

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of peace and socialism

In this issue:

Behind the Middle East crisis

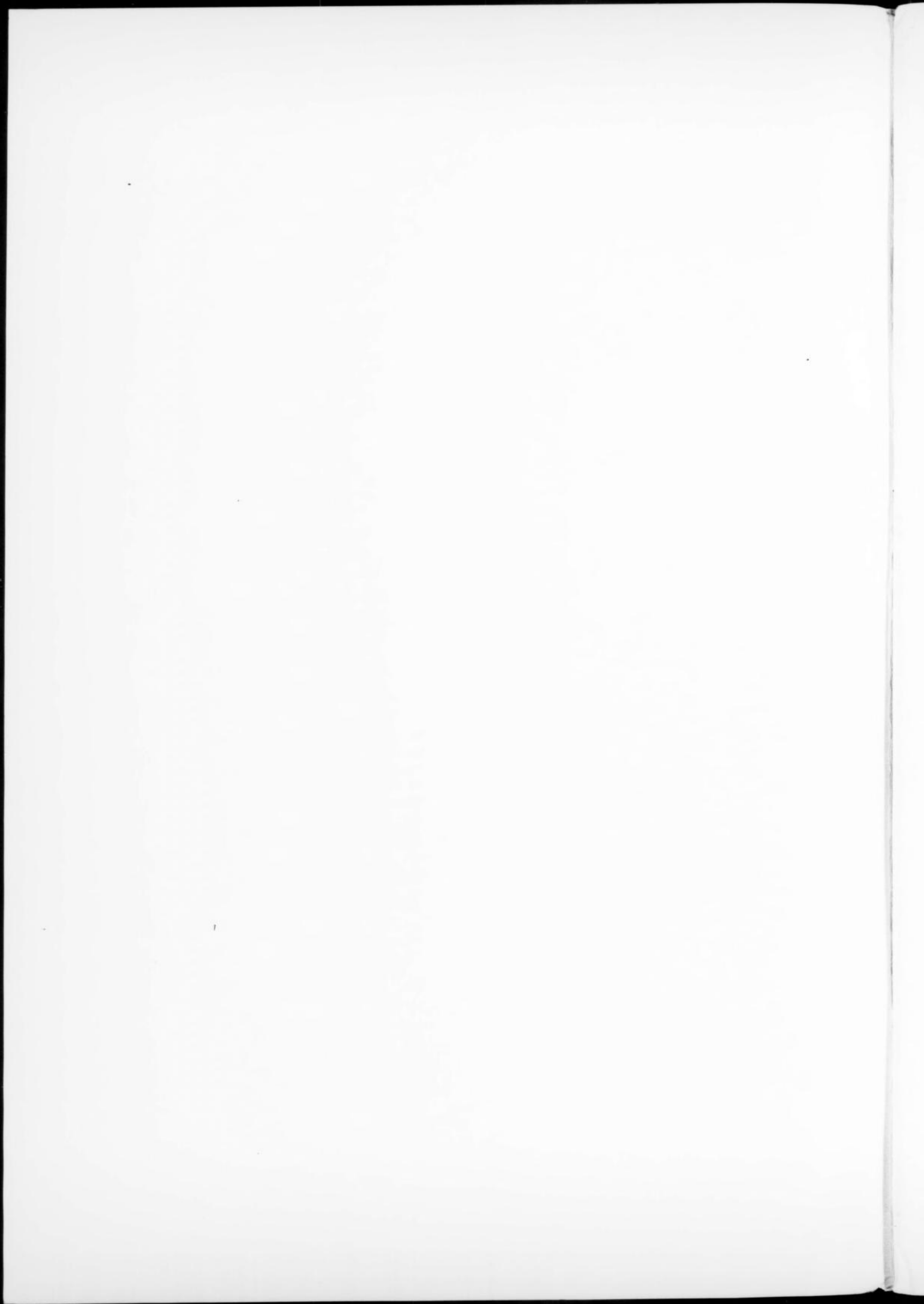
**WHICH WAY FORWARD IN
LATIN AMERICA?**

— see pages 44, 56, 66, 74

VOLUME 10, NO. 7

July 1967

35 CENTS



- 3 Against imperialist aggression and reaction**
 J. PRAZSKY IMPERIALIST INTRIGUES IN THE MIDDLE EAST
 I. NORLUND AFTER KARLOVY VARY
 I. SUMAR U.S. IMPERIALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
 D. POSPELOV ESCALATION CONTINUES
 J. GIBBONS INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF GREECE
- 19 50th anniversary of the October Revolution**
 A. YEFIMOV PLANNED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT—A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIALISM
 THE USSR TODAY
 FIFTY YEARS AGO
 THE APPROACHING 50th ANNIVERSARY
- 32 Theory and practice of socialism**
 E. KHRISTOV THE NEW SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IN BULGARIA
 B. SIMON ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE C.P. OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN INDUSTRY
- 44 The national liberation movement today**
 L. CORVALAN ALLIANCE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES IN LATIN AMERICA
 G. RABESAHALA INTERVIEW WITH MADAGASCAR PATRIOTS
 IN THE VAN FOR DEMOCRACY
- 56 Viewpoints on current problems**
 R. OTERO SOME PROBLEMS OF THE WORKING-CLASS AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA
 A. DELGADO LATIN AMERICAN REFORMISM TODAY
 W. ATIAS CONFERENCE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN
 J. M. FORTUNY SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION
- 76 In the Communist and Workers' parties**
 P. KARAPENOV SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT
 N. LE BROCCO THE FIRST COMMUNIST IN THE JERSEY PARLIAMENT
- 82 Communications and comment**
 E. LIAN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS AND REFORMS

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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

Theoretical and
Information Journal
of Communist and
Workers' Parties

**JULY, 1967
VOLUME 10
NUMBER 7**

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

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

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

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

Published by
PROGRESS BOOKS
487 Adelaide St. W.,
Toronto 2B, Ontario,
Canada.



WMR

among our contributors

LUIS CORVALAN *General Secretary of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Chile*

RAMIRO OTERO *Member of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Bolivia*

ALVARO DELGADO *Member of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Colombia*

ANATOLY YEFIMOV *Corresponding Member, Academy of Sciences of the USSR,
Head of Research Institute, State Planning Committee of
the USSR*

BOHUMIL SIMON *Member of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*

PENCHO KARAPENOV *Member of the Central Committee,
Bulgarian Communist Party*

EMIL KHRISTOV *Bulgarian economist*

RICHARD ANDRIAMANJATO *Chairman, Independence Congress Party of Madagascar*

GISELE RABESAHALA *General Secretary, Independence Congress Party of
Madagascar*

Imperialist intrigues in the Middle East

JAN PRAZSKY

ISRAEL'S AGGRESSION against the Arab countries along with the escalation of the war in Vietnam and the military coup in Greece have still further exacerbated world tension and brought closer the danger of a world conflict.

For many years now the Middle East has, as a result of the imperialist policy of the United States, Britain and their allies—the reactionary circles in Israel—been an area of international tension.

Correctly to understand the causes of the crises that periodically shake this part of the world, it is necessary to examine the character and the objectives pursued by the political and social forces concerned.

The disintegration of the colonial system, the unprecedented scope of the liberation struggle, the growth of the national consciousness of the formerly oppressed people challenged imperialism's undivided sway in the Middle East. Most of the Arab countries had gained national independence. Their peoples were beginning to take a more resolute stand against U.S. and British interference in the internal affairs of their countries.

Fearing the rising tide of the liberation movement, the imperialists stepped up their intrigues and subversive activity in this part of the world. Buttressing the CENTO aggressive bloc, engineering coups, forging the notorious Islam Pact—such were some of the measures taken by the imperialists to protect their class interests. A special place in all this was assigned to Israel which over the years had been built up as a strong point of opera-

tions against the liberation movement in the Arab countries. The imperialists sought, with the help of the reactionary circles in Israel and by provoking conflicts, to create a standing pretext for armed intervention in the Middle East. The monopolists in the West hoped to continue their fabulously profitable exploitation of this extremely rich region even after losing direct administrative control over it. They resorted to political and diplomatic pressure in their drive to retain the key positions in the economy of some of the countries. But their calculations came to nought as the liberation revolutions in the leading Arab countries, the movement for economic and social emancipation began to gain ground.

Relying on the aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, the newly-free Arab peoples began to build up their national industry and agriculture and to put into effect deep-going socio-economic reforms. As was noted in the statement of the meeting of Arab Communist parties earlier this year, "the present situation in the Arab world is characterized by the extension and intensification of the national struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, and by a deepening of the content of the national liberation movement. Large sections of the Arab peoples and influential social forces are becoming attracted, more and more, to the slogan of socialism, which is the best way of developing our countries, to achieving their economic independence and doing away with backwardness."

The most significant success in the fight for economic emancipation and social progress was achieved by the United Arab Republic, the numerically biggest and the most industrially developed of the Arab countries. It established control over the country's mineral wealth and production, nationalized the Suez Canal, laid the foundations of industrialization, created a powerful state sector, carried out an agrarian reform and other important socio-economic changes in the interests of the working people. Thanks to these achievements the UAR became an important factor in the development of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement in the Middle East and in Africa.

Success in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the socio-economic sphere was achieved also by the people of Syria, particularly following the establishment of a progressive regime in the country in February 1966. All foreign industrial companies and banks, and also all large-scale enterprises belonging to Syrian capitalists have been nationalized; a progressive agrarian reform is being carried out. Unity of their progressive forces enabled the Syrian people to win a big victory over the oil companies, to start working their own oil resources and building their own projects, particularly the Euphrates Dam. In foreign relations the Syrian Government pursues a clearly defined anti-imperialist policy.

The establishment and consolidation of revolutionary-democratic regimes in many of the Arab countries, particularly in the UAR, Syria and Algeria—the progressive core of the Arab world—the strongly pronounced anti-imperialist tenor of their policy, their close cooperation with the socialist countries, the progressive socio-economic changes carried out by them—all aroused the frenzied resistance of imperialism and internal reaction.

The U.S. and British imperialists, and the reactionary forces in the Arab countries and in Israel tried on repeated occasions to halt the further advance of the Arab revolution, to undermine and topple the progressive regimes in the UAR, Syria and in other Arab countries. The triple aggression against Egypt in 1956 when Israel acted as the aggressors' striking force, the landing of U.S. marines in the Lebanon in 1958, British intervention in Jordan, the incessant military provocation by Israel on Syria's borders, the attempts to stage reactionary coups in Syria, U.S. economic pressure on the UAR—these are only some of the facts showing the desperate lengths to which imperialism went to bring pressure on the progressive Arab regimes and the Arab revolutionary movement as a whole.

The facts show also that the new Israeli aggression in June was not an isolated incident, but part of the policy of the U.S. imperialists and their allies to destroy the gains of the revolutionary movement of the Arab peoples. Behind all these maneuvers and provocations of the neo-colonialists one easily discerns the carefully camouflaged objective — to overthrow the progressive governments representing the will of the peoples, and to put back in the saddle the local reactionaries.

The imperialists fully realize that the consolidation of the national independence of the Arab countries, their anti-imperialist policy, progressive social measures and headway made in economic development reinforce their political and economic independence, that this, in turn, gives the peoples more complete control over their national wealth, stiffens their resistance to any pressure, whether economic, political or military, exerted by the imperialists. The same purpose is pursued by the progressive, genuinely revolutionary forces in all Arab countries without exception, and by the growing consolidation of the Arab world.

These processes have still further endangered imperialist interests in the Middle East. Hence the feverish subversive activities of the imperialists in this region, and of Israel's reactionary circles, closely associated with the monopolies. Here it might be noted that the imperialists who instigated the Israeli leaders against their neighbors, did not go it alone. The Israeli leaders have never made a secret of their expansionist strivings. In pursuing an aggressive policy Israel's ruling circles are not only performing the function assigned them by the overseas monopolies; they are acting also against the national and social interests of their own people. The progressive forces in the country drew attention to this. Speaking in the Israeli parliament, the Communist MP, Vilner, denounced the Government's aggressive policy and vigorously condemned it.

Some commentators tend to describe Israel as a tiny "wronged" enclave in a vast Arab world. That is hardly true. The fact is that Israel is an aggressive state, armed with modern military equipment, a state that is itself pursuing an active neo-colonialist policy in many of the African countries.

American imperialism has taken upon itself police functions also in this part of the world. In 1956 it was the British and the French imperialists who engineered the aggression against the UAR; today it is the U.S. Sixth Fleet that symbolizes the takeover of the commanding heights by American im-

perialism. The Sixth Fleet which includes 50 warships, some 200 aircraft and strong contingents of marines, is cruising in the eastern part of the Mediterranean and represents a source of constant danger of U.S. armed intervention in the Middle East.

Another prime factor responsible for the tension in this region, apart from the strategic and political interests of the United States and other NATO countries that are at stake, is the imperialists' determination to retain their control over the vast oil reserves of the Middle East which accounts for about 55 per cent of the capitalist world's reserves and for more than a fourth of the total amount extracted.

Middle East oil plays a big role in the military strategy of the United States and its allies in the various aggressive blocs. It is one of the principal sources "feeding" fuel to the NATO, CENTO and SEATO military machine. It is situated in the vicinity of many of the military bases of the United States and its allies, in the main "local"-war areas. The *Herald Tribune* wrote on June 7, 1967 that "nearly half of the 40 million barrels of oil a year needed for the Vietnam war comes from Arab-bloc countries."

At present the principal oil deposits in the Middle East—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran and the Arabian peninsula—are virtually controlled by international oil cartels which include five American and two British companies.

This is indicative of U.S. capital's expansionist propensities, of its moves to edge out its West European partners. It is also indicative of America's increasing political interference in Middle East affairs.

It has always been the policy of the United States and Britain in this part of the world to protect, at all costs, the interests of the oil monopolies which are not only pocketing fabulous profits but in plundering the national wealth of the Arab countries are retarding their economic development. Hence the Arab peoples' determination to divert the flow of "black gold" into national channels, to have it serve the economic interest of their own countries.

In an attempt to prevent this, the oil monopolies are using Israel to fight against the Arab peoples. It is significant that the Israeli government's anti-Syrian policy coincided with the movement of the Syrian people for a fairer share of oil royalties.

Apart from the purely military importance of the Middle East in the strategic global plans of the imperialists, and specifically of the Pentagon which is bent on preserving its military bases there in the event of aggres-

sion against the socialist countries, this region is also one of the ganglions in the political strategy spearheaded against the national liberation movement as a whole. The utter failure to settle the Vietnam issue by force of arms, the spread of the liberation movement in Latin America, the emergence of independent states in Africa, mounting anti-American sentiment in Turkey—all this is driving the American imperialists to reckless ventures.

Such are the basic causes behind the aggressive policy of the U.S., Great Britain and Israel and the armed conflict brought about by this policy in the Middle East.

During the tense days of the hostilities progressive forces throughout the world aligned themselves with the just struggle of the Arab patriots, despite the barrage of reactionary propaganda. The voice of protest against the war incendiaries rang out in the socialist world and in the young national states, in international democratic organizations and in revolutionary parties. The United Nations was flooded with demands to take energetic measures to end the aggression.

A statement of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party declared: "This time, too, the main responsibility for the tension that has arisen rests with U.S. imperialism. Its intention to protect the excessive privileges of the American monopolies in the economic resources of the Middle East, its repeated attempts to suppress the national and democratic movement of the peoples in this region of the world as elsewhere, its intention to turn this region into a cornerstone of its aggressive 'global strategy'—these are the profound causes of the conflict."

Statements of other Communist parties condemned the attempts of the imperialist powers to shield Israel and impose on the Arab peoples a solution that would potentially retain the threat of yet another explosion. They underscored that all peoples are interested in preserving peace. "The war in the Middle East will serve the interest neither of Jews nor of Arabs," read the Statement of the Communist Party of Great Britain. "A secure future for Israel," the *Morning Star* commented, "can be assured if she makes a clean break with imperialism and establishes friendly relations with the liberation forces in that region fighting to rid themselves of foreign domination."

The military conflict in the Middle East has again demonstrated that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the most reliable allies in the liberation struggle, are true friends of the young independent states, implacable opponents of imperialist aggression

and staunch defenders of the great cause of peace.

True to their internationalist duty to uphold peace, to defend the lofty cause of national liberation the socialist countries emphatically came out against the aggression unleashed by the imperialist forces. The Statement of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties and of the Governments of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USSR and Yugoslavia says: "In this difficult hour for the states of the Arab East, the socialist countries declare that they are in complete and full solidarity with their just struggle and will render them every assistance in repelling the aggression and upholding national independence and territorial integrity."

In the jubilee year of the Great October Socialist Revolution which opened a new era in the history of mankind, the Soviet people, by their resolute stand in defense of peace, justice and freedom, once again forcefully demonstrated the humanist essence of the revolution.

In its Statement of June 5, 1967 the Soviet Government declared: "The Soviet Union, true to its policy of rendering aid to peoples who are the victims of aggression, to states that have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke, declares its firm support of the governments and peoples of the United Arab Republic, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Jordan and the other Arab states, and its confidence in the successful outcome of their just fight for independence and sovereign rights."

It is thanks to the determined, principled and consistent stand taken by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries that the aggression was halted relatively quickly and prevented from becoming a major armed conflict, thus lessening the danger of a world conflagration. The peoples cannot accept the U.S. and British attitude of countenancing the aggressor's attack.

Israel's latest aggression has shown the Arab countries the need to close ranks more solidly, to put aside existing differences; it has strengthened the anti-imperialist base of Arab unity. The American imperialists and their henchmen have once again exposed themselves in the eyes of the Arab peoples and of the world as the most bitter foes of justice, progress and national freedom. The

strings manipulating the aggressive policy of Israel's reactionary circles have been laid bare.

The Middle East events have proved that consolidation of national independence, rapid social progress, economic advance and a strong defense potential are the only truly reliable safeguards against imperialist intrigues, provocations and aggression.

The imperialist plans to drive a wedge between the Arab peoples and the socialist countries have miscarried. As is evident from the statements of Arab leaders, Soviet-Arab friendship, the cooperation between the Arab and Socialist countries have withstood a new and grave test. This friendship and cooperation are based not on transient political considerations; they are rooted in the very nature of the socialist system. Historical experience and the vital interests of the socialist countries and the Arab peoples accentuate the need to extend and strengthen these relations.

Although the Arab states have suffered a military setback as a result of Israel's sudden attack, the imperialists and their agents in Tel Aviv did not achieve their main political goals in this aggression, viz., to weaken the progressive regimes, to reverse the revolutionary trend in the Arab world, to split the united Arab movement.

The aggression was stopped. But as U.S. *News and World Report* commented on June 12, Washington was anything but anxious that an emergency meeting of the U.N. General Assembly be called, for there was "the probability that the Arab states, plus the new nations which side with them, plus the Communists, who also side with them, would outvote the West." There is such a probability. The USSR and the other socialist countries, the progressive forces of the world are demanding that Israeli aggression be condemned unequivocally, that Israel pull back its troops unconditionally from the territory seized by it. Peace can be preserved, the instigators of dangerous ventures can be curbed, pressure can be brought to bear on the governments of the capitalist countries, and a stop put to the aggressive intrigues of imperialism given the determination of the young national states to uphold and consolidate their freedom, the support of the entire liberation movement and the socialist countries, given the solidarity and cohesion of all progressive forces.

After Karlovy Vary

IB NORLUND

I

DEVELOPMENTS SINCE the Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties have fully vindicated the convocation of the conference and its decisions. The importance and implications of its conclusion that the substantial growth of the peace forces is attended by increasing imperialist, notably U.S. imperialist aggressiveness, is borne out by many facts.

The peoples cannot afford to underestimate this heightened imperialist and reactionary activity, aimed at further aggravating the international situation, creating new potential centers of the war danger, and striking at the new detachments of the national liberation movement.

The following is a partial list of these facts. Continued escalation of the war in Vietnam, with more intensive bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong and incursions into the demilitarized zone; imperialist moves that provoked the Israeli aggression against the forces of national liberation and social progress in the Middle East, preparations by the U.S. and its Latin-American underlings for fresh provocation against Cuba; the terror and repression in Greece, with the disclosure of the fascist nature of the new regime and the potential seat of trouble and provocation it is creating in the Balkans; the NATO military conference in May which formalized the transition from "massive retaliation" to "flexible reaction." NATO propaganda has held this up as a step towards a detente; actually it provides a loophole for European application of the concept of "local" or "limited" wars, including military action against the GDR and on NATO's northern and southern European flanks; and last but not least, the continuously mounting anti-Soviet propaganda, unparalleled in recent years, with its poisonous effect on the international atmosphere.

All this increases the danger of war and lends especial importance to the Karlovy Vary analysis of the international situation and the firm confidence in the strength and ability of the peace forces following therefrom. The conference indicated ways and means of overcoming these dangerous trends and of resolving conflict situations. The chief method is to strengthen the unity and solidarity of all the forces opposed to imperialism and bring into action everyone favoring peace and progress. Seen in this light, the Karlovy Vary appeal for unity is particularly timely.

There is something symbolic in the fact that the Communist conference in Karlovy Vary coincided with the foregathering in Bonn of NATO leaders to pay their last respects to Konrad Adenauer. For few statesmen so clearly epitomized the cold-war policy that created new tensions and a renewed menace of aggression in Europe. Now there is growing realization that that policy has outlived itself, has reached a dead end: Western Europe is at the crossroads. It was against this background that the Communist parties represented at Karlovy Vary jointly charted new paths for our old continent.

The conference discussed the problems of European security and it was emphasized, both in the debate and in the resolutions, that they can be treated only in the objective context with the problems in other areas and with the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle. The correctness of that approach has now been confirmed, notably by the Israeli aggression and the war it sparked off in the Middle East. This was bound to complicate things in Europe and, understandably, was immediately seized upon by the forces seeking to heighten the tension. However, this only lends emphasis to the Karlovy Vary effort for European security.

Of course the connection between developments in various parts of the world is not

as simple as might appear at first sight. More countries and continents, more political and social groups, and millions more people have in the past few decades been brought into active politics. It is not always easy to see through this complicated confrontation of world forces, nor does their struggle always neatly fit into set patterns. But its central, dominant feature stands out clear enough—the struggle between the forces of imperialism and social progress confronting each other in the world's main nerve centers, whether it be the Far East or Europe, the Middle East or Latin America.

Though the danger of war in Europe—and this should be obvious—faces the world with the danger of a nuclear war, the Karlovy Vary conference considered it natural and logical to begin its work with a clear and resolute statement of solidarity with the people of Vietnam. For the U.S. imperialist aggression there must be the focal point of our thoughts and action. The vast importance of international Communist unity in curbing the aggressor has been stressed by developments since the conference.

Its participants proceeded also from the obvious need to discuss European security in close association with other democratic aims, for there is an inseparable link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for democracy. It was in this context that the conference voiced the indignation aroused among democrats everywhere by the military fascist coup in Greece. It declared its solidarity with the Greek people in their hour of need, and pointed out that the events in Greece were a serious warning to all the European nations.

Since the conference there has been a wide solidarity movement with the democratic forces of Greece. People in the NATO countries are coming to realize the implications of NATO weapons and NATO plans being used to engineer the fascist putsch. The maneuvers of the NATO leadership to block condemnation of the putsch, as suggested by the Danish and Norwegian governments, were a big blow to NATO prestige in Scandinavia.

Another important aspect of the conference is that it met at a time when Europe keenly feels the need, and has increasing opportunities, for a radical change in international relations. Past experience shows that major changes take place when the urge of the masses for change coincides with hesitation and confusion among the forces supporting the old order of things. Both factors are now maturing, and whether or not this unique opportunity will be allowed to slip will to a very large extent depend on joint and vigorous action.

That is why the European security program drawn up at Karlovy Vary is of such immense importance. Democratic opinion in Europe now has before it a set of concrete proposals that could reshape and redirect European development.

For the first time a program of this kind is being presented by representatives of a movement whose ideas and activities extend to every European country. Communists represent the most politically aware section of the most progressive class of our time, the working class. That applies both to the half of Europe where the Communist parties are directing the rise and development of socialist relationships and to the part where capitalist relationships still hold sway. And the very fact that this militant program comes from representatives of the Communist movement in both parts of Europe gives it especial significance. For the proposals set out in the Karlovy Vary document clearly show the peoples of our continent that there are realistic possibilities of changing the relationship structure imposed by the cold war. The conference showed, clearly and concretely, why the Communist movement represents a real and weighty political factor.

II

The Karlovy Vary European security program is especially important also because it comes at a time when new ideas and conceptions are gaining currency in Western Europe. This is due partly to the expiry of the NATO treaty in 1969 and to the protest aroused by the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, which has dealt a very tangible blow at U.S. prestige and has glaringly shown the dangers inherent in U.S. policy.

Those who were inclined to believe the anti-Communist cold-war propaganda are today obliged to admit that there is no such thing as a "menace from the East," and that Europe cannot rely on America's assurances of "peaceful defense." Also this: many Europeans are gravely concerned over the growth of militarism in West Germany and are keenly aware of the irony of the NATO contention that NATO is a shield against German militarism—which NATO itself nurtured. All this has induced people to look for new ways and many in Western Europe are asking: what is to be done?

However, realization that the promise on which NATO was founded runs counter to the actual state of affairs today, does not yet imply readiness to accept a different path. Influential forces are at work to find a new justification for continuing NATO policy.

Their method is to represent NATO as the "lesser evil." Without the Atlantic alliance, they argue, Europe would be a prey to fear and uncertainty, and this argument, which exploits people's fear of the future does meet with a certain response.

Speaking for the Danish Communist Party, Knud Jaspersen told the Karlovy Vary conference that the "proposals for healing the division of Europe resulting from bloc-building should be presented in a way that would convince wide sections of the people that there are real opportunities for progress along this path." From this point of view we have every reason to welcome the Karlovy Vary European security program. Its initiative should take in the whole of Europe and be supported by both West and East.

An all-Europe collective security system is the only alternative to the NATO-imposed division of the continent into mutually opposed blocs. The Karlovy Vary program could be the starting point of discussions—they are inevitable — about the shape the collective security system should take. The Karlovy Vary statement has a number of proposals on this subject, but, of course, only a conference of all the European states can decide these problems. Should such a conference be called, it would merit support by mass action so that the people could influence its decisions.

Exposure of the argument that military blocs, the "balance of terror" and the arms drive can assure security could play a very big part in these discussions, particularly in the smaller European countries. For the facts show that they place a heavier burden on the population without diminishing — in fact increasing — the menace of aggressive war. In this connection, it should be stressed that a system of collective security combined with partial disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and of nuclear-free or nuclear-restricted zones, would provide altogether new, realistic and enduring guarantees of peace.

The conference noted the growing interest in a number of countries in adopting or continuing, neutrality policies. The Karlovy Vary statement says that "the system of European security must contain recognition of the principle of neutrality and unqualified respect for the inviolability of neutral states." The point was made in a number of contributions that neutrality could play a big part in a collective security system. However, it must always be borne in mind that conditions in the countries committed to neutrality, or seeking neutrality, differ. For a country like Denmark, it is extremely important that a

collective security system should guarantee its independence and refute the arguments in favor of continued membership in military blocs and continued armaments building. Then the question could be discussed of how neutrality — in conditions of collective security — could, by political means, assure small countries' independence and freedom of action.

Reshaping international relations in Europe is a big and, at the same time, heartening aim. Much will depend upon the scope of the mass initiative and activity, also on our ability to defeat certain dangerous propensities in imperialist policy.

American imperialist policy, with its claim that it is "entitled" to interfere in the affairs of other countries and police the world, extends to Europe too — the military coup in Greece is the latest dramatic reminder of that. This goes hand in hand with continued penetration of U.S. capital into Western Europe and the subversive activities of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, which is discrediting itself increasingly. Taking all this into consideration, the conference declared that settlement of Europe's problems should be left to the European peoples themselves.

West-German imperialist policy, with its total disregard of realities and its open drive to reverse the status quo, represents the most direct danger to European peace. The changes introduced by succeeding West-German governments are merely symptoms of a policy crisis and concern tactics, not ultimate aims. Bonn's insistence on its "exclusive" right to represent all the people of Germany is a constant menace to European peace and a constant threat of aggression against the German Democratic Republic. There can be no genuine peace in Europe as long as Bonn fails to realize that it has no course save that of accepting its present frontiers and abandoning its drive for possession or control of nuclear weapons. The recent GDR initiative — Prime Minister Stoph's proposal to Chancellor Kiesinger for top-level negotiations to normalize relations between the two German states — offers Bonn another opportunity to reflect on the need for a serious revision of policy.

Some elements in NATO are frenziedly searching for new ways and means of keeping the bloc in business and obstructing a European security system. Related to these efforts are plans to widen the economic division of Europe by extending the European Economic Community. And though these maneuvers are snagged by the imperialist contradictions, in some European countries it is believed that this is the only way to

invigorate the waning "NATO solidarity." However, what Europe really needs is an end to its division into blocs.

The widest possible unity to defend the genuine and common interests of Europe and of the European countries, can be forged only by the people of Europe. That is at the heart of the appeal the Karlovy Vary conference addressed to the social classes, movements and peoples of Europe.

III

That the Communist parties should have taken this new initiative in the interests of all the European nations is not, of course, fortuitous. What brought together the Communist parties at Karlovy Vary was their common interpretation of the situation, based on their common Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It was this feeling of responsibility for the interests of their own peoples, and for Europe as a whole, that determined their participation in the conference. We Danish Communists, as Party chairman Knud Jespersen pointed out in Karlovy Vary, "believe it is only natural that all European Communist parties should consider it their duty to concert their efforts for European security." And the work of the conference gives us every reason for satisfaction—the discussion, involving so many important fraternal parties, revealed unanimity of approach and spirit. This holds out new perspectives to all the forces in Denmark searching for new ways to uphold peace and national independence.

Before the conference, the Western capitalist press predicted that its overriding feature would be differences and dissension. The *New York Times*, however, abandoned its ritualistic charges that the Communist parties "automatically take their orders from Moscow." However, when this progress towards a better understanding of relations between our parties is coupled with the hope that, because of different conditions, they would be unable to reach agreed decisions on the basic issues — then this is just wishful thinking. The Karlovy Vary conference is convincing proof of that.

Every one who took part in its proceedings and in the preparatory work was always aware of the spirit of comradeship, of the desire to understand each other's conditions and problems. The discussion was free and open, with due respect for every reasoned and substantiated opinion. It stands to reason that problems which present themselves differently in different conditions were differently assessed. But diverse shades of opinion, far from affecting international solidarity accentuated it. The speeches of Party

leaders revealed a uniform approach to all fundamental issues, and this enhances the value of our joint initiative.

All this has an important bearing on the continued development of the Communist movement. Close and firm cooperation of Party representatives throughout the preparatory period enabled us to iron out, or relegate to the background, many predicted differences and prejudices. And this was very important for it eliminated factors which the enemies of communism are only too happy to exploit.

All the parties have long maintained that the present period calls for new forms of international cooperation in the Communist movement. This follows both from objective conditions and from the growth of the movement. Our cooperation should aim at unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, with full respect for the sovereignty and equality of each Party. Now, with the imperialists using diverse methods to intensify their aggression, internationalism acquires an even greater importance. However, the development of appropriate forms of internationalism is a problem that can be solved only in the course of our practical work. And in this respect, too, the Karlovy Vary conference has had a stimulating effect. It will go a long way towards strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement, and vigorous efforts in that direction should be continued. It was in this spirit that the conference expressed the hope that Communist parties not represented at Karlovy Vary would share in common activities and in the striving for unity dictated by the present situation. It is becoming increasingly clear that the implications of the conference go far beyond its regional framework. For it stimulated the development and stepping up of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle, of which the Communist and Workers' Parties are the vanguard. The Central Committee meetings of many of the participating parties held in May and June highly assessed the conference, stressing its role in furthering the unity of the Communist, workers' and revolutionary movement, and in rallying all the anti-imperialist forces for European security and world peace. In keeping with its specific conditions and in line with its basic policies, each Party will contribute to the realization of the conference recommendations and its comprehensive program for European peace and social progress.

The Danish Communists are convinced that Karlovy Vary, and the inspiration it transmitted to the fraternal parties and Europe as a whole, will open the eyes of many, will

show that they are not alone in their search for a new path, for peace and independence. There need be no doubt that this will be of

immense help in translating these widespread hopes and aspirations of the peoples into an active force for change.

U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL theatres of the global neo-colonial system built by the U.S. imperialists on the ruins of the old colonial empires is in Asia, held together by economic agreements, military pacts, politico-military blocs and a network of bases on the Asiatic mainland and the islands of the Pacific.

Expansion of the national-liberation movement and the efforts of patriotic forces in the developing countries to buttress national independence, coupled with the growing contradictions among the imperialist powers, are undermining the pillars of the U.S. neo-colonial empire.

The war against the people of Vietnam, the aim of which is to maintain U.S. positions in Asia, has precipitated a crisis in Washington policy and is accelerating the disintegration of the U.S.-sponsored politico-military blocs. In brief, U.S. imperialism finds itself in increasing isolation, which is compelling Washington to revise the forms and methods of effecting its neo-colonial domination over Asia.

THE "ASIAN DOCTRINE" OF LBJ

The so-called Asian doctrine, outlined by President Johnson in a speech on July 12, 1966, is the finalized version of America's "new policy" in Asia. It underscores U.S. determination to fulfil commitments on the continent as a Pacific power, sets the sights on a further escalation of the war in Indochina and aspires to the political and economic stability of the "free" countries of Asia behind the protective "shield" of U.S. armed forces.

The purport of the doctrine was laid out by William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "Under the emerging Asian doctrine," he said, "the United

States is taking on the role of policeman and provider for all of non-Communist Asia.*

What the U.S. rulers want is to enmesh in their aggressive policy those forces in Asia who expect to shore themselves up with dollar handouts. This, Washington hopes, will split the national liberation movement.

The Johnson doctrine is, in a way, a reaction to the recent changes in the international situation and to the realignment of forces in the world arena.

Developments in the Far East and Southeast Asia over the past few years have not been favorable for U.S. imperialism. The national liberation and democratic anti-war movement has made headway in most countries, and the friendship and cooperation of the new national states in Asia has become distinctly stronger. Furthermore, contradictions between the imperialist powers have grown more acute since France resumed diplomatic relations with China and de Gaulle suggested neutrality for Indochina. Settlement of the India-Pakistan conflict with Soviet mediation was another major blow to the U.S.

The crisis of its North Atlantic policy has goaded the United States to action on the Asian continent. Under the impact of the deepening inter-imperialist antagonisms and the consistently peaceful policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries the NATO bloc is beginning to show cracks. Europe is waking up to the fact that NATO is a dangerous anachronism designed to keep alive the cold war and nourish mutual distrust. U.S. attempts to create a North Atlantic community spearheaded against the socialist camp have not yielded the desired results.

Forced to retreat in Europe, U.S. diplo-

*U.S. News & World Report, August 8, 1966

macy has turned its attention to Asia and the Pacific hoping to bring its North Atlantic community idea to fruition in that part of the world. The accent on Asia in Washington's policy is also prompted by pressures from the war-industry monopolies in the United States which have an eye on Asia as an outlet for their capital.

For the White House the counter-revolutionary coup in Indonesia was a "welcome" development, and the utmost importance is attached in its "new Asian policy" to the differences obtaining in the world Communist movement.

RESHAPING THE MILITARY BLOCS

The "Asian doctrine" can be described as a master plan for U.S. neo-colonial expansion on the continent. Its point of departure is the war in Vietnam, designed to crush the national liberation movement in South Vietnam and make Indochina a beach-head for greater U.S. military and political influence in Southeast Asia. These aims are borne out by the extensive U.S. armed operations against the Laotian patriots and the interminable U.S. provocations against Cambodia in blatant defiance of the Geneva agreements.

"The United States war in Vietnam and U.S. actions against Laos and Cambodia," says the Statement of the European Security Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties at Karlovy Vary, "are a cynical expression of the aggressive U.S. imperialist policy pursued in contravention of international law and international agreements and a gross violation of the fundamental rights of peoples to freedom and independence inscribed in the U.N. Charter."

