as a member of the Presidium Council directed the work of the World Committee against War and Fascism set up as a result of a merger of the two trends manifested at the Amsterdam and Paris congresses. He rendered an invaluable service to this cause. He united in the fight for peace the scattered energies of diverse social forces — workers, peasants, intellectuals, the middle sections and the bourgeoisie — constantly reminding them that peace is the cause of all. "Let us combine our efforts with the efforts with the efforts of those men and women of all parties in all countries who are anxious to keep the peace," he wrote. His was the watchword of a united international anti-war front and he never tired of working for the expansion of this common front. "What must be done is to build the unity of a grand army against the pernicious coalition that threatens to plunge the world into disaster."

Under the leadership of Rolland and Barbusse, whom death wrested all too soon from the ranks of the peace fighters, the World Committee against War and Fascism worked tirelessly to rally the masses and to forge

their unity. Romain Rolland attached the greatest importance to organization. On his initiative leagues and committees of action were set up all over the world and local committees formed in factories and workshops. In the spring of 1936 the peace committees in France had a collective membership of 300,000 and 176,000 individual members. In Britain public sentiment was expressed in the 12 million votes for the Peace Ballot. This movement was guided by Barbusse's watchword: "Do nothing to divide, do everything for unity."

The names of Barbusse and Rolland to this day are symbols of mass unity in the face of the war danger, a challenge to combat passivity and sectarianism. The lesson taught us by Romain Rolland is that the guarantee of peace is intervention by the masses, their organized international actions, and above all the unity of the leading working-class organizations opposed to war.

Romain Rolland never tired of explaining the causes and the motives forces of events and clarifying the perspective. He warned that of all the rival imperialist powers, the most dangerous was the Third Reich. "Hitler Germany," he wrote, "is feverishly preparing for attack." At that time Rolland was accused of panic-mongering, a charge levelled by those who sought to camouflage the Nazi machinations in order to ensure their success.

Rolland exposed these maneuvers. He denounced the Hitler "fifth column" in the Western countries: "We know that in France too," he wrote, "there is a party of treason which is ready to aid the Hitlerite diplomatic subversion against the Popular Front and the USSR." Three years before Munich he predicted the possibility of the reactionary French government of 1935 making such a deal. "In its blind egoism," he wrote, "it is ready to permit a German invasion of Eastern Europe, to sacrifice its Little Entente allies and the USSR. As if it were not obvious, even to the most dull-witted, that the enemy, emboldened and immeasurably strengthened by success, will turn subsequently against France by then morally degraded and isolated!" How prophetic these words proved to be!

The refusal of Nazi Germany to join a collective security pact each of whose members would be controlled by the others was for Romain Rolland conclusive proof that the prospect of rapprochement with France was illusory, that Hitler's assurance of his desire for peace were not to be trusted.

Earlier in February 1919, in a wrathful article on the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Rolland had pointed out that the Entente governments were well satisfied by the defeat of the internationalist "Spartacists," who were sincerely fighting for peace among the nations, inasmuch as these governments placed their class interests above the national interest. Similarly, in 1935, he showed that the ruling classes in France were ready to resort to any subterfuge to turn the mounting

tide of pan-Germanism into a barrier against the revolutionary upsurge, against the USSR.

Rolland reproached the adherents of "total pacificism" for wanting to purchase peace at the price of renouncing justice and humanity, on the plea that "anything was better than war." Rolland, on the other hand, courageously declared that "debasement," "the oblivion of the grave" was a far greater evil. He took issue with the pacifists supporting, in effect, the thesis of the arch-reactionaries who advised France to fall into the trap of "a special and temporary peace in the West which would give Hitler a free hand in the East."

In the face of this policy of national suicide, Romain Rolland ceaselessly called for the establishment of a peace "cordon," an agreement between all countries which for one reason or another were opposed to war. He urged the formation of a bloc of France, Britain and the USSR. "This alone," he argued, "would be enough to avert the immediate danger and perhaps even to prevent war from breaking out." He repeatedly appealed for an organized fight for peace by all peace-loving peoples against those who were opposed to peace. He believed that a powerful Europe living in peace could compel Hitler to relinquish his warlike designs and that such a peace would in itself spell the death of fascism.

