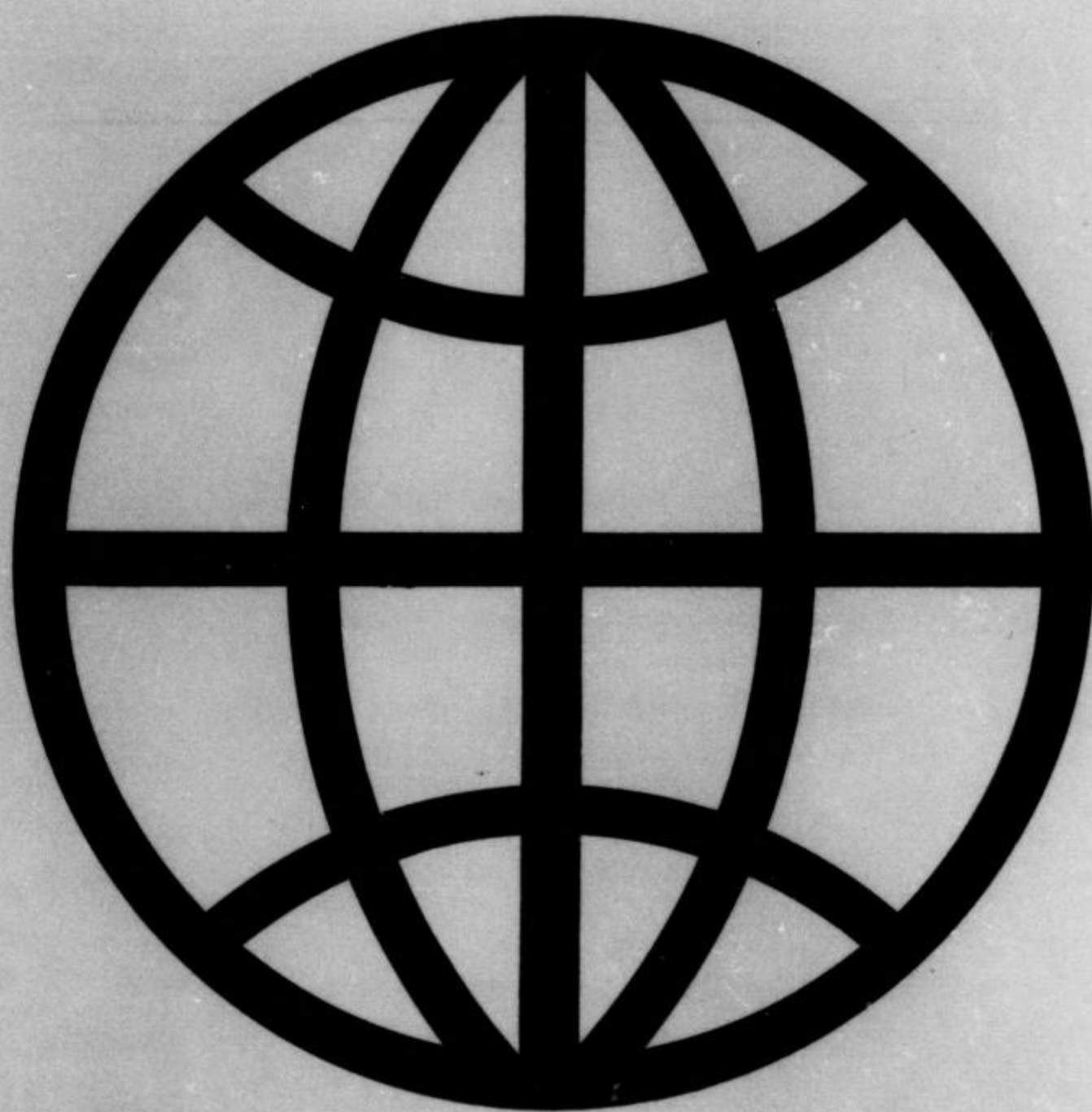


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

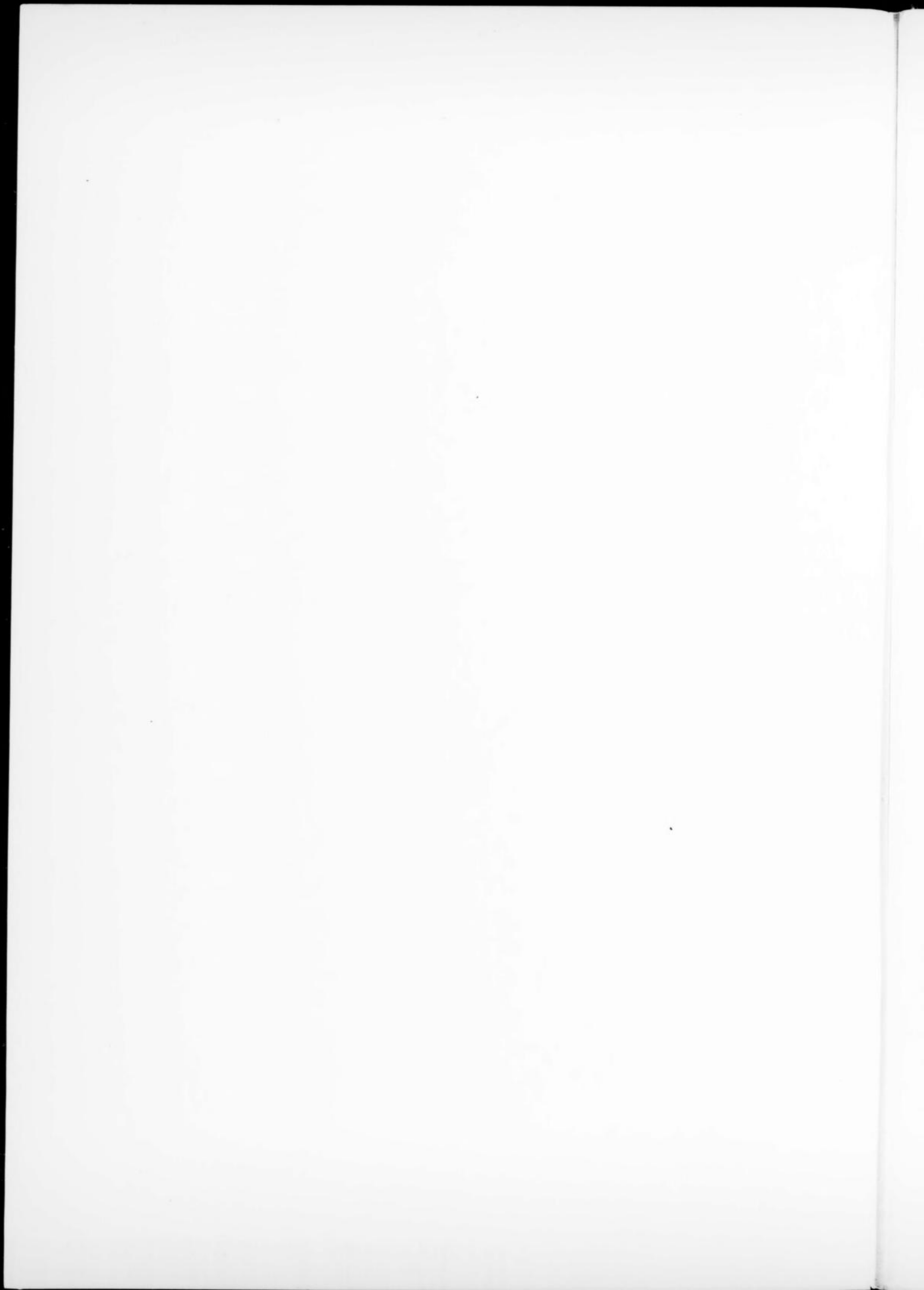
**Towards Solidarity
and Unity**
By THE EDITOR



PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

APRIL 1968

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Communique

on consultative meeting

of Communist and Workers' Parties

A Consultative Meeting of representatives of the following Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Budapest from February 26 to March 5, 1968:

Communist Party of the United States of America, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Chile, Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, South-African Communist Party, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor, People's Unity Party of Haiti, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of India, Irish Workers' Party, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Israel, Jordanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Colombia, Polish United Workers' Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Moroccan Communist Party, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Italian Communist Party, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Re-

union Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Sudanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela and the Communist Party working underground as well as representatives of the Algerian Communists.

The Socialist Unity Party of Iceland and the Communist Party of Norway were represented at the Consultative Meeting by observers.

In an atmosphere of free comradely discussion, the participants in the Consultative Meeting exchanged views on convening and preparing an international Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. After a comprehensive discussion, they agreed to convene the Conference in Moscow in November-December of 1968.

The Consultative Meeting believes that the purpose of the Conference will be to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement, to help rally all the forces of socialism and democracy in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social liberation of the peoples and for peace throughout the world. After discussing proposals for the agenda, the meeting decided that there should be only one item on the agenda: the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and the unity of action of Communist and Workers' Parties, and of all anti-imperialist forces.

It was the unanimous opinion of the meeting, that the preparations for the Conference be based on consistent observance of the principles of collegiate and comrade-

ly cooperation of all Communist and Workers' Parties with equal right to participate in both the preparations for the Conference and in its proceedings.

For the period of preparing the Conference, the participants in the Consultative Meeting agreed to set up a Commission consisting of the representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties desirous of taking part in it. The Conference Preparatory Commission has been instructed to consider and summarize all the proposals submitted by the fraternal Parties and all other materials germane to the Conference, to draft its documents and to submit these drafts to the Conference. The Commission will likewise maintain liaison with the fraternal Parties on these matters. This approach will make for the taking into maximum consideration of all constructive views and wishes expressed by the fraternal Parties and for joint preparation of the International Conference. The Commission will have its headquarters in Budapest. The Consultative Meeting deems it necessary for the Preparatory Commission to meet on April 24, 1968 and hereby requests the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to convene this meeting.

It is the firm conviction of the participants in the meeting that the Conference accords with the interests of each Commu-

nist Party and with the entire international Communist movement and also with the interests of rallying all forces in the fight against imperialism.

The Consultative Meeting urges all Communist and Workers' Parties, even those that for one reason or another did not attend the Budapest meeting, to take part in the future Conference. It urges them to join in the preparatory work on a full and equal footing.

The participants in the meeting unanimously adopted a Message of Solidarity to the People of Vietnam, in which they expressed that admiration which all Communists feel for their heroic struggle and in which they give the assurance that the help rendered by the socialist countries and all the working people of the world to fighting Vietnam will grow until the American aggressors are cleared from the soil of Vietnam.

The delegations attending the Budapest meeting are convinced that the impending International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties will be a milestone towards rallying the Communists of the world on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, that it will signify a big stride forward in the further consolidation of all the anti-imperialist forces.

Message of solidarity

**to the Vietnamese people, the central committee of the
Vietnamese Working People's Party, the presidium
of the central committee of the National Liberation Front
of South Vietnam**

Dear comrades and friends,

Representatives of 67 Communist and Workers' Parties attending the Consultative Meeting in Budapest send fraternal greetings to the heroic people of Vietnam, who, in grim struggle against the American aggressors and their accomplices, are upholding the freedom and independence of their homeland.

The epic of the Vietnamese people is a model and stimulus for all peoples fighting for liberation. It is also a powerful factor of unity of action of the anti-imperialist forces. Vietnam is a symbol of courage, fortitude and resolve in the fight against the main enemy of the peoples—American imperialism. You are graphically proving that people who have taken to arms in a just cause cannot be defeated.

Your successes in the past few weeks evoke general admiration. We wholeheartedly congratulate the patriots of Vietnam, who are inflicting blow after blow on the enemy, and we have complete confidence in the final victory of the Vietnamese people in their fight against the invader.

For all its crimes, American imperialism, playing the part of international gendarme and oppressor of the peoples' freedom, will never succeed in its designs. A wrathful protest against and denunciation of the criminal policy pursued by the American ruling circles—a policy of genocide—is growing throughout the world.