More U.S. troops are being shipped to Asia and the network of military bases is being extended. New bases are being built and old ones enlarged in South Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, Okinawa, Australia and in the numerous sparsely populated islands off the Asian mainland. Military observers say the building program considerably exceeds the needs of an army twice as large as that now engaged in Vietnam.

The Vietnam war is a catalyst accelerating the erosion of the U.S.-sponsored military blocs. When launching out on its Vietnam venture, Washington expected help from its allies. This was a bad miscalculation. The SEATO bloc, for example, on which Washington had pinned most of its hopes, was paralyzed by the acute contradictions between the United States and its other members. French and Pakistan membership became purely nominal. This year, in fact, France did not even attend the SEATO session. Britain,

too, which is America's main SEATO partner, felt it could not afford to give the Vietnam war its active support. This is compelling the U.S. government to reorganize its politico-military alignments and to adopt new tactics, centered on the aspirations for regional cooperation of the developing countries and their rulers' search for a way out of economic difficulties.

Washington is going out of its way to disguise the military and political orientation of its new alliances. There is glib talk about a "sphere of Asian and Pacific solidarity" allegedly aimed at regional economic and cultural cooperation. The U.S. propaganda mills are trying to create the impression that the solidarity initiative stems from the Asian countries, and the demagogic formula that "Asian problems must be solved by Asians" is being plugged. In all U.S. relations with these countries the stress is on partnership."

The immediate aim is to involve more Asian countries in the Vietnam war, the strategic objective being to erect a neo-colonial citadel in the shape of an anti-Communist alliance embracing Asia and the Pacific with the possible participation of non-aligned states.

The plan is being tackled from different angles. In the North, Japan has concluded a treaty with South Korea, laying the groundwork for the bloc of Northeast Asian countries long since planned by the Pentagon. In the South, steps have been taken to revive the Southeast Asia Association, consisting of the Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia. Founded on Washington orders in 1961, the Association professed to be a vehicle of socio-economic cooperation, but in reality was designed to set the stage for a new military bloc. It fell apart in 1963 when the Philippines denied recognition to the Federation of Malaysia and was re-animated after the reactionary coup in Indochina when the latter departed from its traditional anti-colonialist policy and sought rapprochement with imperialism. Voices were heard then in favor of reviving the Association and admitting Indonesia. "We are waiting for the appearance of a regional organization comprising Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam," said Ismail, Malaysia's Minister of Internal Affairs.

The plan did not work out, but the revival of the Southeast Asia Association somewhat closed the rift between the member-countries and prepared the ground for the Seoul conference in June 1966, attended by the foreign ministers of Japan, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand and the puppet governments of Taiwan, South Korea

and South Vietnam. The conference, designed to back up U.S. efforts to build a new aggressive alignment, culminated in the establishment of the so-called Asian and Pacific Council which, its founders announced, would promote economic and cultural cooperation among its members. The new body fell short of the Asian and Pacific community projected by the United States. The antagonisms of the Seoul conferees shattered the original U.S. plan, but the Washington strategists are not giving up hope. They take comfort in the fact that six of the nine members of the Asian and Pacific Council are committed to the Vietnam aggression and that the new body has no program or charter restricting its activities.

The Manila conference of countries involved in the Vietnam war in October 1966 and President Johnson's tour of Asia and the Pacific, came as the next step. President Markos of the Philippines acted as the initiator of the conference, at which Johnson took pains to emphasize that he was an "equal among equals." But at the back of the Manila proceedings was Johnson's wish to present the U.S. imperialist aggression as a war waged by the "free world," including its Asian part.

The conferees reiterated their readiness to escalate the Vietnam aggression and their determination to extend economic, social and cultural cooperation in Asia and the Pacific. The strategic purpose behind all the verbiage was to build a "sphere of Asian and Pacific solidarity" consisting of non-Communist countries under U.S. stewardship.

The U.S. economic aid program has been remodelled to suit the new tactics. Based on bilateral agreements in the past, it shifted in 1965 to multilateral forms of "regional aid" through the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank and the various UN regional organizations. Naturally, U.S. aid is granted chiefly to countries where Washington wants to maintain puppet regimes or enforce its will; more than 90 per cent of the aid dispensed in the Far East goes to South Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and South Korea.

The idea of multilateral aid was first enunciated by Johnson in a speech in Baltimore on April 7, 1965, in which he promised \$1,000 million for Southeast Asian "regional development" stressing, among other things, that "independent multilateral Asian initiative" was needed to make the aid effective.

Shortly after Johnson's speech, Washington promoted a special meeting in Bangkok of the Mekong Development Committee, an ECAFE working organ established in 1957, in

which the United States had previously shown little interest. The change of heart came after the new "Johnson concept" was put on record. If the U.S. contribution to its funds in January 1965 was \$7,500,000, or just one-ninth of the total sum, in May this year the U.S. delegate told the Committee that his country would contribute \$13,000,000 or half the cost of the projected dam and power station on the Nam Ngum River, a Mekong tributary in Laos. This "generosity" is an indication that the United States plans to use the station's power for its military bases, including those in the neighboring northern section of Thailand from which about eight of every 10 bombing missions take off for North Vietnam.

This bears out William Bundy, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, who said that economic and military aid is practically indistinguishable in the present political setting in Asia.*

In addition to the Mekong development project, the United States is planning to lay a submarine cable connecting Japan, Taiwan and the Southeast Asian countries, and build a number of new ports in Southeast Asia and a trans-Asiatic motor-road and railway. These projects are mainly intended to improve U.S. military communications, but are also envisaged as a means of enslaving the peoples of the region.

The United States plans to finance its "regional development" program through the Asian Development Bank founded in 1960 at the suggestion of ECAFE to further the common desire of the developing states to coordinate their finances. It was not made operative at the time, however, because of United States disapproval. After Johnson's Baltimore speech, the United States declared itself willing to join the Bank. Eugene Black, special presidential envoy for Asian regional development, told an ECAFE conference in Bangkok in June 1965 that the United States would contribute \$200 million of the Bank's \$1,000 million working capital. On the heels of the U.S. move came the announcement that Japan, too, would contribute a similar sum. Out of the 32 countries in the Asian Development Bank, 13 are non-Asian, including the United States, Britain, Federal Germany, Canada, Italy, Australia, New Zealand and other industrially developed countries. In fact, the Bank is controlled by the United States and its Asian "manager" Japan, a citizen of which, Takeshi Watanabe, has been elected its president. This makes it obvious that the United States will act through the Bank to

*Economist, November 1, 1966.

extend its influence in Southeast Asia.

Japan is cast for a leading role in the U.S. neo-colonial stageplay in Asia. The United States is clearly eager to use Japan's greatly increased economic potential to fill in the breaches in its Asian system caused by the war in Indochina. It has been pushing this policy since the day it embarked on its naked aggression against the people of Vietnam.

Japan's rulers are not loath to support the U.S. effort, for they hope to benefit from the difficulties plaguing the United States and to use the good services of Washington to consolidate the positions of Japanese monopoly capital, which is looking for new markets, new sources of raw material and new spheres of investment.

Japan's part in U.S. plans was formalized at the fifth session of the U.S.-Japan Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs in July 1966. A U.S. spokesman at the session said, "the United States believes that economic cooperation in this part of Asia depends on Japanese participation and leadership."*

Nakayama, director of the Japan Industrial Bank, was more outspoken. "It is only natural," he said, "that Japan should seek economic cooperation with the Southeast Asian countries to ensure their development within the free world. These efforts should be long-term in order to avert any break with the free world by these countries due to excessive emphasis on political plans."** The point, as we see, is to disguise the political aims of the imperialists, to establish a neo-colonial empire under the signboard of "Asian and Pacific solidarity" and thus keep the countries of the region within the capitalist orbit as agrarian appendages isolated from the influence of the socialist countries.

*Akahata, June 11, 1966.

**Keidanren geppo, February 1966.

The development conference of Southeast Asian ministers held in Tokyo under the auspices of the Japanese government in April 1966, was designed to draw the countries in question into the orbit of the U.S. regional cooperation plan. In addition to Japan, the conference was attended by Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and South Vietnam. Indonesia and Cambodia attended as observers. Washington lavished praise on the Sato government for this initiative.

The next step was to convene a similar conference in December to discuss agriculture. On Japan's suggestion, the conferees decided to establish a fund to finance farming in Southeast Asia. For a start, it will have \$300 million, of which the United States and Japan are to contribute \$100 million each, with the other developed countries, including Australia, contributing the remainder. Like the Asian Development Bank, the fund is unquestionably devised as a new tool of neo-colonialism.

* * *

The dangers of the current Asian policy of the United States are accentuated by its nakedly aggressive tenor and the attempts to bend the countries of Asia and the Pacific to the diktat of U.S. monopoly capital by means of a "sphere of Asian and Pacific solidarity." So far, however, it is confined mainly to the puppet regimes and America's closest allies.

The only possible outcome of the scheme is greater division in Asia. The valiant struggle waged by the Vietnamese and the resistance to imperialism and neo-colonialism of the other peoples of Asia is bound to thwart the American designs.

I. SUMAR.

Escalation continues

A NEW STAGE in the escalation of the criminal U.S. war against the people of Vietnam was reached in May when 5,000 marines and units of the Saigon puppet army, in violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements, invaded the southern part of the Demilitarized Zone and approached the borders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In a comment on this action the *Washington Evening Star* noted that the war in Vietnam was about to enter upon a new and infinitely more dangerous phase.

The invasion of the Zone and the sharply intensified bombing of industrial installations and residential areas of Hanoi, Haiphong and other North-Vietnam cities, the shelling of DRV territory from land and sea testify to a change in U.S. strategy which the DRV government characterized as a direct threat of land invasion.

Only recently it was admitted in Washington that the bombing and shelling of North Vietnam was merely an auxiliary action; the point had always been made that the issue of the war would be decided by the half-a-million-strong U.S. army in South Vietnam. But despite their numerical and technical superiority both the Americans and their South-Vietnamese puppets are becoming more and more bogged in the jungle and losing more men at the hands of the Liberation Army regulars and the guerrillas. Confronted for more than two years with a strong and ruthless enemy, the patriots have retained their combat potential, their main bases and the areas under their control.

Since the start of the dry season in October last year the U.S. command has conducted numerous large-scale operations designed to encircle and destroy the regular troops of the South Vietnam patriots and their bases. But despite the barbarous scorched-earth tactic of destroying villages, forests, crops, cattle and food stocks, accompanied by the eviction of the villagers and the rounding-up and execution of "suspects," the aggressors have failed to achieve their main objective. Nine-tenths of all their punitive ex-

peditions have, on their own admission, been abortive.

The liberation forces frustrated the strategic plans of the invader. Pulling out before the enemy struck, they regrouped and attacked from the rear and on the wings, and subjected troop concentrations, bases and headquarters to heavy mortar bombardment.

An illustration is provided by the fate of Operation Junction City launched in February by the U.S. forces in the Tay Ninh province—a province which last year had been combated by a 30,000-strong corps and proclaimed to have been "pacified." This time the Americans threw in 45,000 troops—three divisions and three brigades, including one airborne and one armored brigade. After two months of heavy fighting the invaders' losses rose to 13,000 killed and wounded, while 90 guns, 167 planes and many tanks and armored troop carriers were destroyed. Heavy losses were suffered also in the hard fighting waged south of the Demilitarized Zone, in the Quang-tri, Quang-ngai and Thua-thien provinces and on the high plateau west of Contum and Pleiku.

According to the supreme command of the liberation forces, in the first quarter of 1967 the army and guerrillas routed 13 infantry battalions (four of them American), 14 motorized infantry battalions (all but one U.S.), and five American artillery battalions, destroying about 2,000 trucks and more than 150 guns. In the same period they shot down or destroyed on the ground more than 600 planes.

U.S. casualties in South Vietnam continue to soar. Weekly losses average 160 killed and upwards of a thousand wounded, compared with 96 killed every week last year. In the past three years the strength of U.S. troops in South Vietnam has increased 15-fold, with losses multiplying 50 times.

Equally unsuccessful is the rural "pacification" program which, along with the operations against the patriots' bases, last year was made the basis of U.S. strategy. Until recently the program was the job of hundreds of thousands of puppet army troops. Now it has been taken over by the U.S. commander, General

Westmoreland himself. Plans for punitive operations against 2,500 villages are ready, but it has been estimated that the Americans would need at least a million soldiers for the police mission.

The defeats and the dim prospects are openly admitted in the U.S. press. "Despite all its helicopters, tanks, modern communications and everything else," *U.S. News & World Report* wrote, the United States is "chasing mice" in South Vietnam. The quick victory Johnson hopes for is out of the question. General Westmoreland predicts a war of attrition for an indefinite time.

Following up the allegation that what it has to deal with in South Vietnam is not a people's war but "Communist aggression from the North," Washington is increasingly spearheading the war effort against the DRV, resorting to extreme measures to reverse the trend of the war. May and the beginning of June witnessed massive bombing raids on the DRV—Hanoi and other cities and industrial installations being bombed several times a day. Up to 700 missions were flown daily. Along with demolition bombs and missiles the Americans employ on a mass scale bombs designed exclusively for killing civilians. No longer do they talk about "selected targets." The bombing has been spread to factories, power stations, railway yards, bridges and residential areas.

On June 2 in the Port of Campha, U.S. aircraft attacked the Soviet merchant vessel "Turkestan." This violation of international law, an act of banditry, shows that the Pentagon is seeking to cut off the DRV from the rest of the world and at the same time inflame the international tension, regardless of the likely grave consequences. The Soviet government strongly protested to the U.S. government, holding it responsible for this provocation. The Soviet Union, despite the reckless U.S. banditry, will continue to render all necessary aid and deliver whatever cargoes the DRV needs in its just war against aggression.

Steadily escalating the war, President Johnson and his associates hope to force the Vietnam people into surrender, and thus achieve a quick military victory. The official attitude, according to Walter Lippmann, is that if the United States is persistent enough in its blows, the enemy will reach the limit

existing for every country and accept peace on terms dictated to it.

The authors of this official viewpoint forget about the staunchness of the Vietnam people and their determination to hurl back the aggressor. Despite the increasing destructiveness of the air raids, the resistance of the people is as staunch as ever. The air battles over the DRV are growing in intensity; the rocket shield around Hanoi and other cities is becoming stronger, and more of the raiders find there an inglorious end. Days when a dozen "Phantoms" are shot down by DRV pilots and anti-aircraft gunners are no longer the exception. The U.S. has lost over 2,000 aircraft since the beginning of the air war against the DRV.

The U.S. air force has failed to disrupt to any serious degree the normal life of the republic. The workers, as before, go about their work and, in addition, help defend their factories against air raids. The peasants, with rifles and submachine guns slung across their backs, continue to sow and reap their crops. Teams of young volunteers quickly repair damaged roads, railway lines and bridges.

Every new step in the escalation is countered by a corresponding increase in the all-round aid received by the Vietnam people from their friends. As Leonid Brezhnev declared, "embattled Vietnam will never be left without the aid of loyal friends. Our reply has been and will be fully commensurate with the requirements of an effective rebuff to the imperialist aggressors."

The U.S. advocates of the "mounting pressure" policy would do well to ponder over these words. Vietnam has many friends and they possess sufficient forces and resources to help the Vietnam people's just struggle and foil the aggressor's designs. The entire course of the war shows that the aggressors will never force the people of Vietnam to their knees. Their determination and staying power are tremendous. Theirs is a just cause which enjoys the support of world public opinion and the sympathies of all peoples. The Americans are becoming more and more tied up in a hopeless gamble which, as the Indian weekly *Link* commented, shows the degree of their madness and will bring them nothing but infamy.

D. POSPELOV

International solidarity with the people of Greece

THE MILITARY COUP carried out on April 21 by a handful of Right-wing Army officers, with the connivance of the King and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, provoked angry protests in socialist and capitalist countries alike.

The coup, a Gestapo-like totalitarian operation, abolished Parliamentary rule, muzzled the Press, banned political parties, the trade unions and over two hundred other organizations. In the midnight arrests thousands of men and women, deputies, journalists, union leaders and all suspect progressives, Communists and non-Communists, were herded into prisons and afterwards sent to concentration camps on the barren island of Yioura.

Protests flowed into Athens from all parts of the world. Among the first to denounce the coup were the Governments of the socialist countries.

The Communists in all countries declared their solidarity with the people of Greece, again a victim of intrigues by reaction and imperialism. The Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties issued a special statement condemning the coup as "part of the reactionary attempt to prevent the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of European security and peace in the world."

In Britain, where the freedom-loving people of Greece are held in the highest esteem, indignation over the strangling of Greek democracy is widespread. In the House of Commons 137 Labor and Liberal members submitted a motion condemning the atrocity perpetrated by the reactionary Army officers.

The labor movement in Britain, excluding Prime Minister Wilson and his Cabinet, rallied to the defense of the people of Greece. Trade Unions, the Communist Party, local Labor and Cooperative organizations, organizations of the youth denounced the coup. Noteworthy was the protest by two Labor MPs, Mr. Malcolm MacMillan and Mr. Arnold Gregory, who

during a visit to Greece found that people were being arrested even for listening to the BBC. The dictatorship, the two MPs urged, "should be ostracized by all civilized nations," and they called for an international campaign for a free Greece.

The National Union of Journalists expressed "abhorrence" that the dictatorship "have suppressed newspapers and imposed such restrictions on the remainder that some have been compelled to cease publication. . . . The effect of these measures is that the Greek press has become virtually the prisoner of the Government, just as those working journalists who have been held in detention since the April coup."

The union called upon Foreign Minister Brown "to make the strongest possible representations in Athens for the speedy restoration of freedom of the press and the release of journalists held without charge."

And *The Times*, conservative, voicing editorial support for the journalists' protest, added a protest of its own: "A silenced press in Greece," it said, "needs voices from the outside to make the point plainly."

In a statement issued by its Executive Committee, the Communist Party, describing the coup as "the first fascist coup in Europe since the Second World War," said: "The British Government must speak up and condemn the military coup in Greece which had as its aim the permanent suppression of democracy as was Hitler's aim in Nazi Germany."

Addressing the Trade Unions Congress, the Communist Party statement went on:

"The British TUC must speak up and add its voice to all those British trade unionists who are demanding that their Greek trade union brothers be released from jail and their rights restored."

The two great international trade union centers — the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—protested against abo-

lition of trade union and other rights.

In a stinging cable to the Greek King, Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers (USA) poured scorn on the stream of falsehoods issued by the military junta to justify the coup: "We cannot accept the transparent attempt to justify this action by the charge that the arrested were Communists, and we reject as incredible the explanation that the resort to terror and the suspension of constitutional rights was undertaken to forestall disorder."

In Canada progressives reacted quickly to the coup by establishing a Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece. Its professed aim: to inform "the people of Canada of the true facts surrounding the coup . . . and to campaign in order to convince the Canadian Government that recognition of this regime will not only show tolerance on the part of Canada but also consent to tyranny."

The Canadian Labor Congress called on the Government to intervene on behalf of the trade unions and democracy in Greece.

A wave of meetings and demonstrations swept Italy, whose people know from painful experience what fascist dictatorship means. In some places workers downed tools in protest. Meetings, appeals by numerous public organizations and deputations to the Greek Embassy in Paris expressed the angry feelings of the people of France. Funds are being raised to help the families of the victims of the dictatorship. The coup was denounced by many Parliamentary deputies in France, Italy and other countries.

Dock workers in Denmark and Finland threatened boycott of Greek cargoes. Finnish and Swedish seamen's unions likewise threatened to declare all Greek ships black.

The Governments of Denmark and Norway (members of NATO) and the Council of Europe protested against the tyranny installed in Athens.

The coup was condemned by the Socialist International and Social-Democratic and Socialist parties affiliated to it—those of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, West Germany and other countries.

This world-wide movement of protest and solidarity with the people of Greece is of the greatest significance. Betty Ambatielos, wife of a Greek trade union leader Tony Ambatielos, and also a victim of the terror, said she

would still be behind bars but for the protests of the British miners, Labor MPs and the entire working-class movement in Great Britain. "It was further evidence that the voice of the working people in protest cannot be ignored, and the Greek people recognize the great assistance they are receiving from all over the world."

Greece is the latest of the many countries in which the lavish American military aid, ostensibly granted to preserve freedom and democracy from a mythical Communist takeover, has resulted in freedom and democracy being murdered by their self-appointed saviors.

The American newspaper columnist Drew Pearson, who can hardly be suspected of Communist sympathies, reported that since 1951 the U.S. had poured into Greece \$1,854,000,000 of military aid. All, according to Pearson, to make Greece a strongpoint of anti-communism. Another Pearson charge is that the CIA, as usual, did its share of the dirty work in the fascist takeover.

The handful of colonels who engineered the coup have won a Pyrrhic victory. They, the King and the CIA took pre-emptive action against the defeat that most people in Greece foresaw for the reactionaries in the general election scheduled for May 28. Using American tanks and a division of paratroops, and the gendarmerie, and acting in the deepest secrecy and with the aid of the NATO plan Prometheus which very conveniently listed for them the names of all their active political opponents, they seized power and established a reign of terror in the country.

But the people of Hellas, people of the country which first gave to the world the theory and practice of democracy and majority rule, are beginning to close their ranks for the fight against the dictatorship.

And as our brief survey shows, they have the support of all progressives in all countries. The colonels isolated from their own people and fearing their people and despised and loathed by democrats everywhere, are a group of terrified men who without NATO, that is, the Americans, couldn't rule for five minutes. Needed to topple the tyrants and to restore democracy is still more massive international support for the sons and daughters of the wartime Greek resistance fighters who proved their mettle in the fight against Hitler fascism.

J. GIBBONS

Planned economic development— a great achievement of socialism

ANATOLY YEFIMOV

IN OUR AGE of deep-going social reconstruction and scientific discovery, the age of atom and space exploration, economic development depends more than ever on scientific and technological progress, on creating the social conditions favoring this progress. These processes have a catalyst in planning in which the interaction of technology and economy assumes the highest organizational forms, accelerating economic growth and well-being. The 50 years' experience of the Soviet Union, is proof of this.

The very first successes of Soviet planning created a stir in the world. Today, the idea has won universal recognition. Planning on a nationwide scale is being adopted by many of the newly-free states, which see in it the way to overcome economic backwardness and improve the lot of their people. Attempts at planning are being made also in some of the developed capitalist countries.

Planning becomes an objective necessity at a definite stage in the development of the productive forces and social relations, still under capitalism. Large-scale machine industry needs the planned regulation of production and public control over it, but under capitalism this trend is obstructed by the conflicting interests of the social classes and even of particular groups within the exploiting class. As Lenin said, capitalist planning does not free the worker from exploitation but enables the capitalist to extract profits in a more "planned" way.

Planned development is feasible only under socialism, above all thanks to public ownership of the means of production which makes it possible to plan on a nationwide scale the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of the social product.

The experience of socialist economic planning being too rich for one article, we shall

confine ourselves to some of the more important aspects of Soviet planning, to a general outline of its organizational principles and methods.

ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES

Planning is the function of management, and its organizational forms change with the changes in the managerial system. But some general principles remain valid throughout the phase of building socialism—for example, Lenin's thesis about *democratic centralism* in socialist planning and management: "Centralism, understood in a truly democratic sense, presupposes the possibility, provided for the first time in history, of a full and unhampered development not only of specific local peculiarities, but also of local inventiveness, local initiative, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress to the common goal." Socialism also makes it possible effectively to combine centralized management—an objective necessity in view of the social character of the modern productive forces—with the maximum initiative of masses who now have ample opportunity for running the state and its economy. Soviet experience fully bears out the correctness of Lenin's thesis, which was taken a stage further in the Program of the CPSU adopted at its Twenty-Second Congress in 1962, "Building communism presupposes maximum development of *democratic management* coupled with a strengthening and improvement of *centralized economic management by the state*."

The present Soviet system of planning is the product of years of experience in selecting the best methods of running the socialist economy.

A milestone along this road was the establishment in February 1921 of the State Plan-

ning Committee (Gosplan) which was given the job of drawing up a plan for the whole country and indicating the ways and means of its realization. About the same time it was decided to have planning commissions in each people's commissariat (ministry) and in other departments, and sometime later in each union republic.

In this initial phase a detailed comprehensive plan for all sectors of social production was unthinkable. Until 1925 planning covered only the public sector of the different branches of the economy, with special attention to the vital fuel, metallurgical, chemical, textile and sugar-refining industries.

National planning by branches reflects the actual social division of labor and the specialization of the production apparatus of industry and other branches. Branch plans are needed to ensure balanced development of the whole economy. But at that time the branch plans were not sufficiently coordinated and were in the nature of a general guide. The first cumulative national plan in the form of target figures dates from the economic year 1925-26. Today, in the Soviet Union planning embraces the entire complex of economic and cultural development.

Of special importance for our large country is the *territorial aspect of planning*. The need for regional planning became apparent in the first years of industrialization. Gosplan Chairman V. Kuibyshev, addressing the committee in May 1931, said: "Planning by regions must be a guiding principle from the very outset. At the stage of working out centralized indicators we must have an idea of the territorial aspect of the plan, so that it can be worked up not only with regard to the branches, not only in the particular factories, trusts and associations, but also with regard to the regions, on a regional scale. Only then, by means of cross-checking and making the appropriate changes, shall we have a really balanced, materially and technologically comprehensive plan."

Experience led to the emergence of *long-term and current plans*. In the early years the emphasis was on current planning, the objective being to restore, even if only selectively, the war-ravaged economy. Yet as far back as 1920 Lenin advanced the idea of a long-term plan: "... We cannot work without a long-term plan envisaging important achievements." And it was in those years of economic dislocation that the first Soviet long-term economic plan was drawn up—the plan for the electrification of Russia (GOELRO) designed for 10 to 15 years.

The plan derived its name from electrification, but in fact it was an overall plan taking

in the key branches of industry, including agriculture and transport. Lenin called it the second program of the Party.

Ever since 1928 Soviet industry has been developing on the basis of long-term (five-year) plans. Long-term planning is especially important today, for annual plans alone cannot ensure the necessary technological level and efficiency. The plans must have in mind the prospects of scientific and technological progress.

The entire system of planning has its starting point in the *plan of the enterprise*, which performs the double function of organizing production in the enterprise itself and of determining its relationship to the national economy.

The internal plan indicators must determine, with maximum correctness and precision the production assignments and the economic aspect of production: utilization of the production resources and the ultimate result. As for the external indicators, their function is to ensure economic proportions, to organize the production links of the enterprise and determine the economic relationship of the given body of workers to society and of the enterprise to the state. Recently the number of indicators has been sharply reduced and the enterprises accorded broader rights and greater economic independence.

Thus, the Soviet system of planning can be described as a pyramid with its base consisting of the plans of the separate economic units. Then come the plans of economic associations, departments and other middle-level managerial organs, the plans of the Union and Union-Republic ministries and departments, and, at the very top, *the state plan for the economic development of the USSR*.

In 1955 large-scale measures to improve the organizational structure of economic management were effected in the USSR, initiating the current economic reform. The reform envisages full development of *Khozraschet* or cost-accounting relations between economic units with centralized planning retaining its decisive role. The main problems of economic growth, above all those pertaining to the establishment of proportions and the allocation of investments and labor in conditions of public ownership, can best be solved from the standpoint of the national economy as a whole. As to the organization of current production and the most effective utilization of resources, these matters are decided by the enterprises and production associations themselves, guided centrally by means of such economic levers as prices, profit and credit. Provision is made for the extensive development of direct contacts between enterprises,

which are highly instrumental in keeping production geared to the growing requirements and demand of the public.

Cost-accounting and the independence of the enterprises in no way weaken the positions of centralized planning. On the contrary, the switchover from administrative methods to planning based on incentives, to cost-accounting calls for a big improvement in the scientific quality of centralized planning. Abolition of petty tutelage by central bodies over production enables Gosplan and the branch ministries to concentrate on the prospects of scientific and technological progress, on economic effectiveness, rates and proportions of extended reproduction, price policy, and so on.

The current measures to improve planning have aroused considerable interest abroad where there has been much talk to the effect that the reform signifies a restoration of capitalism in the USSR.

Characteristic in this respect is the five-volume study under the title *New Directions in the Soviet Economy*, submitted to the U.S. Congress last year. The authors rely heavily on the writings of theorists who profess to see a "crisis of the socialist planned economy," "a turning of the Soviet economy towards the capitalist road," and other absurdities. How can one regard as a rebirth of capitalism concern for a more efficient running of industry and for accelerating the growth of living standards, points which permeate the relevant decisions of the Party's Central Committee and of its 23rd Congress?

SCIENTIFIC PLANNING

Planning must be based on science. The Soviet plans are based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of extended socialist reproduction, in particular Marx's patterns of reproduction which make it possible to ascertain the relationships between branches of social production, especially between the capital-goods and consumer-goods branches.

Soviet planning, which relies on theoretical propositions regarding the role of accumulation in extended reproduction, operates with the concepts of fixed and circulating capital and takes cognizance of the need for surplus labor as labor "in excess of the given requirements" for the further development of production and for the upkeep of the non-productive sphere. Here mention should be made of the manner of sharing the aggregate social product under socialism outlined by Marx in his *Critique of the Gotha Program* and which finds realization in the Soviet plans.

Of fundamental importance for the theory

and practice of socialist planning is the objective nature of economic laws. The operation of these laws, as we know, does not depend on the degree of their assimilation. But the deeper the understanding of their essence and interaction, the greater the effectiveness of social production. The understanding of economic laws and the mechanism of their operation, and especially learning how to apply them in practice is a complicated historical process. Economic science advances with the accumulation of experience, and application of its achievements greatly enhances the effectiveness of socialist planning.

The requirements of economic laws cannot be directly expressed in terms of volume of production or in structural changes. The degree of interconnection between the plan indicators and the relationships between elements of the economy vary, depending on the conditions and the dynamics of economic progress. Furthermore, the effectiveness of the plans depends on the degree to which economic laws are comprehended. Just as safety margins are provided for in structural engineering, so allowances for the incomplete knowledge of economic laws are made in plans.

The objective nature of economic laws demands that the plans conform to the actual material and social conditions of production. For example, wages can be raised only in the measure that material values are accumulated, values which society can use to make good the increase in the wage fund. The size of this fund, in turn, depends on the growth of labor productivity. Voluntarism in economics, when decisions are taken regardless of actual possibilities, hampers economic development.

Planning, moreover, rules out any adulation of established proportions and methods of production. Embodied in it is the ever-growing role of the economic policy of the socialist state. Active interference by the state in economic life makes it possible to concentrate efforts on the basic tasks. Everything new in science and in technology must be incorporated into the plans, and the plans should envisage the solution of fundamentally new problems to enable the economy to reach a technologically higher level and, consequently, greater efficiency.

In our era of rapid scientific and technological progress special importance attaches to long-term planning and forecasting. We should bear in mind right now that solutions will be found to such problems as new sources of energy, the synthesis of materials with predetermined properties, control over biological processes, tapping of the wealth of the oceans, and so on. It would be improvident

to neglect problems which do not promise immediate results today. Scientific and technological progress is so rapid that time lost now may not be made up in the future. Hence the importance of scientific forecasting of the technological progress and of ways of utilizing natural resources.

We cannot develop the socialist economy without foreseeing also the likely changes in the pattern of social requirements. The economy can develop soundly only when output increases not "in general," but of those capital and consumer goods that are needed by industry, by the collective farms, by the public. But production cannot be changed overnight to suit new requirements. Hence, forecasts of productive and non-productive social requirements are needed to create in good time the adequate production facilities to meet them.

Raising the scientific level of planning and management is impossible without ever wider application of mathematical methods and electronic computers, a process which extends to both planning at all levels and to day-to-day management and control over implementation of plans. Work has been started in the USSR on devising a single system of optimal planning, stock-taking and day-to-day management.

ECONOMIC SUBSTANTIATION OF PLANNING

Setting the economic targets for the years 1966-70, the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU pointed out: "The assignments of the five-year plan are based on scientifically substantiated requirements of socialist society, on an objective appraisal of the production resources and reserves; they should determine ways of ensuring the most effective development of the national economy." Ascertaining the requirements of society as a single organism—production, public consumption, science and management and other non-productive spheres — is a specific task of socialist planning.

Social requirements change depending on the development of production. But this does not imply that consumption is passive. The dialectics of the process of reproduction is such that consumption, in turn, makes demands on production and modifies it to meet the needs of society. The decisive influence on the structure of consumption, on effective demand is exerted by the peculiarities of the social system and the corresponding laws of distribution and exchange.

Under socialism, consumption and production are harmonized in a planned way. The

public need for a particular product cannot be ascertained without taking into consideration the manufacture and consumption of other products. Hence the need for branch planning to be dove-tailed with synthetic estimates for the whole economy and such general proportions as, for instance, those between consumption and accumulation. Branch plans are the framework of the overall plan which finds in them its concrete material expression. At the same time these plans are worthless if they disregard the general economic proportions. The latter reflect the basic economic-political tasks for the particular period and determine the actual possibilities of production growth in the separate branches and the basic trends in the economy as a whole.

Until recently, however, synthetic indices did not play a sufficiently active role in planning. The system of interconnections in the plan tended to be built on production-growth targets—fuel extraction, metallurgy and the power industries. Underestimation of synthetic estimates was expressed, for instance, in the fact that in the early thirties active work in the sphere of drawing balances for the national economy was discontinued although this was a highly important instrument for determining the rates and proportions of growth.

The modern methodology of planning proceeds from the need to enhance the role of the synthetic estimates in the preliminary stages of long-term planning: before drawing up detailed branch plans, it is necessary to have a general model of the plan comprising only the main indices of rates, factors and proportions of extended socialist reproduction. This makes it possible to determine the chief elements of the future plan taking into consideration the present level of development and the economic-political tasks of the period ahead, to delineate with reasonable accuracy the sphere of real possibilities within which plan solutions are sought and branch estimates made.

The main thing in planning is to ensure maximum effectiveness of social production and attainment of the objective with the greatest economy of time and with minimum expenditure of labor and material resources. Consequently, when speaking of effectiveness of production we mean, again, better satisfaction of the requirements of society. The more rationally labor, raw-material, fuel and power resources are utilized, the lower per-unit capital expenditure and the better labor productivity are, the more fully the social requirements can be met.

The matter of cost and profitability is

vital to production plans. Lenin's approach to this problem consisted in ensuring that the plan should envisage the most "profitable" solution. Take, for instance, GOELRO — the plan for the electrification of Russia. It might have been taken for granted that comprehensive electrification was the most effective way to develop the socialist economy. But Lenin did not take it for granted: he insisted on a demonstration of its economic advantages. In a letter to the engineer G. M. Krzhizhanovsky he requested him to prove "a) the tremendous benefit and b) the necessity of electrification."

The idea of economic effectiveness applies to all aspects of social production. It can be said to pervade the entire system of economic substantiation of the plan, from the basic problems of economic policy, as, for instance, the consumption-accumulation ratio, to such detailed questions as steel output by converter or open-hearth methods.

There is a fundamental difference between criteria of effectiveness under public and private ownership. Under socialism, the main criterion of production effectiveness is achievement, in the interests of society, of maximum results with minimum cost. The formula "minimum inputs — maximum outputs" has been used in all economic systems where the objective law of economy of working time operates. The new in it is the additional stipulation specific to socialism: maximum results *in the interests of all members of society*, not individual persons or any group of persons, at minimum aggregate social expenditure.

Under capitalism, the chief criterion of effectiveness is maximum profit for the individual proprietor at minimum expenditure of means of production at his disposal. *Socialist planning proceeds from the interests of the national economy as a whole, whereas capitalist programming based on private ownership, proceeds from the interests of individual capitalists. The effectiveness of the national economy under capitalism exists simply as a theoretic construction not adequate to the objective economic conditions.* The claim, a false one, that capitalist programming expresses the effectiveness of the national economy is designed to prove compatibility of private ownership with the public interest.