It was for this reason that Romain Rolland made the principle of collective security the cornerstone of the fight for peace. The only true peace was that which would embrace the entire plant. The "localization of war" thesis loudly proclaimed by Hitler and Mussolini had but one aim, namely, to split the front of the peaceful powers, abandoning the weak to the mercy of the strong, and depriving the victims of effective assistance.

Romain Rolland did not despair. He never believed that the accursed forces of fascism would have the final word. He vigorously supported the Spanish people in their fight against Franco and his foreign supporters. "It is we who are threatened," he said at the time, addressing the working people and all free people of Europe and America. He condemned Munich, denouncing the "leaders of Western democracy who have neither courage nor faith." In the darkest hour he drew from past history his faith in the ultimate triumph of justice. In an article headed "The World in Mourning," written after Hitler entered Prague, he declared that democracy and the rights of the nations were bound to win in the end. "You are weeping, Prague," he wrote, "but you too, Germany, shall weep! For the day will come when you will shed bitter tears for yesterday. You will curse the victor whom you now glorify, for entered against your name in the ledger is the terrible debt you will be called upon to repay."

". . . Woe to you, Germany! And to you too, Europe! One day the people will cry out in unison: 'Accursed be the man who again opens the gates to war' . . ."

HUMANIST AND MAN OF ACTION

Thirty years ago, on January 31, 1936, an important occasion was observed in the Mutualite Palace in Paris—the seventieth birthday of Romain Rolland. Eight thousand representatives from the factories, workers' organizations, and the intellectual world gathered to pay homage to the writer. Held under the joint auspices of the Socialist and Communist parties, it was the most impressive demonstration of its kind the great city had ever witnessed. A message from the World Committee against War and Fascism was read from the platform by the eminent physicist Paul Langevin.

Maxim Gorky, Georgi Dimitrov and other outstanding representatives of all the countries of the world sent greetings, testifying that the writer was linked by the closest ties with all mankind. From distant China, then fighting for its liberation, came words of admiration and esteem.

Romain Rolland is today a symbol of the historic struggle between the forces of reaction and death embodied in fascism, and the forces of the future and life as expressed, in particular, by the Popular Front in France. He personified the dignity of man and the courage of the masses risen to safeguard peace. A distinguished intellectual who did not separate the word from the deed, knowledge and truth from a sense of practical responsibility, he was esteemed by the people because the people knew that he had advanced from the humanistic idealism of his bourgeois youth, through

the trials of the First World War, to a powerful social realism, to indefatigable struggle against reaction, fascism and war.

The great writer lives on not only in the "oceanic depths" of his writings; he was not only a historian, novelist, dramatist, art critic, student of aesthetics and essayist whose works were a guide to humanism and art for a whole generation of readers. Rolland has remained a living example of the man of action, an example of clear thinking, sober assessment of reality and indomitable courage, the courage to follow the path he had chosen whatever personal sacrifice it might entail. Rolland lives on in the minds of his contemporaries as an intellectual deeply revered by the masses, as a pioneer of that working-class unity, which the Communists are so steadfastly working to achieve, as leader of the most universal movement of our time, the movement against war.

And today, when the actions of the imperialists have caused a deterioration of the international situation and heightened the danger of war, his policy of struggle for peace again engages the attention of the masses. His name is spoken by those working to unite all forces, all men of goodwill, to avert the danger of atomic annihilation that would be the end of all progress. "Life," wrote Rolland in his diary, "to the very last must be a struggle against evil."

He taught us to put aside our differences and unite for struggle against the supreme evil the evil that threatens the very existence of the human race.

Leninism and research in contemporary philosophy

VOLUME VI OF THE *History of Philosophy** covers the post-1917 period, i.e., the philosophy of our time, a subject that combines both the past and the present in one integral whole. It provides a general picture of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxist philosophy and its struggle with contemporary bourgeois philosophy. The canvas painted by the authors of the evolution of philosophical thought reflects the studies undertaken by Marxists in this sphere, traces the development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the basic trends of bourgeois thought, examines contemporary problems of dialectical and historical materialism, ethics and aesthetics, analyzes the philosophical problems posed by the advance in the natural sciences, and the philosophical aspects of the ideological trends associated with the national-liberation movement.