Suffering defeat after defeat, American imperialism is escalating the war, threatening to use atomic weapons and thereby creating a real danger to general peace,

the danger of a world thermonuclear war. Today, as never before, vigilance and resolute action by the peoples are essential against this grave danger.

Defending their country, the people of Vietnam are performing their international duty to mankind, serving the sacred cause of safeguarding peace.

We, Communists, regard solidarity with fighting Vietnam as our vital internationalist duty. On behalf of our Parties, on behalf of the millions of our supporters, we reaffirm our inflexible resolve to give all support to the people of Vietnam who are in the forefront of the armed struggle against imperialism. With you are the countries of the socialist community; with you are the factory workers and working people throughout the world; with you are all Communists; with you are the soldiers of the national-liberation movement; with you are all people on earth who cherish freedom and peace, including those in the United States. Rest assured, dear comrades, that the aid rendered to you by the socialist countries, by the working people of the whole world, will grow.

A continuous strengthening and extension of the international front of support for the Vietnamese people fighting for victory serves the interests of every country, of every nation, of world peace. Unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, above all against American imperialism, is the most powerful need of our time.

Dear friends, we fully agree with you that there is but one way of solving the Vietnam problem—on the basis of the just

proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. We demand the immediate and unconditional cessation of the barbaric bombing of Vietnam and all other military acts against it.

Vietnam soil is the cradle of a proud and courageous people and the day will

come when the last of the invaders is ousted from this sacred soil. There is not, nor can there be, any master on the soil of Vietnam other than the people of Vietnam.

Honor and glory to the valiant people of Vietnam fighting selflessly for freedom and independence!

Budapest, February 28, 1968

Towards solidarity and unity

The documents of the Budapest Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (published in this issue) are evidence of the resolve of the participants to promote cooperation and solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties in solving the central problems of combating imperialism and uniting all the progressive forces for this struggle.

Imperialism, the chief obstacle to human progress and peace, uses modern production and science to destroy human life, suppress freedom, devastate countries and subjugate peoples. This aspect of imperialism as a social system now stands out in sharp focus.

In Asia, a half-million strong American army is laying waste to towns and villages, devastating and desecrating the land of Vietnam. The war menace hovers over South-East Asian countries, Laos and Cambodia. The reckless threat by U.S. military and political leaders to use tactical nuclear weapons in Vietnam is — as the Sofia declaration of the Warsaw Treaty powers rightly pointed out — a fresh manifestation of the policy of aggression, blackmail and pressure, and is a challenge to the peoples striving for peace. In the Middle East, the imperialists have created a military threat to the Arab national-liberation movement by keeping alive and fanning the smouldering flames of the military conflict. In Latin America, the U.S. imperialists are using conquistador methods to crush every mani-

festation of independence and freedom, implant regimes of terror and barbarism, and present a constant threat to revolutionary Cuba. The U.S. imperialists are seeking to apply in Africa, a continent now awakening to an independent role, the methods of suppression they have tried out in Latin America and Asia. In the heart of Europe, the militarist and neo-Nazi forces are trying to stage a comeback in West Germany. They yearn for a new version of Hitler's "new order" in Europe and threaten the security of its nations.

Imperialist global strategy, and primarily that of the U.S. monopolies, extends to many different parts of the world. Its purpose is to crush all the progressive forces and trends of our time. Imperialist propaganda is at pains to prove that the manifestations of imperialist aggression are isolated and unconnected developments and conflicts. It has sought to put the blame on various detachments of the democratic forces and has used every means at its disposal to sow discord and distrust among the progressive forces of the world. The "settlement" of these "local" conflicts, the reactionary press says, requires isolated action by local forces, which should think in terms of "local considerations" and not in terms of world development.

But how can they conceal the fact that these events are but manifestations of imperialist aggression, links in one and the same chain. How can they conceal that

they affect every continent and that a progressive solution of national problems is now intimately linked with the international situation, to one or another extent acquires international significance, and is closely related to the tasks facing the progressive forces in every part of the world. What we have is a growing internationalization of all world processes, in whatever area. Such is the objective trend of world development, a trend leading to deeper and more complex processes within national or local frameworks. These ideas and facts are finding increasing prominence in the pages of the Communist press everywhere. They found expression at the Budapest meeting, which was concerned for united action in the anti-imperialist struggle. Even publications far removed from communism are changing their tone and evincing distrust of the propaganda about "discord" in the Communist movement. It is now becoming increasingly difficult to put over that type of anti-communist propaganda, and we find the bourgeois press admitting that the idea of world Communist unity is meeting with success.

The anti-imperialist struggle requires careful analysis of the international situation as it presents itself in different areas and in all its differing aspects. Lenin had a high regard for the counsel given by Wilhelm Liebknecht, co-worker of Marx, to the workers' parties—always combine three forms of activity: study, propaganda and organization. That advice fully retains its validity to this day. Study of the objective situation is the basis for Marxist-Leninist propaganda and action. It is one of the things that distinguishes scientific socialism from the ideological schemas of the Utopians. There is a growing interest in theory in the Communist parties, in the study of the objective conditions and potentialities of mass action to bring about profound social change. And these problems are seen in the context of the concrete conditions obtaining in the given continent, area or country. Not all the problems have been tackled and, still less, not all the problems that have been tackled have found final solution. But today the situation in any given country, area or continent cannot be studied outside the context of the general international situation and imperialist global strategy. International exchange of experience and views on this question is essential to an understanding of all international and local situations. There is no need to dwell on the import-

ance, both for theory and practice, for the Communist movement carefully to take into account the specifics of the present situation in all the diverse aspects, of working out a more effective policy of anti-imperialist struggle and enriching the tactics of that struggle in order more effectively to combat imperialism, the chief enemy of the peoples.