A fundamentally new feature of the organization of production under socialism is the conscious maintenance of correct proportions in the national economy. The most formidable problem here is to determine the correlation of consumption and accumulation funds in the national income. In the course of building socialism the Communist Party of the Soviet Union elaborated a number of propositions

providing the theoretical and methodological basis for solving the problems of ensuring balanced economic development. Of special interest in this respect are the directives for the First Five-Year Plan issued by the Fifteenth Congress of the Party. To achieve high and stable rates of growth, the Congress recommended the planners to proceed, not from the maximum accumulations and rates for the next few years, but "from such a correlation of elements of national economy which would ensure the fastest rates of growth over a long period."

While pointing to the need for priority development of the capital-goods industry, the Congress stressed optimal correlation between heavy and light industry. Warning against "the danger of excessive investment in large-scale construction, the economic effects of which are felt only after several years" it noted that "quicker turnover in light industry (production of prime necessities), makes it possible to use its capital for building heavy industry — on the condition that the light industry is also expanded."

These and many other recommendations of the Fifteenth Congress retain their validity for our country or for other countries that have taken the road of building socialism.

An indispensable condition and prerequisite for creating optimal proportions is *consistent adherence to the principle of priority development of economically effective branches and lines of production* which helped accelerate technological progress, improve quality and lower costs. The economic effectiveness of a particular line of production is decided through a comparison of its input-output ratio with those of similar lines.

The economically expedient limits of replacement of some types of output by others are regulated in the plan through accelerated development of progressive lines of production and slowing down or discontinuing the output of less economic goods, thus leading to changes in the branch structure of industry. Priority development of economically effective branches adds to overall effectiveness of production, which finds material expression in a more rapid growth of the national income and, ultimately, in an increased volume of material values available to society.

REALIZATION OF PLANS AND THE NEW TASKS

In all, seven five-year plans have so far been carried out in the Soviet Union. Presently we are in the second year of the eighth plan (1966-70). All the plans have been distinguished by their realistic nature and, as a

rule, have been overfulfilled. The table below illustrates the economic growth during the five-year plans (in percentages of 1928).

	1932	1937	1940	1950	1957	1960	1966
National Income	182	386	513	843	1,717	2,247	31 times
Gross industrial output	202	446	646	1,119	2,517	3,387	5,114
Gross agricultural output	86	108	114	113	159	181	203
Retail trade (1940=100%)	—	—	100	110	258	326	435

We regard everything that has been done as a stage in the realization of the basic economic task outlined in the Party Program. And the current economic reform corresponds to this stage. It initiates processes in economic life which in the near future will yield results of the utmost social importance. The reform ensures a better harmony of public and private interests in the system of centralized planning; it enables each body of workers and each individual to display more fully their abilities and leads to better implementation of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The new system of planning and economic stimulation involves many difficult and some-

times debatable theoretical and methodological problems, such as fixing the long-term indicators essential for making the economic levers more effective, improving capital-investment planning in view of the greater role of the production development funds formed in the enterprises, and especially adapting the entire system of material and technical supply to the new conditions of planning. The task is to expand the sphere of commodity-money relations, in particular to go over from the allocation of capital goods to wholesale trade in them. Highly important, too, is the introduction of new wholesale prices, more correlated to the socially necessary expenditure. These prices are designed to stimulate technological progress and harmonize the interests of production and consumption. Practice also poses a number of complex problems before our planners and economists.

* * *

Socialist planning is not a rigid scheme. It continues to develop in keeping with the needs of the time, with the new tasks of socialist construction. Its organizational principles are changing. The methods of drawing up estimates are being improved. Planning, enriched with the experience gained by the other socialist countries, is becoming an instrument for elaborating a coordinated economic policy for the socialist community as a whole.

The USSR today

Facts and Figures*

V. CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

LARGE-SCALE capital construction, a feature of Soviet society, was started during the First Five-Year Plan (1928-32). From then on capital investment in all spheres of the economy grew rapidly. In volume of investment the USSR has practically caught up with the United States (approximately 90 per cent of the U.S. 1966 level).

INVESTMENT IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY (in comparable prices; in billion roubles)

Total for the years 1918-66 inclusive	591.5
1918-28	4.1
First Five-Year Plan	7.3
Second Five-Year Plan	16.6
Third Five-Year Plan (3½ years)	17.3
From July 1, 1941 to Jan. 1, 1946	17.5
Fourth Five-Year Plan	41.2
Fifth Five-Year Plan	77.7
Sixth Five-Year Plan (3 years)	77.1
Seven Year Plan (1959-65)	281.0
including 1961-65	211.8
1966	51.7

Industrial construction is proceeding at a particularly rapid rate. Since the establishment of Soviet rule a total of 40,160 big enterprises have been built or restored and put into operation.

Electrification has always been the pivot of socialist economic development. In 1913 the total generating capacity of Russia's power stations was 1,141,000 kw. and their energy production approximately 2,000 million kwh. The 1965 figures for Soviet power plants were 115 million kw., and 507,000 million kwh. respectively, i.e., more than 250 times the 1913 level. Hundreds of big power stations have been built among them the world's largest: the Bratsk station in Siberia (4.5 million kw.), the Kuibyshev and Volgograd stations on the Volga (more than 2 million kw. each). Construction is presently under way on the Krasnoyarsk station on the Yenisei, which will have a generating capacity of 5 million kw. And only 40 years ago Soviet people thought that the Volkhov station, the first of the Soviet Union's electric power plants, built on the initiative of Lenin, was a veritable giant, although its gene-

rating capacity was nearly one hundred times less than that scheduled for the Krasnoyarsk station. The Soviet Union also built the world's first atomic power station in 1954. Soviet electric power engineering enjoys a high reputation throughout the world. A hydropower project is being built at Aswan (UAR) and also a number of high-capacity electric generating plants (including atomic) in other countries with the aid of the USSR.

The past fifty years have witnessed the powerful expansion of the *iron and steel* industry. It boasts the Magnitogorsk Works in the Urals, the Kuznetsk Works in Siberia, not to mention a series of similar plants in other parts of the country. Unlike the early years when the Soviet Union had to build its first iron and steel plants with the help of foreign specialists, it is now helping other countries to develop their iron and steel industries. The Bhilai Iron and Steel Works in India, one of the biggest in Asia, is one of many examples. The capacity of the Soviet iron and steel industry can be gathered from the following figures: steel production increased approximately 23-fold in the period under review and in 1966 totalled 96.9 million tons. The target for this year is over 100 million tons.

A big achievement of capital construction is the creation of one of the world's largest *oil and gas industries*. Before the revolution Russia had only one oil base (in Baku). Today a "second Baku" has been developed in the Volga Region. It was from here that construction was started on the "Friendship" pipeline, the world's longest. Built with the help of many socialist countries, it carries Soviet oil to Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Construction is under way on the Soviet Union's third oil and gas base which, according to the specialists, will be the only one of its kind in the world. Extraction of oil has increased nearly 26-fold in Soviet times, and totalled 265 million tons in 1966; the figure for the extraction of gas, negligible in tsarist Russia, is 145,000 million cubic meters. The gas is carried to different parts of the country by pipelines stretching nearly 42,000 kilometers.

Two key branches of Soviet industry, which largely determine the technological progress of the entire economy, are *engineering* and the *chemical* industry. Hence special attention is paid to these branches. Their output has increased nearly 540-fold and 300-fold respective-

*Continuation. See beginning in No. 3.

ly in the period under review. The Soviet Union's first industrial giants, such as the Uralsmash Machine Building Plant, the Novokramatorsk Engineering Works, the tractor plants in Volgograd and Kharkov, the automobile plants in Moscow and Gorky were built during the First Five-Year Plan. In the subsequent five-year plan periods the construction of engineering works proceeded on a still wider scale. The same applies to chemical plants.

Light industry and the food-processing industries, agriculture, transport and the service industries have not been neglected. House building is proceeding at a particularly rapid rate. Thus, between 1918 and 1966 houses with a total floor space of 1,273.5 million sq. meters were built in towns and rural areas (excluding housing in collective farms). Between 1926 and 1966, 844 new towns were built, among them Magnitogorsk, Novokuznetsk, Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur, Norilsk, and Bratsk. In 1913 the housing in towns and villages was 180 million sq. meters; in 1966 it was 1,290 million sq. meters. Between 1950 and 1966 alone, more than 32 million apartments were built.

* * *

Construction has become an important branch of the national economy. In 1966 its output was worth more than 40,000 million roubles, approximately a tenth part of the gross social product.

At present the Soviet Union possesses the most extensive resources in the world for capi-

tal construction. It has outstripped the United States in the production of cement, producing 80 million tons in 1966 as against the 67.2 million in the United States.

A feature of Soviet building work is its industrial character which is expressed, in particular, in the extensive use of prefabricated reinforced concrete parts, industrial work methods, standard designing and a rising machine-to-worker ratio which by 1965 had increased 6.5 times compared with 1940. This was made possible by the rapid increase in the number of building machines as the following table shows:

	1940	1960 (in thousands)	1966
Excavators	2.1	36.8	75.4
Scrapers	1.1	12.2	21.5
Bulldozers	0.8	40.5	74.0
Mobile cranes	1.1	55.0	90.0

Although capital construction has considerable achievements to its credit it still has to improve the quality of building and designing work, to make more effective use of building machinery. These shortcomings were analyzed at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU the directives of which provide for eliminating them in the current five-year plan period. Capital construction will be greatly expanded in this period: a total of 310,000 million roubles will be invested in the economy, i.e., 20 per cent more than in the first 40 years of Soviet power.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

July 1917. The political situation in the country continued to be tense. The offensive of the Russian troops at the front had failed. The movement of the workers and soldiers against the imperialist policy of the Provisional Government spread. Although they were strong enough to overthrow the Provisional Government and assume power, they were not strong enough to retain power, for a majority in the country still believed in the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries. The Central Committee of the Party and Lenin took all measures to explain to the masses the danger of resorting to premature armed action in the capital.

June 21 (July 4) *Pravda* in an article "The Congress of Soviets and the Petrograd Workers" explained that at the moment such action was inadvisable.

June 22 (July 5), the Central Committee discussed the issue with representatives from the localities and decided to refrain from any action.

July 3 (July 16), a spontaneous demonstration against the Provisional Government nevertheless took place. There was every danger of it spilling over into an armed struggle.

On the night of **July 3-4 (July 16-17),** the Central Committee of the Party, the Petrograd

Committee, the Military Organization of the Central Committee met and decided to take part in the demonstration to ensure that it would be a peaceful demonstration of workers and soldiers under the slogan, "All power to the Soviets!"

July 4 (July 17), a mass demonstration took place in Petrograd, in which more than 500,000 workers, soldiers and sailors participated. The demonstrators appointed 90 representatives to submit to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets the demand that power be taken by the Soviets. Demonstrations also took place in many other cities, including Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Orekhovo-Zuyevo, Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk.

The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries refused to take power. On the contrary, they arranged with the Provisional Government to smash the demonstration. In a number of districts of the city fire was opened on the demonstrators.

July 5 (July 18), the reactionary military wrecked the premises of *Pravda* and the *Trud* (Labor) printing plant.

July 7 (July 20), the Provisional Government issued an order for the arrest of Lenin.

July 9 (July 22), the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets invested the new coalition government with unlimited powers, calling it the "government for the salvation of the revolution."

The dual power had come to an end. The Socialist Revolutionaries had surrendered all power to the bourgeoisie. The peaceful stage of the revolution was over. The counter-revolution took the offensive.

The Bolsheviks succeeded in good time in withdrawing their main forces from the blow. The Party arranged for a safe refuge for Lenin. At first he was housed in Petrograd and later outside the city, near Lake Razliv, where he remained up to August 8 (August 27), 1917.

July 10 (July 23), Lenin wrote his thesis "The Political Situation" in which he showed that since the counter-revolution had with the connivance of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries secured undivided power the slogan of "All power to the Soviets!" was no longer applicable, that now the proletariat could win power only through an armed insurrection. "The aim of the insurrection," Lenin wrote, "can only be the transfer of power to the proletariat, supported by the poor peasants, with a view to putting the program of our Party into effect."

July 13-14 (July 26-27), the Central Committee of the Party held an enlarged session with representatives of the Petrograd Committee, the Military Organization of the Central Committee, the Moscow Regional Bureau, Moscow Committee and Moscow District Committee. The meetings discussed the preparations for the Sixth Congress, adopted a resolution on the current situation and declared against Lenin appearing for trial before the Provisional Government.

July 15 (July 28), the Central Committee briefed the Party organizations in Moscow, Kharkov, Odessa, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, Rostov-on-Don, Tiflis, Vyatka and other cities on the treachery of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries in the capital, on the plans of the bourgeoisie and the landowners to crush the revolution, that despite this, Petrograd had not lost heart, that peace and order prevailed, and that the Party was following up its success in the capital.

The Central Committee, guided by Lenin, who was still underground, began to prepare for the Sixth Congress of the Party which was to work out the new tactics to meet the new political situation resulting from the ending of dual power and the temporary victory of the counter-revolution.

The approaching 50th anniversary

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

AT THE END OF 1966 a special committee headed by Walter Ulbricht was set up to coordinate the preparations of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The call issued by the committee, noting the significance of the October Revolution and its impact on Germany, evoked a lively response among the population. The general opinion was that further consolidation of the country in keeping with the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party on building a comprehensive socialist society would be the best tribute to the anniversary.

Citizens of the GDR are deeply aware of the link between the October Revolution and the building of socialism in their country. For instance, right after the Seventh Congress of the Party a meeting of trade union delegates in the Stralsund shipyards decided on a socialist emulation drive in honor of the 50th anniversary.

"We are approaching an event which testifies to the life-giving, world-transforming force of socialism," the resolution of the meeting reads. "We dedicate our emulation to this jubilee, because the builders of socialism in our country and the builders of communism in the Soviet Union are linked by unbreakable bonds of fraternal friendship. This community inspires our confidence that we shall carry out the great tasks of our time."

The shipyard workers and workers in allied enterprises in Stralsund set themselves the aim of making the biggest possible contribution to the national income of the republic by building, at minimum cost, top-quality fishing vessels and refrigerator ships. The shipbuilders issued a call to their colleagues in the allied enterprises proposing joint efforts to build ships of top quality and thus bring added profit to the national economy, enhance the prestige of the republic and increase so-

cialism's power of attraction. The call was supported by the workers in other industries and in agriculture, and now the emulation has become nationwide.

The preparations are under way not only in the production sphere. All public organizations are arranging talks and lectures on the contribution made by the peoples of the USSR to mankind's progress. During January and February this year German-Soviet Friendship Society gained about 65,000 new members.

The Free German Youth Union and the Ernst Thaelmann Young Pioneer Organization are combining preparations for the anniversary with greater emphasis on the class education of the youth. The 1967 plan for cooperation with the Soviet Communist Youth League envisages an exchange of "friendship trains," sports contests, talks on the joint struggle of the Soviet Union and the German anti-fascists against fascism.

Many Free German Youth Union and Young Pioneer organizations have organized studies to find new facts about the heroes of the German and Soviet working class, about the development of our republic and its cooperation with the Soviet Union. Hundreds of youth organizations are also studying the ties of the enterprises over which they hold patronage with enterprises in the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

This summer a thousand German Young Pioneers and Youth Union members will visit Moscow, Minsk and Kiev, and a thousand Soviet Young Pioneers and Young Communists will be guests of the German youth.

The preparations have been actively joined by the press, radio and television, which acquaint their readers and audiences with the heroism of the Soviet people in different times in their history.

Along with fundamental articles of ideological and historical importance *Neues Deutschland* runs a column headlined "The 50th Year of the New Era" to demonstrate the vital force of socialism and its superiority over capitalism, and historical surveys "Fifty Years along the Leninist Road," showing that the socialist system has withstood all trials and that the prime task of the working class in every country is to build a party guided, like the CPSU, by the scientific theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

A series of articles on the subject "The German Working Class and the Soviet Union" is devoted to the traditional unity of the revolu-

tionary workers of Germany and Russia. It shows how the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the Soviet Union emerged from this unity.

In March this year the GDR television launched a series of programs devoted to the impact of the October Revolution on the struggle of the German working class.

The radio organizes broadcasts about German-Soviet friendship. Among them is the serial, "The Man with the Red Star," telling listeners about heroes of the October Revolution, the Soviet Army and the building of communism in the USSR. All our broadcasting stations produce plays by Soviet and other authors reflecting the events of the October Revolution and Soviet life.

The culture and art institutions of the republic are also taking an active part in the preparations. The anniversary will be highlighted by a Workers' Festival in Dresden, Baltic Weeks in Rostok, Book Week, Berlin festivities, and so on. In November, which traditionally is German-Soviet Friendship Month, a Soviet film festival will be organized. The German History Museum is preparing an exposition on "Fifty Years of Soviet Power—From the Wooden Plough to the Conquest of Space." Photographers from many countries will take part in the international exhibition "Man and Happiness."

In addition to lectures and meetings, scientific establishments are arranging conferences on such subjects as "Fifty Years of Soviet-German Relations and the Impact of the October Revolution on the Proletarian Movement in Germany" and "Science and Socialism."

Publishing houses are preparing scientific and popular-science books devoted to the anniversary.

The sentiment in the republic was aptly expressed by Erich Honecker at the Seventh Congress of the Party: "The Soviet Union has been and remains the country with the most progressive social system in the world, the mainstay of all forces fighting for national liberation and social progress. Thanks to the existence of the Soviet Union the prospect facing mankind now is not one of destruction in nuclear war, but of life under socialism and communism, in conditions of peace and democracy. Therefore, the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is a holiday of the working people of all countries."

K. TIDKE

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

MONGOLIA has been preparing for the jubilee of the Great October Revolution for months now. The Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party adopted a relevant decision last January.

The fame of the feats of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party in the past fifty years will never die. "At every

stage of the development of the Soviet state—in fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat, in industrializing their country and carrying out Lenin's cooperative plan for agriculture, in building socialism and in the severe trials of war—the Soviet people withstood incredible difficulties and showed unexampled staunchness, revolutionary devotion and great

endurance," says the Central Committee decision.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia rallied the peoples of the East, including the Mongolians, to fight against their oppressors, for freedom and independence. The direct impact of the revolution and the aid and support rendered by the land of Soviets were powerful factors that helped the working people of Mongolia, led by their Party, to carry their revolution through to victory, uphold its gains against enemies inside and outside the country, and effect the transition from feudalism to socialism in an historically brief time.

The Communists and the people of Mongolia are proud to have been the first to take, with the assistance of the victorious proletariat of Russia, the road opened by the October Revolution. The Central Committee decision stresses that our Party, which came into being as a revolutionary party of the working people, made the ideas of scientific socialism its own and became the militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the masses on the road to socialism thanks to its ideological links and close cooperation with Lenin's party and the world Communist movement. The lasting friendship of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, initiated by Lenin, the great leader of the working people, and Sukhe Bator, the outstanding leader of the Mongolian revolution, was a model of new international relations based on equality, mutual respect and fraternal mutual aid.

The Mongolian people will celebrate the 50th anniversary as a grand holiday of their own, marking a triumph of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The anniversary preparations envisage the following:

- to bring out the historic significance of the October Revolution, the impact of its ideas on the work of our Party, and their role in the revolutionary changes and in building the new society in our country;

- to promote the traditional friendship and cooperation of Mongolia and the Soviet Union, the fraternal links and international unity of our two parties;

- to work harder in carrying out the decisions of the 15th Party Congress and the tasks of the fourth five-year plan for economic and cultural development;

- to help our Party members and other working people in our country to study the Soviet Union's rich experience in building socialism and communism, and more particularly to make better use of the experience and methods of the Soviet specialists engaged in our national economy.

Work has begun among the masses everywhere to bring out the international significance of the October Revolution, to inform the people of the achievements of the Soviet political and social system, of the progress made by the USSR in economy, science, technology and culture, the contribution of the

CPSU and the Soviet people to the triumph of the ideas of scientific communism, to the cause of peace, national independence and the security of nations, to give them an insight into the nature and significance of the Mongolian-Soviet friendship and the Soviet Union's all-round aid to our country.

A socialist emulation movement began early this year in honor of the anniversary to reach all the main targets of the 1967 plan ahead of schedule.

The press has a special section regularly carrying information on the October Revolution, Lenin's teachings, the achievements of the Soviet Union, the CPSU, friendship and cooperation between our countries, as well as on the preparations for the anniversary under way in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Forums devoted to the jubilee are also being planned. The Academy of Science and Institute of History under the Central Committee of our Party will hold a symposium on the theme "The October Revolution and the Mongolian People's Republic", which is expected to draw participants from the Soviet Union and some Afro-Asian countries. The Institute of History will put out a collection entitled *The October Revolution and Some Problems of the Non-Capitalist Development of the MPR*, books on Mongolian-Soviet friendship and the role of Russian revolutionary internationalists in the Mongolian revolution. The Academy of Science will publish *The October Socialist Revolution and Mongolia, A Great Friendship, The Impact of the October Revolution on Mongolia*, and other books.

The Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society, the Ministry of Culture, the Writers' Union and other organizations are contributing to the anniversary preparations. They will put out novels, short stories, poems and essays on the October Revolution by our authors. Film-makers have made a series of films showing the influence of the October Revolution on our revolutionary movement.

Mongolian-Soviet cultural cooperation is assuming a particularly wide scale this year. In line with the 1967 plan for cultural and scientific cooperation, there is to be a series of events dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and the 46th anniversary of the Mongolian revolution. Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Month, which has become a tradition in our country, will this year be held on an unprecedented scale.

The working people of Mongolia know well that the decisive external factor in the victory and subsequent development of their revolution, in the winning of freedom and independence for their country and in socialist construction was the October Revolution, the Soviet people, their fraternal aid and support. That is why they consider that the best way to pay tribute to the anniversary is to demonstrate their loyalty to the ideas of the revolu-

tion, express international solidarity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU, promote Mongolian-Soviet friendship, extend our political, econ-

omic and cultural cooperation, and scale new heights as they build up socialist Mongolia.

Tsereviin DAVAGSUREN

POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party held in May adopted a special decision on the celebration of the 50th anniversary.

"The October Revolution had a tremendous impact on the destinies of the world," the document reads. "Its ideas have transformed the life of the peoples now building socialism. It blazed the trail to independence for the peoples suffering under imperialist oppression. The revolution indicated the road of development to all mankind and became the source of hope and belief in the triumph of the cause of peace, freedom and social justice."

The Polish people regard the anniversary as their own holiday. By overthrowing the rule of landlords and capitalists in Russia the October Revolution also broke the chains of slavery in which the Polish people had languished for more than a century. In the autumn of 1918 the Poles acquired independent statehood. A quarter of a century later the armed forces of the Soviet Union, at whose side the Polish army fought, brought freedom to our people, sweeping away the fascist invaders and creating conditions for the revival of an independent Poland. In the new situation the working people of Poland headed by the working class and its Party effected deep-going revolutionary transformations and created socialist Poland.

"For twenty-three years now socialism has been the source of Poland's economic, social and cultural progress," Wladyslaw Gomułka said in his May Day speech. "The road to socialism was opened before us and other peoples by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 50th anniversary of which we celebrate this year."

People's Poland and the Soviet Union, the Polish United Workers' Party and the CPSU are linked by bonds of unbreakable friendship and all-round cooperation. Further consolidation of these fraternal bonds is important for the development of both countries.

The people will meet the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution with further success in production. Party and trade union organizations are actively promoting the nationwide socialist emulation in honor of the anniversary, initiated by the personnel of the Lenin Iron and Steel Works in Nowa Huta and joined by the Silesian miners and steel-makers, by metalworkers in Warsaw, Poznań and Wrocław, ship-builders in Gdansk and Szczecin, textile workers in Łódź and Białystok, and by factory and office workers in many other branches.

The success of this movement is explained by the fact that the ideas of the October

Revolution, the traditions of the joint revolutionary struggle of the Polish and Russian workers, the memory of joint struggles and of blood jointly shed on the barricades of 1905 and in the revolutionary battles of 1917, are very much alive among the Polish working people. Still living among us are men and women who participated in those historic events, people who fought in the October Revolution, for the consolidation of Soviet power, in defense of the gains of the revolution.

Materials devoted to these glorious traditions figure prominently in the press. Every week *Trybuna Ludu* carries a chronicle of events of 1917 in revolutionary Petrograd and other cities and regions of the Russia of 1917. Many articles feature the response these events found among Poles living in Russia at the time and among the population of the Polish lands.

The Party committees and organizations are carrying on extensive propaganda devoted to the October Revolution. Jointly with the United Peasant and Democratic parties and other public organizations, lectures, talks, question-and-answer sessions, meetings with veterans of the revolutionary movement and participants in the October Revolution are arranged.

Much attention is paid to the younger generation. Numerous undertakings connected with the anniversary will be organized in secondary and higher schools.

A highly varied program has been prepared also by the trade unions.

The emphasis in the work of the various youth and student organizations, and by the Young Pioneer Organization is on familiarizing young people with the history of the October Revolution, the role of the Soviet youth in building the new life and in defending the gains of the Soviet people.

The youth organizations want the younger generation to know the traditions of joint struggle of the Polish and Russian revolutionaries prior to and during the October Revolution, the history of the struggle of the Polish people for liberation from the Hitler yoke, the importance of the Soviet people's friendship and assistance in this struggle.

Many interesting plans have been prepared by the students' organizations. They include seminars and symposiums on such subjects as "Lenin in Poland" and "The Leninist Understanding of Humanism," contests for the best theatrical production and variety-show program devoted to the anniversary, an all-Poland festival of poets, quiz competitions, exchange establishment of international youth camps,

of delegations and amateur art companies and so on.

The Polish-Soviet Friendship Society is holding talks and lectures, meetings with participants in the October Revolution and veterans of the Polish revolutionary movement and of its fight for liberation from fascism, it is sponsoring mobile exhibitions, film, song and theatre festivals, "friendship trains" and excursions to the Soviet Union.

Radio and television program feature Soviet music and songs, plays and films.

Considerable interest has been aroused by the international exhibition of revolutionary posters to be opened in Warsaw in autumn. The Museum of the History of the Polish Revolutionary Movement and the Lenin Museum in Warsaw are also preparing exhibits devoted to the October Revolution.

The Academy of Science and the Institute of the History of the Party are planning a symposium on "The Significance of the Octo-

ber Revolution for Poland" in which leading historians will take part.

The Institute of the History of the Party will publish two large books, one containing memoirs of Poles who took part in the revolution and fought in the Red Army (most of these will appear in print for the first time), and the other, biographies of more than 7,000 Poles who took part in battles for the cause of the revolution in 1917-1920.

"The central idea of the celebrations," the meeting of the CC pointed out, "should be to deepen the understanding by our public of the special role played by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet Union and the socialist system in man's history, of the superiority of socialism over capitalism, and of the vital importance of the alliance and friendship with the USSR for Poland's security and sovereignty, for the successful socialist development of our country."

A. SZPAKOVICZ

CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

BY DECISION OF THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will be celebrated on a national scale. Our Party sponsors numerous events to contribute to a deeper creative and emotional understanding of the October Revolution and to update it. The task is to stress the international significance and the inexhaustible sources of the revolutionary humanism of the revolution, its influence on every aspect of creative life, its role in getting people to adopt a really active attitude to life under socialism. The diversity of the events in preparation meets the interests of every section of our people and imparts a nation-wide character to them.

Most of the scheduled events are designed for the younger generation, the young people who have grown up under socialism. To them, the prewar, capitalist life and the horrors of the war are merely part of history. They often fail to see their direct relation to the great historical events of the recent past, and so they sometimes fail to grasp entirely the ideological and historical connection between the problems arising at the present stage of our socialist evolution and previous class battles. A big effort is being made to devise ways and means of making the great political and historical events that have had a decisive impact on the life of the Czechoslovak people near and dear to everyone, particularly to the young people. A realistic view of the relations with the Soviet Union, of alliance, friendship and economic relations, and an explanation of the problems arising out of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations will help to form a correct idea of the possibility and need of joint action by the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples in building

socialism and communism.

That is why information about the Soviet Union, about its achievements in industry, agriculture, education, science and technology, about the Soviet state, the various nationalities, the internationalist policy and the role of the USSR in the growth of the world forces of socialism and progress figures largely in many of the anniversary programs.

Attention is focussed on explaining in specific terms the significance of our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, of all that unites the two countries, of the way in which we mutually utilize the experience gained, and how our international cooperation and unity are becoming closer. These points will be explained to the young generation along with complex problems of the scientific and technological revolution, which calls for new, higher forms of cooperation and interaction.

Much is being done to stress the value of the revolutionary traditions of the October Revolution in moulding the socialist and internationalist outlook of the young generation. This is the responsibility primarily of the press, radio and television.

TV programs therefore include "Dialogues on the Revolution" for youth—documentaries on the revolutions of 1905 and of February and October 1917. Other telecasts of the same nature are in preparation, such as "The Camera Investigates an Epoch" ("Echo of the October Revolution"), the telecast about the influence of the October Revolution on the situation today, on the revolutionary reconstruction in the socialist countries, on the activity of the Communist parties in Western Europe and on the other continents. The telecast "Why I Became a Communist" concentrates on the Marxist solution of problems arising in the course of

building a developed socialist society, and above all of such problems as new economic models, the way of life, and socialist democracy.

Cultural programs will culminate in a ten-day festival in Prague devoted to the culture of the Russian Federative Socialist Republic.

The Czechoslovak Youth League is organizing, jointly with the Soviet YCL interesting programs designed to improve knowledge about each other's countries. New opportunities are being provided for young people to visit the Soviet Union and to establish contacts with Soviet youth. The chief item of this program will be a joint Czechoslovak-Soviet youth festival to be held in Lvov in July.

The Socialist Academy has arranged a series of lectures on the subjects "Lenin in the Revolution," "How the Masses Were Won for the Revolution," "Women in the October Revolution," "The Bolsheviks and Their Allies," "The Birth of the Red Army," "The October Revolution: the Herald of the World Proletarian Revolution."

The task is not only to underline the significance of the October Revolution from

various points of view but to select those aspects of the revolution that are valid to our day.

The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union is planning a number of exhibitions, including "USSR, 1917-1967," "Ten Days That Shook the World," "Soviet Revolutionary Posters and the Press," "Paintings in the Tretyakov Gallery (Moscow) and the Hermitage (Leningrad)," "Czechoslovak and Soviet Vanguard Artists of the Twenties."

The history department of the Academy of Sciences is planning a symposium on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and on the response to it in Czechoslovakia.

All political, cultural, social and scientific organizations are contributing to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. They have prepared programs that will enrich their activities. These programs of political, historical and cultural events stress, in the final analysis, the main characteristic of our reality expressed in the words "With the Soviet Union for All Time."

Miroslav LAB

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BUILDING SOCIALISM

The new system of economic management in Bulgaria

EMIL KHRISTOV

FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS work has been going on in Bulgaria to put into effect the new system of economic management. At first its application was in the nature of an experiment, limited in scale but essential from the standpoint of its socio-economic content.

The new system was devised in keeping with the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Party (1962), which set the task of radically improving the system of planning and management.

HISTORICAL ROLE OF THE PREVIOUS SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT

The previous system of management, evolved in the course of the rapid socialist construction, enabled the country to recover from the

postwar dislocation, to go ahead with industrialization and to effect the transition from small peasant cultivation to large-scale socialist agriculture. By 1965 the gross national product had increased sixfold compared with 1939, and the national income almost fourfold. Vital changes have taken place in the structure of the national economy. The ratio between the production of capital goods and consumer goods which in 1939 was 22.6:77.4 in favor of the latter, has changed and in 1965 was 52.3:47.7 in favor of capital goods. Bulgaria is now a modern industrial country, developing at a rate unprecedented in its history or in the modern history of those of its neighbor countries still following the capitalist road. The previous system, then, made it possible to achieve quite considerable success in socialist construction

in an historically brief space of time.

However, the rapid growth of the productive forces calls for the further development and improvement of both production relations and the specific organizational forms, means and mechanisms on which these relations are based.

The economic mechanism used in building socialism is conditioned by objective economic factors operating in socialist economy and by the degree to which the objective economic laws are cognized and by the ability to use them consciously. They are, then, objectively conditioned as far as their basic features are concerned, although they also contain certain subjective elements. Even those forms which were objectively conditioned and subjectively correct at the time they appeared, i.e., corresponded to the needs of the situation, may in the course of the economic growth turn into forms that no longer meet the objective demands of economic laws, unless they are improved and adapted to the new economic reality. If the economic mechanism is not brought into line with economic exigencies in time, and if the objective economic laws are not properly cognized and used, this may become the subjective reason for the rise of contradictions between individual and group interests and the interests of society as a whole.

The system of planning and management used in Bulgaria for over two decades ceased to meet the needs of the new conditions and had to be radically improved.

Timely appreciation of this objective necessity resulted in the Eighth and Ninth congresses calling for a streamlining of the entire economic mechanism through which the Party promotes the development of socialist society.

What were the main drawbacks of the old system of management?

1. The old system of planning was based on excessive centralization, which in the early postwar years was to a certain extent inevitable. At that time priority had to be given to rehabilitating the war-devastated economy, which meant completely centralizing the allocation of resources and turning them to restoring and expanding the key branches. Basic materials, including raw materials, were in short supply, and normal commodity and trade relations had to be replaced by centralized administrative distribution. Shortage of skilled labor was another feature so that the most competent personnel had to be concentrated in the capital with a view to providing proper centralized leadership to the economy as a whole.

Another circumstance was the relatively low level of development of the productive forces, which made it possible to direct and plan (even in detail) the functioning of the enterprises from a single center.

These conditions have changed. Since the restoration the economy has been forging ahead at a steady rate. The industries now have skilled people who can be entrusted with

the independent management of economic units. Expansion of productive forces has been so great that it is now impossible to guide all the enterprises from a single center. By 1965 gross industrial output had increased 21-fold compared with 1939, capital goods production 52-fold, and consumer goods production 12-fold. The Eighth Congress adopted a program for developing the productive forces in the years ahead. The growth will be considerable, bearing in mind the size of our country. Gross output in 1980 is expected to be six or seven times greater than in 1960.

Given this development how can large and complex industrial, agricultural, building, transport, trade and other enterprises be directed from a single center? The need to replace the almost completely centralized management by a more flexible system becomes obvious.

2. The old system tended to overlook value categories and such economic levers as prices, credits, profit and its distribution, taxation, tariffs and currency system, etc. On the whole it would be fair to say that to some extent it reflected a general underestimation of the operation of the objective economic laws of socialist society, in particular the operation of the law of value.

Let us take, for example, price formation and the utilization of its mechanism. Under the previous system the requirements of the law of value were often disregarded. At one time capital goods were priced below cost of production. The policy was a deliberate one, and one of its purposes was to accelerate growth of output by selling cheap materials, power, and machinery to the enterprises.

The sale of plant to industrial enterprises at prices below cost led to a situation in which the output cost in the enterprises concerned proved to be an unrealistic index. As a result, profits and profitability, for their part, ceased to be a realistic index. Now one cannot properly assess the actual effectiveness of development of the various industries and enterprises on the basis of unrealistic prices, costs, profits and profitability. This, in turn, makes it difficult to ascertain the perspective and the branch structure of the economy, to determine the true place of the country in the international division of labor.

A mechanism of value categories ignoring objective economic laws, in particular the law of value, prevents us, therefore, from correctly planning the most effective proportions in the economy. And this leads to violations of the law of planned and proportionate development and the law of saving working time and, ultimately, to slower progress in achieving the main aim of socialist production.

3. A big drawback from the standpoint of incentive under the old system stemmed from forms of labor remuneration that were not entirely in keeping with the fundamental changes in the social nature of the system brought about by the socialist revolution.

Under the old system the worker was paid

for the work he personally did. His earnings were not affected by the end result of the performance of the enterprise as a whole. In other words, he had no direct material interest in the results of the functioning of the enterprise. Yet the socialist system must by its very nature arouse this interest.

The deeper the socialist relations of production become the more obvious becomes the need to adopt a system of remuneration corresponding more fully to production relations of the socialist type, stimulating each worker's interest in the performance of the socialist enterprise, in the success of the effort of the entire personnel, and so creating conditions for the most effective and creative participation by the workers in running the enterprise, and in revealing all production reserves and potentialities with a view to securing the best results.