The fundamental idea is that Marxist materialism is a revolutionary philosophy intrinsically linked with the revolutionary working-class movement, with the Communist Party. From the standpoint of Leninism, the Party guides *revolutionary practice* and is the custodian of *revolutionary theory* (including Marxist philosophy). The present volume brings up to date the examination begun in the preceding volume of the Leninist stage of Marxist philosophy. Throughout the study the authors propound the idea of partisanship. Marxist Party philosophy is *objective scientific knowledge which is constantly developing*. Philosophy is treated as a "special form of scientific knowledge with its specific subject and method of investigation." (Book I, page 160). This, in our view, correct approach presupposes a critical attitude towards neo-positivism and the "philosophy of life," philosophical anthropology, as well as towards trends bordering on religion.

According to the Leninist concept, Marxist philosophy is not the sum of two parts—a scientific part which seems to be non-ideological and an ideological part which seems to be unprovable, unverifiable. Dialectical and

historical materialism as an *integral whole* is a science, a philosophy which is the *scientific ideology* of the working class, the Communist Party and of socialist society. Hence Lenin considered Marxist philosophy a prime concern of the Party, and hence irreconcilable *philosophical struggle, philosophical research*, was a constant aspect of his *revolutionary activity*. In 1924, after Lenin's death, Lunacharsky, who had opposed Lenin in the philosophical controversy that followed the 1905 revolution, characterized Lenin's work in philosophy as follows: "Above all Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was a philosopher and took a keen interest in philosophy. He held that the Party, as the representative of the proletariat and the public close to the Party, should be disciplined in philosophy, should not allow itself to be contaminated by what he considered bourgeois admixtures to the philosophical doctrine he regarded as the only correct one for the Marxist social world outlook and hence for Marxist tactics. This position of Lenin was directed against all varieties of subjectivism, against both pseudo-objectivism and pragmatism (not only as a philosophical doctrine but as an approach to the solution of theoretical and practical problems).

The concept of ideology evolved by bourgeois philosophers and sociologists, largely in the footsteps of Max Weber and Carl Mannheim, is based on "subjectivization" of social cognition; it equates the class basis of knowledge with the complete subjectivism of its content. It is to this concept of ideology, invented to combat Marxism, that bourgeois philosophers and sociologists seek to subordinate Marxism, claiming that it is a case of applying Marxism to Marxism.

Separation of ideology and science in Marxism is fatal; it can but lead to utopias. Any attempt to turn socialism back to its early utopian form and to introduce utopian elements in Marxism (or in some of its aspects) can only lead one astray from scientific socialism, from Marx and Lenin, and revive abstract petty-bourgeois socialism. Attempts to divorce ideology from science and to revive utopian concepts are accompanied by mumbo-jumbo

**History of Philosophy*. Vol. VI. Edited by M. A. Dynnik, M. T. Iovchuk, B. M. Kedrov, M. B. Mitin, T. I. Oizerman and A. F. Okulov. Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1965. Book I, 513 pp. Book II, 567 pp.

which cannot be scientifically proved, which indeed at times defies rational explanation, but which nevertheless is used as the yardstick for concrete social and historical phenomena and processes.

According to the Leninist concept, Marxist philosophy as a scientific ideology, and an ideological science cannot be integrated with any trend of contemporary bourgeois philosophy. Needless to say, the theoretical-scientific content of dialectical materialism cannot be reduced to the schema of the four "basic features of dialectics" and the three "characteristic features of Marxist philosophical materialism."

Any attempt to "synthesize" dialectical materialism which contemporary bourgeois philosophical trends (existentialism or philosophical anthropology phenomenology or positivism) would cost a heavy price. For materialism would inevitably be relegated to the background, a blow would be struck at the objectivity of dialectics, and the theory of reflection would be sacrificed.

To question the dialectical materialist theory of reflection would tend to reduce philosophy to a matter of self-perception of the individual or subject of cognition and to rule out the possibility of finding a scientific solution to the problem of the relationship between the subject and object in the cognitive process as well as in practical life. Stressing that materialism regards existence as a reality independent of consciousness and consciousness as a reflection of existence, Lenin wrote: "From this Marxist philosophy, which is cast from a single piece of steel, you cannot eliminate one basic premise, one essential part, without departing from objective truth, without falling prey to bourgeois-reactionary falsehood" (*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*).