The point and purpose of such study and propaganda is to organize the masses. Indeed, it is for this purpose that the Marxist-Leninist parties were formed. And right from their inception Marx inscribed on their banners: "Workers of all Countries, Unite!" The Budapest Consultative Meeting met 120 years after these words were proclaimed in the crucible of revolutionary battle. The forms of international proletarian organization have changed in the past century. At the present stage of development, it is manifestly impossible to direct the world Communist movement from one center. Today, one of the main forms of joint discussion of pressing problems and voluntary cooperation is meetings of fraternal parties. Such a meeting has been held in Budapest, and following consultations and exchange of views it decided to prepare a conference of all fraternal parties, to be held in Moscow in November-December. Such international meetings, at which, from the very outset, democracy is observed in their preparation and conduct, make it possible to coordinate worldwide communist activity. That is the starting point for the convocation of a world forum of the fraternal parties.

In preparing and carrying out these conferences, it is especially important to abide by democratic principles, respect the right of all parties to share in their preparation and proceedings. That is a feature of the present-day Communist movement. Mutual respect, the will to reach mutual understanding, persistent search, on a principled basis, for what all the parties hold in common, what unites them—such is the earnest of success of international communist activity. Broad democratic and constructive discussion is expressive of the level now achieved by the world Communist movement. Every party, by demonstrating its will to cooperate, contributes to this discussion something new, based on its concrete experience and on the specific features of its struggle. That is the only way to show what the Communists hold in common, what unites them in their activity and, consequently, assures cohesion, co-

operation, and unity in the pursuit of common aims. In the opinion of many parties, the spirit of comradeship and democracy, and the search for effective solutions, must find full expression at all meetings and international conferences.

The Budapest meeting is now being followed by direct preparation for the Moscow meeting by a commission of representatives of all Communist and Workers' parties wishing to participate. The preparatory commission, which is working in Budapest, has been instructed to examine and summarize all proposals from the fraternal parties and other materials relating to the Conference and draft its documents. On these questions it will be in contact with the fraternal parties. This is an important period of careful accumulation of the experience of the world Communist movement in its fight for the national and social emancipation of mankind, against imperialism's global strategy of strangulation, against the menace of another world war.

For various reasons not all Communist and Workers' parties took part in the Consultative Meeting. It appealed to all parties, including those which, for one or another reason, were not represented at Budapest to take part in the Moscow conference and share, on an equal footing, in the preparatory work. In Budapest the delegates emphasized that there can be no question of "excommunicating" any party. The purpose of the forthcoming meeting is solidarity and unity.

The Communist parties influence all aspects of social life. The strength of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries, and the unity of these countries, is a decisive obstacle to the imperialist aggressors. The people of Vietnam are fighting heroically and the flame of national libera-

tion is spreading to imperialism's hinterland. There are strong Communist parties in a number of capitalist countries, and anti-capitalist sentiment, in one form or another, has spread to diverse non-proletarian sections of the people. Social conflicts, far from abating as the apologists of capitalism maintain, are becoming more acute. Scientific socialism is penetrating, in one form or another, the national-liberation movement and lending strength to the idea, posed by life, that today the tasks of national and social liberation are intimately connected. Imperialist contradictions are sharpening too, and the idyllic picture which bourgeois propaganda held out in the early years of NATO, has faded. New social and national strata are joining the anti-imperialist struggle. All this helps the maturing of conditions for closer cooperation and joint action of all the anti-imperialist forces. Concentrated effort is the earnest of success in the battle against imperialism.

In Lenin's words, the general direction, the objective truth, of this complex anti-imperialist process, with its intertwining of diverse trends, is expressed by the working class and its conscious vanguard. And to assure the triumph of the objective truth of modern history, this vanguard is advancing, overcoming all difficulties, to its new conference, the purpose of which is to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement, muster all the forces of socialism and democracy in the fight against imperialism, for national and social liberation and for world peace. The Conference will discuss only one question: the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and united action by the Communist and Workers' parties and by all the anti-imperialist forces.

Yuri FRANTSEV

Under the banner of Lenin's ideas

TODOR PAVLOV

Lenin's greatness is recognized by all, especially in the light of the recent fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, which confirmed his brilliant discoveries and forecasts.

I.

On the eve of the October Revolution Lenin's genius demonstrated clearly and logically that it would be a revolution against capitalism in the name of a socialist system and that it would, in substance, "expropriate the expropriators," as Marx postulated in *Capital*.

Prior to embarking on Lenin's way, the Bulgarian revolutionary-Marxist Socialist Party conceived the process of revolution essentially as Marx had outlined it in *Capital*, as "expropriation of expropriators" after all medium-sized and lesser producers have been expropriated by the big capitalists, that is, after the middle peasants, craftsmen and small businessmen have been proletarianized, but it did not see the new element in capitalism at the turn of the century.

The process of "expropriating the expropriators" was examined by Marx on the basis of a profound analysis of capitalist development. To be sure, *Capital* also contained observations on the growth of specific capitalist industries. But the substance of the examination went much farther: Volume One of *Capital* gave an exposition of the basic laws and formulas related to the emergence, growth and revolutionary overthrow of capital, irrespective of time and country. So it may be appropriate to note that Marx's analysis, forecast, synthesis and judgment are still valid in theoretico-logical and politico-practical terms.

Lenin was able to see all the complexities in this important matter, taking it a step farther. To Marx's formulas he added a few master touches, finalizing them, notably in his theory of the imperialist chain girdling the world. He indicated that capital was capital no matter in what country, and that the capitalist system was by nature exploitative and oppressive, although with a definite advantage over feudalism — something no creative Marxist ever denied, especially in reference to the early capitalism.

Lenin's idea of a single imperialist chain girdling the globe was logically associated with his other idea: that the chain had its weak links, with tsarist Russia, which had embarked on capitalism and imperialism (especially on the eve of the Revolution), proving to be the weakest in the second decade of this century.

Lenin also advanced the postulate that the general laws of socialist revolution defined by Marx in Volume One of *Capital*, though fully valid in the October Revolution, would manifest themselves in specific ways shaped by the social realities of tsarist-landowner-bourgeois Russia. And indeed, a variety of individual factors and facts in and through which the common and particular laws of socialist revolution operated in Russia, had to be taken into account.