The economic reform now under way is aimed at removing these and other more or less serious shortcomings, at creating a system of management corresponding to both the higher stage reached by the productive forces and the social nature of socialist relations of production. "The profound significance of the new system," said Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Party, in April 1966, "is that under it planning and management must and can take into account the operation of objective economic laws, that the new system makes it necessary and possible to achieve fuller coordination and community of interests of society, the collective body and the individual worker, to apply cost accounting to the full, provide greater incentives, which should be properly combined with moral stimuli, replace administrative by economic methods of management, and ensure that factory collectives participate actively in controlling production."

HIGHER PLANNING STANDARDS

The new system of management, like its predecessor, proceeds from the fundamental idea that centralized and planned management under socialism is an objective necessity arising from the character of socialist public ownership of the means of production and the level of development attained by the productive forces.

To further the socialist economy, however, it is necessary steadily to improve both the principles of planning and the forms, ways and means used in applying these principles. If we want to raise the quality and the standard of planning, we must free the central planning bodies from the obligation of exercising petty tutelage over the enterprises in their day-to-day activities, and concentrate instead on the main problems of long-term economic development.

The problems facing the central planning bodies under the new system of management can be listed as follows:

a) The central planning bodies should draw

up long-term forecasts of economic development with due regard to the trends of scientific and technological progress throughout the world and in our own country through comprehensive study and analysis of the operation of the objective economic laws of social development. These forecasts should also examine basic trends on the world market and draw conclusions applicable to Bulgarian conditions.

Long-term forecasts should also take into account the basic lines in the development of the social organization of production in the broad sense, the perspective of international division of labor, progress in the specialization and coordination of production between and in the different countries, the development and prospects of concentration of production in its various branches and forms, the basic trends in organizing production in the narrow sense of the term, including the perspectives of automation and the use of cybernetics in production.

Long-term prognostication should serve as the basis on which to work out criteria of the efficiency of particular industries in the conditions of our country and specify Bulgaria's place in the international division of labor, so as to utilize the national resources as effectively as possible, develop a highly effective branch structure, and achieve high rates of progress in the economy and in raising the standard of living.

Preparatory analysis of this kind will provide the basis for working out the general line of development specifying the guidelines and rates of development for the various industries, rate of increment of the gross national product and the national income, the distribution of the national income between accumulation and consumption, the main trends in investment policy of the state, and in its policy on prices, finance, credits, tariffs and currency.

b) It is necessary to replace what was predominantly administrative ways and means of establishing national-economic proportions by economic ways and means. This presupposes making fuller use—with a view to obtaining effective economic proportions—of such economic levers as price, profit, credit, interest, taxes, bonuses, customs tariffs, and forms of remuneration linking the wages of the individual worker to the end results of the enterprise as a whole. Coordinated and overall utilization of economic levers should be aimed at creating a system of effective incentives for production staffs to draw up and fulfil realistic, intensive and highly effective production and finance plans.

c) It is necessary to establish criteria for assessing the functioning of the enterprise that could also serve as criteria for incentives. Under the new system these criteria are no longer seen as fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plans approved by the higher bodies. Application of these criteria of assessment and incentive over the years has shown that they tend to make the enterprises lower their output

sights. The new system of management is designed to use other criteria of assessment—actual growth of output and sales compared with the previous year, the actual profit received by the enterprise and its level of profitability.

d) The correlation of the functions of the central body and those of the enterprise in the matter of planning will change substantially. Fewer indices will come from the center, and the enterprises will enjoy greater autonomy in drawing up and fulfilling their plans. Under the new system, only two indices will be planned centrally: the actual output of certain items and currency receipts from exports, as well as three limits: on investments, on basic raw and other materials, and on foreign exchange allocated for imports.

e) The system of planning cannot be appreciably improved without recourse to modern computing techniques and planning methods, including mathematical methods of planning with the aid of computers and cybernetics. And one of the main problems to be solved by the central planning bodies in launching the new system is to introduce these methods at all levels and in every area of planning and, moreover, to do it speedily and on a large scale.

MAKING FULLER USE OF VALUE CATEGORIES

The Ninth Congress of the Party charted guidelines for the transition from extensive to predominantly intensive economic development. This means that in the next few years we shall have to take a series of measures to increase labor productivity and raise each branch of the economy to modern technical, technological and organizational standards. But it also means considerably reshaping the structure of the national economy to press forward with the development of the more effective industries and enterprises.

How can the effectiveness of a given enterprise or industry be determined in the most generalized way? After much discussion practically all our economists reached the conclusion that in a country like ours the most generalized criterion of economic effectiveness should be the rate of profit, i.e., the relationship of the total profit to the cost of the production assets with which it has been achieved.

However, rate of profit cannot perform its function as the measure of effectiveness unless the amount of profit included in the price of individual products is itself a real quantity. Profit included in the price of the product cannot, for its part, be a real quantity so long as the price itself is not real. And a real price is one that gains recognition on the market. In the case of a small country like ours, in conditions of the present-day highly developed international division of labor, recognition of the labor of Bulgarian producers on the world market will be decisive. This will be so because

any attempt or effort by Bulgaria to develop modern specialized large-scale production cannot but go beyond the narrow confines of the home market and will be conditioned by recognition of its products and prices on the world market. Bulgaria's primary market is, needless to say, the socialist market. Nevertheless, our exports, and our imports, are largely affected by the situation on the capitalist world market and the markets of the developing countries. Hence a fundamental aspect of the new system of management is to carry out a radical reform in the system of prices and price formation, to develop what is in effect a new price system, taking into account lasting trends and relationships is world prices for a longer time to come.

Obviously, assessment of the effectiveness of the industries in line with these conditions will lead to vital changes in the national economic structure, chiefly in the sense of greater leeway for the progressive industries according to the national peculiarities of the country. This will make it possible to achieve high productivity and cut production costs while maintaining high technical and quality indices, high profitability in terms of foreign exchange and internal revenue and high indices of accumulation, rapid expansion of production and a rapidly rising standard of living.

Implementation of this line will involve changes in other aspects of the finance and credit mechanism. It will necessitate a gradual renunciation of the gratuitous financing of investments out of the state budget, and its replacement by credits. The very need to repay the credits out of net profits will impel the enterprises to operate at a high rate of effectiveness enabling them both to repay credits and to make a net profit. Besides, under this system, prospective investors who cannot repay credits out of funds obtained through their economic activity will be denied further credits. This will apply first of all to inefficient enterprises and branches.

Alterations in the mechanism of prices, finance and credit imply more active recourse to the stimulating role of profit in measures to improve the working of the enterprises. Under the previous system profits went almost entirely to the state budget, to be distributed among the enterprises on a centralized basis. This system had the advantage of enabling the state to concentrate considerable financial resources in its hands. On the other hand, it had the drawback of considerably discouraging the enterprises from making more profit and, consequently, from reducing costs and turning out quality production.

The new system replaces the old system under which profits of the enterprises went to the state treasury every year to be distributed on a centralized basis, according to long-term rates of distribution. Under the new system, the profit made by the enterprise is divided into three main parts. One part goes to the state budget in the shape of a tax fixed beforehand. Another, in the form of deductions like-

wise fixed in advance, goes to the production fund of the enterprise, meaning primarily the extension and technical development fund. The remainder is spent directly on incentives for the personnel. The bulk of the latter is spent on raising wages and salaries, while the lesser part goes partly to welfare and cultural measures and in part to the wage fund of the enterprise.

Thus, profit distributed according to rates fixed beforehand and for a long term is a source of centralized accumulation for expanding production, introducing new capacities and technical improvements out of the funds of the enterprise itself, and a source of incentive. In its two last-mentioned functions, profit under the new system is used as a powerful stimulus for the enterprise and its personnel to do still better and to overtake as quickly as possible those home and foreign enterprises ahead of them technically, technologically and organizationally.

These changes, for their part, necessitate more active use than before of the tax system to regulate the accumulation of the enterprises and the growth of wages and salaries, and to encourage the most effective use of production assets.

Changes in the system of price formation, financing and the distribution of profit can be effective only if accompanied by changes in the remuneration system that will provide the personnel with direct incentives to achieve the ultimate financial results of the operation of the enterprise. This means that wage increases must be conditional on the enterprises making greater profit or, in general, increasing its income. Accordingly, the wage fund under the new system becomes a derivative quantity. It is now that part of the income earmarked for consumption and retained by the enterprise after deductions for the state budget and for its own production fund. Since the amount of deductions is determined by rates fixed beforehand, the better the results achieved by the enterprise, the greater the amount of income diverted to the wage fund.

With wages becoming a derivative quantity it will be possible considerably to increase the autonomy of the enterprise as regards planning labor and wages. The enterprise now has the right to regulate the number of its workers, plan the wage fund, establish work quotas depending on production conditions, and so on.

Turning the wage fund into a quantity conditioned by the income of the enterprise, and extending the autonomy of the enterprise in planning the wage fund do not signify any renunciation by the socialist state of its role in regulating wage ratios between industries or between categories of workers. What is modified are the ways and means of regulating them. The state continues to keep an eye on changes in inter-industry wage ratios, and regulates these changes through taxation, prices, tariffs and bonuses; it establishes, moreover, certain

basic rules obligatory in income-sharing matters in the enterprise.

EXTENDING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND IMPROVING MANAGEMENT

The changes in the principles of financing and the distribution of profit and pay entail a revision of the role of the workers in managing the enterprise. It would be impossible to make the amount of pay conditional on the income of the enterprise and yet be reconciled to the present inadequate participation by the workers in the management of the enterprise. Since every worker has an interest in, and at the same time is responsible for, the economic performance of the enterprise, on which the amount of his wages depends, he should be in a position to exert a real influence on the entire course of economic activity in the sense of improving it. Workers should take an active part in managing their enterprise.

Production committees are one of the basic forms of worker participation in managing the enterprise under the new system. The production committee is a body elected by the workers, and at least 50 per cent of its members must be workers directly engaged in production. Through the production committees the workers take part in deciding such vital questions bearing on the functioning of their enterprises as the prospects for developing and improving production, improving quality, increasing profitability, distributing incomes properly, improving conditions of the personnel, etc. The production committee also assesses the results of the functioning of the enterprise and its various shops and sections. Its decisions, within the limits of its powers, are binding on the manager of the enterprise, who organizes their execution and renders account to the committee.

The new economic management calls for a new approach in the matter of appointing and promoting executives in the enterprises. The chiefly administrative method of appointing and promoting executives no longer meets the demands on the management by the workers. Hence, with the new system of management, public competition becomes the principal method of promoting executives. Competitors will be judged from the standpoint of educational standard, length of service, work record, and social work. The results of the competition will be considered by the production committee of the enterprise and the appointment of the prospective executive will then be endorsed by the higher government bodies.

The general trend of the new system toward greater economic effect presupposes efficient management of the various branches. Branch management under the new system takes the form of state-economic associations of the enterprises in the particular branch (industry).

The economic association provides management, coordinates and aids the economic functioning of the enterprises it groups, orientates

the latter towards specialization and cooperation, towards raising the technological standard of production to the highest standards achieved at home and abroad, organizing production and labor on a rational basis, allocating raw materials judiciously, following a common trade policy on the foreign market, and so on. The association operates on the principle of cost accounting and is maintained with the deductions from the incomes of the enterprises under its jurisdiction. This means that the salaries of the branch managers depend on how high or how low are the incomes of the enterprises grouped in the association.

Control of the enterprises by the association does not deprive them of their autonomy. They themselves sign contracts with their contractors and draw up their production and financial plans on the basis of the contracts they have signed, and are responsible for their fulfilment. Changes in the income of one enterprise do not affect the incomes of the other enterprises in the same association.

The top body of the economic association, the decision-making body so far as the more important aspects of the policy of the association are concerned, is the economic council, composed of the managers and the chairmen of the production councils of the enterprises grouped in the association. The council must meet at least twice a year and its decisions are binding on both the general manager, who is the executive head of the association, and the managers of the particular enterprises.

The new system substantially changes the functions of the ministries. Relieved of daily planning, control and tutelage over the economic functioning of the enterprises, the ministries are enabled to concentrate the efforts of their more competent personnel on working out state concepts of the main lines of development for the relevant industries, on devising ways and means (primarily economic means) of speedily modernizing the industries concerned in every way.

* * *

The new system of economic management in Bulgaria, which dates from 1964, has already passed from the experimental stage to that of widespread application. Last year the enterprises operating under it accounted for 65 per cent of the country's industrial output. It now encompasses all the branches under the minis-

tries of light industry, the food-processing industry and engineering, all agricultural co-operatives and all state farms, retail trade in five regions of the country, and all road transport. This year will see trade and building as a whole gradually adopting the new system, and by 1968 it will encompass the other branches of the national economy.

What has the new system to show to date?

The forecasts of some bourgeois economists to the effect that the new system would result in abolishing planning in the socialist economy, in working chaos and ultimately in restoring capitalism in Bulgaria have not come true. This is evident from three years' experience, to say nothing of the theoretical untenability of the forecasts.

The past three years have shown that the enterprises working according to the new system have achieved better results than those still operating under the old system. They have had a greater increase in output compared with the increase gained in the years before the new system was adopted. Thus, 1966 saw the enterprises operating under the new system increase gross output 12.1 per cent, and net output 17.4 per cent against 1965. The percentages for the enterprises operating under the old system were 11.4 and 10.8 respectively. The enterprises run according to the new system have been making better use of production assets. Their staffs are searching for ways of bettering economic effect. As a result, these enterprises have supplied the state with more revenue in the shape of taxes than in the past, and more than the state had expected. In 1966 deductions for the budget from the incomes of these enterprises exceeded plan estimates by 11.2 per cent. Furthermore, the workers had bigger wage increases than their fellows in the enterprises still operating under the old system.

The beneficial results of the test enabled the Central Committee (in April 1966) and the Ninth Congress of the Party to pass a decision providing for the adoption of the new system throughout the national economy in the next few years.

There can be no doubt that steady extension of the new system, solution of the problems arising from it, and improvement of the economic levers and mechanisms now in use will yield still better results and will greatly promote the socialist economy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The economic policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in industry

BOHUMIL SIMON

AT THE BEGINNING of the sixties our Republic entered the phase of building a comprehensive socialist society. In the first phase of building socialism a considerable expansion of the productive forces took place. The national income was growing faster than in the developed capitalist countries, registering a 180 per cent increase between 1948 and 1965, while the value of the basic production assets grew 160 per cent and industrial output increased 4.8-fold. Along with these positive results, however, the extensive growth of industry yielded certain negative consequences, and these could not be overcome without raising overall economic efficiency.

When we say that our industrial growth had been on the whole extensive, we have in mind primarily the large-scale channeling of available manpower into production to the detriment of technological progress, unprofitable utilization of our limited raw-material resources, the acquisition, via the international socialist division of labor, of raw materials and foodstuffs in exchange for industrial plant. With time the sources of extensive development became exhausted, with the result that in 1962-63, the growth rate began to slow down and with it the national income. Things were further complicated by crop failures and natural calamities in 1963 and 1964.

Continuing the policy charted by the 12th Party Congress in 1962 and the Central Committee meetings which occupied themselves with economic matters, the 13th Congress in 1966 indicated the guidelines of economic policy for the period up to the next, 14th Party Congress. Many conclusions of the Congress, however, will retain their validity for a longer period. The task now is to develop and concretize the substance and aims of the economic policy formulated by the 13th Congress in a way that will ensure, along with implementing current

tasks, the elaboration of a long-term program of economic policy for the whole period of the comprehensive building of socialism—a program designed to achieve the following aims:

—solving the problems of the socialist society at the present stage of development; these are fairly concrete tasks the realization of which calls for large-scale ideological and political work;

—elaborating the basic concepts of the trends of the socialist society and of the role which the economy will play in this.

Last October the Central Committee discussed the draft of the fourth five-year plan and decided on the indicators for a program of reconstruction and consolidation. It also approved measures for the accelerated introduction, as from January 1, 1967, of the new system of economic management.

In December it discussed questions connected with Czechoslovakia's participation in the international division of labor, which is quite important to our economy, and specified the role of the central bodies in the new system of economic management. In May it set out the guidelines for ensuring stable proportions in the economy and raising the standard of living:

1) optimal growth of resources, with emphasis on the internal factors, less capital-intensive development, and fuller utilization of the international division of labor;

2) a non-inflationary policy based on strict economy in the budgetary sphere, capital investment and credits to industry, to curb excessive demand for investment in both the productive and the non-productive spheres and increase the economic pressure of the market with the aim of securing greater efficiency;

3) readjustment of the price system with a view to eliminating value disproportions, which

is a component of the state policy in the area of wages and income regulation;

4) better incentives, which presupposes quicker growth of wages and greater wage differentiation in accordance with the showing of the enterprise. The rise in the standard of living, the 13th Congress pointed out, would depend on the overall economic growth.

This year the Central Committee will also outline the tasks arising from the demands of the scientific and technological revolution. And lastly in 1968 it will discuss the role of the enterprise under socialism and will apply itself directly to working out the long-range perspective of economic development over 1970-80.

All these matters, associated with the elaboration of the economic policy outlined by the 13th Congress, are components of the broader designs of the Party in which economic policy is to play the central role.

THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND THE MAIN ECONOMIC TASKS

The optimal economic structure conforming to the needs of society can take shape only on the basis of a national plan, more specifically a long-term plan pivoted on the scientific and technological revolution. This will be partially realized during the fourth five-year plan (1966-70) which, in addition to being a blueprint for the growth of the national economy, foresees ample scope for initiative by the economic units.

The plan envisages increments of about 25 per cent in the social product and 22 to 24 per cent in the national income. Thus the annual average is to be about 4.4 per cent. Employment in the productive sphere is to grow by approximately one per cent, which presupposes that practically the entire increase in the national income will accrue from higher output per man. Expenditure of raw materials and other items in industry is envisaged as declining by from three to four per cent. The share of the accumulation fund in the national income will be about 13 per cent. Capital repairs expenditure will show a rise of almost 50 per cent. Overall capital investment will be 22 per cent greater, reaching nearly 240,000 million koruny. Consumption fund growth will be in the region of 19 per cent, with growth in personal consumption envisaged at 20 per cent.

Total growth of industrial output is expected to be 30 to 32 per cent (in Slovakia, approximately 59 per cent), and output of raw materials will grow by 35 per cent.

An annual growth rate of 4.5 per cent is foreseen for agriculture. For foreign trade—mostly with the socialist countries—growth will be in the vicinity of 31 per cent.

Expenditure on research and technology (not counting capital investment) will approach 36,000 million koruny—3.5 per cent of the national income.

The present stage of our development, as reflected in the plan, can be described as the

penultimate stage of our industrial revolution. As we see it the completion of the basic structural changes (specifically, the greater emphasis on chemistry, automation and computers and the readjustment of the fuel and power balance) signifies the rounding off of our industrial revolution and simultaneously the beginning of the scientific and technological revolution.

The chemical industry is scheduled to raise the output of mineral fertilizers—from the present 120 kg per hectare of crop area to 180 kg by 1970. Fodder production is envisaged at approximately 5 million tons. Output of plastics and synthetic fibres will likewise grow.

The share of gas and liquid fuel in the fuel pattern will reach 20 per cent as against 13 per cent in 1965. The improved fuel and power pattern, along with the replacement of steam locomotives by diesel and electric traction, modernization of power plant, recovery of fuel waste and off-heat, the launching of 200,000-kilowatt power units—these and other measures will make it possible by 1970 to economize to the extent of 10 million tons of conventional fuel. An important role in rationalizing the power consumption pattern will be played by Soviet oil deliveries, which will amount to 10 million tons in 1970. The plan also provides for the completion of the first stage of an experimental atomic power station with a capacity of 100,000 kw.

Automation will claim a bigger share of industrial investment. Two hundred computers will be installed, bringing up their number per 1,000,000 population from the present three to 15 by 1970. Changes will be made in the structure of the machine-building industry with a view to increasing the output of electronic and automatic equipment.

These structural changes coupled with improved technologies, better quality output and higher technical standards, are designed to facilitate the gradual implementation of the scientific and technological revolution.

Importance is attached to concentration on research. About 12 per cent of the allocations for science will be spent on research in the sphere of "chemicalization," 8 per cent on nuclear-power research, 10 per cent on electronics, 7 per cent on dietetic research and some 30 per cent on engineering technology.

We regard international division of labor both in production and in research as the main way of developing science and technology. We have about 130,000 people working in this area. Cooperation with the other socialist countries, in particular with the Soviet Union with its powerful research facilities, will help ensure the success of research and, consequently, accelerate economic progress.

The scientific and technological revolution will bring with it basic changes in the structure of our society and in industrial skills. However important the anticipated changes in the various areas of public life may be, the changes in the qualifications of the individual

throughout his life will be much more important. The principle of acquiring a trade or profession for life is likely to be replaced by the principle of constant acquisition of knowledge in keeping with the level of scientific and technological progress.

Linked to the new conditions is the objective process of growing harmony between the classes in socialist society. This is a contradictory process, one which is taking place within all social groups and between them. More than other classes, the working class is interested in carrying forward the socialist gains to the building of a classless society. The working class is the leading force of our society and the basis of its unity. Its collective spirit and its active participation in social life contribute decisively to stabilizing the socialist character of our society and to its organic development.

But the working class, too, undergoes constant development. We hold that highly skilled workers, workers of a new type combining mental and manual labor are the progressive core of the working class. Closely aligned with this core is the technical intelligentsia. Right now whole groups of technical specialists can be regarded as part of the working class, since they are acquiring the latter's progressive outlook on social life.

Since the scientific and technological revolution introduces the scientific element into all areas of life, the need arises to strengthen the scientific basis of social and political activity. A modern socialist society using the latest achievements of civilization and creating its own socialist way of life is unthinkable without modern scientific methods of guidance.

These methods are important not only for the development of the productive forces, but above all for effecting progressive changes in the actual socialist way of living. The thing is that science and technology in addition to answering the known requirements of society, stimulate by dint of qualitatively new discoveries, the emergence of new needs. Thus this contradiction is reproduced on a new level and imparts a concrete meaning to economic development.

CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT

The discussion that preceded the 13th Congress produced a new concept of economic development in line with the plans for going over to intensive dynamic growth and enabling our economy to join in the current processes of the scientific and technological revolution. The party advances the task of putting the guidance of social and economic processes and production proper on a scientific footing, which includes both a sound determination of the essence of economic targets and their order of priority and organizing an adequate managerial system.

The national plan determines the main trends of economic development and provides

the material facilities for their realization. It lays down the basic macro-economic proportions, outlines the main economic tasks and fixes the time needed for their implementation, establishes the rate of growth of the national income and divides it into accumulation and consumption funds. It also indicates the areas for a concentrated application of the results of research. In addition, it determines the trend of non-productive investment and the bulk of productive investment, and ensures fulfilment of long-term foreign-trade agreements and the specialization and cooperation commitments within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

The new system of management based on the close interaction of plan and market, is being tried out at a time when the productive forces have been greatly expanded and when they are being integrated internationally. The system utilizes the advantages of socialism and takes into account the objective operation of the law of value and commodity-money relations. The plan, being the chief instrument of management, is at the same time a vital factor for the development of the market. The possibility of using the market in a planned way is provided by a system of short-term and long-term economic instruments which help make an objective appraisal of the results of economic activity and rule out inefficient operation.

The role of planning has grown because, as distinct from the past, when indicators in kind were given pride of place, the plan now incorporates indicators expressed in terms of value. The market mechanism in conditions of a highly developed concentrated production and of socialist ownership of the means of production generates new economic interconnections, new stimuli and relatively more objective criteria of effectiveness. However, just like the national plan, the market mechanism is a product of "subjective" planning. For this reason importance is attached in these two spheres both to scientific knowledge and to the ability to express the relevant conclusions in concepts of planned development and in a system of economic instruments determining the function of the market mechanism.

These problems are handled by the central bodies responsible for the economic-political aims set by the 13th Congress.

THE NEW STATUS OF THE SOCIALIST ENTERPRISES

A central task of the new system of management is to stimulate the interest of the enterprise in profitable operation, in meeting consumer demand, in balancing sources and requirements. This calls for creating conditions for the enterprise which would help harmonize its own interests with the interests of society as a whole.

Gross-income deductions and other tax obligations concern the enterprise directly. The

fact that gross income will depend on proceeds from sales on the market and, in turn, influence the scale of the wages and the degree of the workers' share in income, and that the enterprise will have to cover investment and circulating funds from its own returns or with the aid of credits, will substantially affect the status of the enterprise and our concepts of management.

As for the fixed assets, the state will be compensated through depreciation payments. In the case of newly-acquired (after January 1, 1967) fixed assets, the depreciation sums will remain at the disposal of the enterprise.

The new system of management derives from the principle that there takes place in the enterprise not only the production of use-values, but also the process of realization with the end result of income formation. The enterprises provide the bulk of the financial means of society in the form of state budgetary revenue and local-government revenue.

The scale of the deductions for these budgets depends on whether the enterprise operates on the basis of gross income or profit. Where the former is the case, the deductions amount to 18 per cent in industry and building, 30 per cent in the state-run home trade, 16 per cent in enterprises administered by the local authorities, and 16 per cent in independent design bureaus. The scale is the same for all enterprises of the particular branch. The top bodies—branch directorates*—may for a limited period redistribute the funds in favor of economically weaker enterprises in the event of the latter having a well-substantiated program for raising efficiency.

Where the enterprise operates on the basis of profit, deductions are made from the remuneration and bonus fund (15 per cent) and the profit (32 per cent).

Deductions for the state budget are made also from the value of the fixed assets—6 per cent in industry, building and in the home trade network, and 3 per cent in the services, counting the assets acquired at the expense of the enterprise.

There are also obligations to the branch directorates, to which the enterprise makes payments the overall size of which is fixed in advance to cover the directorate's expenditure. Additional deductions are made for the intra-branch redistribution fund.

These obligations honored, payments are made to the reserve, building, accumulation, cultural, welfare and other funds.

The relationships between the enterprise and

*Organizations handling technical production develop in accordance with the following principles:

a) a clear division of functions between central management and cost-accounting management; the latter takes over a number of functions formerly discharged by the central bodies and uses economic instruments specifically in running the enterprises;

b) cost-accounting management is effected on the basis of a branch enterprise uniting the entire production of one or several branches on the territory of the state, with resultant concentrations and monopoly of production by large associations, concerns and trusts.

the state are changed. The directive method of management and target fixing has been abolished. Only those general economic rules which are binding for all are determined at the Center. The center (the government and its agencies) creates the definite climate in which the enterprise operates independently. Consequently, the success of the new economic system will depend, in fact, on what rules and levers the state creates and employs. The state must provide conditions wholly conducive to harmonizing the interests of the particular enterprise and of the economy as a whole. The enterprises can function successfully only when they know the long-term plans prepared by the center for the economy on a national scale and for international cooperation.

To operate normally, the enterprises must be informed by the center about the prospects for the development of the economy and of its branches, about the economic rules and levers obligatory both for the center and for the enterprise and about the system of information to keep them posted.

The center, of course, should elaborate its concept of these matters in good time, and these should be of a long-term nature. On the other hand, the enterprises are obliged to help the center in drawing up long-term plans with their knowledge of the market, economics and technology.

PRICE POLICY

The new system considerably enhances the effectiveness of price-making as an economic lever. Until now the prices had not been adjusted to the rapidly changing economic conditions of production and marketing, i.e., the dynamics of socially-necessary expenditures of labor and the changes in supply and demand. As a result, the range of goods often did not satisfy the consumer and society as a whole.

Wholesale, retail and procurement prices were not always inter-related, with the result that the consumer had no great influence on production. For instance, changes in retail prices did not directly affect production, because the turnover tax evened up the differences between retail and wholesale prices. In addition, price formation was divorced from the movement of world prices. For these reasons income of the enterprise did not always depend on its performance.

In the new system, prices will compel the producers to adapt production to consumer demand. On the other hand, they will influence this demand, bringing it into line with the conditions of production. Gradually the discrepancy between prices and socially necessary labor expenditure will be eliminated and deviations in the movement of wholesale, retail and world prices curbed.

At a meeting last May the Central Committee stressed the strictly centralized character of price regulation. The general level of wholesale prices must remain a stable. Stability is

ensured by the national plan, whose objectives are attained with the help of a complex of measures in the areas of finance, credit and wage regulation and through creating conditions for the optimal functioning of the market.

Centralized price regulation to make maximum use of the market relations consists primarily in establishing a general level of prices. Centralized fixing of the prices for particular items will gradually be reduced to the minimum.

State control over prices consists chiefly in determining the scale of application of three groups of prices:

—fixed prices, fixed by the central bodies;

—limited prices, whose limits (in the particular branch or for a group of items) are also fixed centrally. Prices for particular articles can be established within these limits by agreement between the supplier plant and buyers;

—free prices, which the central bodies influence only indirectly; here the concrete prices are fixed by agreement between supplier and consumer.

The inclusion of a particular item in one of these categories will depend on the concrete economic conditions, specifically on the degree to which demand is met. The feeling is that limited prices should prevail for the immediate future. Their ceiling will be established, as a rule, by branch directorates and the central bodies in the shape of agreements on economically sound prices.

The concept and the plans for price formation are determined by the anticipated or planned development of the economy. On the other hand, price level will be a criterion of the effectiveness of the various plan versions. To avoid unilateral appraisal from the viewpoint of the internal economic interrelations alone, world prices will be increasingly used as the main criterion.

WAGES

Under the old system of management, with its centralized planning of the average wage level, numbers of employed and the wage fund depending on the planned output and labor productivity, the enterprises sought to obtain as much funds as possible and to conceal their actual possibilities and reserves. They strove to carry out the main plan assignments, on which the wage level depended, even to the detriment of efficiency and the quality and social usefulness of their produce. Poor performance and even operating at a loss entailed no punishment. This resulted in the widespread belief that the source of wages lay somewhere outside the enterprise and had nothing to do with its efficiency.

Under the new system, remuneration is directly related to everyone's actual contribution to building up the income of the enterprise, i.e., to the reproduced and realized value. A direct relationship is established between the means the enterprise can allocate in wages

and the degree to which its output satisfies the requirements of the public. The dependence of the remuneration fund and the wage level on the economic results will stimulate interest in turning out socially necessary goods with minimum expenditure of living and materialized labor.

The new system extends the rights of the enterprises and heightens their responsibility, giving them a free hand in deciding questions of remuneration and incentives. In cases of profitability the enterprise can pay the workers a certain share of its income, depending on the individual contribution. And conversely, remuneration is affected by poor overall results.

Measures are being taken to prevent any temporary fluctuation in performance from affecting the wage level. In such cases earnings can be reduced only within established limits. Temporary imbalances between the sources of wages and the necessary wage level are evened up at the expense of the reserve fund which the enterprise will build up with its own sources or through loans. In more serious cases a social guarantee of wages is provided. After the reserve fund is depleted the bank provides credit for the guaranteed volume of wages equalling 92 per cent of the average wage level. Individual workers are guaranteed their basic rate, extra pay and compensation in accordance with the existing rules. Those on piece-work are guaranteed the average wage.

Wage regulation is strongly influenced by the so-called stabilization deductions, which act as a long-term economic instrument. These take the form of 30 per cent deductions from 10 per cent of the initial wage fund and from increments to it, and one per cent of the wage fund for each per cent of the increase in the average annual number of employees. The purpose of the stabilization deductions is to make the enterprises search for the optimal combination of production factors. This economic pressure, which generates a thrifty attitude to manpower, is necessitated by the existing trends for an economically inexpedient increase in employment, particularly in industry. The stabilization deductions make it more profitable to quicken the growth of wages as a result of higher productivity rather than increase the wage fund by employing more people.

The economic levers are so used as to impel the enterprises to work with a long-term interest, i.e., to allocate means first of all for the development and reserve funds. A big role in wage regulation is played by collective bargaining by the management and the trade unions.

Wages are becoming more and more differentiated, while the trends for wage levelling between branches, enterprises, groups of workers and individual employees are weakening. Wage differentiation resulting from the dependence of the remuneration fund on the performance of the enterprise will, increasingly, reflect the actual level of efficiency.

Greater wage differentiation, the removal of wage levelling and of impediments to initiative

are among the major aims of the new system. In the coming years material stimulation will be enhanced primarily in the sphere of mobile elements of the wages, such as bonuses and sharing in the income of the enterprise.

A major purpose of the economically substantiated wage differentiation is to raise the wage level in the non-productive sphere, particularly in the educational and public health systems, where growth of wages has been extremely slow. At present the bigger disproportions are being removed with the help of public sources.

The enhanced role of material remuneration, the greater wage differentiation and the gradual abolition of wage-levelling greatly depend on the overall effectiveness of the economy. The policy of encouraging intensive development, rational utilization of manpower and greater output per man facilitates a more rapid growth of the average wage level (until now the annual rate was approximately two per cent). A growth of 3 to 3.5 per cent would be desirable in the coming years.

* * *

In carrying out the economic policy of the Party we cannot onesidedly abstract only some elements of the system of dynamic development. We must proceed from the need for the dynamic development of production as a whole, i.e., concern ourselves with the volume of production and its use value, labor productivity and profitability of production, for all are connected with amending the price and remuneration systems.

The dynamics of wages and prices alone, not linked to growth of production and of labor productivity, cannot lead to greater efficiency of the national economy. It even can slow down growth by virtue of inflationary trends. It is

precisely in the area of prices that the enterprises now play a major role. Managers of enterprises and the Party and trade union organizations must exert every effort to prevent excessive or speculative price increases.

Political work of the Party organizations to deepen the socialist consciousness of the working people is essential for the implementation of the Party's economic policy. The incentives can bring about the anticipated results only when they are directly linked to moral, political stimuli. Hence the search for new methods of Party political work. Trade union activity is likewise being adapted to the new conditions.

Our Party regards economic policy as an instrument for accomplishing its programmatic aims in the economic field. Its economic policy has two dialectically interrelated aspects: the gnosiological conceptual aspect, involving scientific research and the choice of alternatives, and the practical aspect, connected with the political, organizational and ideological activity of the Party and the state.

The economic policy of the Party encourages and ensures the expansion of the productive forces and brings the production relations into conformity with the present level of the productive forces. The economic policy of the Party aims at enabling every citizen to make his contribution to economic growth.

The main tasks of the current period are to ensure a dynamic and harmonious growth, effective development and rational utilization of the production factors and natural resources, proportionate satisfaction of the present and future requirements of society, and correct relationships between the various spheres of social activity. It is particularly important to achieve the static and dynamic equilibrium of the national economy and to consolidate the stability of the system of economy.

Alliance of anti-imperialist forces in Latin America

LUIS CORVALAN

1.

THE FIGHT AGAINST imperialist domination and against the oppression of local oligarchies, tense and arduous, diverse in form but single in content and ultimate aim, is gaining momentum in Latin America.

Latin Americans are on the road to national and social liberation, democracy and socialism. Their fight for freedom is conditioned by the need for social progress; their ship is sailing before the wind of history.

True, they have to contend with imperialism's aim of maintaining its grip on the continent and with the aim of the oligarchies to perpetuate their privileges. So the inevitable conflict between the two forces is in full swing. The time of grand battles has come, battles which will be won despite all the vicissitudes.

North American imperialism is resorting to undisguised intervention. Its system of military pacts and missions, anti-guerrilla training centers and units of "green berets," "black berets" and Rangers is a form of armed aggression. President Johnson has stated he will stop at nothing to prevent any other country from following Cuba's example. The imperialists are prepared to sow death and destruction in town and village, flouting international law as they did at Playa Giron and Santa Domingo, and as they are doing every day in Vietnam.

The independence of every Latin American country is in jeopardy. The road to salvation, to a happy future, is that of battle.

The Latin American peoples must unite in defense of their sovereignty and right to self-determination. As pointed out by the Thirteenth Congress of our Party, "the supreme task, the task of tasks, is to frustrate the aggressive designs of the imperialists. The

fight for revolutionary reconstruction and people's rule blends with the fight against U.S. intervention, for sovereignty, self-determination and peace."