Dialectical materialism is not "open" to reactionary philosophical and sociological trends, as it is to Marxist examination and generalization of new phenomena in social development, of the latest results of scientific cognition. These include changes in the forms of dialectical materialism and the inner correlation of its logical structure, etc. The constant renewal of Marxist philosophy and the preservation, defense and development of its enduring basic content in the process of this renewal is an imperative of Leninism.

The volume under review, in tracing the development of Marxist philosophy, shows that the past half century, notwithstanding the mistakes that have been made and the temporary and partial blunders and setbacks, was not a period of stagnation in Marxist philosophical thinking; on the contrary, it was a period of *progress and struggle against bourgeois philosophy*. In these fifty years, Marxist philosophy inspired the revolutionary working-class movement in its victorious battles, and its influence grew immeasurably. The handful of Marxist philosophers which existed before 1917 has grown into a large international body,

and dialectical materialism itself has developed, especially since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

The rebuff administered in the book to bourgeois philosophy and sociology is based on a thorough knowledge of the trends examined and in most cases is a summing up of original research. The authors are guided by the Leninist view on the relationship between Marxist and bourgeois philosophy which rules out any theoretical compromise on issues of principle and calls for the unity of criticism and solution when dealing with the real problems posed even in bourgeois philosophy. In discussing the philosophical problems of contemporary natural science and examining the philosophical views of scientists, the book separates the theories of natural science from their idealistic (or mechanistic) interpretations; dialectical materialism does not take up the cudgels on behalf of concepts and notions in the various sciences which have proved bankrupt or inconclusive, it wages a struggle for the progress of scientific knowledge, against idealism. Volume VI helps us to understand that the relationship between dialectical materialism and the natural sciences cannot be judged by the mistakes committed (and essentially already corrected), that this relationship is characterized by interaction facilitating the growth of knowledge, by unity and alliance in which philosophy does not play the part of judge or overseer of the natural sciences, but, on the contrary, is an intrinsic theoretical and methodological necessity for the latter.

The present book represents an extremely difficult undertaking because, apart from anything else, the authors in examining contemporary problems had to deal with incomplete processes, a wide range of problems relating to social change, political and ideological struggle, and scientific cognition. Not in every case could they draw on ready preliminary studies. This perhaps explains some of the book's shortcomings: all the chapters are not uniformly good, at times description is substituted for analysis, occasionally exposition of the logic of development of Marxist philosophy and theoretical criticism of bourgeois philosophy and theoretical criticism of bourgeois philosophy are replaced by mere registration or enumeration of facts. Some political facts are approached purely empirically, without generalization in the context of the evolution of philosophical thought. Not always are the trends in contemporary bourgeois thinking, the interconnection between trends, their social motives, their role and its modifications, deduced from the mass of detail. At times inadequate attention is devoted to writings and concepts which exert a certain influence today, such as Sartre's *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, modern variants of phenomenology, etc. In our opinion it would have been useful to make a more concrete examination of the trends stemming from the decline of bourgeois philo-

sophy and from the development of the natural sciences, which are departing from the basic principles of bourgeois philosophy and gravitating toward materialism or dialectics, or even to dialectical materialism (Mario Bunge's book, for instance, is dismissed in a single sentence, while Gonseth's views or Marvin Farber's criticism of phenomenology are not not analyzed).

On the whole the present reviewers agree with the main ideas set forth in the book, but there are appraisals and approaches to problems on which their views differ from those of the authors. These problems (for instance, some aspects of the structure of Marxist philosophy and criticism of certain phenomena in contemporary bourgeois philosophy) are now being discussed by Marxists, especially in the Soviet Union.

The continued discussion and examination of problems is in line with the purpose of the book, which brings out the point that Marxist philosophy is not something static and finalized for all time, that Marxist philosophers still have a vast amount of work ahead of them. Volume VI throws light on a number of problems of

dialectical and historical materialism on which the attention of researchers is now focussed. At some later date studies of the history of philosophy could lead to the posing of theoretical problems, with more attention devoted to the logical element in history. A critical comparison of the author's understanding of philosophy, which we believe is essentially correct, with other interpretations of Marxist philosophy would perhaps appear to be a necessary element of further study.

Volume VI of the *History of Philosophy* is a scientific work marking the culmination of extensive Marxist research in the Soviet Union. It is now being translated in a number of countries.