Not until after October and our Party's conversion into a Communist Party and a charter member of the Third Communist International, did we fully realize that instead of being merely an idea and a remote possibility, dictatorship of the proletariat was a vital immediate aim, like the alliance of the workers and peasants, and like the national-democratic liberation movement, the Party's reserve. When this was fully

understood, the Party gradually became bolshevized (taking the Lenin way) and, standing the test of the September uprising (in 1923), was ready later—with decisive help from the Soviet Army that had entered the eastern part of our country — to organize and carry through the victorious popular uprising of September 9, 1944, under the Fatherland Front banner, ushering in socialist development.

It is a fact, too, that Mongolia and some of the Soviet socialist republics by-passed the capitalist stage and entered directly on the socialist way. Everybody knows that they owed this to the fraternal all-round aid of socialist Soviet Russia, and that in similar circumstances the same may apply now to other countries, provided they get the essential aid from a socialist state.

Both from the theoretical and political standpoints it is important to note that before the revolution most of the countries in question had no industrial workers and no proletarian revolutionary-Marxist or Leninist party. It was not until after liberation, with socialist industry and agriculture being built there, that a working class began to emerge and a Communist Party appeared. Slowly but surely, inspired and guided by a growing revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, the working class assumed its role of hegemon, linking up with the working peasants.

That much is clear. It is also clear that the picture differed somewhat from that in Marx's *Capital*, just as when Lenin's party, and Lenin himself, prepared and carried out the socialist revolution in Russia. Russia was neither a Mongolia, an Uzbekistan nor a Tadjikistan because (especially shortly before the Revolution) it had embarked on vigorous industrial development. Yet the specific economic, political, national, cultural, ideological and other conditions in the country did not necessitate a sweeping expropriation of all small producers; nor was there any necessity then to underrate the "revolutionary spirit" of the Russian peasant driven to the lowest depths by landowners and capitalists and the colonially-exploited and oppressed peoples under the tsarist boot.

It was in these specific conditions—with the specific revolutionary history of the Russian proletariat and intelligentsia—that a revolutionary party was built, making it possible and necessary in face of the disastrous consequences of the First World War to carry out the October Revolution under the Party's leadership with Lenin at

the head, opening the era of socialism and communism in man's history.

It follows that working-class hegemony, Communist Party leadership, the revolutionary Marxist doctrine, coupled with Marxist strategy and tactics, are logically and historically essential to prepare the proletarian socialist revolution and bring it to victory. And going a step farther, we may also infer as essential the dictatorship of the proletariat during the transition from capitalism to socialism, followed, as we witness in the Soviet Union today, by the historically essential growth of the state of proletarian dictatorship into a peoples' state of socialist democracy.

For Marxists, the Bulgarian Communists included, this is almost an axiom. Yet after Marx and Lenin, world affairs assumed a still more complex form, posing problems that Marxist-Leninist theorists and political leaders can neither evade nor underrate, or explain away with the formula that proletarian dictatorship is essential during the passage from capitalism to socialism.

The fact remains that some of the countries of the so-called *Third World*, recently delivered from the colonial yoke, failed to break out of the imperialist fold and fell under neo-colonialist economic and cultural influence, embarking in effect on the capitalist way. To deny this is logically impossible and politically foolish.

Yet there are other facts too. Some of the Third World countries are trying to follow the socialist way. But only a few of them have a heavy or light industry, an industrial proletariat and working-class hegemony, or Communist parties of the new Leninist type to lead and direct the social forces that would secure the socialist way.

The problem has been maturing for years. But it was at its sharpest in the 50th year of the October Revolution. The fact that Mongolia by-passed capitalism is not quite the same thing. The matter is far more complicated, particularly because the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist camp are geographically more remote from the countries in question. True, they are generally eager to establish relations with countries of the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union. They expect economic, political, scientific and technical aid from them, and therefore in one form or another, to one extent or another, gear their national policy to the policy of the socialist countries.

The fact is that many countries are opt-

ing for socialism under the influence of the general laws and trends of our time, of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, the world Communist and all other revolutionary movements. Yet it depends on each of them, and on the attitude towards them of the socialist camp and on the revolutionary factors of our epoch, how and to what extent they follow the socialist way, at what rates, on what scale, they can achieve positive results in historically defined terms.

If the light of October reaches such far-away places, if it influences even the most remote underdeveloped countries, this in itself proves that the basic laws of October, including the laws of the building of socialism and communism are intrinsically general and worldwide, and no, say, purely Russian or Bulgarian, although the general is always tied up with the particular, and the world revolution, while it is a single process, manifests itself differently in different countries, at different times and, last but not least, the specific laws of revolution presuppose such singular facts and factors which, alongside the particular and the general, impart a unique character to each socialist revolution, to the building of socialism and communism from country to country.

This brings us to some logical conclusions.

To begin with, developing in a variety of forms, at different rates and on different scales from country to country, depending on national features, the socialist revolution is governed by universal laws (which, admittedly, always materialize in specific ways) first observed in the October Revolution. That revolution, too, in the environment of tsarist-landowner-capitalist Russia, was prepared and carried forward as a dialectical unity of the general, particular and singular of the Russian society of that time, which, as we have noted earlier, was then the weakest link in the imperialist chain girdling our planet.

The national-liberation revolutions of our time, too, are prepared and carried forward along specific, singular lines. Still, they are governed in one form or another, to one extent or another, by the general laws of the worldwide anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist revolution.

The general character and historical trend of the present times is determined by the October Revolution, irrespective of how and to what extent this is refracted in the individual anti-colonial national-liberation

revolutions. This does not contradict, but rather accords with the general nature and significance of socialist revolution, despite all imperialist efforts to isolate the national-liberation process from the general revolutionary process and thereby oppose it to the October and other socialist revolutions.