The historical mission of the proletariat is to abolish capitalism and build socialism, while the specific tasks may change in accordance with changes in the international situation. In the 'thirties,' when Hitler Germany was the center of world reaction, the task was to rally all forces against fascism in defense of freedom. Now that U.S. imperialism is the main reactionary force, the task is to enlist all forces against the imperialist policy of war and aggression, for the liberation of colonial, neo-colonial and dependent countries, for peace and peaceful coexistence, fusing these efforts with the fight for the social reconstruction imperative in every country.

One or another specific aspect of the world wide struggle against imperialism comes to the fore, depending on what the adversary is doing in the particular area at the particular moment. Yet every area of battle is part of the single historical movement.

The October Revolution in Russia, the 50th anniversary of which we celebrate this year, marked the beginning of the end of capitalist domination. It ushered in the socialist era, the time of the liberation of the working class and of peoples oppressed by imperialism.

Today, socialism is being built in Cuba on American soil. Social conflicts have engulfed our continent, which is an important theatre in the world wide battle against imperialism, for democracy, peace and socialism. Imperialist plunder, coupled with the tyranny of the feudal oligarchies, is visiting poverty and suffering on millions of Latin American workers, peasants and Indians, and prejudicing the interests of students, white-collar workers,

intellectuals, tradesmen and industrialists, who are joining the social struggle in growing numbers. And they will gain in political awareness and extend their anti-imperialist action as they fight in common for common aims against the aggressive interventionist policy of the Yankee imperialists. The fight against U.S. imperialism and the local oligarchies, their common enemy, is bringing the Latin-American peoples closer together. So are the imperatives of solidarity with the other peoples of the world, particularly of Vietnam and Cuba, and with the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movements on our own continent, especially those forced to resort to armed struggle (in Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia and Bolivia) or to function underground.

The Latin American wars of independence in the past century were continental wars. When Bolivar, Sucre, San Martin and O'Higgins fought for the independence of their countries they were striving also for the freedom of the other American peoples. No national states and no geographical frontiers existed on our continent in those days. The borders of the various colonial possessions were rather indistinct, and the independence armies fighting for the liberation of their people counted in their ranks officers and soldiers from other colonies.

It was not until independence was won and capitalism began to develop that the national states came into existence. But, as before, the peoples of Latin America had a common destiny, common problems and common enemies. Still, they could not and did not escape the effects of the law of the uneven development of capitalism and capitalist society. Against the present general setting of backwardness, there are appreciable disparities between the countries in levels of economic, political and social development. This gives the revolutions a national complexion and conditions their variety in form and discrepancy in time.

For this reason, the present situation differs from that of the past century. However, Washington is pursuing its policy of aggression and intervention throughout the continent, which, as the Cuban Communist Party stressed in its statement of May 18, "internationalizes aggressive wars, in which soldiers of different nationalities are engaged, as in the Korean War and now in South Vietnam where North American, South Korean, Thai, Filipino, New Zealand and Australian troops have been committed, and as in Santa Domingo, where soldiers were shipped from Brazil, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua and Paraguay; furthermore, imperialism is trying through the OAS to build up an international armed force for

use against Cuba and the liberation movements on the continent."

This necessitates joint action by the Latin-American peoples and imparts an all-continental complexion of outstanding international importance to their struggle.

Working hand in hand with the local oligarchies, imperialism spurns the principle of non-interference and the sovereignty and frontiers of the Latin American countries. It espouses the so-called doctrine of ideological frontiers, which revolutionaries have to counter with the utmost solidarity. Among other things, this presupposes direct participation in the liberation struggles of fraternal peoples wherever this is warranted by necessity, provided it is done under their leadership.

In some cases, as in the anti-fascist war in Spain, revolutionaries of different nationalities may participate in large numbers, with marked political and historical effect. However, the most important contribution revolutionaries can make to liberation and working-class victory on a world scale is struggle in their own country and their moral and material support to revolutionary battles in other countries.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels, the founders of Marxism and of proletarian internationalism, stressed that "though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie."

In this national struggle it is the revolutionaries in each country who determine the various aspects and concrete tasks of the revolution. They know the home situation better than anybody else and are in a far better position to define the aims and the methods of attaining them. They may err, but are less likely to do so than others. In any case, revolutionaries in their respective countries are best equipped to assume full responsibility for working out the right course of action after a preliminary review of their own experience, their successes and setbacks. Needless to say, this does not rule out exchanges of opinion and, in some cases, fraternal counsel.

The Cuban revolution is proof of the fact that reality plays havoc with preconceived assumptions, serving as a reminder of the folly of generalizing the singular features of this or that experience. This is not to say, however, that the specific features of one revolution, say that of the Cuban, will not recur elsewhere (at least in a somewhat different form). We believe, therefore, that in some Latin-American countries revolution may be sparked off by a guerrilla movement, as was the case in Cuba.

For this to happen the courage and determination of a group of revolutionaries, though an important, sometimes even decisive factor, is not enough. Much more essential are favorable general conditions. To be sure, we hold that they need be neither absolutely favorable nor completely mature, but they must be in the process of maturing with a clear prospect of becoming fully ripe.

Certainly, it is not easy to define the place and the exact time for guerrilla or some other form of armed action. Lenin warned against reckless ventures which, as a rule, cause a senseless waste of lives and end in retreat. On the other hand, Leninism has always been creatively bold, infused with the desire to advance the revolutionary cause. It would be wrong therefore both to reject out of hand or blindly accept any specific form of struggle. The main thing is to embark squarely on the path of struggle, size up the situation to the best of one's ability and decide on the most propitious course of action. The revolutionary must be ready to take the offensive at any moment, to retreat when necessary, and to perceive situations favorable for revolution.

2.

Many trends—men, women and youth of varying political views and social backgrounds—have joined the liberation struggle. The important thing is to extend the anti-imperialist front and engage against the common enemy all sections of the public, including those who may not be admirers of the Cuban revolution and revolution in general, but who have taken a stand in behalf of Cuba's right to build socialism and the right of all Latin American peoples to opt for the system of their choice.

Any attempt to impose the communist view on the other anti-imperialist forces, and similarly any attempt by the latter to impose their views on others, can but hamper unity of action and narrow the struggle against the common enemy.

This is why the accent should be on the specific tasks that all agree need to be carried out—that is, on what unites, rather than divides, the revolutionary movement. We believe that the Organization for Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) and the respective national committees should concentrate on extending and coordinating international solidarity and joint action. What is needed most is for all revolutionaries, all anti-imperialists and all popular movements on our continent to thrash out a common revolutionary standpoint. This, however, is inconceivable before a certain process of development runs its

course. We may accelerate the course, but cannot as yet consider it completed. If, therefore, we were to try and impose a standard approach, entirely unnecessary difficulties would arise. The best way to facilitate unity in defense of the Cuban revolution and the fight against imperialism and its agents is to promote joint action and to accentuate what unites us, while rectifying whatever dis-unites us.

It is no secret that Latin American revolutionaries have differing viewpoints on some problems. This tendency made its appearance after considerable numbers of new fighters from the less politically developed sections of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie joined the Latin-American revolutionary movement, and after differences of an international order obstructing the struggle broke out among the revolutionaries.

The allusion here is to problems bred by the development of modern society, the emergence of new extremely complex social phenomena, the disparities between objective conditions from country to country and to the growth of the revolutionary forces.

Lenin pointed out that any growth of the working-class movement and appearance of new fighters and new sections of working people "is inevitably accompanied by vacillation in theory and tactics." And he called attention to the fact that "the yardstick of an imaginary ideal" will get us nowhere and that vacillation should be regarded as "a practical movement of ordinary people."

In other words, what we are dealing with are growing pains that cannot conceivably be removed overnight. But it is also a cogent fact that imperialism benefits from differences arising between the revolutionary forces, and especially from differences in the Communist parties. It is our duty, therefore, to prevent differences from obstructing united action against the common enemy. Differences arising between Communist parties should not impede mutual understanding any more than differences between Communists and other revolutionaries should impede their common fight against imperialism.

Experience has shown that open polemics results in senseless name-calling and in arbitrary judgments. It serves no useful purpose and only aggravates the difficulties. Sometimes, it is true, a party has no choice but to express its opinion publicly. We have nothing against this. But we are sure that direct contacts, bilateral and multilateral meetings, a tactful fraternal dialogue and, most important of all, steadfast unity of action, are the best way to further mutual understanding.

3.

The driving force of the revolution in Latin America comprises the working class, peasants (the majority of whom in many countries are Indians), students, middle strata and some sections of the national bourgeoisie. There are contradictions between them, but common interests in the fight against U.S. imperialism and the oligarchies predominate. This offers a serviceable basis for unity and calls for closer bonds. Our policy of united action by all anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic forces builds on the belief that an alliance of workers and peasants, of the proletariat and the non-proletarian elements is the best possible basis for an enduring and militant united front. To make headway, mutual understanding between proletarian and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries is absolutely essential.

The proletariat, the most powerful social class on our continent, is still growing. As many as 40 million people (of whom one out of every three is a factory or farm laborer), or more than half the gainfully employed population between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn, earn a livelihood by selling their labor power. In five countries, that is, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, with nearly two-thirds of the total population of Latin America, the proletariat is relatively strong, and not in numbers only.

Communist parties exist in all Latin American countries. Like the fraternal parties elsewhere in the world, irrespective of their degree of development, they expound ideas that strike terror into imperialism, of which they are the most relentless enemies.

They are the bearers of the finest revolutionary traditions of their peoples and have acquitted themselves splendidly in the important work of disseminating Marxism and socialist ideas, and moulding the scientific socialist outlook of the foremost workers and intellectuals. Cultivation of proletarian internationalism among the working class is one of their accomplishments. In brief, it is they who are forging the class consciousness of the Latin-American proletariat and the anti-imperialist awareness of the peoples.

In all the countries of Latin America the Communists have been subjected to persecution at one time or another. But they have never flinched in face of the terror campaigns. Thousands have seen the inside of prisons and concentration camps, thousands have been manhandled and tortured, and many leaders have paid with their lives for their convictions. Staunch and experienced fighters emerge from this ordeal.

Some Communist parties, entrenched among

the masses, constitute an influential and at times even the decisive, political force. Others are still small and lack some of the requisites of a vanguard. However, international experience has shown that small parties can become large revolutionary contingents, at times virtually overnight. Just before the Second World War, for example, the Italian Communist Party numbered only 15,000 members in a country with a population approaching 50 million. Yet after Mussolini's downfall towards the end of the Second World War the Party grew into a powerful force of millions of members. Early in 1958, at the time the Pérez Jiménez dictatorship was overthrown in Venezuela, the Communist Party had a mere 300 members; soon, however, its membership numbered tens of thousands, making it in a matter of months the biggest political body in Caracas.

Communists organize the workers in trade unions, fight for the economic and social demands of the people and safeguard working-class unity by inspiring a new, anti-imperialist patriotism.

The most advanced section of the working class and the best of the Latin-American intelligentsia have joined the Communist parties. These parties have their sources in the proletariat of their respective countries, in the October Revolution, in the victory of Leninism, of revolutionism over reformism.

This consolidation of the Latin-American Communist parties is a great gain of the revolutionary working class. Their path has not been strewn with roses. They have had to withstand the assault of their class adversaries and also to combat anarchism, Trotskyism and other petty-bourgeois trends in their own ranks.

The founding of Communist parties brought about the fusion of Marxism with the working-class movement. This was an historical imperative so that the working class, to use Marx's words, should not be only a class in itself but a class for itself, and that its fight for emancipation should be a conscious fight.

Pernicious tendencies and sectarian views, isolationism, passivity, adventurism, conformism and time-serving occur now and then in the Communist parties regardless of whether they are functioning legally or underground. None of these can be combated effectively, unless a continuous fight is waged for the Party line through criticism and self-criticism and hard daily work among the masses.

These pernicious tendencies, which we Chilean Communists know all too well from our own experience, are a hindrance to party development. But small parties grow into big ones by virtue of their vanguard position in

the social struggle, for as the proletarian masses gather experience they range themselves alongside the Communists. This we want to make absolutely clear. However, we should not lose sight of another objective factor, namely, that not only the politically conscious workers but also a considerable section of the petty-bourgeoisie are adopting a revolutionary attitude and fighting for the liberation of our continent with the aim of building socialism. This became doubly evident after the socialist revolution in Cuba.

Some of the petty-bourgeoisie join the Communist parties or became friends and followers, exerting an influence of their own for a certain length of time. However, a more considerable part forms its own parties or joins the Left wing of other movements.

This trend often engenders sectarianism. In Chile, for example, Communists campaigned for a time for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for Soviet power. This approach did not help our Party to grow. (Upon abandoning this sectarian line, we defined the Chilean revolution as a bourgeois-democratic revolution but realized in 1945 that even this non-sectarian definition had been rendered unsound by reason of the worldwide changes—advance of the working class, the content of the new epoch and the decline in the revolutionary ardor of the bourgeoisie.)

In any case, the rise of revolutionary tendencies among the petty-bourgeoisie can be traced to the struggle waged by the proletariat, to the years of work put in by the Communist Parties, to the entire modern development of history, influenced chiefly by the steady growth of the socialist system.

Objectively speaking, the revolutionary mood of the petty-bourgeoisie is a welcome fact. It is a manifestation of progress and should not be regarded as merely a posture or as an act of desperation, an act which the petty bourgeoisie admittedly often commit. Under no circumstances should we under-rate the revolutionary potential of the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie. While the Latin-American bourgeoisie is no longer capable of heading revolutionary processes (though some sections of it may participate in them), the petty bourgeoisie is still a revolutionary force and one that may even play a leading role in countries where the working class is weak numerically and lacks the needed political weight.

The Cuban revolution has demonstrated that the petty bourgeoisie has a potential of revolutionary courage in battling for national liberation and socialism.

There is, then, a distinct bond between the

revolutionary trends of the proletariat, on the one hand, and those of the petty bourgeoisie, on the other. There is much that unites them, but also much that divides them. Petty-bourgeois revolutionaries tend at times to under-rate the workers and the Communist parties, to gravitate towards nationalism, recklessness, terror and, at times, even anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Also, they are more susceptible to despair and subjectivism. But they are revolutionary all the same and the proletariat must put the accent on unity with them rather than on fighting their mistakes. The two trends are competing for leadership of the movement; to a certain extent, their rivalry is ideological. But if anything is done to accentuate this rivalry and precipitate a "fight for the destruction" of either trend, the sole beneficiary will be imperialism. That imperialism and its agents are concentrating precisely on intensifying the rivalry should be enough to bear this out. The national bourgeoisie, too, which seeks to maintain its class positions, is also eager to see the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie part ways. So today, mutual understanding, cooperation and united action by the proletariat and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie is a matter of the first magnitude.

The Latin-American Communist parties are aware of the need for understanding with the other Left forces, above all those espousing socialism. However, this does not apply to anti-Party groups and splinter parties, who represent no one and who live off factional activity and dissent.

The militant cooperation of the working class and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie need not stop short of founding united revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties wherever they have parties of their own today. In Chile this cooperation has crystallized into socialist-communist unity within the People's Action Front. The Socialist Party, like the Communist, has deep roots in the working class, though those of the Communist Party are deeper. Both wield considerable influence also among the petty bourgeoisie, with the Socialists holding an edge. The petty-bourgeoisie do not comprise a special group in the Communist Party, whose leadership derives chiefly from the working class.

The mutual understanding of Chile's Communists and Socialists comes up against snags from time to time, but the alliance is sufficiently strong to make a split highly improbable. It draws its strength from the will of the people. As Comrade Galo Gonzalez pointed out at the Tenth Party Congress in 1956, whenever Socialists and Communists worked

together *"the working class has gained and whenever we parted ways or quarrelled the enemy benefited."* We are strong when we stand together, and weaker when we do not. The people of Chile will not win political power unless Socialists and Communists are allies. Neither Communists nor Socialists can claim sole leadership. We need each other.

Some sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the working class while gravitating towards revolution have not yet taken a definite stand. Most of them support the Radical or Christian Democratic parties.

However, since the municipal elections last April the more advanced groups in the Radical Party, who gained considerable ground, have been working for an understanding with the Socialists and Communists. Their leader, Alberto Baltra, maintains that *"the objective interests of the proletariat and the middle sections are similar,"* that *"the world is moving inevitably towards socialism"* and that *"a socialized alternative is perfectly conceivable, paving the way to effective planning, replacement of the capitalist system, abolition of the monopolies, decline of imperialist influence and to accumulation and mobilization of the considerable resources required to expand national capital and, hence, the rate of Chile's development."* Baltra described people's unity as *"a process of joint action by Radicals and other Left forces."*

Some deputies and many members of the Christian Democratic Party, too, are calling for "concentrated fire on the oligarchy" and for joint action with the People's Action Front. Most have expressed themselves in favor of socialism.

To be sure, their idea of socialism differs substantially from that of the Socialists and Communists. But the important thing is their desire to reach an understanding with the People's Action Front.

The most important factor in Chile today is the desire for change. Thanks to Communist and Socialist efforts, the people are beginning to realize that the old economic structure must be radically altered. The national bourgeoisie represented by the Christian Democratic Party is acutely conscious of the advances made by the revolutionary working class and of the possibility of a major shift in public sentiment, which could bring the working class to power. Consequently, large sections of the national bourgeoisie have declared themselves in favor of change, offering reformist solutions within the Alliance-for-Progress framework. To stem the tide, the oligarchy, too aligned itself with the Christian Democrats in the 1964 presidential elec-

tion, thus enabling the latter to win.

The 30 months of the Christian Democratic government have been enough to disenchant the people who had believed in bourgeois reformism. Most of them turned to the Popular Action Front and now seek revolutionary change.

Needless to say, this reaction was not spontaneous. It was brought about by the work of the Communists who have consistently urged joint action by all partisans of change, regardless of whether or not they are against the government.

The shift in favor of the Communists and Socialists was reflected in the results of the April municipal elections. The Communist Party polled 354,000 and the Socialist Party 322,000 votes. Some 120,000 electors who previously voted Christian Democrat sided with the Communists and Socialists, who polled 30 per cent of the vote. Meanwhile, the Christian Democratic Party, which formerly collected 42 per cent, slipped to 36 per cent. The Socialists and Communists are on the upgrade, while the Christian Democrats have entered a phase of decline.

The future of the Radical Party, which represents some 16 per cent of the electorate and consists chiefly of middle class people, will depend on its eventual understanding with the People's Action Front.

In the circumstances, the People's Action Front is becoming a center of contact for all the democratic forces in the country.

The election was a serious setback for the Christian-Democratic Party and for President Frei's administration. It was a setback for the reformist alternative and the Christian Democratic variety of the pilot experiment offered by the U.S. imperialists to some of the Latin American countries. The election also showed that the Communist effort gradually to win over the masses from the Christian Democrats, delivering them from bourgeois influence and rallying petty-bourgeois support for the People's Action Front, is bearing fruit. This Communist policy holds out good prospects for the people's movement in its advance and in combating the enemy on other fronts in the event of Chile being affected by the present epidemic of "gorillism."

Doubtless the situation in the country is a singular one. But elsewhere in Latin America, too, mutual understanding between proletarian and revolutionary petty-bourgeois groups is being forged in various forms, drawing the middle sections into the fight for change with the ultimate aim of sparking off anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutions.

It is up to the revolutionaries to find the way to mutual understanding between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. And clearly, in each country the choice rests with the local revolutionary forces, which makes it doubly necessary to disseminate Marxist-Leninist ideas and implant proletarian ideology.

* * *

The argument most frequently used by the enemy is that the Communists' united action policy is simply a tactical maneuver to strengthen their hand, to absorb real and possible allies, use them to the fullest and then abandon them and to go on to achieve a Communist one-party empire.

It would be a sheer waste of breath to go into this at length, for it is malicious slander pure and simple. That the Communists will gain in strength is certain, despite all the difficulties. The other progressive forces will also grow in proportion to their contribution to the common struggle, because the march of time favors the exponents of progress, not the reactionaries. In Chile, the cooperation of Socialists and Communists has benefited both parties. They improved their positions in the recent elections, with the Socialists making a somewhat bigger advance this time.

We Communists have always maintained that the working class has two types of allies—permanent and temporary. This is an objective fact. History never stands still. Upon attaining one goal, society begins planning the next. New tasks and contradictions appear, conditioning changes in the political approach, with new alignments, some drifting into the reactionary camp and the majority straining forward. It is not the Communists, therefore, who by malice aforethought part ways with groups that had been their allies.

Imperialist policies of menacing world peace, flouting the right of nations, assailing democratic freedoms and human rights, and prejudicing the interests of all socio-economic groups save those of the monopoly bourgeoisie, evoke the indignation of all social strata, including a large part of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the spectacular achievements of the socialist world and its accomplishments, which are in harmony with man's aspirations for freedom, learning, culture and welfare, coupled with its aid to non-socialist countries aspiring to independent development, is making socialism attractive not only to the proletariat, but also to other classes and social strata.

The development of the Cuban revolution into a socialist one and the socialist orienta-

tion of some revolutionary processes in Africa and the Middle East could never have occurred other than in the new historical conditions brought about by the October Revolution and then the Soviet victory over Hitler Germany, after which socialism became a world system strong enough to safeguard the new revolutionary states, frustrate imperialist blockades and assist the newly-free countries in their independent development.

In this situation, the problem of our temporary alliances with non-proletarian and non-Communist forces calls for a new approach. Our allies now have much greater opportunities for marching ahead, not of course without vacillation and difficulties. Whatever happens, it is farthest from our minds to use them at some specific stage, only to discard them at another. On the contrary, we could wish for nothing better than to cooperate with them indefinitely.

What we Communists want is a progressive alignment of all champions of democracy and socialism, recognizing the right of every ally to participate in all stages of the revolutionary process and in all governments that the people's struggle may bring into being.

It should be added here that many Communist parties do not consider the one-party system obligatory for socialist society. The matter hinges on specific national conditions and on the existence in many countries of democratic and popular political forces and of objective social realities that condition a multiplicity of progressive trends and parties. The Communist Party of France, for example, does not believe that "the one-party system is essential for the transition to socialism," and the Italian Communists share its opinion.

The Communists in Chile, too, favor a multi-party system. We hold that the Communist and Socialist parties should not only jointly lead the people in the fight against imperialism and the oligarchy but also jointly build the socialist society of the future, and we expect many other groups to participate as well.

The Communist Party of Chile, a working-class party, exercises leadership in cooperation with the Socialist Party, which, as we have noted before, holds strong positions in the country. Many problems faced by our movement are settled by agreement between the Socialists and Communists on the initiative of one of them. We call this joint leadership, which in Chile represents the concrete form in which the Communist Party plays its vanguard role.

It may be that ultimately the Communists

and Socialists will form a united party. But so far the question has not arisen, and is not likely to arise in the foreseeable future, and perhaps may never arise.

As for the other Latin-American countries, it appears that the need for united action by Communist parties and other revolutionary forces fits in with the need for cooperation at the level of joint *leadership* by those revolutionary forces which, in a definite sense, share the function of vanguard.

A vanguard cannot conceivably be built by arbitrary or synthetic means around a leader or a few men, who individually, at least in their own opinion, adopt radical standpoints and prepare for revolutionary action. The exceptions to this rule only bear this out.

A vanguard is the result of the fusions of Marxism with the working-class movement, the moulding of revolutionary thought (above all among proletarians) and the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of a country, that is, the result of pur-

poseful activity and of a natural, rather than spontaneous, process.

On the other hand, as Lenin said, it is not enough to call oneself the vanguard or the forward contingent; all other contingents must be convinced that we really are in the van.

The Latin-American Communist parties were founded at different times. They function in different conditions and in different social and political situations. Some are going forward from dissemination of scientific socialist ideas to consolidating their bonds with the masses, to organizing mass struggle, to the phase of intensive social and political work which paves the way to the conquest of power, to the rapid development of the Latin-American parties into the guiding force of the revolutionary movement.

However, the Communists do not consider this the only possible perspective. In the name of the proletariat and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, they are prepared to raise to the highest possible level cooperation and unity with the other revolutionary forces.

Interview with Madagascar patriots

Representatives of our journal visited the Malagasy Republic recently as guests of the National Bureau of the Independence Congress Party.

Below we print the text of an interview with Pastor Richard Andriamanjato, Chairman of the Independence Congress Party, and Gisèle Rabesahala, General Secretary.

National Unity and International Solidarity Guarantees Success, says Richard Andriamanjato

Q. How would you define the general political situation in the Malagasy Republic today? How do you see the tasks of your Party for the foreseeable future?

A. We founded our Party nine years ago to uphold the interests of the disinherited, who make up the bulk of the Malagasy nation. Our principle has always been that the people should all have equal rights and obligations, without any discrimination whatever.

Our Party congress in 1962 declared for taking the road indicated by scientific socialism. But it is impossible to follow this road unless each is conscious of his responsibility as a citi-

zen of a free and independent country. The relationship between the authorities, the officials, and the people is important. Officials should discard the servility they retain from colonial days. They should realize that they are servants of the people.

The fortunes of Madagascar, now an independent country, depend in large measure on those in power and who, consequently, provide leadership. As it happens, some members of the administration have not risen to the occasion, and the people, naturally, resent this.

Many Malagasies are persecuted and humiliated by Government officials merely because they belong to the Opposition. Cases of abuse of power are not wanting, giving the impression that the law can be violated with impunity and inviting the conclusion that this type of official does not really know the meaning of democracy. As a result of energetic action on our part the situation has improved somewhat, and, the Party is certain that genuine independence and broad democracy can be guaranteed provided all socialist and progressive forces fully participate in the management of national affairs.

Our criterion in appraising a political party is: does it stand for capitalism or socialism,

and how steadfastly it adheres to its announced course. There are two main parties in Madagascar: the ruling Social-Democratic Party and ours. Formally the distinctions between the programs of the two parties are slight. Our Party opted for scientific socialism. Later, the ruling party also advanced a socialist program. It must be said, however, that the top bodies of the ruling party often disregard party decisions.

It would be wrong to judge the influence of the two parties from the standpoint of membership or the seats held in elected bodies, for the ruling party commands the entire administrative machinery, which enables it to recruit more members and win seats. It remains to be seen whether the Social Democrats can overcome in their midst trends running counter to socialism. As for our Party, it will continue to champion its principles.

An analysis of the alignment of forces in the trade union movement in our country shows that the most progressive trade union center, the Federation of the Working Peoples' Trade Unions of Madagascar, affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, has taken over the rich traditions of our working people, that it plays quite an important role in the life of the country and contains in its ranks members of our Party and of other parties.

With regard to religion, our Party has always advocated a secular state and has opposed Church interference in government affairs. It has also taken a stand against government financing of private schools. We know that the Church has always sided with the capitalist system. However, the latest encyclicals — John XXIII's *Pacem in terris* and Paul VI's *Populorum progressio*—indicate certain positive shifts in the attitude of the Catholic Church and these should not be ignored.

A study of the present social and political forces and trends would enable us to decide which of the organizations and parties we should cooperate with in order to attain our socialist aims. This brings us to the resolution adopted by the National Committee of our Party in April 1964. "The National Committee holds," it reads, "that the time has come for the Independence Congress Party to take the initiative in calling for a national alliance based on a common minimum program: defense of democratic liberties, secularism, scientific socialism, and positive neutrality." In this alliance, each party would retain its autonomy.

Our Party has steadfastly advocated democracy because we want all the national forces to take part in the economic advancement of the country. We have always maintained that there can be no socialism without planning. This is why our deputies in the National Assembly in 1964 voted for the draft law on planning, which said that Madagascar would take the socialist road.

Subsequently, however, the executive bodies disregarded the socialist principles laid down by the law. Direct taxes have gone up 75 per

cent since 1965 and a substantial proportion of these funds is spent not on national development, but on inflating the administrative machinery.

On the other hand, we welcome the development of various cooperatives and state-owned farms because they adhere to socialist principles. We want these production forms really to serve the people, and will therefore make a careful study of every aspect of the problem. Agrarian reform should likewise receive attention. A law empowering the state to confiscate uncultivated lots of five or more hectares remained a dead letter; later it was superseded by another law calling for confiscation of plots of less than one hectare. Our deputies did not vote for this law, which the peasants, understandably, opposed.

Industrialization is making rather slow progress because the credits appropriated for the purpose are not being used as they should. Besides, the present rulers rely solely on foreign private capital, which has an interest in making profit but not in developing the country. Foreign specialists working in Madagascar are men who have been educated in a capitalist spirit, and if socialism is to be the goal of our national development, then it would be wise to call in specialists from the socialist countries.

To sum up, it would be fair to say that the watchword of our Party, "Let freedom come!", is still a long way from having lost its validity. We see the most effective way of achieving complete freedom and happiness for the people in national unity, in the rallying of all patriots and all supporters of socialism.

Q. How would you assess the significance of the world-wide revolutionary solidarity with the liberation process, with the social progress of the peoples and the promotion of peace?

A. We are clearly passing through a period of important world-wide evolution. This evolution has its source in a number of factors, such as the existence of international solidarity stemming from the common destiny of the world and the need to solve urgent problems, the growing pressure exerted by the democratic forces, and the need for a universal reconstruction engendered by this pressure.

Many Afro-Asian countries were as we know for long objects of capitalist and colonial oppression. Now, of course, most of the one-time colonies have won independence. Nevertheless, the foreign monopolies are trying to hang on to the privileges acquired in colonial days. The result is that the pattern of world production and trade as a whole largely continues to serve capitalist interests.

To accomplish a genuine revolution, that is, really to change patterns and the entire orientation of the ex-colonies now anxious to develop national economies, it is necessary to break this vicious circle in the world economy, which the imperialists created in the period of colonization and which they would now like to preserve in the form of neo-colonialism.

To break this circle, it is necessary to develop a really broad movement of the people in the newly-free countries. It is necessary also to achieve Left unity so as to carry the revolution deeper, undermining the traditional pillars of capitalism and imperialism and assuring further progress for the benefit of the people.

It is clear that progressive ideas cannot win by certain ideas being introduced from without, unless these principles take deep root in the country concerned. If we want to defeat capitalism we must fight it where it is active and where its might and rule manifest themselves. This can be done only if the revolutionary forces are at one.

In the capitalist world itself there are forces concerned about world development, people who realize the danger emanating from imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism.

Still, it is undeniable that the progressive and democratic forces working to change the system in those countries where capitalism has dug in can succeed only if assisted and supported.

Cooperation with the socialist countries is of special importance to these forces, for it is in these countries that the people have carried out a great revolution, changed the character of relations between the different sections of the population and guaranteed the priority of the good of society, of all the people.

The socialist countries, the consolidation of their regimes, and their work for peace are all vital factors supporting the progressive forces in the capitalist world and in those countries where capitalist influence persists, imparting to the forces fighting against capitalism confidence in their victory.

The U.S. imperialist aggression against the valiant people of Vietnam and the campaign to end the war in Vietnam are vital matters. Obviously, the progressive forces throughout the world, including those in the capitalist countries must unite and do all in their power to stop the imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

We are in the area of the Indian Ocean and I cannot but mention the intrigues of the U.S. imperialists, who are trying to turn islands in the Indian Ocean into strategic bases. There is the danger that when the Americans are forced to pull out of Vietnam — and this is bound to happen for all their persistence in escalating the war—they will attempt to establish themselves in some of the islands in the Indian Ocean. Recent developments, in particular the Anglo-American agreement on the use of islands in the Indian Ocean, fully justify these fears.

We know of American plans regarding Madagascar, a strategic area in Africa and the Indian Ocean. The Americans will certainly try to penetrate into our country by hook or by crook, to recruit allies and establish themselves in order to safeguard their military interests. And while this has not materialized yet, we feel that the Americans are determined to impose their presence on us either through

the satellite tracking station they have set up near Tananarive, or by using their British and West German allies.

The reason why we call on the progressive forces to do all they can to stop the war in Vietnam is that that war shows the U.S. rulers' resolve to continue flouting the right of nations to self-determination. That war endangers not only Vietnam and the surrounding area but the people of the world, for the U.S. imperialists, by continuing the war, are plainly trying to extend their domination to the whole world, making clear that they are set on using force to this end.

Developments show that the forces interested in peace and progress must do their utmost to stop the American aggression in Vietnam.

Q. Your Party says that its aim is to apply the ideas of scientific socialism in the conditions of Madagascar. This year progressive people throughout the world are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia, which opened the era of socialism. How do you here in Madagascar assess the significance of this revolution and the subsequent rise of the socialist world, in what way has it influenced the spread of socialist ideas in your country?

A. Our Party at its recent congress adopted a resolution congratulating the people of the Soviet Union on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

That revolution really is of immense importance because it succeeded for the first time in abolishing the foundation of capitalism and the exploitation of man by man.

The October Revolution signified the triumph of the workers' and peasants' resolve to take the destiny of the country into their own hands, signified the triumph of science over backwardness and ignorance, which are the lot of many countries where development had been retarded by the capitalists.

Thus, the October Revolution has a deep significance not only for Russia, the Soviet Union, but for all those countries that have freed themselves from foreign domination, for those countries that still have much to do to overcome ignorance and illiteracy, to scale the heights of science and knowledge and become the genuine makers of history rather than its objects.

For all mankind, and particularly for those peoples that have suffered from oppression and exploitation by foreign imperialists, the October Revolution was, undeniably, a factor for progress and peace and, furthermore, a beacon lit in the night of colonial rule to show the peoples the way out of ignorance and to inspire them with faith in a better future.

When Madagascar was still a colony we were convinced that considerable changes could be effected in our country through struggle. At a time when there were no political parties in our country we used the right to form trade unions and defended the interests and rights of the working people. Communists actively

organized and inspired the years-long struggle against capitalist oppression and colonial exploitation. The patriots of Madagascar owe it to Communists that they read books about the October Revolution and learned that it was the source of the international solidarity of the oppressed classes and peoples.

The progress made in the socialist countries

is seen in Madagascar as a triumph of science over ignorance, as a victory of solidarity over division. I think the development of friendly relations between our country and the socialist countries would help in large measure to bring about positive changes in Madagascar and to strengthen the forces of progress and socialism.

In the van for democracy

GISEL RABESAHALA

THE INDEPENDENCE Congress Party of Madagascar founded in 1958 as a result of the merger of the island's five patriotic parties, owes its name to the congress convened to form a united front for independence. The inaugural manifesto defined its main goals as independence by peaceful means and the establishment of a united democratic secular republic.

The Party's 365 branches have a total membership of more than 20,000. The smallest branch has eleven members, the largest, 870. The Party congress, held every four years, is the supreme body, and national conferences are convened between congresses. An eleven-man National Bureau, headed by the Party Chairman, acts as the central executive body.

This, in brief outline is the structure of the party of Malagasy patriots working for the abolition of exploitation of man by man and for Madagascar's independent economic and social development based on scientific socialism.

We do not hesitate to declare that our Party is a genuinely people's party, because the bulk of our nation, those who till the soil, who work in industry, who teach in schools and colleges, and other social groups are represented in it. Those whom we do not have in our ranks are shareholders in capitalist companies, people living off the labor of others.

The Party has never professed to be the sole spokesman of the Malagasy people. Yet a sizable part of the working people follow it and support its program. Here are a few figures to substantiate our point. Though they refer to branch leaders only, they can safely be taken to reflect the social composition of the ICP as a whole:

tillers and livestock breeders	2,614
industrial workers and craftsmen	170
white-collar workers	51
traders	51
government employees	38
others (clergy, etc.)	30

These figures show that the ICP is a people's party, that the people have the ultimate say in its policy, its program and course of action. They show, too, that the vast majority of its members are peasants. So it may be in place here to see what property they own, for a peasant's holding usually conditions his social outlook. Three out of every four cultivate from 1 to 1.5 hectares of rice paddy (the poorest peasants), one of every eight 2 to 5, the same number 10 or more, and only one has 21 hectares.

Our program, based on a thorough study of the workingman's situation and aspirations, expresses the people's wishes.

The ICP wields considerable influence also among the urban intelligentsia. But there we have to deal with highly specific problems, because most of our intellectuals are Western-educated and their standard of living is infinitely better than that of the majority. Some, corrupted by their posts in the bureaucracy align themselves with neo-colonialism and the people at the top. At the other extreme we have to contend with a petty-bourgeois quasi-revolutionism, which would lead away from the masses and prejudice their interests and aspirations. But we also have intellectuals who dedicate all their knowledge and energy to the people and who contribute greatly to our success.