It examines the Leninist stage of Marxist philosophy in the overall context of the history of world philosophical thought and the class struggle. It demonstrates the *international* character and worldwide impact of Leninism, underscoring the fact that Marxist philosophy, permeated with the spirit of internationalism, is the concern of the international Communist and working class movement.

A. GEDO, V. RUMIL

Bonn: the war criminals' haven

A MOTTO OF ALL civilized state administrations is that "crime doesn't pay." But the West German administration in Bonn seems to have proclaimed the opposite. For in the *Brown Book: War and Nazi Criminals in West Germany*,* published in the German Democratic Republic by the National Council of the National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany, we find the names of nearly 2,000 one-time top Nazis and war criminals who are still top men in the Administration in Bonn.

Let us take a closer look at some of these "initiators of the persecution of Jews and proven murderers" whom the anti-communism obsession of their Washington protectors has elevated from prison cells to top jobs in West Germany. The first name in the Brown Book's documentation is that of Professor Otto Ambros, member of the Board of Directors of the pre-war IG-Farbenindustrie empire and currently holder of numerous directorates in a number of big chemical trusts such as Scholven-Chemie AG, Gelsenkirchen Buer, etc. etc.

Professor Ambros, a top man of the IG-Farben branch in the Auschwitz death camp, was a wartime collaborator and colleague of

Hoess, camp commandant of Auschwitz. In the dock in Nuremberg this professor, whom Hitler a few years earlier had decorated with the Knights Cross, confessed that he knew all about the burning of prisoners in the camps. Convicted by the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg as a war criminal, he was soon released at the request of the Bonn Government because, as the Brown Book puts it, "he was indispensable as an armaments expert for the task of remilitarizing West Germany."

Another "expert" in this gallery of war criminals is the gentleman known as Hermann Abs. Abs, who sports on his bemedalled breast a decoration bestowed by dictator Franco, is doubly and even trebly characterized in the Brown Book. The first characterization taken from the report of the Office of Military Government of the USA dated November 1946, that is, before the anti-communism obsession and the Cold War propaganda petrified the heart of official Washington, reads: "Abs was the spiritual rector of the infamous Deutsche Bank, which combined an unusual concentration of economic power with active participation in the criminal policies of the Nazi regime . . . Abs used all his energies to extend the rule of Germany over Europe."

The second characteristic is the brief un-

*Brown Book: War and Nazi Criminals in West Germany, Dresden, Verlag Zeit im Bild, 1965. 402 pp.

adorned statement that, for war crimes committed on the territory of Yugoslavia, "Hermann Abs was sentenced in absentia to fifteen years hard labor."

The third Abs characteristic, supplied by the Brown Book, refers to the present: Chairman of the Board of Deutsche Bank; Chairman, board of directors of IG-Farben successor trust Bodische Anilin- und Soda Fabrik AG.; vice-president, Deutsche Bundesbahn; vice-chairman of the administrative council of Kreditbank for Reconstruction; chairman of over 40 boards of various enterprises.

In the career of Hermann Abs, from war criminal to "Bonn's uncrowned Minister of Finance," we have surely the classical example of the "crime doesn't pay" motto being sacrificed to the needs of reactionary policy.

After the First World War the reading public was greatly impressed by a German book entitled *The Kaiser Goes, The Generals Remain*. And today we can say that although Hitler has gone, his generals, like those of the Kaiser's day, are unfortunately, very much with us. Of the hundred generals and admirals—ex-Nuremberg war criminals—listed in the Brown Book, we shall mention but one, Lieutenant General Trettner.

We first hear of Trettner in 1937 at the time of the Spanish Civil War when he commanded the squadron which bombed Guernica, the horrors of which inspired Picasso to paint his immortal denunciation of fascist barbarism. The Trettner trail of blood leads from Guernica in 1937 to the bombing of Rotterdam in 1940.

At the moment, Trettner as Commander-in-Chief of the Bundeswehr, and no doubt thirsting to revenge Stalingrad, is, like his fellow war criminals on the Bundeswehr General Staff, itching to get a finger on the nuclear trigger.