This may escape our notice if we examine the national-liberation or socialist revolutions in isolation (each separately, as it were). To grasp all the aspects and perspectives of the present world revolutionary process, it has to be viewed at a higher level as a dialectical unity, not a simple empirical mechanico-metaphysical process of successive isolated national and socialist revolutions. We can form but two triangles out of six equal lines under planimetric laws and have to invoke the laws of stereometry to get four; the idea of a cube as a body of volume and density is inconceivable under the law of mechanical association if we take six separate sides of it, for to obtain this idea we have to rise to a higher theoretico-practical level of perception and thought. Similarly, the profound nature of socialist and national-liberation revolutions cannot be explored and scientifically defined until we rise above mechanical associations, above vulgar empiricism, abstract *Gestaltpsychologie* or holism, as made clear, on the basis of Lenin's theory of reflection, in the early editions of my paper, "The Theory of Reflection."

There is no whole in dialectico-materialist logic if it is not the whole of its parts, just as there are no parts that are not the parts of their whole. Only by treating whole and part, theory and practice, analysis and synthesis, association and rational intuition in their organic dialectical unity can the human intellect penetrate the "nature of the natural and social phenomena and processes."

These truths, substantiated by Lenin and constituting a projection of his ideas, acquired particular logical and practical impact precisely in the 50 years since the October Revolution, in the light of the practice of other socialist revolutions and the building of socialism. It is extremely important to keep this within the range of our vision.

II.

Over the past decade the socialist countries have turned to a new system of planning and economic management.

In the Soviet Union, during the early years and decades, and during the early phase in the other socialist countries, democratic centralism from *above* outweighed democracy from *below*, that is, the creative initiative of people in planning and management. This was due not only to the specific wartime and postwar exigencies (especially in the Soviet Union, where even a system of war communism had had to be introduced for a time). There was a lack of essential machinery, of industrial and agricultural raw materials, and of specialists. Experience in running the economy along socialist lines was still scarce, and the small-bourgeois element was still abundant in town and country.

Yet the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and general growth of the Soviet Union, like that of the new socialist states, has attained a high rate; a rate and a scale so high that Western statesmen have had to acknowledge the Soviet Union — the main force of the socialist camp — as the *world's second super-power*. If we recall that about 20 years were needed just to make good the destruction caused by the civil and the two world wars, this left approximately 30 years for the once backward country to grow into the *world's second super-power*, proof of how correctly Lenin's party organized and carried out the world's first great proletarian revolution, ringing in the era of socialism and communism, peace and all-round progress. No longer do we in the People's Republic of Bulgaria plan milk from barren cows; no longer do we plan centrally what crops the peasant must sow in his cooperative or any particular field, etc. Things have changed drastically since the early years after September 9, especially as regards the equipment of factories and farms, raw and building materials, engineers and technicians, production experience, cooperation and specialization in CMEA and, particularly, the fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

These and other factors prompted the passage to new methods of planning and management, to sophisticated machines and production techniques, improving the system scientifically, training the requisite specialists, etc.

This is clear to any impartial citizen in any of the socialist countries. No less clear is it, however, that the new system is doubly necessary because the socialist countries, even the Soviet Union, have not yet attained the technological and produc-

tivity levels of the developed imperialist countries, especially the United States.

We are neither Utopian socialists nor subjectivists or voluntarists, and recognize the impact of the technological revolution, the importance of modernizing and improving the production facilities of our socialist economy. True, our rates of growth are higher. But it is just as true that we started building at a lower level than the developed capitalist countries, that we still have to strain our resources in the technical and economic competition, to pull abreast in technical progress, in plant equipment and labor productivity, and demonstrate the greater potentialities and progressiveness of the socialist system, of planned balanced industrial and agricultural growth in socialist society.

It would be foolish to think (and none do so in the socialist countries) that this can be done without increasingly rapid and comprehensive scientific and technological progress. But in the new conditions the central planning agencies must in no circumstances interfere with local production plans; their immediate business is to determine, observe, correct and promote the basic proportions of the economy, the basic rates of production and trade, the basic price scale (procurement and retail prices), etc. Unless this is done and democratic centralism prevails in our economic development, the growth of any socialist country will sooner or later, in one form or another, to one or another degree, given complete liberalism, also known as democracy, with competition between the different industrial and agricultural enterprises allowed free rein, inevitably shed its socialist specifics and revert spontaneously to free competition and, consequently, to the indirect exploitation of some enterprises by others, as in capitalist society. Lenin stressed that every socialist enterprise should show a profit. Yet it cannot do so without the right scientific techniques of organizing and distributing labor. But though Lenin stressed that socialist enterprises should show profits and not exist on government subsidies, he never said socialist and capitalist profit were metaphysically identical.

Under capitalism, in the ultimate analysis, the ones to gain are either the freely-competing individual capitalists or capitalists organized in trusts, or the capitalist state which always champions the interests of trusts and capitalists rather than those of the people.

The reverse is true under socialism: speaking generally, whenever the state gains, the associations gain as well; whenever the associations gain, the enterprises gain, their employees also gain, and hence the socialist individual, and vice versa. This is totally inconceivable for a capitalist country, even though imperialist ideologists theorize about "people's capitalism," worker "participation" in management and profit, etc. The past 50 years have shown that the basic concepts or categories of the socialist political economy are not metaphysically identical with the concepts or categories of the bourgeois political economy, just as the nature of profit under the two systems cannot be identical either.

This leads to the logical conclusion that we, not being utopians, subjectivists or voluntarists, cannot be described as *bureaucratic technocrats* for whom the man, the collective and indeed the whole of society are of no importance whatever, as is the case in the world of profit and super-profit of the capitalists, monopolies and the capitalist state. From the very nature of profit in socialist production we can logically infer the necessity for concrete initiative and democratization from *below*, alongside state initiative and democratic centralism in planning and management from *above*. Inasmuch as our state is a state of the working people, not of the capitalists, and inasmuch as the people have a stake in planned harmonious development of the entire economy, not just of individual enterprises, it may be logically inferred according to the laws of both formal and dialectical logic that man, the socialist worker, and, hence, his socialist consciousness, ethics, education, aesthetic views, sentiment, etc., fit in naturally with the organization and operation of the new system of planning and management. *What this means above all is that the new system affects not only the economic sphere, but all spheres of our society.*

This was underscored in the Central Committee report to the Ninth Congress of our Party delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and in all the congress resolutions and interventions, for that is one of the main features of the new economic system as distinct from the capitalist economy in the imperialist countries, the USA included.