CENTRALIZATION AND VIGILANCE

The branch is the basic party organization and prime importance is attached to its work. We believe that democracy in the Party begins in the branch, at its meetings. A well-informed member, we find, copes far more competently with his assignments.

The ICP is on a legal footing. All a branch requires is a registered headquarters where to hold its meetings. The Tananarive branch, being a rather big one, has been subdivided for the convenience of everyday work.

Elsewhere, notably in Andapa where our Party was subjected to persecution during the last election, we have not been able to form sub-committees, although this district too is a big one and many members live miles away from the branch headquarters. Membership meetings are, therefore, infrequent—every two months or at best monthly.

We are deeply conscious of the deficiencies of this structure but, unfortunately, the Party—and the country too, for that matter—is suffering from a shortage of well educated and trained people able to provide local leadership. This is the main reason for the party's organizational rigidity and centralization.

We can say with legitimate pride that our rank-and-file members are true patriots devoted to the people and ready to make sacrifices for the nation's welfare. Yet there are difficulties chiefly traceable to lack of knowledge and experience. Starting this year, we are planning seminars for branch officials on party structure, discipline, conduct of financial affairs and other matters relevant to the life of our organizations, such as the various types of co-operatives and promotion of welfare through collective labor.

MOULDING THE NEW OUTLOOK

In its ideological work the Party concentrates on teaching its members the dialectical approach. For example, the Tananarive, Diego-Suarez, Antsirabe, Majunga and other branches have been making a study of the cooperation between the socialist countries, which entailed a thorough scientific analysis. A study of the social composition of our membership and of the membership of the ruling Social Democratic Party revealed to us the similarity in the social make-up of our two parties, offering a realistic class basis for united action. Our educational work is anything but doctrinaire and makes for scientific comprehension of the problems facing the party and its members.

Cultivating responsibility and collectivism is another important aspect of our educational work. We impress on the new members that upon joining the ICP they become part of a single body. We impress on members that it is not right for the local organizations to be remiss in collecting and remitting dues to the party treasury. Our members are told that if at least one of our 365 branches fails in its duty the effects are felt by the entire party.

To mould solidarity and at once secure finances for our primary organizations, the party has called on its membership to work rice paddies, raise poultry or do other collective work, the income from which could go into the branch funds.

Cultivating a proper attitude to women and young people is another of our educational goals. Half the population is under 21. Our youth, it should be said, are the victims of the same state of affairs that plagues their elders. Of the 24,000 population of Antsirabe,

for example, 10,160 are young people, two-thirds of whom are neither studying nor doing any work.

An alarming fact is that most of our branch officials are well on in years, and the average age of delegates to our last congress was as high as 40.

Regrettably, many of our members tend to underestimate the role women could play in the party and in the life of the country. True, our women are inclined to shy away from political work. But we are not doing nearly enough to change this outlook. We have too few women members in our Party and, consequently, very few acting in an official capacity in the branches. Our task, then, is to attract more women into the Party.

ALWAYS WITH THE MASSES

Ever since its third Congress in 1962 our Party resolutions have been calling on the members to extend their contacts with the population: "Party members are called upon to extend and strengthen contacts with the population wherever possible, both through traditional forms of collective labor and by utilizing the opportunities presented by our work in the mass organizations (sports and cultural societies, schools, women's organizations, cooperatives, etc.)."

The party cooperates closely with the federation of Madagascar trade unions affiliated to the WFTU, with the Madagascar Solidarity Committee, the National Press Syndicate and other organizations. Their members may not all belong to the party, but their programs and aims are much the same as ours.

Many members of the trade union federation belong to the ruling Social Democratic Party. We hold, however, that the federation should cooperate also with our Party. Signs of such cooperation have already appeared. For example, in the past two May days meetings were held under our joint auspices.

The Solidarity Committee, which survived the persecution in the wake of the bloody events of 1947, is one of the oldest progressive organizations in Madagascar. Internationally, it is affiliated to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, and it carries on considerable social work among the youth and women. Some of its active members give free instruction to 150 poor children in Tananarive. The school is recognized by the administration, though examination rights are withheld. The pupils take their exams at other schools, notably the Protestant school headed by Pastor Richard Adriamanjato, the Chairman of our Party.

Many of our young members belong to the youth organization which is affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The Party has a considerable following among believers. Some of our branch chairmen, for example, are clergymen. In Madagascar the village pastors share the all too frugal living standard of industrial workers and the

poorest peasants. They are among the few educated people in the villages whom the peasants ask to write their letters and to whom they come for advice. Party work among the clergy and in religious organizations is winning large numbers of believers to its side.

The fact that the Party is not intolerant in its approach has done much to enhance its prestige. It is opposed to all forms of injustice, to breaches of freedom, to neocolonialism and imperialism. At the same time, it is a constructive party always willing to back any undertaking of benefit to the people. Our members help in roadbuilding, in building schools and hospitals and in afforestation. Members of the 49 branches questioned on this score indicated that they had participated in building hundreds of kilometres of road and planting tens of thousands of trees in their respective districts. The resolution of the Fourth Congress, held recently in Tananarive, called on "all members to participate without reserve in the various socialist forms of production (cooperatives, state-owned farms, etc.)."

The party's dedicated work among the people has yielded fruit. Proof of this were the encouraging election results in the larger towns

where it is harder to tamper with the voting than in the countryside. In Diego-Suarez, for example, the Party polled 48.2 per cent in the 1964 election, in Tananarive 52 per cent, and more than 60 per cent in August of the following year, 25.7 per cent in Tamatave, 43.5 per cent in Fianarantsoa and 52.3 per cent in Antsirabe.

The patient and firm policy of the Party stressing that neo-colonialism, to which the country owes its present predicament, is the nation's chief enemy, has won it many new followers.

The line charted by the recent congress, orienting the membership to fight for principles rather than against individuals, is entirely valid today. We regard no one as a personal enemy, we criticize what we think is wrong and do so with a deep sense of responsibility. This is the spirit in which we address our compatriots. The Party concerns itself with bettering living conditions, analyzing them in a creative spirit rather than by preconceived formulas. We are certain that the factors favoring Malagasy unity are much weightier than the existing minor differences. This is a source of confidence in the ultimate triumph of unity, democracy and progress.

VIEWPOINTS ON CURRENT PROBLEMS

Some problems of the working-class and trade union movement in Latin America

RAMIRO OTERO

THE PRESENT ARTICLE is based on a recent discussion of the subject in which the representatives of the Communist parties of Latin America on the Editorial Board of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, and also some trade

union leaders participated. The purpose of the discussion was to stimulate a more profound and comprehensive study of the Latin-American continent by sociologists, economists and researchers generally.

The participants noted the complexity of making a general analysis of the problems of this vast and varied area consisting of some 21 countries, each with distinctive features of its own. However, the history of the continent, past and present shows that in their socio-economic and political evolution these countries share certain features, which makes it possible to examine the problems of the working-class and trade union movement on a continental scale.

It also makes it possible to compare the degree of development of the struggle in the different countries, the level of organization of the working class, its role in the national liberation movement. This comparison shows, in particular, that from the viewpoint of the level of development of the working-class movement and its specific features, Latin America falls into several, more or less distinct regions, the more important of which in our view are:

a) the so-called "southern cone," which includes the Argentine, Chile and Uruguay. For level of development and maturity the working class and trade union movement in these three countries approach the European movement at the beginning of the century;

b) countries like Mexico, and partly pre-revolutionary Cuba, where the trade union movement is closely patterned along the lines of its North American counterpart;

c) most of the Caribbean countries, Brazil and the Andes.*

GROWTH AND STRUCTURE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN PROLETARIAT

Although in the South and in Mexico the working class made its appearance towards the end of the last century, it emerged in the historical arena in most of the other countries of the continent at a later date, mainly after the 1929-1932 world economic crisis; its most rapid growth began after the Second World War.

An idea of the dynamics of its development may be gathered from the following table giving the approximate figures on the number, ratio and structure of the working class of Latin America (Cuba excluded) for the first half of the current year compared with the corresponding figures for 1950:

*Some of us expressed the view that the working-class movement in Bolivia, on the one hand, and in countries like Haiti, on the other, had very specific features. Others thought that there was insufficient reason to single out the working-class movement of the "Mexican" type, since the difference was quantitative rather than qualitative compared to the working-class movement in the other countries of the continent (excluding the South).

	1950 in millions	1967 ¹ in millions	Growth %
Total population	157	250	59
including:			
urban	59	126	113
rural	98	124	27
Gainfully employed population	51	80	57
including:			
urban	24	45	87
rural	27	35	30
Proletariat including:			
industrial proletariat ²	4	7	75
urban proletariat as a whole ³	8	15	87
rural proletariat and semi-proletariat	10	15	50

Thus, the industrial proletariat, the core of the working class, constitutes less than a fourth of the continent's total proletariat and less than a sixth of its gainfully employed urban population. The above table also shows that this ratio has decreased in recent years.

This peculiarity of the structure of the working class is one of the biggest socio-political problems of Latin America. Urbanization on the continent as a result of the growth of foreign trade, expansion of the state administration and the concentration in the capitals of the landed oligarchy and foreign monopolies. This concentration of incomes in the cities attracted all sections of the population interested in non-productive activity. Another important factor responsible for the growth of the urban population was the crisis in agriculture's feudal structure, which became particularly evident after the First World War. A steady stream of yesterday's peasants and agricultural laborers poured into the towns in search of a livelihood.

While the general population growth is 7.5 million annually, that of the urban population is nearly 6 million. Of the two and a half million young people who annually flock to the labor market nearly all seek employment in the towns, but by no means all find it.

In Colombia, for example, according to official figures, only some 12,000 of the 150,000-200,000 people find jobs in industry. Actually, however, the figure is much less—2,000-3,000; in 1963 it was down to zero.

¹Data based on the estimates of the Venezuelan economist F. Mieres.

²Workers employed in the manufacturing and mining industries.

³Industrial proletariat, building, transport and municipal workers.

In Venezuela this problem is closely bound up with the economic dependence on the imperialist metropolis. Although the vast mass of the population has been drawn into the system of money relations it remains, nevertheless, outside the sphere of industry. The result is a hypertrophied development of semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie who envelop the working class, so to speak, and undoubtedly influence the development of its class consciousness.

Be that as it may, the 15 million urban workers constituting nearly a fifth of the overall gainfully employed population and a third of the gainfully employed urban population represent a sizeable force in Latin American society. The above figure does not cover civil servants and those employed in trade and the municipal services. There is every reason to assume that these groups, whom Marxist sociologists frequently include in the proletariat, add up to at least another 15 million people, thus bringing the total number of urban wage earners to approximately 30 million.

The rural proletariat includes workers who are not hired laborers in the classic sense, but for whom wage labor is the basic form of activity. It would therefore be more correct to speak of 15 million rural proletarians and semi-proletarians.*

The rural and urban proletariat together constitute nearly 40 per cent of the total gainfully employed population on the continent. If we include the remainder of urban wage earners we will then quite obviously have the majority of the gainfully employed population.

The center of socio-political life on the continent is steadily shifting from the countryside to the towns. This year the urban population, which is growing four times more rapidly than its rural counterpart, will exceed it on a continental scale.

Thus, despite the factors deforming the Latin American economy and adversely affecting the structure of the proletariat, the tendency is toward numerical growth of the working class, toward increasing its ratio in the population.

Another important and positive aspect of the development of the working class is the existence of class parties of the proletariat, Communist parties, in all the countries of the continent. In many they have the following of the greater, very considerable, part of the proletariat.

Yet, the place and role of the working class

*The role played by money relations is a traditional peculiarity of Latin American latifundism. Hence, not all wage earners (or rather day laborers) function exclusively within the framework of the capitalist formation.

in the political life of most of the Latin American countries is lower (and not higher as was the case in Europe) than its relative position in the social and economic structure of the continent. It was this problem that became one of the starting points of the discussion under review.

WEAKNESSES OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT AND THEIR ROOTS

The very posing of the question of the present level of the working-class movement on the continent presupposes, on the one hand, making a comparison between the present state of the movement and the situation in the past, and, on the other, analyzing the correlation between the activity of the working class and that of other contingents of the anti-imperialist front.

A comparison of the working-class movement of today with that of the 'thirties and the 'forties shows that, despite its undoubted success in the South, its development has, on the whole, been relatively slow. In some countries there has been a relative weakening in recent years of its role in the revolutionary movement (this was the case, for example, in Cuba in the mid-fifties, it is the case today in Venezuela, in some countries of Central America and the Andes).

In most Latin-American countries the elements of the hegemony of the working class in the revolutionary movement and its vanguard role are much less clearly evident than was the case in Europe at the time of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions (not to speak of the Russian revolutions).

This is all the more serious considering that the revolutionary process on the continent and, particularly, the Cuban revolution have raised to a new level the problems which the revolutionary and national-liberation movement is beginning to tackle. The question of winning power is on the order of the day. The insurrectionary movement in a number of countries and the situation in Chile, for example, are expressions of this. It is not so much a question of the general historical role of the Latin-American working class movement, as of the role it can, and should, play at present. Hence the importance of the discussion regarding the place of the working class in the revolution.

As was stressed at the seminar, the posing of these questions and the recognition of the weaknesses in the working-class movement were, in themselves, only natural, and it would be wrong to qualify this as a manifestation of petty-bourgeois subjectivism. On the contrary, it is the duty of proletarian revolu-

tionaries, and, especially Marxists, critically to examine the situation in the movement of their class, to disclose the reasons for its weaknesses *with a view to overcoming them*. Only in this case will the Latin American proletariat be able to win the leading role in the revolutionary movement, which alone can secure its victory and the fundamental objectives of the working class.

The weaknesses of the movement are sometimes attributed to the *youthfulness* of the Latin-American proletariat (compared to the proletariat of other countries), or to its relatively small numbers. Although these factors undoubtedly play a role, they should not be seen as absolutes, as participants in the seminar noted.

The Latin American working-class movement of today is sometimes compared, in this connection, with its European counterpart. However, the vulnerability of this approach becomes evident when we extend the comparison to the time when the European proletariat and its movement were approximately at the same age as the working-class movement of the continent is today. The fallacy of the argument will become even more obvious if we make a comparison with the countries where the proletariat became the decisive force of the revolution and carried it out. What more striking comparison than with the valiant working class of Russia? If we take as our criterion such indicators as *the level of capitalist development, the proportion of the working class in the gainfully employed population*, we see that not only countries like the Argentine, Chile and Uruguay, but also Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Colombia are on a par with, and in some cases ahead of, the Russia of the turn of the century. If we go by the *age* of the working-class movement, we see that the organized working-class movement in Russia was only 30 years old at the time of the 1905 revolution. The working-class movement in most of the Latin-American countries has long since passed the age and in many it is older than the Russian working-class movement was in 1917 (or the Spanish in the 'thirties). Is there any need to recall the role played by the Russian proletariat in the history of their own country and also of humanity already fifty years ago!

Hence our view that the proletariat's age, the fact that in many countries of the continent it is now a question of its second or third generation, does not in itself explain the specific features of the Latin-American working-class movement, although it does, of course, have a certain bearing. What, then, are the basic processes and factors determin-

ing the specific feature of the Latin-American working class?

RATE AND PECULIARITIES OF THE GROWTH OF THE PROLETARIAT. ITS STRUCTURE

In our analysis of the working-class movement we proceeded from the fact that Latin America's development had been deformed by dependence on imperialism and the domination of the oligarchy.

One of the results of this was the specific way and the rate of *growth of the working class*, particularly in the period (1940-1955) of the rapid influx of new contingents of workers who submerged, so to speak, the old core of the proletariat and, by virtue of their numbers, occupied the dominant position.

In his interesting article published last year in this journal, Luis Figueroa showed how this growth rate (higher than in Europe and in pre-revolutionary Russia) affected the working-class movement. It was these new contingents that formed the social base of the reformist bourgeoisie in Latin America, of the Peronists and of other, similar trends.

These trends, including Peronist paternalism, a kind of government reformism, contributed to the fact that these new contingents, which had not been tempered in the crucible of class struggle, remained for a long time under the influence of bourgeois-nationalist or reformist trends regarding with distrust those who urged them to follow the difficult path of the revolutionary struggle.

Another aspect of essentially the same complex of problems is the effect on the working-class movement of the *peculiarities of the structure* of the Latin American proletariat. We have already spoken of the very big proportion in its composition of workers and office employees in the *non-productive sector* (greater than in the corresponding period for Europe). Owing to the conditions of their work, their specific social ties, the fact that they are widely dispersed, these contingents of the working class are susceptible to the direct influence of the bourgeoisie and the new so-called middle sections now rapidly springing up in Latin America as a result of imperialist penetration and its system of commerce, advertising and consumption, and also as a result of the growth of the bureaucratic (and military and police) machine which is closely associated with the development of state capitalism.

The circumstance that the proletariat emerged, took shape and evolved in the midst of the numerically superior, fluid and unstable mass of *semi-proletarians, lumpen-*

proletarians and the petty bourgeoisie (we have already spoken of the reasons for this phenomenon), has also laid its imprint on the working-class movement in many parts of the continent.

As long as these masses, whose social psychology contains elements of petty-bourgeois and proletarian (and also lumpen proletarian) consciousness, have not accumulated some experience of their own, have not become imbued with the revolutionary spirit, they can easily become the social base of reformism and populism and sometimes, as was the case in Peru, the victim of the demagogy of ultra-reactionary forces. In Chile, which has a relatively highly organized working-class movement, it was precisely the urban semi-proletarian mass that formed, together with the petty bourgeoisie, the mass base of the Christian Democracy.

In any event, a section of the working class is, undoubtedly, under the influence of trends and sentiments of this kind.

This does not mean, of course, that the urban semi-proletariat is a counter-revolutionary force. On the contrary, there is probably no other social force that is interested to the same extent—objectively and subjectively—in an immediate and radical change in its conditions. Its problems—unemployment, malnutrition, lack of housing—are becoming more and more acute in the conditions of the continent's prolonged economic stagnation. It is not accidental that in some of the countries it was the semi-proletarian sections that proved, by reason of their spirit of protest and rebellion and "inflammability," to be a vital element of the revolutionary forces (Venezuela is a case in point).

The housing shortage is particularly acute. Latin America needs 15 million apartments. The vast mass of the population living in the shanty towns which belt the cities, are deprived of municipal services (water supply, sewage, electricity, etc.). They suffer from the old privations of rural life. This, coupled with super-exploitation and unsatisfied needs, is aggravating the social contradictions to the extreme.

In view of the number and importance of these sections, it would be advisable to make a study of some of the specific social demands and their mobilizing effect (particularly in the conditions when the fight for higher wages is nullified by inflation, inevitable in countries with an unstable currency). Such demands could include, for example, the demand for housing and other amenities in the solution of which all categories of working people living in the shanty towns are equally interested. This demand, like that for

public education, are slogans which raise the struggle to a political level. Rallying the masses under these slogans could be an important step towards overcoming the influence of "economism" in the working-class movement, of winning the urban masses to the side of the revolution.

WORKING CLASS LIVING STANDARDS

Marx and Engels wrote in their time that the proletariat represented the lowest stratum of capitalist society and that it could not straighten its back without the whole of this society blowing up. They had in mind not only the *degree of exploitation* of the European proletariat, but also its *standard of living*. At the time of the industrial revolution its conditions were worse than those of any other class, the peasantry included. In these conditions the concept of the *class character* of interests, the need for a *general revolutionary* struggle to improve living conditions spread fairly quickly among the proletarian masses. The situation is somewhat different today in Latin America where the working class, particularly industrial workers, have relatively better conditions than the oppressed masses of the countryside and the urban "sub-proletariat." The industrial workers—yesterday's peasants or the children of peasants—are well aware of this. Many of their number who have found steady jobs consider they have already radically improved their social position, that they have carried out their "individual revolution," so to speak. This attitude engenders a rather pronounced craft outlook in the working-class movement of the continent.

Of course, a more or less high standard of living is, in itself, not of "absolute" importance in the complex process of shaping the class consciousness of the Latin-American proletariat and heightening its militancy. This process is greatly influenced by the degree of exploitation of the workers, the action of various political and other factors. However, as was pointed out at the seminar, we should not underestimate the fact that the industrial worker realizes that he is better off than the peasants, than the dwellers of the slums, that there is always the danger that he might join them in the event of losing his job. This fear of losing the little he has, is an important aspect of his social psychology. This kind of thinking provides fertile soil for the spread of "economism" and paternalism.

It is also true that the attitude of many contingents of the Latin-American working class is influenced by the "*revolution in consumption*." The TV sets and refrigerators

purchased on credit, which one occasionally finds even in the slums, the dream of a motorcycle or a car, the shrill advertisements and bright lights of cinemas — all this distinguishes the atmosphere in which our working class is taking shape and evolving from the one described in Engels' *Condition of the Working Class in England*, and Zola's *Germinal*.

This by no means annuls the doctrine about the world historic mission of the proletariat, formulated by Marx and Engels and realized in Russia in the autumn of 1917. The "revolution in consumption" creates added incentives for the social revolution. But it evidently also affects the growth of the class and revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat and what is even more important, it *necessitates the particularly active intervention by the class-conscious element in this process*.

The seminar also discussed the question of the *labor aristocracy* in Latin America. Speakers cited examples showing that such a stratum exists on the continent. It includes workers in the monopoly-owned enterprises (oil workers in Venezuela, electricians in pre-revolutionary Cuba, some categories of workers in Panama, etc.), who, as one of the participants put it, "live in an atmosphere steeped in the North American way of life and thinking," and also some contingents of workers whose conditions approximate to those of civil servants. *In living standards*, the workers of the new branches of heavy industry come close to this category.

Of course, it is not easy to win over these workers. However, as some speakers stressed, the relatively high wage level is not an insurmountable barrier to drawing the corresponding groups of the working class into the political struggle.

INFLUENCE OF PREVENTATIVE REFORMISM AND OF ECONOMISM

Another circumstance that has laid its imprint on the evolution of the Latin American working-class movement is the policy of the ruling circles.

In Western Europe, and to an even greater extent in Russia, every concession wrested by the workers and other democratic forces from the bourgeoisie, from the bourgeois (or landlord) state, was the fruit of bitter, and sometimes bloody, class battles, battles which stimulated the development of class consciousness.

This was the situation in Latin America up to the end of the 'Thirties approximately. Then it changed: not all the socio-juridical and economic reforms introduced in the

'forties and 'fifties were the direct result of the struggle waged by the urban proletariat. In many cases they were the outcome of the ruling circles' policy of "preventative reformism" (or, in a broader sense, the result of the revolutionary and anti-fascist struggle in Russia, Europe and Asia). The Latin-American bourgeoisie showed that it had drawn certain conclusions from the experience of the old world. In many instances it anticipated (especially when the economic situation was favorable) the demands of the working class. The policy of Peron in Argentina, the policy of the Democratic Action Party of Venezuela and of the Party of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement in Bolivia, the policy of the governments of Vargas in Brazil, Arnulfo Arias in Panama, and Osorio in El Salvador, are examples of this.

As a result, yesterday's downtrodden peasant discovered that once he found employment in the city he was automatically entitled to the social rights guaranteed by reformist legislation. Social legislation and improved living standards came to be regarded as a gift of the state (or of the leader), and contributed to the growth of reformist illusions and to "economism."

DIFFICULTIES DUE TO NATURE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

There is yet another aspect, related to the character of the present stage of the revolutionary movement, that should be considered. In Europe the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class constituted the social base of capitalist development, the basic contradiction in society. In Latin America this contradiction and this struggle may be said to have been somewhat obscured by contradictions of a different kind (between national interests and imperialism, the development of capitalism and the semi-feudal agrarian structure, etc.). In other words, the initial stages of the revolution that is maturing or developing in our countries envisage the solution of problems that concern not so much the immediate interests of the working class, as those of other social groups (agrarian reform, etc.), or national problems. As a consequence, the basic mass of the working class does not always realize clearly enough how much it stands to gain by the revolution. Hence, the crystallization of the class and, particularly, the *revolutionary consciousness* of the proletariat in Latin America is, to a lesser degree than in Europe, a product of the *spontaneous development* of the working-class movement and requires more expla-

natory and mobilizing activity on the part of the vanguard.

YELLOW SYNDICALISM. REPRESSIONS BY REACTION

The pernicious influence of the theory and practice of the U.S. trade unions, with their concomitants of "economism," anti-communism, corruption and sometimes downright gangsterism, is strongly felt in a number of the countries of the continent.

U.S. imperialism began to penetrate the trade unions of Latin America years ago. For a time its principal instrument was the ill-starred Inter-American Regional Labor Organization (ORIT). Today the concepts and practices of a deformed syndicalism have gained a foothold in Mexico and in some other countries, particularly in those situated in close proximity to the United States.

Yellow syndicalism does not confine itself to a primitive anti-communism. Its leaders use other methods to win over the trade unions: bribery, gifts, recommendations to "development" agencies financing unions, the building of public institutions, houses, sanatoriums, etc. With the direct help of the CIA and under its supervision, courses are organized for trade union functionaries, trips are arranged to the United States, Puerto Rico, West Germany, international labor exchanges are set up.

The imperialist agencies encourage the economist trends in the working-class movement, conduct intensive propaganda against the policy of class struggle. Sometimes they succeed in confining the struggle to simply a movement for higher wages.

Typical of the forms of trade unionism imposed by imperialism is the virtual elimination of democracy in them. Agreements, for example, are usually discussed by the union leaders without the knowledge, let alone the participation, of the workers who are only informed of the decisions taken.

Wherever the pro-imperialist elements fail to gain control of the unions they resort to splitting. They also try to keep office workers artificially alienated from the manual workers, pursuing this policy even within the bounds of one and the same enterprise.

The imperialists and the local oligarchy also use methods of direct repressions against the working-class movement. Anti-communism is the standing pretext for attacking the gains and rights of the workers. Wherever dictatorial regimes exist, repressions against the trade unions and other public organizations are the order of the day.

These repressions have, on many occasions,

caused the working-class movement serious setbacks to overcome which it has taken the democratic organizations years of effort. (Suffice to recall 1949-57, the period of the military and civil dictatorships in Colombia, 1948-50 in Cuba, the Argentine and other countries.) Taking advantage of these setbacks the enemy hastens to establish control over the trade union movement, to set up or activate government-led or pro-imperialist unions.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE POLITICAL VANGUARD

In these conditions, as was repeatedly stressed at the seminar, the responsibility of the political vanguard of the Communists—the leaders and organizers of the struggle of the proletarian masses—is all the greater.

Speakers underscored the need to analyze the basic problems of the working-class movement in the different countries and on the continent as a whole.

A widespread mistake was to depict the working-class and trade union movement in rosy colors; the main difficulties encountered in forming the political army of the revolution, the complex "social" aspects of the revolution were attributed to the difficulties of work in other sections of the population, to the attitude of these sections (peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the so-called national bourgeoisie). As for the working class, the problem "was settled," it was regarded as a "naturally" revolutionary class, always "marching in the van." The objective laws of development were confused with the concrete situation, philosophical truisms were substituted for concrete analyses, things that still had to be done were proclaimed as having been done. This artificial optimism, as was noted at the discussion, led to many unfortunate consequences, the most harmful of which was, probably, the weakness of the theoretical interpretation and practical solution of the problems facing the working-class and trade union movement, of *political work among the urban and rural proletariat in many countries of the continent*. Similar consequences were frequently due to other factors: the above-mentioned difficulties of work in the labor movement; sometimes the temptation to side-step these difficulties by adapting oneself to the economist tendency in the movement; underestimation of the fight for the political independence of the working-class movement (from the bourgeoisie); the poisonous legacy of Browderism.

As a result, the weaknesses objectively inherent in the movement, or the fruit of the

corrupting activity of the enemy, were not always overcome. The participants in the discussion were therefore quite right when they stressed that *political work among the basic mass of the proletariat was the most important problem facing the Party today*. For it is in this social context that the widest gap exists between the role which the one or other class can and should objectively play in the revolution, and the actual, concrete state of affairs at the present moment. In other words, *the fate of the revolution in most of the countries of the continent depends, first and foremost, on whether the weaknesses of the working-class movement will be overcome, on how rapidly the process of turning the working class into the vanguard class, into the leading class of the revolution, will proceed*. It is this "Russian" criterion (and not the one to the effect that the working class "also participates" in the revolutionary struggle), that allows us to judge the actual level and actual progress of the movement. In short, the working class is expected to live up to its historical mission.

It was stressed that recognition of the weaknesses of the working-class movement and the difficulties besetting it should (like the analysis of the causes of these difficulties and weaknesses) serve to stimulate unflagging efforts to overcome them as speedily as possible. In this connection it was noted that the scientific analysis of the Latin-American scene disproves the arguments about the embourgeoisement of the working class, that it is incapable of heading the revolution in Latin America which, it is contended, must be carried out by students, peasants and urban semi-proletariat, that the working class is incapable of actively participating in the armed struggle, and so on.

Some of the theories and trends rejecting in principle the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution have been revived of late in the Latin-American revolutionary movement. In some cases this phenomenon is a reaction of "petty-bourgeois revolutionism" to the weaknesses of the working-class movement, in others it expresses hegemonistic aspirations of one or another political group, in still others it is associated with anti-communism.

In any case, irrespective of the subjective intentions, such an attitude objectively prejudices the revolutionary movement at its present stage and, what is even more important, by creating the impression that the perspective is one of immediate action it deprives the movement of a *strategic perspective*.

It is true of course that in some countries of the continent the revolutionary struggle

can be led, and is led, in its initial stages (largely owing to the reasons mentioned earlier) by such social forces as students, peasantry, revolutionary intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie.

But to begin with, in these instances too the successful development of the struggle requires the *participation* of the proletariat. Secondly, the victory of the anti-imperialist revolution in Latin America is, as a rule, impossible without active political struggles by the basic mass of the proletariat. Thirdly, the *consolidation* of this revolution, i.e., its development into a socialist revolution, is impossible without the *leading role of the working class*. (It goes without saying that in a number of countries the revolution will be headed in its early stages by the proletariat.)

In those countries where the working class proved unable to play the leading role, the revolutionary process became attenuated or deformed as a result of the activity of the imperialists and conciliatory bourgeoisie. This is what happened in the 'forties and 'fifties in Chile and Bolivia, in Brazil and in Venezuela. It is even more so the case today.

In other words, the *revolutionary process of the type that has objectively matured in Latin America can triumph only given the leadership of the working class*. This conclusion follows from the historical experience of other continents, from the lessons of our own revolutionary movement, from the analysis of the historical stage through which Latin America is passing and from the concrete political situation on the continent after the victory of the Cuban revolution.

It is not accidental that in their efforts to stave off revolution the imperialist and reactionary forces on the continent are doing everything to isolate and weaken the working class, to prevent an alliance of the working class with other potential revolutionary forces.

POSSIBILITIES AND IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The task facing the working class is to crystallize its class consciousness, to raise the level of its organization and to draw the non-proletarian masses of town and country into the revolutionary struggle.

Here it should be stressed once again that the proletariat is deeply interested in achieving economic independence and national liberation. The working class will not be able to create favorable conditions for solving its class problems as long as it is weighed down by backwardness, poverty and super-exploitation. To fortify its class positions it must win and promote democracy. In short, if it is to

solve its concrete, specific problems and win its ultimate class objectives it must likewise help to tackle the problems currently besetting society. The vanguard of the working class therefore favor deep-going changes in the life of the Latin-American countries, the abolition of the old production relations still extant in agriculture, and of the domination of the bourgeois-landed oligarchy—the mainstay of imperialist oppression.

A feature of the Latin-American working-class movement is that *democratic* rights in many of the countries were won by the working class in alliance with other democratic social forces in the fight against the privileged groups and institutions representing and upholding the traditional socio-political structures. Recall the role of the working class in Cuba during the revolutionary events of the Thirties, the fight of the Chilean and Uruguayan workers against the attempts to establish reactionary authoritarian regimes, the active participation of the working class in Venezuela and Colombia in overthrowing the dictatorships of Perez Jimenez and Rojas Pinilla.

The militant support of the Mexican proletariat for Cardenas' reforms in the thirties, the actions of the working class of Brazil in 1955-63, the struggle the Argentine workers are waging—all this shows just how active a role the working class of the continent can play in the *anti-imperialist* movement.

The heroic working class of Bolivia has repeatedly demonstrated the high level of its anti-imperialist consciousness. It was the vanguard force in the revolutionary armed struggle of 1952, 1964-65 and 1967. This contingent of the Latin-American proletariat is, like many others, confident, and with good reason, that it will help to carry out the revolution.

The whole world knows of the revolutionary role that the working class of Cuba played and is playing (although its movement in the period immediately preceding the revolution was strongly affected by a number of factors, mentioned earlier) at the stage of anti-imperialist and socialist transformations, at the time of Playa Giron and during the Caribbean crisis, and in the life of Cuba today.

If in some countries the working class does not as yet play an active revolutionary role this by no means reflects on its ability to participate in the fight for the solution of revolutionary issues.

And so the problem right now is to overcome the weaknesses in the Latin-American working-class movement. But first we must recognize that the weaknesses exist and then find the ways of overcoming them.

We have seen that the imperialists and the

reactionary forces of the continent are using every means at their disposal to stave off revolution. Their employment of the most subtle methods to destroy the independent activity of the trade unions makes it clear that the workers must find and use corresponding countermeasures. It should also be borne in mind that the trade unions still do not embrace the vast majority of workers. In view of this, further thought should be given to methods of extending and deepening organizational work in the unions, to modernizing our propaganda and making it more flexible; but first of all, we must discard our old conservative and sectarian views.

Survivals of sectarianism are also an obstacle to strengthening working-class unity. To overcome them we must employ such methods as will promote unity of action from below. This requires persistent, militant efforts on the part of the thinking, active and resolute core. At the same time this core should be flexible enough to use every opportunity to engage in joint actions with other forces, if this benefits the common cause.

"Let us not allow a single serious opportunity to slip by when the bourgeoisie forces the proletariat to give battle; let us learn to determine the moment when the masses of the proletariat *cannot but* rise together with us."

This counsel of Lenin's to foreign Communists should become the guide to action in our fight for unity.

Concessions to "economism," even the slightest, can cause very great harm. This should be borne in mind when training people for the trade union movement. The danger of "economism" will crop up every time a contingent of the proletariat fails to rely on the solidarity and support of its class brothers, when conflicts that arise fail to show the need for higher forms of struggle; in particular, when strikes and other actions of the workers become an aim in itself, when sight is lost of the fact that these actions are also a means of educating the proletariat politically, of developing the feeling of class solidarity and preparing the working class for revolutionary action.

The political vanguard and trade unions should not miss any opportunity to enlist the cooperation of the proletarian masses in political action. This is particularly important in the case of conflicts that affect the interests of other sections of the population who should be supported by labor organizations. Valuable experience has been gained in using various forms of mutual aid, agreements concluded by organizations of the working

class, students, technical intelligentsia and peasants. A lot can be learned from petitions and demonstrations in defense of national interests and democratic gains threatened by the imperialists and reactionary forces of the continent.

A problem that calls for a new approach and urgent solution is the role of the trade unions in the armed struggle. In many cases progressive unions resolutely support the revolutionary armed struggle in their respective countries. But not always. The reason for this is that the urban workers do not always clearly realize that the objective aims of their class struggle and those of guerrilla activity in the rural areas are the same.

It is evident that if the question of winning power is to be tackled seriously, the functions of the working class must not, and should not, be reduced to that of a simple auxiliary in the armed struggle in the countryside. The working-class movement, the trade unions and the other organizations of the proletariat can do much more for the revolution. But first it is essential that the working class should have a clear idea of the political objectives of the armed struggle.

The growth of the class consciousness of the proletariat is impossible unless profound and systematic measures are taken to extir-

pate the influence of the bourgeoisie in the trade unions, to free the entire Latin-American working-class movement from imperialist tutelage. Speakers stressed in this connection that the fire should be concentrated on the yellow unions financed by the monopolies and the U.S. government.