Hermann Krumei, presently owner of a chemist's shop in Korbach, Hesse, is, if one may say so, a particularly nasty type of war criminal. For it was he, who as SS Obersturmbannführer, in the Reich Security Main Office, supervised the destruction of 12,000 Jewish people in the Lodz area, Poland. In the summer of 1942, eighty-eight Czech children, brought to Lodz from Lidice after the massacre of their parents, were sent by Krumei to a concentration camp where all of them were murdered. Nor does his infamy end with the slaughter of the innocents. For it was none other than Krumei who in wartime Hungary initiated the "lives for lorries" traffic when he proposed exchanging one million Jewish people for 10,000 motor lorries. A close associate of the notorious Eichmann, Krumei organized the transportation of 400,000 men, women and children to the extermination camps.

True, justice, or rather what goes for justice in the atmosphere of revenge which prevails in

Bonn, caught up with this multi-murderer in 1965 when after a trial lasting nine months he was sentenced to five years imprisonment. But since this was all but covered by his period of detention, the sentence was tantamount to acquittal. Generous Government credit enabled the acquitted Krumei to go straight from his prison cell to his chemist shop and burgher respectability in Korbach.

By way of contrast the Brown Book shows that in the German Democratic Republic war-time crime far from being a paying proposition and the broad highway to lucrative careers in the Government is punished with all the severity of law.

Although the population of the GDR is only one-third that of the Federal Republic, a total of 16,572 persons charged with war crimes were tried and punished in the present territory of the GDR between May 1945 and December 1964 compared with 12,457 for the Federal Republic (by January 1964).

Of the 12,807 persons convicted in the GDR, 118 were sentenced to death, 231 to imprisonment for life, and 5,088 to imprisonment for terms of three years and upwards.

Of the 5,234 persons found guilty of war crimes in the Federal Republic up to March 1965, only nine of the multi-murderers received the death sentence; 71 were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Why, it may be asked, this leniency? And why, it may be asked further, are war crimes in particular so severely punished in East Germany, seemingly the best recommendation for the highest and most lucrative posts in West Germany?

One obvious reason is that dog does not eat dog; one war criminal can hardly be expected to denounce another and give evidence against him; and as the Brown Book shows with the most convincing documentation, the biggest war criminals occupy the topmost posts in the Administration and all its branches — Army, Police, Judiciary, etc., etc.

Another reason, perhaps the decisive one, is that the same groups in the empires of industry and finance that catapulted Hitler from obscurity into the Imperial Chancellory in order to prepare for the Second World War, are now dreaming and plotting revenge for their defeat. Simultaneously with coddling and petting the war criminals they have banned the Communist Party, they persecute other democrats and they are drafting Emergency Laws which, in line with the policy of revenge, are designed to silence any opposition at home to their policy of renewed aggression abroad.

With its massive and irrefutable documentation the Brown Book is a crushing indictment of the war-of-revenge policy now so assiduously pursued by Hitler's colleagues in the Bonn administration.

J. GIBBONS

JUST PUBLISHED!

Existentialism and Alienation in American Literature

by Sidney Finkelstein

A sparkling, profound, and critical survey of the "disillusion" literature of the '20s and the literary "rebellion" of the '50s and '60s, this book will arouse the liveliest controversy in many a year. □ From O'Neill to Albee and Baldwin, the author explores alienated expression and existentialist thought as reflected in the style, form and motif of the major works. He presents a masterful summary of the philosophical background, from Kierkegaard to Heidegger, and shows the influence of Camus and Sartre on American letters. □ You will not want to miss this exciting and basic contribution to the revival of meaningful social criticism.

Cloth \$5.95 / Paperback \$2.25

A MARXIST CLASSIC LONG UNAVAILABLE

Studies & Further Studies in a Dying Culture

by Christopher Cauldwell

(Both books in one volume)

Clothbound, New, Dust Jacket / \$5.00

SEND CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO:

New Era Books 80 EAST 11TH STREET, RM. 212, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003



WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of peace and socialism

80 E. 11th St., Rm. 212, New York, N.Y.
10003

Here is my subscription to WORLD MARXIST REVIEW. I understand I will receive as well INFORMATION BULLETIN, as issued, free of charge.