The new system must be fashioned by the intelligent and dynamic effort of members of socialist society — individuals and collectives. Not even the conversion of science into a productive force could

without their guidance secure the desired harmoniously planned economic growth and improvement.

The socialist economy must make full use of cybernetics, bionics, mathematical mechanics, computer techniques, etc. But the new system cannot be put wholly in charge of cybernetic robots. It is the concern of living men, the members of socialist society, of individuals and collectives, with the Party at their head.

At the helm of the new system, the new techniques, the new cybernetic and other devices and methods, stands the new, enterprising man, the member of socialist society, in whose interest and for whose welfare the socialist economy, like socialist science, culture, art, education, etc., is, essentially, created. This is why the success of the new system depends not only on purely mechanical and automated techniques, but on the individual, the maker of socialism, with his Marxist-Leninist consciousness, emotions and ideals.

The new economic system, as we have said, has a strong bearing on all spheres of socialist society, not just the technical and economic. The recent cultural congress and a number of other undertakings in Bulgaria are proof of this, while opposing the notions of Rostow, Aron and other imperialist ideologists who, covertly or overtly, in one form or another, seek to "deideologize" and *dehumanize* socialist society, to view general human progress as technocratic and automated progress which, ostensibly, will in the end eradicate the disparities between capitalism and socialism and bring about the so-called convergence of, say, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Since we have examined these matters on other occasions elsewhere, and in this journal as well, we need not refer to them again. Unavoidably, however, conclusions must be drawn from the first and second parts of this article, to the effect that new ideas in planning and management have come to the fore, opening up new prospects and new possibilities which we should always remember, and not only in order to repel the imperialist ideological aggression against communism and Marxism-Leninism, but to go over openly to the counter-offensive.

That counter-offensive is long overdue. And if we are to mount it, we should not underrate the ideological issues, the social sciences, the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and gravitate to the purely technical

sciences and purely scientific and technological progress. In this respect, attention should be drawn to the recent decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU stressing the role and importance of the social sciences—which we shall not quote here because it is surely known to the readers of this journal.

III.

Time and again, in various contexts, in earlier and later works, Marx observed that the emancipation of the individual is a precondition for the freedom of any social collective, class, etc. It should always be borne in mind, however, that for Marx, Engels and Lenin man's nature is indivisible from his social environment, or, as Marx put it, the human consciousness is by nature the aggregate of the social relations. True emancipation of the individual, in our case the worker, is, therefore, inconceivable without the emancipation of the working class, of the social collective to which the individual belongs. The emancipation of his class from capitalist exploitation and oppression is, therefore, the logical and historical precondition for the emancipation of the separate worker, the individual.

Marx and the other Marxist classics have never denied the relative significance of the individual's efforts toward emancipation, self-improvement, etc. But Marx was at his most caustic when ridiculing the Robinson Crusoe* theory, and at his most ardent when defending historical materialism, that is, the theory on the role and the impact of the social material basis and social economic relations in emancipating and improving the working class and with it the individuals that comprise it.

The *Communist Manifesto* slogan, "Workers of all countries, Unite!", is no new Crusoe theory in the sense that the emancipation and improvement of the working class and human society generally are attainable through the emancipation and improvement of individual workers. Neither Marx, Engels nor Lenin ever held views even remotely resembling the Robinson Crusoe theory of their contemporary (or, for that matter, our contemporary) bourgeois liberal economists, sociologists

and philosophers. They took their materialism much farther in the matter of history and sociology, while combining it skillfully with dialectics—a dialectics, however, which is not to be confused with Hegel's idealistic notions nor with relativism, the interpretation of dialectics in our time by imitators of Kant, Hegel and other idealist classics.

Marx and Engels, and particularly Lenin, cast aside the connotations of the Robinson theory in relation to nationalism and internationalism, and postulated the *dialectico-materialist unity of socialist patriotism and internationalism*.

Theoretically, each people can in a long period of growth pass through all the historical stages, including the capitalist, and arrive via revolution at the socialist and communist stage. But in historical terms, some underdeveloped peoples by-passed the capitalist stage, entering directly into the socialist stage with the aid of the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union itself—as we know—some ethnic groups were at an even lower stage than feudalism at the time of the October Revolution. Yet, in the socialist community formed by the Russian and other peoples, these backward groups were helped to follow the socialist way, rather than the capitalist, and then to integrate with the socialist family of Soviet peoples in the still bigger community of socialist countries and thus avoid what might well be described as *Robinson Crusoeism in national and social growth*.

In the general conditions of our time, the conditions of the socialist camp and the Soviet Union, separate nations or an aggregate of nations may come under the influence of nationalist or great-power chauvinist ideas. But both logically and historically, proletarian socialist internationalism is the governing principle and socialist patriotism, and patriotism generally, is the governed principle; that is the general trend of our epoch. True Marxists believe that national issues are governed by the social, not vice versa. That is why so much is said about common views and joint action on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and not on the basis of some pluralist Marxism and the nationalism of separate countries and peoples. Like Marx and Lenin, Dimitri Blagoyev and Georgi Dimitrov were genuine patriots. This did not prevent them, however, from being proletarian socialist internationalists. Lenin took pride in be-

*A bourgeois economic theory widespread in the past century, strongly criticized by Marxism, conceived society as a sum of individuals separate from other individuals, each leading an independent existence. See Engels, *Anti-Duehring*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, p. 213 et seq.—Ed.

longing to the great Russian nation, and from the dock of Leipzig Georgi Dimitrov spoke with pride of belonging to the Bulgarian working class, the people of Bulgaria. Yet Lenin was 100 per cent a proletarian socialist internationalist and Georgi Dimitrov declared at Leipzig, and later at the 7th Congress of the Comintern, that he was a soldier of proletarian socialist internationalism.