The duty of every national contingent of the Latin American proletariat aspiring to revolution is to fight for unity of the working class movement. This calls for unity also on a *continental* scale, for creating a continental class and democratic trade union organization. The first step in this direction was the Latin American Congress of Trade Union Unity, held in Brazil in January 1964. It decided to set up a permanent Secretariat which has been functioning since then in Santiago (Chile). This became the starting point for a new Latin-American trade union center. But much remains to be done.

The revolutionary contingents of the Latin-American working class are taking definite shape and carrying forward in the new situation the militant traditions of the struggle. New forces are appearing on the scene who will unite their efforts and ensure the development of our revolution along the road indicated to the proletariat of the world by their class brothers in Russia.

Latin American reformism today

ALVARO DELGADO

EITHER WE DO SOMETHING shortly to change the existing state of affairs in a peaceful way or the people themselves will do it by violent means—this is the thought that haunts many of those in high places in Latin America, that pervades the debates at inter-American conferences and the public speeches of bourgeois politicians and dignitaries of the Catholic hierarchy. The first part of the formula, which someone has christened *revolution a las buenas* is suggested by the more “advanced” bourgeoisie as an alternative to the really deep-going change desired by the public. It is a kind of challenge to history by the Latin American bourgeoisie in order to perpetuate its rule. But it is also an indication of political weakness and impotence to continue to rule in the old way, an admission that the present-day bourgeoisie cannot back a genuine revolution.

None of this is surprising. For one thing, economic imperatives have put radical change on the order of the day and for another, the masses in Latin America are in a state bordering on despair.

The masses want radical change. Considerable sections of the people call for change at any price. Present-day reformism promises change, but at the price of distorting and frustrating the revolution.

LATIN AMERICAN REFORMISM

Reformist policy is not a novelty in Latin America. Various Liberal governments have practised it for years. But the present vogue is not simply a continuation of the old process. It differs from the structural reforms effected by Lazaro Cardenas in Mexico in the thirties, the democratic reforms carried out by Betlle in Uruguay at the turn of the century and the half-hearted anti-imperialist actions of Vargas and Peron in the late forties and early fifties.

The reformism that set in on the continent in the wake of the Cuban revolution in 1959 is worlds away from genuine reform; it is little more than pseudo-reformism. Now that the Latin American political scene has changed from the bottom up, the bourgeoisie cannot afford any far-reaching reform either by peaceful or violent means. The reformist Goulart government in Brazil was overthrown at direct U.S. instigation and a U.S. intervention brutally suppressed a popular movement in behalf of the bourgeois reformist Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic.

The Latin American bourgeoisie is not capable of remodelling the social structure by non-revolutionary means any more than it is of sponsoring democratic revolutions. All it can do is go through the motions of reform, taking superficial measures sparing the foundations of the existing system. The paradoxical thing is that the old bourgeois reformists, though far from the thought of any structural change, really carried out some pretty drastic reforms, whereas the latter-day reformists, who advocate social change, are doing nothing to bring it about. The reason for this is obvious. The present “revolutionary” vocabulary of the bourgeoisie reflects the objective economic and social situation. Yet the traditional social structure has fallen into such a state of decay that any substantial reform is likely to cut the ground from under it so dramatically as to invite revolution. Therefore the bourgeoisie dreads reform and deposes the Goularts and Bosches who emerge from its ranks.

Although bourgeois reformism in Latin America is anything but homogeneous and the traditional reformists still exert considerable influence, we are concerned here chiefly with governmental pseudo-reformism which has greater prominence in the life of the continent than the other reformist trends and

is especially widespread in Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru and Ecuador.

THE BOURGEOIS APPEASERS

Of the three main groups of the Latin American bourgeoisie—pro-imperialist, appeasers of capitalism, and the national (middle) bourgeoisie—the latter alone is interested in getting something done and done quickly.

Yet the national bourgeoisie does not hold power in any of the Latin American countries. Its tenure at the helm of state in some of the countries was short-lived and precarious. Not leaning for support on the people anywhere near enough, it dreaded the burgeoning revolutionary forces and was promptly elbowed out by dictatorial regimes that thrived on the cold war climate and the sharpening of class struggles in the early sixties. Furthermore, in some countries a national bourgeoisie has yet to take proper shape.

The pseudo-reformist governments are led principally by capitalist appeasers, that is, the section of finance capital with interests in big national and mixed industries and which has yet to sever its umbilical cord with the latifundia. The appeasers are strongly entrenched in the home monopolies and therefore incapable of breaking the stranglehold of Yankee monopoly capital.

This should be borne in mind when speaking of the singular character of modern Latin American reformism. Its policies have nothing in common with the reforms effected in most African and some Asian countries. The African reforms are aimed chiefly at non-capitalist development, whereas those in Latin America are designed to buttress capitalist regimes in countries subjected to the influence of imperialist capital which, moreover, is not combated but reinforced by the "reform" schemes approved at Punta del Este.

Nor can Latin American reformism be measured with the European yardstick. Reforms in Europe have an entirely different socio-economic background and are impelled by productive forces at a much higher degree of development. Besides, reform and general development there is centered on improving economic and social levers controlled by a powerful bourgeoisie in fully sovereign states, rather than on national liberation, on casting off imperialist oppression and the traditional socio-economic structures. Furthermore, by virtue of its organization and tradition, coupled with the highly advanced basis of European society now mature for socialist forms of production and government, the European working class is powerful enough

to battle for reforms of a revolutionary complexion on what might be termed "equal footing" with the bourgeoisie.

The singular features of Latin American reformism are visible most clearly in the following:

a) a closely knit bourgeoisie and latifundia. The "agrarian reform" for which the pseudo-reformists are drumming is reform in name only. It will not abolish latifundia nor semi-feudal relations in the countryside. In some countries it is simply a large real estate transaction, in others an issue of land deeds that tie down peasants with new obligations to state-operated credit agencies while the landed gentry remain in possession of the best land. In no Latin American country has the "agrarian reform" either improved the situation of the peasantry or brought about the minimum of modernization and industrialization so essential in farming today;

b) the pseudo-reformist regimes are tied up with U.S. imperialism in many ways. Doing nothing to encourage a genuinely national industrialization, they are banking on the inflow of foreign capital either directly or through so-called mixed companies. Nothing is done to restrict foreign investment, though such curbs would further the development of home industry, while the profiteering practices of U.S. finance capital obstructing growth of home capital are condoned. As a rule, the pseudo-reformist bourgeoisie is against state capitalism and in some countries has gone to the length of planning (and even putting into effect) the transfer of nationalized industries and transport companies to U.S. capital;

c) the ruling pseudo-reformist bourgeoisie bases its socio-economic development on three equally anti-popular points—devaluation, higher taxes and U.S. loans. The result is higher prices, lower wages, an alarming increase in unemployment and a desperate housing shortage. Government "austerity" programs prevent investment from expanding, with national wealth flowing out and capital shrinking due to the considerable interest payments on foreign loans and to losses from the continuously deteriorating conditions of foreign trade, etc.;

d) the pseudo-reformist regimes have left intact the bureaucratic and repressive machinery inherited from their predecessors. In some countries, notably Colombia and Venezuela, this machinery has been reinforced, though the bourgeoisie knows perfectly well that its development plans cannot be effectively realized where such sterile waste of financial and human resources prevails. A look at

the budgets of the countries concerned will prove the point;

e) the pseudo-reformist regimes are not running national affairs in a democratic way. The old reformism tended to introduce elements of "representative democracy," whereas now the situation has changed. The bourgeoisie is falling back on the militarists to protect its interests. It was the bourgeoisie, after all, which—admittedly with the aid of U.S. imperialism—overthrew the governments of Goulart in Brazil and Illia in Argentina.

These are the factors that delineate contemporary bourgeois reformism in Latin America, notwithstanding the fact that it has carried out, and may still carry out, certain partial measures on behalf of the people. It is this duality and subservience that explains the virtual failure of the pseudo reformist governments in Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador and elsewhere.

Pseudo-reformism never sets out to achieve national liberation or any conclusive socio-economic change. Its principal concern is to stave off revolution. So long as this is so and and so long as an objective basis exists for the revolutionary way of transforming Latin American reality, revolutionaries and the masses will have no choice but to enter the lists against it. It will be in place here, therefore, to recall Lenin's attitude towards bourgeois parties in pre-revolution Russia.

REFORMISM AND IMPERIALISM

Latin American pseudo-reformism should not be examined in isolation from the dominant influence exerted on it by North American imperialism, all the more so since it survives solely thanks to U.S. aid. Yet this reformism contains one striking contradiction: while spawned by imperialist policy, it cannot candidly and unconditionally submit to imperialism. Moreover, to keep up appearances it has to parade its differences and frictions with the imperialists from time to time (though it invariably retreats, even surrenders, at the crucial junctures).

In some countries, notably, Chile, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador, this pseudo reformism is the principal bourgeois political trend involved in contradictions with U.S. State Department policies. This has been seen at recent inter-American conferences.

The glaring inequality in Latin America's trade with the United States is common knowledge. So are the objections of Mexico, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela to the U.S. project for an Inter-American armed force.

Pseudo-reformism is coming to the fore precisely when the Alliance for Progress is petering out. The Latin American bourgeoisie takes a distinctly pessimistic view of the Alliance. The Johnson Administration, on the other hand, is disinclined to put much hope in the "reformist" policies of its allies south of the Rio Grande. For one thing, it is withholding aid on the scale needed to consummate their government programs. The reason behind this attitude is that U.S. interests in Latin America are those of *private* capital. This, among other things, explains the failure of the Alliance for Progress and, in a way, the interest certain Latin American governments are showing in a resumption of trade with the socialist camp (a trump they could use to good advantage in the rapidly worsening economic crisis).

Pseudo-reformist economic policy rests on efforts now under way to consummate the economic integration of the continent. This alone is proof that developments south of the Rio Grande are assuming a continental complexion. The stability of reformism in the various countries depends on whether the other countries accept integration as a common solution. While the "gorillas," diehard supporters of the Mann doctrine, advocate "ideological frontiers" and want to wipe out the concept of national sovereignty, the latter-day reformists insist on a fusion of interests and a coordination of action by the bourgeoisie of the different countries in order to wrest better commercial terms from the United States and obtain a slice of the profits pocketed by imperialism in this part of the world.

It remains to be seen whether the pseudo-reformists will succeed in coordinating their actions to better purpose than the "gorillas" coordinated theirs. Will their coordination be as attractive to the imperialists? Experience shows that imperialism cares little for the overtones; it is chiefly concerned with the substance of the policy pursued by the Latin American bourgeoisie and with the latter's willingness to submit to the *diktat* of monopoly capital regardless of the type of government it may set up (this is exactly what the Mann doctrine envisages).

In more general terms, however, integration will not injure North American interests, because it will then be still easier for the U.S. monopolies to capture markets and oust local competitors. And if the U.S. government is offering no objections to the idea of integration and a Common Market, the explanation is that it wants a Latin American capitalism that will work in the interest of U.S. mono-

polies. This means that modern reformism, and hence the integration it has set out to achieve, can operate through none but the Latin American monopoly bourgeoisie, which alone is enough to distinguish it from the reformism of bygone days. What it means in addition is that, in view of the collapse of the Alliance for Progress, integration appears to be the only "constructive" program in the general context of imperialist policy, less intent today on holding up capitalist development in Latin America than on keeping all such development under control and exploiting it for its own ends.

What adds to the confusion is that the integration efforts of Chile, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela are colliding with claims to political supremacy—which, in fact, already exists—on the part of the military regimes in Brazil and Argentina.

THE CONTRADICTIONS OF PSEUDO-REFORMISM

The reformists have not won the support of either the Right or the Left. For the Right they are "out and out Reds," while for the Left their platform is too timid and indecisive, designed to avert radical change. The Center, on the other hand, is much less stable and more amorphous and heterogeneous than in Europe by virtue of the yawning class contrasts which affect the course of political struggle.

There are other reasons for the relative strength of government reformism apart from the illusions of the poorest of the population and of those intellectuals who still believe that social development initiated at the top, "legally," can be effective. Among these are the backwardness of the people; intimidating the people by invoking the danger of war, U.S. occupation and military coups in the event of the revolutionary or even Left-reformist forces winning (recall, for example, the 1964-65 situation in Chile and the 1965-66 events in the Dominican Republic); the advantages accruing to the pseudo-reformists from holding political power and controlling the machinery of social change (however insignificant this change may be), etc.

Pseudo-reformist propaganda describes the Latin American countries as poor and desperately short of finances so that none should expect more than just a "more humane distribution of the wealth."

The reformists hope that the masses, hounded by want from cradle to grave, will believe that some of their cherished aspirations, scorned by the dictatorships and the anti-

national policies of the oligarchy, will at last be honored; they are promised certain painless changes entailing only minor sacrifice or, more precisely, "sacrifice by all"—poor and rich alike. The pseudo-reformists rely on the moral impact and magic power of such concepts as country, national dignity, sovereignty and "orderly revolution." They aim at the vast petty bourgeois population marching in step with the proletariat and who prevent the latter from acting with the necessary independence; they appeal to the semi-proletarians and to the new proletarians recently come from villages, and they bank on the support of women who in Latin American conditions are largely politically backward. Besides, they expect the Catholic Church, especially that section which espouses the views of the latest Ecumenical Council and the encyclicals of John XXIII and Paul VI, to help them win public support.

Briefly, the pseudo-reformists are out to gain broad public backing for their policy of halfhearted short-term measures forced on them by the crying social imperatives. If a succinct definition of this policy were needed, we would say it is an attempt to salvage capitalism by means of a buffer of intermediate social forces in the class struggle raging on the continent. But the definition would not get us very far. The social basis of pseudo-reformism—primarily the middle strata—is itself an area of endless strife. Revolutionary ideas have made a deep impression on the middle classes and on the semi-proletariat, where petty-bourgeois radicalism is strongest. On the other hand, pseudo-reformism has failed to mitigate the social conflicts. Class collisions and struggles for power are particularly acute in Chile, Venezuela, Colombia and Peru. In Chile, for example, Frei has to contend with the mistrust of the landed gentry at one pole and the surge of revolutionary sentiment at the other. The governments of Colombia and Venezuela are subjected to strong pressures from the military, who are yearning for a dictatorship, and at the same time are harried by the high-spirited militancy of students and the acute problems created by the armed revolutionary movement.

Weak and hesitant in the confrontation with reaction, the so-called representative democracies show no trace of hesitation when it comes to striking out against the people. They do not hesitate to massacre striking miners as at the El Salvador mines in Chile, to order wholesale arrests of students, trade unionists and Communists when suppressing university autonomy as in Venezuela and

Colombia, and to assassinate freedom fighters as in Guatemala. In Venezuela, the "democrat" Betancourt has committed more atrocities than dictator Perez Jimenez, and in Colombia the "representative democracy" of Lleras Restrepo launched an orgy of repression comparable only to the terror of 20 years ago, during the early days of dictatorial rule in that country.

The Army, which has taken a back seat, is following this aggressiveness with keen interest. Pseudo-reformism, tied up in knots, has embarked on the militarist road it promised to avoid. Gone are the days when Liberal regimes could quietly direct reformist development as they wished. In our time, they are supplanted by dictatorships engendered by their own collusion with the ruling bourgeoisie.

The top rulers are divided over the issue of reform. "Gorilla" governments propose "reformism" from positions of "ideological frontiers," that is, cracking down on the people and uprooting communism as a preliminary to social changes. (In point of fact, the army in El Salvador has gone to the length of declaring itself the sole power capable of initiating social "reforms.") This is dictatorship pure and simple, which is no novelty in Latin American history. Exponents of the other "solution" urge economic and social reforms now, hoping to use them as a springboard for subsequent political action. The documents issued in August 1966 by the Bogota meeting of the presidents of Chile, Venezuela and Colombia, also attended by presidential representatives from Ecuador and Peru, favored the latter course.

But later developments show that none of them would stand firm on the terms of the Bogota declaration. To have weight, the Bogota platform needs extensive public support and this, in turn, necessitates a democratic home policy. Yet even the governments most hostile to the "gorillas" reject the people's demands out of hand, to say nothing of Colombia, Venezuela and Peru, where the revolutionary movement is ruthlessly suppressed. Frei has lined himself up with Castello Branco in the question of denationalization, and Lleras Restrepo and Leoni are taking the cue from Ongania in their bloody assault on students and Communists.

This is not to say that the interlacing of bourgeois development and militarist dictatorship is the same today as in the past. There is no truth in the view that our countries are following a course radically different from that of the classical capitalist countries and that we should confine ourselves to combat-

ing just the killers and the criminals who scorn the law. The traditional dictator is being forced off the stage by the economic and social flux. Today, even the dictators harangue in terms of economic development, and pseudo-reformism is doubly sensitive to this evolution. It prefers to act within the pale of bourgeois law and would not dream of abolishing the institutions of bourgeois democracy; its purpose is to squeeze everything it can out of them for its own ends. Pseudo-reformism deals in terms of parliament and trade union, university and cultural center, political party, agrarian reform, and the like. It is not against renovating the political mechanisms, or at least their signboards. A powerful Christian Democratic Party has developed in Chile, while the bi-partisan regime in Colombia styles itself a front of national renovation, and the regimes in Venezuela and Guatemala profess to be democratic coalitions. To win the trust of the people, the pseudo-reformists declare themselves enemies of the oligarchy, since a distinct opinion has evolved on that score in the public mind and the oligarchy is an object of universal hate.

Capitalist development is the actual social groundwork of pseudo-reformism whose strength is directly proportional to the waning power of the latifundia, the traditional ally of imperialism, and to the growing power of the industrial bourgeoisie. It owes its relative popularity to such social factors as unemployment (surplus manpower) in the countryside, accumulation of manpower (also entailing unemployment) in the towns, and to the growth of the industrial working class.

To state the matter in general terms, unlike the "gorillas" who want a go-slow in social processes, the reformists, even their latter-day variety, want to adapt these processes to their class interests, leading the people away from revolution to evolution under imperialist tutelage.

However, capitalist development in Latin America is something very specific and cannot be accomplished in less than, say, two or three decades. History, however, is not likely to grant it that much grace, and revolution seems certain to sweep pseudo-reformism off the stage long before it gains a firmer foothold and spreads across the continent.

PSEUDO-REFORMISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

A considerable section of the Latin American working class supports those political parties that preach reform. Many are deeply

disappointed in the "representative democracies"; they no longer believe promises that are never kept, and mistrust the capacity for effective change of elective bourgeois mechanisms and parliamentary forms. More workers, including those outside the class trade unions, realize that radical change will not come about until the exploiting classes are swept out of power.

While the political mobilization of the working class proceeds chiefly in the so-called southern cone, that is, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, it has also affected the other Latin American countries. It is safe to say that "economism," to which a large section of the labor movement gravitates, does not always connote support for, or indifference to, pseudo-reformist governmental tactics. This is borne out by the joint manifestations of workers belonging to the different trade union centers, some of them headed by reformists. As a result, the organized working class is an object of unintermittent attack by pseudo-reformists. (The difference between pseudo-reformism and the traditional dictatorships is that the former keeps its drive against the people "within the law," i.e. through "democratic" channels, with the support of the parliamentary majority.)

The relatively slow growth of the political struggle of the Latin American working class is fertile soil for pseudo-reformism. The reasons are many: first, the sustained offensive against the independent working-class movement over the past 20 years, marked by brutal reprisals and tactics designed to deepen and accentuate the split in the trade union movement; second, insidious penetration of imperialist ideology in the trade unions, paving the way for a "fusion" of pseudo-reformist tactics with the most pernicious forms of political submission to imperialism (including acceptance of CIA subsidies); third, the fact that the vanguard detachments of the movement, and the Communist parties too, failed at times to comprehend the changes quickly enough and to suit their tactics to the new requirements.

Here and there, the revolutionary vanguard was deluded into thinking that "reformist" regimes would stick to the bourgeois-democratic rules of the game and so was taken unawares by events it had failed to anticipate. At the other pole, ultra-Left tendencies appeared as a reaction of despair because the revolutionary process was developing too slowly. The victims of this despair seem to overlook the fact that revolutionary development has become more difficult since the U.S. imperialists grasped the lessons of Cuba,

although the latter has also given a renewed impulse to revolution. In practice the ultra-Left trends, like the wait and see policy of passivity, play into the hands of the pseudo-reformists because they confront the people with the choice: either armed struggle or no struggle at all. Besides, the extremists often confine themselves to vocal declarations only, acting willy-nilly as common-or-garden provocateurs. True, it is to the advantage of the pseudo-reformist regimes and to their crafty policy when the masses are not acquainted with the many different forms of struggle, because this enables them to maneuver and to offer excuses for repressions.

It is therefore essential to pick the right methods of combating pseudo-reformist policy and, moreover, to put a few finishing touches to our concept of the role the working class is called upon to play in the Latin American revolution. Of late, this has been an object of lively discussion in the revolutionary movement and is examined at greater length elsewhere in this issue.

REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

As a social organism Latin America is multififormity in unity. In particular, this applies to the policy of the ruling classes. It is also true of the revolutionary movement. The underground work of revolutionaries against the dictatorships and the heroic armed struggle waged today in some Latin American countries against a ruthless enemy are the only criteria of the effectiveness of the revolutionary struggle on the continent. Another criterion is the fight against pseudo-reformism—a different enemy or rather the same enemy in a different guise—where the masses have to use versatile tactics in order to avoid sinking into the bog of political disarmament, apathy and atrophy of the revolutionary spirit.

The idea that the class enemy cannot succeed in these aims is entirely unwarranted. Neither can we afford to denounce pseudo-reformism as the main danger and turn our backs on the complexities of the problem. This would be tantamount to saying that reformism has succeeded in winning over a considerable section of the people because it is the worst answer to their problems. The masses, it is true, have often allowed even blood-stained dictators to come to power. But they recognized their error quickly on experiencing the consequences, after which it had to be bayonets, reprisals and all-out attacks on mass organizations for the dictators to keep in the saddle.

It would be folly to think that the relationship between the people and the pseudo-reformist regimes follows the same pattern (though there is a certain resemblance). Pseudo-reformism may be more vulnerable in some respects, but so far it has had considerable room for maneuver in winning public support. There is no other explanation for the relative stability of the reformist regimes in Uruguay, Colombia and Chile, and, what is more, there is no reason to think that similar situations cannot occur elsewhere. Should the Left ignore this and should it fight the pseudo-reformist bourgeoisie with the same methods that it would use against a terrorist dictatorship, it would achieve very little in the way of assisting the revolution.

The influence on pseudo-reformism of the difficulties and the growing contradictions encountered by U.S. monopoly capital on a world scale, and of the exigencies of its economic ties with imperialism, and the fact that it cannot reduce its relationship with the people to reprisals alone while obeying the will of its North American bosses—all this creates the peculiar political climate which the revolutionaries are duty-bound to exploit. Should we fail, the bourgeoisie would gain in the battle against the people even from its own weakness.

Pseudo-reformism is not at present the main enemy of the Latin American peoples. Enemy number one is U.S. imperialism and its agents in our society—the big pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, the militarists and the big landowners—who would like to perpetuate the imperialist exploitation and reactionary rule. Terror and militarism, evils for our peoples, are a boon to our enemies. The peril of pseudo-reformism derives first and foremost from its propensity for deluding the masses rather than from its opposition to measures that improve their lot.

Reformism is more difficult to expose than undisguised reaction. But the vigilance of the masses in respect to attempts to install dictatorial regimes (or prolong their existence) should not be lulled by the contention that social reforms do more harm than the crimes committed by brute force.

We cannot “repeal” the facts. In their daily life people take guidance from what they see, from the concrete circumstances, and we have no earthly reason to assume that all the social projects of the pseudo-reformists will be stillborn. Some have been partly realized, which has had its effect on the public sentiment, especially in view of the extreme poverty of the bulk of the people. Some measures (building houses and schools, sanitation, land amelioration, etc.) financed by

Alliance for Progress funds, alleviate the lot of the few but they sow illusions among many. And charities sponsored by such U.S. “aid” organizations as Care, Caritas, Food for Peace and by some West-German agencies, add to these illusions.

Illusions about the benevolence of a government, Church, charity organization or “generous” employer may become a peril of the first magnitude if they are nourished for decades by reforms and begin to act as an opiate. However, in the event of the revolutionary forces following a correct policy, government promises and a reform here and there can be used to accelerate the revolution. This can be done by rallying the masses to demand that promises be honored immediately, by taking advantage of the instability that follows any more or less substantial reform, and by constantly stepping up the demands of the public, the more backward sections of which have believed that the loudly advertised reforms would bring about a radical improvement.

Poverty, persecution and threat of death do not of themselves drive the masses into action; the people do not rise until they become conscious of their plight, until they realize that struggle is unavoidable and until they have confidence in their own strength.

This means that pseudo-reformist experiments, as well as major reforms can be a two-edged weapon that can strike equally against revolution and against reformism in the revolutionary struggle for power.

Useful experience in combating pseudo-reformism has been gained in Chile and Uruguay. Chilean Communists are rallying the masses to fight for upgrading demands, thus accentuating the contradictions between pseudo-reformism and the oligarchies and other groups giving it their political backing. As a result, Communists and Socialists made substantial gains in the municipal elections, held in April, by their combined drive for unity irrespective of ideology. Their gain was so substantial that U.S. observers predicted the downfall of the Christian Democratic government.

The role of catalyst of contradictions, which progressive tendencies brought to life by reform are likely to play, depends above all on the degree of development achieved by the mass movement, and primarily by the working-class movement. Although intellectuals and students are vital elements in this process, it is the millions rather than individual groups (no matter how courageous) that constitute the backbone of the political army of revolution. Yet this majority has not yet been won for the revolution, at least if we

judge not by the degree of discontent with the existing system but by the degree of organization of this discontent. It would be wishful thinking to attribute to the masses the awareness of the revolutionary vanguard.

Pseudo-reformism invariably complies with imperialist demands. The revolutionaries, therefore, cannot always expect radical transformations to follow in the wake of government reforms. They should offer the masses their own independent revolutionary program in order to dissipate their illusions of evolution and draw them into the movement for profound social change.

The difference between reformists and revolutionaries is not that the former fight for reforms while the latter are against reforms. Communists support all reforms that benefit the people, because this buttresses the class positions of the working people and improves their organization. If we acted differently, we would be fighting for something intangible, making politics an incomprehensible game and alienating the masses. The danger of alienation emanates not only from the Right (paternalism, pseudo-reformism and

"economism"), but also from the Left, from petty-bourgeois radicalism. In both cases, the masses are cast in the role of "benevolent" onlookers. By sounding the call for progressive reforms, we rally the masses to the fight for social reconstruction, for revolution. Reforms won in struggle convince the masses that change can be brought about.

It has never been sound tactics for revolutionaries to oppose reforms when their advantages were obvious to the masses. We are fighting for a better world not simply for the sake of fighting, but because there is no one else to show the right way and to follow it. This is something only deeds and their own experience prove to the people after they finally realize that all the promises made by exploiters are but pie in the sky.

For us the fight for reform is yet another argument against reformism, and a springboard for the forces whose mission it is to cut short the notorious "peaceful evolution" of capitalism and to lead the new system towards genuinely radical transformations made imperative by the Latin American realities.

Conference of Latin American Solidarity Conference

THE FIRST CONFERENCE of the Organization for Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) opens in Havana on July 27—the 14th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba which initiated the Cuban revolution.

Interest in the conference is keen on the continent among Communist parties and other revolutionary organizations, among intellectuals and students because the need for a profound analysis of the revolutionary process in Latin America is very great. The continent is behind other regions of the world in this respect.

This journal has noted in previous issues that Latin American revolutionary thought is called upon to provide a basis for revolutionary action and ensure more extensive popularization of Marxist-Leninist ideas not in the indefinite future but right now. We hold that the continent has entered upon a stage where years and months will decide the destinies of decades.

Acting through reactionaries in each of the countries, U.S. imperialism is putting up numerous obstacles in our path. In most countries home reaction is resorting to brutal repressions. But despite its desperate resistance, we should recall Lenin's words, spoken in 1905, rebuking those who pleaded difficulties as an excuse for inaction. "The difficulties on the road to the complete victory of the revolution," he wrote, "are very great. No one will be able to blame the representatives of the proletariat if, when they have done their best, their efforts are defeated by the reactionaries, by the treachery of the bourgeoisie, and the ignorance of the masses. But everybody, and above all, the class-conscious proletariat will condemn Social-Democracy should it restrain the revolutionary energy of the democratic revolution and dampen the revolutionary ardor because it is afraid to go out and win, because it is actuated by the consideration: lest the bourgeoisie should recoil . . . But it is

essential that leaders of the revolutionary parties, too, should advance their aims more comprehensively and boldly at such a time, so that their slogans shall always be in advance of the revolutionary initiative of the masses, serve as a beacon, reveal to them our democratic and socialist ideal in all its magnitude and splendor, and show them the shortest and most direct route to complete, absolute, and decisive victory. Let us leave to the opportunists of the *Osvobozhdeniye* bourgeoisie the task of inventing roundabout, circuitous paths of compromise, out of fear of the revolution and the direct path. If we are forcibly compelled to drag ourselves along such paths we shall be able to fulfil our duty in the hunderd, everyday work also. But first let the choice of path be decided in ruthless struggle." (Lenin, *Works*, Moscow, FLPH, 1962, Vol. 9, pp. 112-113.)

In our view these words are as valid for Latin America today as they were for Russia in 1905. Our Leninist appraisal of the current political situation shows that both passivity and the notion that revolution is inevitable (that it is "bound to take place" regardless of errors and weaknesses) must be combated.

The ruling classes aim at building up an all-continental "holy alliance" with a made-in-Washington strategy and the reactionary Johnson Doctrine for a banner. This alone should bring it home to us that the historical destiny of Latin America is indivisible and that broad and effective unity is essential to combat the "holy alliance" of the oligarchies and U.S. imperialism. The Latin American popular front can and must be all-embracing. However, as things are it will not be effective until it works out a revolutionary policy. The Organization for Latin American Solidarity can go a long way towards building up this front by helping to iron out differences in the revolutionary movement, though this does not imply that ideological debate and theoretical

analysis, for which there is a desperate need, should be abandoned.

Some problems of the Latin American revolutionary movement have been examined in recent issues of our journal. The articles in question do not pretend to be founts of indisputable wisdom. They materialized from profound reflection on the present-day problems. Their purpose was to draw attention to certain aspects of the Latin American scene. Their authors were impelled by the desire to state their views on how at least a rudimentary mutual understanding could be achieved in the interests of revolutionary unity. As we see it the Communist parties of the continent could help greatly in solving this problem. The articles showed that the formidable tasks of the Latin American revolution have conditioned the need for Communist parties as the vanguard and leader of the people. Solution of the revolutionary problems would be much more difficult, and even impossible, without the participation of the Communists, because the Communist parties are the best organized and disciplined revolutionary force on the continent with a vast store of experience and a commendable record of withstanding the hardships and trials of the struggle.

Needless to say, the Party is not a goal in itself. It is a medium of revolutionary leadership working for the transfer of power to the working people, for realization of socialist and communist ideals. Communists lay no claim to a monopoly of revolutionary ideas or to sole leadership of the revolutionary movement. It is a fact, however, that the Communists, equipped with the Marxist-Leninist

teaching, splendidly organized and disciplined, possessing experience and anti-imperialist tempering, are the best equipped of the Left forces to contribute decisively to the revolutionary transformations imperative in our time. Experience bears witness that any attempt to elbow out Communists has an adverse effect on the unity of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces. The imperialists aware of this are trying to sow discord in their attempts to destroy Communist parties.

Examining the problems of the Latin American revolution fifty years after the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, we are struck most by the deep-going resemblance of the two revolutionary processes in respect of immediate aims and the ways of attaining them. A rapid revolutionary reconstruction of society, not merely partial change, is on the order of the day on the continent. But Latin America has to accomplish in a single process (which may take years) what in Russia was accomplished in February and October 1917. Therefore, summing up the significance of the October Revolution for Latin America, we realize the full weight of our duty, all the more so since our peoples must break the stranglehold of imperialism in its closest and most thoroughly guarded preserve. The success of the coming Havana conference, for which all of us wish plain sailing, will depend largely on its appreciation and interpretation of the complex problems which we have endeavored to set out here, and on the emphasis it lays on the unity of all revolutionaries.

WALDO ATIAS and
JOSE MANUEL FORTUNY

Scientific approach to economic management

**From the experience of the Gabrovo Committee,
Bulgarian Communist Party**

MANY FACTORS go into the Party's approach to economic management. One factor that has come to the fore of late is the study of economic processes in a particular area—district, region or city. Our experience shows that without such a study, district and city Party organizations are not in a position to take decisions aimed at maximizing economic results with minimum expenditure of money and labor.

Party committees and organizations cannot maintain a full-time staff of economists. The solution, therefore, is to collect, analyze and interpret economic data with the help of volunteers, and for this purpose our Party committee has set up a research unit for industry. Actually it is a research bureau staffed by unpaid volunteers, and its job is to analyze the functioning of industry in the district.

Formed in 1963 the unit has 60 economists working in 6 sections. This is its organizational structure: general meeting, scientific council, and sections. The annual general meeting discusses the report of the scientific council and sets its next tasks. The nine-man council is elected for two years; its present chairman is the Secretary of the District Party Committee.

The council vets section plans, supervises their fulfilment, approves section reports, arranges research sessions to examine development problems, conferences and seminars.

The District Party Bureau does not restrict the initiative of the council or its members, nor does it approve its report or research-session decisions. However, the subjects of investigations and the convocation of scientific sessions are cleared with it, because Party organizations are expected to share both in practical research and session discussions. After each session the economic unit submits its findings to the District Party Bureau. The latter, after careful examination, formulates

decisions concerning the work of Party committees and factory Party organizations.

There is no need to discuss all aspects of Party work to assure a correct approach to economic management and effective Party leadership of industry. I need only say that our experience has taught all Party cadres how to use economic analysis and technological innovation in their work.

How this is done in practice will be seen from the following examples.

For a long time the District Party Committee had grappled with the problem of efficient use of plant. An analysis of its operation revealed certain negative trends. They can be spelled out in these figures: the value of product per 1,000 leva of plant declined by 149 leva over the past five years. There were many contributing factors—delays in the supply, commissioning and mastery of new machinery, purchase of expensive machinery out of all proportion to capacity and operational conditions, inadequate use of existing machinery, etc.

Our unit studied the situation for a year and on the recommendation of the District Party Bureau, in May 1966 its findings were made the subject of a scientific session. Much preliminary investigation had been done prior to the session—the conditions in each factory were studied; the unit drew up recommendations, complemented by charts and calculations, which were handed on to factory economists.

Some of the factories have their own voluntary research bureaus. They studied the problem and reported back to the Party organization and to the management. Some of the bureaus operate at shop level, helping shop Party organizations obtain a better knowledge of economic problems. This multi-level research produced good results, and in many factories practical measures to eliminate shortcomings

were taken before the economic unit's report was discussed at the scientific session.

The unit summed up the results of these investigations, and they were examined at meetings of industry representatives arranged by the District Committee. This helped to formulate comprehensive proposals, which were then submitted to the scientific session.

The session was attended by many Sofia scientists, and the debate was both lively and productive. Its recommendations were submitted to the District Party Bureau, which instructed each Party organization to consider them in the light of its own potentialities for maximizing plant utilization. It was also decided to make a closer study of Soviet experience and to pass on some of the recommendations through the district planning commission, to central economic bodies. The District Party Bureau suggested that the economic unit make scientific organization of management the subject of its next session. The Party organizations in the factories were instructed to verify fulfilment of the decisions and to get management and Party members to take an active part in their fulfilment.

The Party organization in the Gabrovo electric car plant held an open meeting to discuss utilization of plant and fulfilment of obligations assumed by Party members. There were many critical remarks and constructive proposals on how to increase production with available machinery. The Party organization started a vigorous campaign to eliminate all shortcomings holding back full capacity operation.

This is one example of effective scientific approach to Party direction of industry. I will cite another, pertaining to rational distribution of industry.