☐ 1 year (12 issues) \$3.50

☐ 18 mos. (18 issues) \$5.00

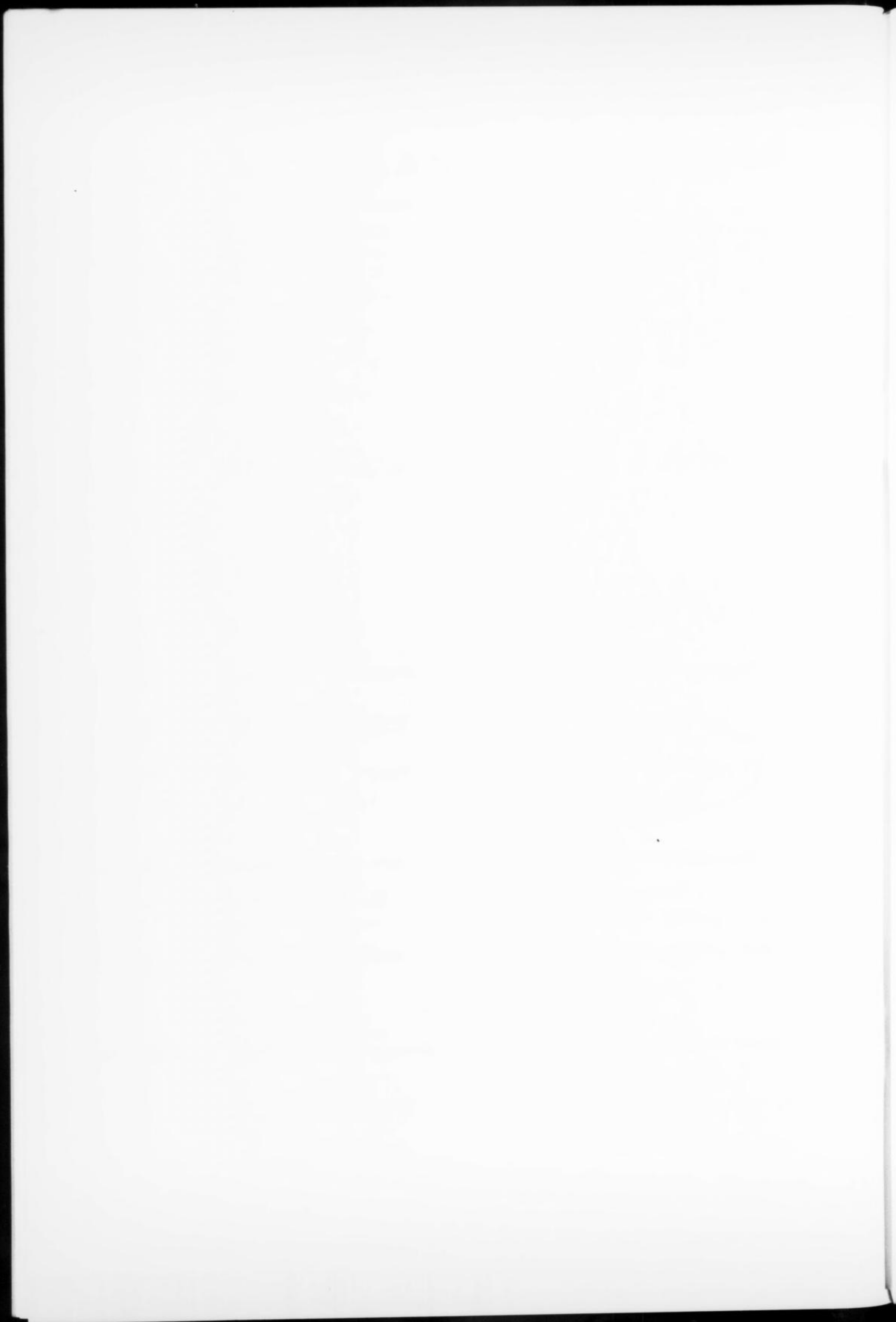
☐ New

☐ Renewal

Name

Address

Date



FREE SAMPLE COPY

We would like to send a sample copy of

World Marxist Review

to interested people. Will you

fill out the coupon below and mail to us.

• • •

PROGRESS BOOKS
42-48 STAFFORD ST.
TORONTO 3, CANADA

NEW ERA BOOKS
80 EAST 11th ST., STE. 212
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

Please send a sample copy of WORLD
MARXIST REVIEW to the following:

NAME.....

ADDRESS

.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS

.....

Sender

Address

.....



The Tri-continental Conference



↑ *At a Plenary Session*



↑ *One of the commissions at work*

← *Presidium of the Conference*