On a national scale the problem has been solved in conformity with the requirements of socialist economics. Such factors as supply of raw material and labor power, transport, etc., are fully taken into account, and Bulgaria's progress in this respect is beyond doubt. But District and City Party Committees have drawn attention to some disquieting symptoms in their particular areas.

The towns, understandably, developed as centers of industry. But development in our rural areas has lagged. Of course, the inadequate level of intensive agriculture with the resultant lag in earnings, accelerated the migration of the able-bodied population to the industrial centers. Besides, the towns offer more and better amenities. Most of our villages are small and, naturally, we are not yet in a position to build cultural and recreational centers in each of them.

This population shift from rural to urban areas confronts us with two problems. First, the growing and acute housing shortage in the towns and the excessive burden on their municipal facilities and services. The District Party Committee was fully aware that this problem had strong political overtones, and that some-

thing had to be done to help local government bodies cope with it. We tried sending youth groups into the countryside for longer or shorter periods and explain to the people the situation and its implications. This, however, did not check the outflow of rural population.

The District Party Committee undertook an analysis and found the continuous migration was due mainly to uneven distribution of industry. Young families will remain in the village only if they are provided with proper economic conditions. They are not satisfied with seasonal earnings only; they want a guaranteed year-round wage, for only in that way can they meet all their requirements. Given this economic incentive they would willingly remain in the village and, in fact, help build up the needed cultural and recreational facilities. We concluded that the rational thing was to start industries in the bigger rural centers. The idea, of course, was not to venture out on large-scale industry, but organize relatively small enterprises and shops working in cooperation with urban industry. People in mountain hamlets, usually a mile or so from the rural center, would find jobs in these enterprises too.

There was also this consideration: the Gabrovo district has a tradition of handicraft and cottage industries, and this was a not unimportant factor in training skilled workers.

That was the beginning of what has turned out to be a useful undertaking. Under the political leadership of the District Party organization, industry has been growing steadily since 1963. We have started small factories and shops in 23 villages and have also extended cooperative industries. Auxiliary shops have been transferred from the towns to the countryside, so that now we make low-voltage transformers, plastics, clothing, and other items.

Rural Party organizations had a most active share in this work. It fell to them to assess local conditions for one or another type of industry, find and allocate personnel and solve all the service and other problems involved.

This is how Comrade Ivan Giorgiev, who for several years was secretary of the Party organization in Buria village, describes the rise of some of these rural industries: "Our Party committee made a survey of the local conditions and found they warranted the building of a small plant. The District Party Committee and the District People's Council approved the idea and we obtained permission from Sofia to start a shop manufacturing spare parts for the Gabrovo electric car factory. There was still the problem of personnel, so we sent 20 of our men to the Gabrovo plant for training. Now, with more experience and knowhow, some of our workers have advanced to technician's jobs. No one is thinking of leaving the village."

The commune Party committees cooperate closely in strengthening these new collectives,

helping them to solve the problems that crop up in every new venture.

Some were inclined to believe that rural industry could not be run on economic lines. That has now been disproved. The District Party Committee starts new industries only after carefully weighing all the advantages and disadvantages, and after it is convinced that there is a solid economic foundation for them. Our first consideration in setting up these auxiliary shops and mini-factories is to help develop large-scale production by supplying parts to the big plants. This contributes to their efficient operation and makes for more rational specialization. Most of the village enterprises are within 12 miles of the mother factory, so that supply and delivery can be closely coordinated.

Besides these economic advantages, rural industries have a useful social effect. Migration from the villages is declining and fuller use is being made of school buildings, recreational centers, water and power supply, and also housing. Much could be written on the subject, but I will only quote this account by N. Dimitrov, the Party Secretary in Stokita village:

"Not so very long ago, between 80 and 100 people would leave the village every year, and this meant an acute labor shortage. Care of the fields and orchards deteriorated, many houses stood empty.

"We opened a shop producing stamped parts for one of the factories in Gabrovo. It employs 80 people, but there are plans to enlarge it and double, even treble, the number of workers. Migration has been sharply reduced, and there is no problem of finding jobs for men returning from the army.

"There were the sceptics, of course, telling us that industry and agriculture could not co-exist in one and the same village. The new shop, they argued, would be bound to interfere with the work of the state farm. These predictions proved wrong. The shop has had the effect of keeping families in the village and continuing work on the farm, and in the sum-

mer shop workers help in the fields. All this has inspired confidence in the future of the village. The Party and trade union groups in the shop are doing much to train and weld together this young working collective. This year we will be sending school leavers to vocational training centers and they will come back skilled workers."

Such is the impact of working-class influence, a factor the full value of which we are only now beginning to appreciate.

Was it by chance that the District Party Committee hit upon this solution? Certainly not. It was the result of much effort and of a policy of putting economic management on a scientific basis and enlisting experts to help in this. It was the result, also, of a close and searching study of the economics of the locality and of long-range planning.

I have cited these two examples to show the type and the difficulty of the problems likely to arise in building socialism. Party organizations must work out constructive solutions, and that requires knowledge and interpretation of all the facts.

We use different forms of scientific approach to economic development. For instance, the District Committee and local Party organizations consulted scientists on the problems involved in intensive farm production. This was of immense value, for it will enable the District Committee to work out optimal solutions at its next meeting, which will be discussing agriculture.

Last year we held a meeting on industrial esthetics. Consultation with the specialist and the workers group on the Committee on Science and Technology, the Sofia Fashion Center and the Ministry of Light Industry, proved exceptionally useful and timely. Now the campaign to give our factories a better image is in full swing.

Our experience has shown that Party guidance of the economy can be effective only if it is based on science, if the experts are brought into Party work.

Pencho KARAPENOV

The first Communist in the Jersey parliament

MY ELECTION TO THE Jersey States Assembly — the island's Parliament — last December has focussed a lot of interest on our island. This is because last December I became not only the first Communist, but the first representative of the working people, to sit in the States Assembly.

Jersey in fact does not often attract the eyes of the world. It is a small island—part of the Channel Islands group—lying to the North West of France, yet belonging to the British monarchy. The last time its fate attracted international attention was when the Channel Islands became the only part of the British Isles to be occupied by the Hitlerite troops.

To understand the present position in Jersey, one has to know a little of its history. It has a peculiar constitutional position, being with Guernsey (the other large Channel Island) a personal possession of the British Crown, due to the islands being the sole contemporary relic of the ancient Duchy of Normandy. This has come to mean that though the British Government in London is responsible for the islands in all international affairs, they are completely autonomous internally.

Up till 1939, there was no deep political consciousness among our people. However, this is not to say that the people had never undertaken any political action. Public riots at intervals during the nineteenth century were followed by frequent strike action after the First World War. Branches of British Trade Unions became firmly established in our island during the 1920s, although it was only in 1938 that they finally won legality with the repealing of anti-combination Acts. After an initial attempt to set up a Branch of the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1939, our Party Branch was reborn in 1942, illegally, as a rallying point for resistance to the German Occupation.

At the end of twenty-five years of existence it is still the only working class Party in Jersey.

The Nazi occupation of our island came as a tremendous political shock to our people. Not for many generations had the breath of war scorched Jersey. We had indeed been regarded for long as a haven for people uprooted by

war. Many French Huguenot families fleeing from Catholic persecution, for example, settled in Jersey, as also did French, Hungarian and Polish patriots following the crushing of the 1848 revolutions.

After Liberation in 1945, the rapid growth of the Jersey Democratic Movement with Communist participation forced constitutional changes. The ramshackle semi-feudal State apparatus had included a legislative body—the States Assembly — which was composed of Court Officials elected for life terms, appointees of the Crown, Church of England clergymen, the senior officers of the municipalities and some directly elected People's Deputies. In effect this had meant that the government of the island was largely in the hands of a class of landowners. The Reform Act of 1947, by altering the balance to a majority of directly elected members, in fact brought the majority into the hands of the island's business men.

This is not to say that Jersey has become industrialized. The business men referred to are merchants and agents for big British monopoly concerns. The main sources of income for Jersey are still agriculture, or more correctly, market gardening; and the providing of facilities for the hundreds of thousands of holiday-makers who visit our island every summer. Another major source of income comes from the many millionaires and other rich residents who have settled to escape from paying British Income Tax, and take advantage of the lower tax levels operating in Jersey.

Apart from such people, the main classes are peasant farmers, professional people, guest-house keepers and traders, and of course, the working class. This latter consists mainly of agricultural, catering and building workers, together with workers in produce handling, transport and other service industries.

In this island of ours, one sees poverty cheek by jowl with extreme wealth. There has been in recent years a great influx of British capital which is mainly "invested" in property speculation, so that it has become commonplace for seaside villas to sell for £50,000 and more. Meanwhile, naturally, rents have soared. Many people are paying £3 and £5 a week for single

rooms and £6 and £7 for simple flats, while the average weekly wage is not more than £12 to £13 a week. The price of food and clothing also is higher than the average in Britain. The result, of course, is that most workers, particularly during the summer months, take on two jobs. It is quite common at that time of year to find people working for 70 or 80 hours a week, merely to pay off the debts of the previous winter, or to lay up a little money ahead for the following winter.

Illness and old age are dreaded. The standard old age pension is £2.15s. which is below the rent most people pay. Other usual social security benefits, such as unemployment benefit, are either at very low levels or non-existent. Instead, people have to depend on public or private charity.

The working class challenge to such a position grew in strength after the liberation. But this challenge faced serious difficulties. For example, a new tradition of militant action had to be found from its beginnings. In the fighting of elections, all sorts of obstacles were met. Although theoretical adult suffrage exists, there are in practice regulations which put some sections of the people in a privileged position. The ward boundaries are such that nowhere can be found a seat that represents a solid working class area. The electoral roll is drawn up in such a way as to make street canvassing difficult. Working-class candidates are inhibited by the fact that while the States Assembly and its Committees meet during working hours, there is no payment of any kind for its members.

The Communist Party has fought every triennial election since 1948. At elections it fights for a policy of benefit to all the working people, for better social services and for further democratic reforms. At first its votes were small. Over the years the vote for Communist candidates has increased greatly, although many people are still influenced by the anti-Communist propaganda. This electoral campaign of our Party has also encouraged other workers to seek election to the States Assembly with Trade Union sponsorship. Even without gaining success at the polls for many years, this persistent campaigning forced the ruling cliques on to the defensive and was the reason for several reforms.

The local Press, wholly in the hands of the ruling cliques, confidently predicted that the people were satisfied by the status quo and that neither I nor any other Communist would ever win a seat. They were still predicting this last December when a further States election fell due. Their headlines shouted of surprise and shock after the election results were made public.

For the past eighteen years the Party has conducted regular and persistent work in the ward I contested. We held regular sales of the *Morning Star*, Britain's Communist daily paper,

we took up all kinds of grievances of individuals with the States Departments, we distributed leaflets explaining our policy and exposing the Establishment, we knocked on doors regularly, conducting political argument. In short our comrades became well known in this ward, as fighters for the people's interests.

At first our work was done mostly in this one ward, although more recently we have spread our activity more widely. This was simply because of the tiny size of our Party membership, which even now is only one in every two thousand of our population.

Our biggest difficulties have always been the winning of conviction that it is necessary for all progressive workers to join our Party, and to convince workers not in our Party that it would be fruitful for them to join with our comrades in united action. Right up to the time of my election these were difficulties we had not overcome, although for the first time on this occasion non-Communists campaigned with us.

It is still early to sum up all the new avenues that this breakthrough has opened up. Although it is not easy to achieve anything significant as a single voice in an Assembly of 52 members, we have found it possible to force the discussion of progressive policies. For example, I have moved propositions for equality of representation of tenants on rent reviewing tribunals and for public ownership of the local bus company. In each case I managed to persuade another member to second my proposition, and received a number of supporting votes. I have been elected to the Social Security Committee—perhaps a move to restrict my freedom of action in this important sphere. In this context I have been pressing for more realistic rates of benefit, though so far without success.

I have also appeared before other committees giving evidence in favor of democratic reforms of the franchise procedure and in favour of transforming the present system of "poor law" relief of poverty.

When this year's budget was presented I was listened to in shocked silence when I rose to oppose it utterly as biased against a proper provision of the social benefits that the people need while tucking away over 10 per cent of the revenue into reserves.

This principled stand for the policies our Party proclaimed before the election has rallied around us wide sections of people. Jersey people are at last being able to judge the public actions of a Communist in an official position and their reactions are certainly very encouraging. For example, I have been faced with this problem that States Members are not paid, although a member who is representing his electors fully must spend two or three days a week doing so. To deal with this situation our Party immediately called for public sub-

scriptions to pay for loss of wages. We announced that if more money was donated than was needed it would be held in trust to help future working class Deputies, whether Communist or not. Money has started to flood in and indeed we already have a considerable surplus in this fund.

I also circularized all working class bodies informing them that I was setting up an advisory committee to discuss and advise me on policy and priorities. Almost all these bodies (Trade Unions, etc.) have elected delegates, and this committee is functioning very well, and in the absence of a mass working class Party, is focussing attention on working-class attitudes to social policy.

Before the election our candidates had pledged to hold regular Report Back meetings of electors. Recently, I held the first such meeting, to which I gave a detailed report on the measures before the States Assembly and the way I had or would vote. This was followed by an hour long discussion which showed the great interest of the electors present. I also keep in

touch with the people through the issue of a monthly Newsletter touching on the issues of the moment.

Naturally, although this election success has carried me into our island's Parliament as its first Communist, winning this battle is not the same as winning final victory in the class struggle.

The very fact of this success is bound to polarize the contending forces and sharpen the class struggle in our island during the next few years. In the past, one of the greatest obstacles to working class representation in the States Assembly was the widespread feeling that it just could not happen.

The perspective of the Communist Party in Jersey in this situation is to work to develop the widest possible unity of all working people so that this isolated breakthrough can be widened at future elections into a group of Communist and other progressive States Members.

Norman LE BROcq

The revolutionary process and reforms

SEEKING TO DISCREDIT the present line of the Communist movement, some ill-wishers assert that it reflects a "crisis" in revolutionary ideas. In an attempt to "substantiate" their assertion they give a distorted interpretation of Marxism-Leninism on the question of reform and revolution; in this they are given a helping hand by the Social-Democratic press. *Socialisme*, organ of the Belgian Socialists, recently wrote, for example, that the inclusion of the fight for reforms in communist strategy is an admission of the fact that "a revolutionary party is an anachronism in a highly developed society." Assertions of this kind need to be answered.

Revolution and reform are concepts that have always figured large in the ideology and policy of the working-class movement. In point of fact the two concepts explain its division into two main branches—revolutionaries and reformists. When speaking of the socialist goal the reformists consider that the only way to reach it is through a gradual "growing" into socialism. For them reforms are the goal. The revolutionaries, on the contrary, proceed from the premise that capitalism can be abolished only through revolution, that reforms play but a subsidiary role.

Is this principle negated by the fact that the Communist parties in the developed capitalist countries have adopted a strategy of anti-monopoly, democratic transformations still under capitalism, reforms aimed at curbing the power of the monopolies, at changing the balance of social forces in favor of the working people? The answer is no, for these reforms are not divorced from the principal aim, that of creating the conditions for the revolutionary replacement of capitalism by socialism.

Socialist revolution means a change in kind in production and social relations: abolition of the private ownership of the means of production as the main and determining form of property, and the establishment of social relations based on the new forms of property, relations promoting the development of the material and spiritual culture of society, the

emancipation and advancement of the individual. The methods and forms of revolutionary transformations may differ, depending on the character and degree of social development.

The basic question of revolution is that of state power. It is the transfer of power to the new social class that ensures the carrying out of revolutionary reconstruction, its consolidation and further development. However, this does not necessarily mean that the reconstruction can be begun only after a change of power; a beginning can be made in the course of the class struggle and before the bourgeoisie has lost power completely. It all depends on the degree of development of the economic basis, on the concrete conditions in which the political struggle is waged, on the ability of the exploiting classes to resist.

The socialist revolution, no matter how swift its blows may be at the decisive centers of capitalist resistance, is, as Marx wrote in his *Preface to a Critique of Political Economy*, a long process of transformation embracing an entire epoch. Lenin noted that in the context of world history a leap, and revolution is such a leap, can embrace a period of dozens of years. The transition to socialism, he pointed out, will be a long one in all countries, and no one can say how many transitional stages there will be.

Reforms are changes which usually do not go beyond the structure of the society in question, and which reflect, more or less directly, the correlation of political forces at the given moment. No matter what sphere of life they concern—the economy, labor relations, culture—the reforms are invariably a product of the class struggle, and in one way or another dovetail with the interests of definite classes. Anxious to ward off the onslaught of the proletariat, the ruling class introduces the kind of reforms that will not affect the foundations of its existence and rule, trying at the same time to retrieve the concessions wrested from it by the working class.

Lenin wrote: "The concept 'reform', is undoubtedly the opposite of the concept 'revolution'. Failure to remember this contrast, failure

to remember the line that divides these two concepts, constantly leads to very serious mistakes in all historical discussion. But this contrast is not something absolute, this line is not something dead, but alive and changing, and one must be able to define it in each particular case." The growing importance of reforms in the class struggle derives from the growing strength of the organized working class; it depends on the influence it exerts on other sections of society, on the policy of the Communist parties, equipped with programs of anti-monopoly struggle. A big role, understandably, is played by the change in the balance of world forces.

Lenin regarded fundamental reforms as part of the fight for socialism. In the plan of the transition to socialism he included such reforms as "control, supervision, accounting, regulation by the state, a proper allocation of labor power in the production and distribution of goods, husbanding the people's energy," etc. Lenin stressed, for example, that under the Provisional Government, universal labor conscription, regulated and directed by workers' organizations (the Soviets) "*will still not be socialism, but it will no longer be capitalism. It will be a tremendous step towards socialism, a step from which, if complete democracy is preserved, there can no longer be any retreat back to capitalism, without unparalleled violence being committed against the masses.*"

A critical examination of the contemporary scene and of the experience of the revolutionary movement enables the Communist parties to elaborate and deepen the strategy of major democratic and anti-monopoly reforms. The fundamental tenets of this strategy were analyzed at the 1957 and 1960 international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties; they are reflected in many documents of the fraternal parties.

Reforms preceding the revolutionary replacement of capitalism by socialism play an important role. They are a means of improving the conditions of the working class still under capitalism, of eliminating the survivals of pre-capitalist relations; they pave the way to the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, promote the development of the anti-monopoly struggle. These reforms prepare the objective conditions essential for the transition to socialism.

In the fight for reforms the masses acquire valuable experience. They see how restricted these reforms are in the framework of capitalist society, realize the need for revolutionary changes. The fight for reforms helps to win the majority of the population to the side of the revolution. Waldeck Rochet recently wrote in this connection, "We consider that it is in the fight to end the domination of the monopolies and for a real policy of peace and profound economic and social reforms, that the working class can achieve unity, rally around itself all the non-monopoly sections, isolate and weaken the big bourgeoisie and in this way create the conditions that will help the vast mass of

the population to understand the objectives of the socialist revolution and the need to fight for these objectives."

Securing a revolutionary majority is an element of a revolutionary situation; it means that the masses no longer want to live in the old way. This, in turn, can lead to a situation when the ruling class, too, can no longer rule in the old way, i.e., to a national crisis.

Effecting big changes in society, which is a complex and multi-stage process, is impossible without the participation of the vast majority of the people. Marxist-Leninists reject the thesis that a revolution can be carried out by a small minority, without the mass of the people.

Marxism-Leninism also rejects the theory that the masses can be drawn into revolution only at times of crises and hardship, only when their conditions worsen, a theory which, in effect, advocates the formula "the worse, the better," in other words, the greater the suffering of the masses the greater the chances for revolution. (A variation of this theory is the view that war is a prerequisite for revolution.) The Communist parties, on the contrary, hold that the interests of the working class must be upheld, that the fight for these interests will help to rally the masses. "Every improvement, even the slightest, in the conditions of the working people," Togliatti noted, "every blow struck at the system of privilege and exploitation, is a positive fact. Nothing could be more stupid and harmful than the policy 'the worse, the better'."

The fight for the workers' demands, for better conditions has yielded fruit. Reforms have been introduced improving the economic position of the workers, giving them more rights. The extension of democracy creates more favorable conditions for fighting the bourgeoisie.

However, no matter how important the changes in the political superstructure, they do not spell the end of capitalism, for "capitalist society arises from the political and economic power of the bourgeoisie" (Lenin). There is no such thing as complete democracy under capitalism, for it applies, and even then only in a limited way, to political institutions, and does not extend to the mode of production. The opposing sides on the political battlefields are not evenly matched: the bourgeoisie is buttressed by its economic power, all the means for exerting pressure on the other classes are in its hands.

True, in the event of the bourgeoisie resorting to reactionary measures to curtail democracy and worsen the conditions of the working class, it must be countered by decisive action. However, reforms should not be rejected just because they have been proposed by the bourgeoisie and may benefit it as well. An uncompromising attitude to all reforms does not bring the revolution closer. The reverse is the case, for the bourgeoisie is able in this way to exert considerable influence on the working people and even to win a following among it. The masses support those reforms which bene-

fit them, and they will not be unduly worried should they benefit the capitalists too. Communists should explain the substance of the reforms, expose their inadequacy, and put forward their own programs.

There is yet another aspect of the dialectical interrelation between reform and revolution. Reforms are sometimes introduced solely for the purpose of stemming the tide of revolution. This is what happened during the 1905 revolution in Russia, for example, when the Tsarist government issued a Manifesto ostensibly granting Constitutional freedoms. The Bolsheviks exposed this as a fraud. Another example is the 1918 revolution in Germany when the Right-wing Social-Democrats used the reforms won in the struggle to crush the revolution.

One and the same kind of reform can play a different role in different countries. Much will depend on the forms of the class struggle in the country concerned, on the acuteness of the class contradictions, the tasks facing the working class, the concrete political situation and the correlation of forces. Naturally, the tasks facing the newly-independent countries differ from those facing Western Europe. It stands to reason that the fight for national liberation occupies a vastly more important place in a nation's history than, say, the fight for higher pensions. The concept of social justice, however, depends on the concrete situation. The conditions in which a class conflict breaks out might prove decisive. Lenin writing in the early years of the century expressed the view that the "Dreyfus Case" could, under certain circumstances, have brought France to a revolutionary situation.

At present some of the newly-independent countries are carrying out major reforms of a progressive nature, reforms reflecting the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle and the positive features of their nationalism.

The movement for reforms in the developed capitalist countries is accompanied by some fundamentally new features compared with previous years. Thus, whereas in the inter-war years and after the revolutionary wave had subsided, the basic demands of the working class concerned wages and labor and social legislation, now they are for the right to participate in management, to have a bigger say in factory matters. To fully appreciate the importance of this new trend, it should be noted that formerly demands for "industrial democracy" and workers' control were raised only at high-water mark of the revolutionary tide. The example of the socialist countries has undoubtedly spurred on this new trend the object of which is to strengthen the positions of the working class.

Today, when the social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution are increasingly making themselves felt, the worker has to grapple with new problems; his position as regards employment, skill, wage rates is becoming less secure. This compels him to fight for clearly-stated, precise agreements with the management. Whereas previously the worker was aware of certain contradictions in society without seeing their interconnection, today, confronted with a whole complex of new problems, he of necessity finds himself trying to probe the secrets of the capitalist machine which is responsible for these problems. Consequently, even though he considers reforms the way to socialism, he is potentially dangerous to the capitalist, for he is beginning to realize the need to make inroads on the very foundations of capitalist society.

Many of the contradictions in the capitalist world have become so acute that they can be resolved only through a socialist reconstruction of society. Communists proceed from this in their present strategy. They advance a socialist alternative, considering that this will help to fully awaken the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. "The central problem," Togliatti pointed out at the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, "is that of establishing close, organic contact between the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism."

Communists include in the program of reforms worked out by the working class in the developed capitalist countries reforms that impinge on capitalism's holy of holies—the machinery of state. They proceed from the fact that at present the state—the machine for oppressing the working people—also performs the important function of organizer of the economic and social life of the country.

The purpose of these reforms is to strengthen the positions of the working class in the political life of society and to win positions that will enable it to influence also its economic life.

Democratic reforms can, of course, help to modify the working of parliament, the government, and the local bodies of power. But there is no denying that in Italy the statement contained in the program of the United Socialist Party to the effect that from being an instrument of oppression serving capitalism the state has already become a potential instrument for the liberation of the working class, is totally at variance with the basic realities.

Such are some of the points touched upon during the discussion on the tasks and perspectives of the revolutionary struggle in our time, and the place of reforms in this struggle.

E. LIAN

Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication.

ENGELS, F. *Einfuehrungen in "Das Kapital" von Karl Marx.* (Prefaces to "Capital" by Karl Marx.) Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1967. 164 pp.

LENINE, V. *Oeuvres.* (Works.) Tome XI. Moscou, Editions du Progrès, 1966. 552 pp.

A Magyar Szocialista Munkaspart IX. kongresszusának jegyzokonyve. (Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.) Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1967. 513 pp.

Capitalismul — Economie Politica. (Capitalism: Political Economy.) Vol. 1, Bucharest, Editura politica, 1967. 695 pp.

GOLDMANN, S., KOUBA, K. *Hospodarsky rust v CSSR. Uvod do teorie ekonomického rustuza socialismu a experimentalni pokus o aplikaci modelu Kaleckého na statisticka data.* (Economic Growth in the CSSR. An Introduction to the Theory of Economic Growth Under Socialism, and an Experimental Application of the Kalecki Model to Statistical Data.) Prague, Academia, 1967. 143 pp.

DUCLOS, J. *Octobre 17 vu de France.* (October 1917 Seen from France.) Paris, Editions Sociales, 1967. 382 pp.

ILYINSKY, I. *Konstitutsii mira i sotsializma. Iz opyta konstitutsionnogo stroitel'stva v yevropeiskikh sotsialisticheskikh stranakh.* (Constitutions of Peace and Socialism. The Experience of Constitutional Development in the Socialist Countries of Europe.) Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya, 1967. 312 pp.

KALECKI, M., SACHS, J. *Z zagadnien finansowania rozwoju krajow o "gospodarce mieszanenij".* (Problems of Financing the Development of Countries with a "Mixed Economy".) Warsaw, PWN, 1967. 147 pp.

PELTONEN, M. A. *Puheenvuoroja marxilaisesta taloustieteesta.* (Marxist Political Economy.) Pori (Finland), Satakunnan Yhteisvoima, 1967. 63 pp.

PANAYATOV, P. *Prinosat na balgari za pobedata na Oktomvriyskata revolyutsiya.* (The Part Played by Bulgarians in the October Revolution.) Sofia, BKP, 1967. 246 pp.

Programmatische Dokumente der Nationalen Front des demokratischen Deutschland. (Policy Documents of the National Front in the GDR.) Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1967. 306 pp.

LAKOS, S. *A gazdasagi mechanizmus reformjanak egyes kérdesei.* (Aspects of the Economic Reforms in Hungary.) Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1966. 88 pp.

STANISLAWSKA, S. *Polska a Monachium.* (Poland and Munich.) Warsaw, KIW, 1967. 467 pp.

Studie z dejin ceskoslovensko-sovetskych vztahou 1917-1938. (A study of Czechoslovak-Soviet Relations, 1917-38.) Prague, Academia, 1967. 129 pp.

VAKLIEV, G., et al. *Analiz na stopanskata deinost na sotsialisticheskite predpriyatiya.* (An Economic Analysis of the Functioning of Socialist Enterprises.) Sofia, Nauka i izkustvo, 1967. 400 pp.

VIDAL, J. E. *Où va la Chine?* (Whither China?) Saint-Amand, Editions Sociales, 1967. 284 pp.

1911

1911

1911

new books from the **USSR**

*Some books to read on the occasion of the
50th anniversary of the first socialist state*

HISTORY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION
\$3.00

A new 1966 edition in one volume. Covers the period from early 1917 to autumn 1918. Edited by USSR Academy of Sciences.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE USSR \$5.00

Two-volume new 1966 edition from the USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of History. From earliest times to post World War Two period.

SOVIET FINANCIAL SYSTEM \$1.50

Edited by experts of Moscow Financial Institute. Deals with budget, state loans, insurance, etc.

**SOCIALIST NATIONALIZATION OF
INDUSTRY \$2.00**

By V. Vinogradov. How capitalist industry was nationalized in the USSR.

**FROM TSARIST GENERAL TO
RED ARMY COMMANDER \$2.50**

By Bonch-Bruyevich. Fascinating memoir of an historic period.

THE ARDUOUS BEGINNING \$2.50

B. A. Eremenko. Famed Soviet general tells story of early years of Nazi invasion.

First Time in English

A DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY—edited by M. Rosenthal and P. Yudin

Just received, the 1967 edition of a notable book. Contains 1,200 entries contributed by over 200 Soviet philosophers and sociologists **\$4.00**

AND QUIET FLOWS THE DON \$8.00

By M. Sholokhov. New 1967 edition of 4-volume Nobel Prize-winning set.

THE RUSSIAN FOREST \$3.50

By Leonid Leonov. First time in English. A novel about a half-century of Russian life.

PROGRESS BOOKS

ORDER FROM:

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

225

Ed. A. Johnson

Dear Sir,

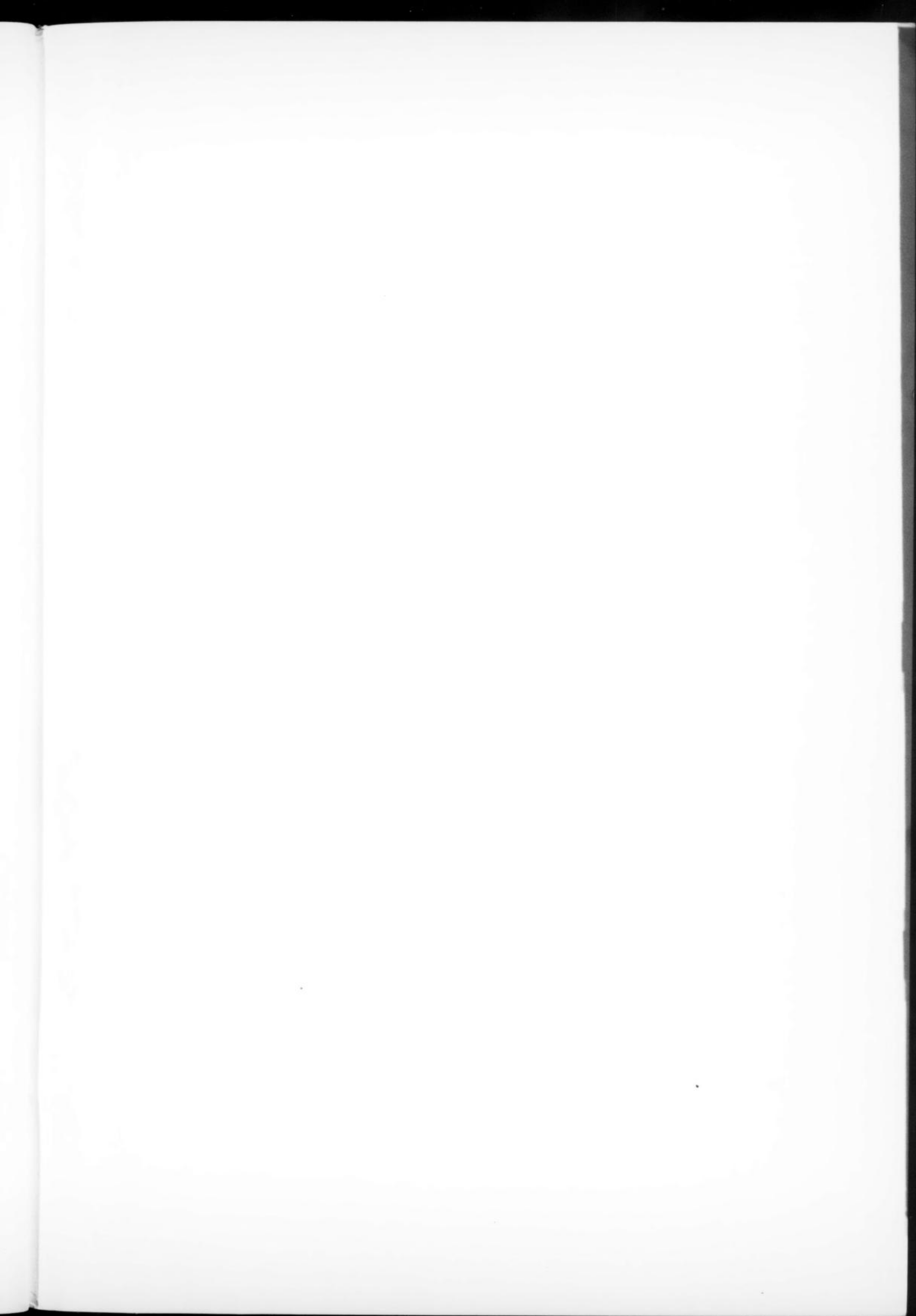
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the above named matter.

I am sorry to hear that you are not satisfied with the result of the investigation.

I have been very busy lately and have not had time to devote to this matter as much as I would like.

I am sure that you will understand my position.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours,
Ed. A. Johnson



Editions of the journal

"PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"



EDITIONS IN ENGLISH
(World Marxist Review):
Central Books Ltd.,
37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England

Progress Books,
487 Adelaide St. West,
Toronto 2B, Ontario,
Canada

FRENCH EDITIONS
(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale)
Société d'Édition et
d'Information 9, Boulevard des Italiens
Paris (2e) France

Librairie Du Monde Entier,
5, Place St-Jean,
Bruxelles

Librairie Rousseau,
36, rue J.-J. Rousseau,
Geneve

RUSSIAN EDITION
Stredisko pro rozsirovani tisku,
Praha 6, Thakurova 3
Czechoslovakia

BRAZILIAN EDITION
(in Portuguese)
Rua da Assembléia, 34
3.º andar, sala 304,
Rio de Janeiro, Estado da Guanabara
Brazil

BULGARIAN EDITION
Raznoiznos,
1, Rue Tzar Assen
Sofia

CEYLON EDITION
(In Sinhalese)
91 Cotta Road
Colombo, Ceylon

CYPRUS EDITION
(in Greek)
Laikon Praktorion,
Tricoupi Street, 53 T. Nicosia

CZECH EDITION
Artia, Praha 2,
Nove Mesto, Ve smeckach 30

DUTCH EDITION:
Progressief Algemeen Vertaalbureau,
Chr. Snouck Hurgronjehof 22",
Amsterdam W

GERMAN EDITIONS
Deutscher Buch-Export und Import
GmbH,
Leipzig C I, Leninstrasse 16

"Globus" Vertrieb ausländischer
Zeitschriften, Wien XX,
Höchstädtplatz 3,
Austria

Genossenschaft Literaturvertrieb
Zürich, Zürich 4, Feldstrasse 46,
Switzerland

HUNGARIAN EDITION
Kossuth Kiado, Budapest, V,
Arpad-U6

ITALIAN EDITION
Libreria Rinascita, Via delle Botteghe
Oscure 2, Roma

JAPANESE EDITION
Nauka Ltd.,
2, Kanda-Zinbocho
2-chome, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo

MONGOLIAN EDITION
Mongolgosknigotorg,
ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator

POLISH EDITION:
P. K. W. Z. "RUCH", Warszawa,
Wilcza 46

RUMANIAN EDITION
Directia Difuzarii Presei,
Palatul administrativ C.F.R.,
Bd. Dinicu Golescu, Intrarea G.
Bucuresti

EDITIONS IN SPANISH
Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa
Praha 6, Thakurova 3

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Nacional 1253,
Bogota, Colombia

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos,
Casilla Correo 589, Montevideo,
Uruguay

Fondo de Cultura Popular
Apdo. postal 2352
Mexico I, D.F.

Empresa Editora Austral
San Francisco 36,
Casilla 13201
Santiago, Chile

Editorial "Anteo,"
Entre Rios 1033,
Buenos Aires,
Argentina

SWEDISH EDITION
Arbetarkultur, Kungsgt 84,
Stockholm K, Sweden

VIETNAMESE EDITION
So'o xuất nhập khẩu sách bao 32,
Hai Ba trung, Hà-noi