Time and again, especially after embarking on Lenin's way, the Bulgarian Communist Party has in various documents, like the theses of Comrade Todor Zhivkov on work among the youth adopted by the 11th Congress of the Komsomol, stressed emphatically that the dialectical unity of socialist patriotism and internationalism is an axiom, though at specific stages emphasis may have been laid either on socialist patriotism or on socialist internationalism. But at no time, under no conditions, whether internal or external, has the Bulgarian Communist Party ever conceived socialist patriotism outside its dialectical unity with socialist internationalism.

In Bulgarian this dialectical unity of socialist patriotism and internationalism expressed itself most fully, most specifically and effectively in Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which Georgi Dimitrov described as being as essential for the people of Bulgaria as sun and air, and as the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

Bulgarian-Soviet friendship has deep roots. Regrettably, its history has not yet been written in the desired scientific educationally revolutionary context. We should like to draw attention to the fact, however, that unlike the Bulgarian-Russian friendship prior to Bulgaria's liberation from the feudal Osman yoke with the help of the fraternal Russian army, Bulgarian-Soviet friendship rests on the granite foundation of socialism, of mutual economic, political, cultural and scientific aid and cooperation, the expanding cooperation and specialization of our socialist economy and, at the same time, the extension of this friendship to all the other socialist peoples and all peoples of the world.

The movement for friendship with the Soviet and other peoples is associated since the first days of October with the movement for peace and peaceful coexistence. This does not imply any disregard of class

distinctions and class struggle, nor any co-existence of two basically contradictory ideologies—the imperialist and communist. The forms, degrees, rates, etc., which characterize the scientific, technological, cultural and other cooperation of nations do not remove the need for a systematic and consistent struggle against the current imperialist ideological crusade against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism.

Having dealt with the problem earlier in this journal, we shall merely single out a few points on the unity of Communist and Workers' Parties. Unity is doubly important at this time in history when imperialism's armed, political and ideological aggression is spreading and when, consequently, it is essential not only to accentuate some of our common views, tasks, aims, perspectives and ideals, but also to find the ways of putting them into practice. In other words, the common stand should materialize in united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties and by all revolutionary and progressive national and other movements associated with them.

It is clear that these questions are supremely important and complex, and at once highly topical.

* * *

It is also clear that to discuss and resolve this series of common problems in the correct, Marxist-Leninist dialectico-materialist, historico-materialist and internationalist context, we need an analysis of the problems related to dialectical and historical materialism, the relationship between philosophy and the particular natural and social sciences, the relationship between technical and cultural progress and, ultimately, the role and significance of the social sciences, notably of Marxist-Leninist philosophy as the basis for all further revolutionary, material and spiritual growth of the socialist peoples and all progressive mankind in the fight for peace, national liberation, democracy, socialism and progress.

But those are subjects for other articles, and I am sure this journal will not miss the opportunity of examining at least some of them, for they are no less important and topical than those we have examined in the present article.

New economic upswing

CMEA countries in 1967

The drum-beating of bourgeois propagandists about "crisis phenomena" in the socialist countries could lead the poorly-informed reader in the capitalist world into believing that the economy of these countries is really in a bad way.

But the facts tell a different story. Whereas grave economic difficulties beset the capitalist world, the socialist countries united in the Council for Mutual Economic Aid have accelerated, on the whole, their rate of growth, as the results for 1967 show.

During the 1967 the economies of most CMEA countries developed faster than in 1966, and in the past two years, faster than they had averaged in 1961-65. According to preliminary data, the 1967 increase in industrial output was 9.5 per cent, compared to 8.3 per cent in the previous year. In 1966 and 1967 overall agricultural production rose substantially, rate of growth of national income quickened and living standards improved, demonstrating the effectiveness of the current economic reforms. The CMEA countries registered further success in their economic cooperation and in foreign trade as a whole.

In the capitalist world, the picture is different. The boom in the leading capitalist countries, the longest in postwar years, ended towards mid-1966. Things worsened in 1967, when business activity slackened almost simultaneously in the three economically strongest countries — the United States, Federal Germany and Britain. In the United States, for instance, industrial production managed a mere one per cent increase (9 per cent in 1966), in Britain it dropped by 0.5 per cent (in 1966 it rose 1.1 per cent) and in Federal Germany by 3 per cent (as against a 1.6 per cent rise the previous year).

The slowdown affected the entire capitalist world, where the Gross National Product is estimated to have risen by approximately 3 per cent, compared to a 5 per cent average in 1965 and 1966. The increase in industrial production did not exceed 2.5 per cent, as against 7 per cent in 1966, and in the Common Market countries it was slightly over one per cent (4.8 per cent in 1966).

The decline in business activity was accompanied by an aggravation of crisis phenomena in the currency system. The devaluation of the pound and, following it, of the currency of twenty-five other capitalist states further weakened the dollar as the reserve currency of the capitalist world and triggered off a gold-buying fever.

Thus, the economic showing of the two systems in 1967 can be summed up as follows: an indisputable advance in the socialist countries and grave difficulties in the capitalist world.

Let us examine some of the preliminary figures for 1967 in the CMEA countries.

INDUSTRY

Industry maintained high growth rates and considerably exceeded the planned targets.

RATES OF GROWTH (in %%)

	Annual average in 1961-65	1967	Estimated annual average in 1966-67
Bulgaria	11.7	13.4	12.4
Hungary	7.5	9.0	7.8
GDR	6.0	6.8	6.5
Mongolia	10.5	7.7	7.5
Poland	8.5	7.5	7.4
Rumania	13.8	13.5	12.6
USSR	8.6	10.0	9.3
Czechoslovakia	5.2	7.1	7.2

As we see, in 1966 and 1967 industrial production in the majority of the CMEA countries grew faster than in the previous five years. The slightly lower rates in some countries were envisaged in the national-economic plans, which, as a rule, are over-fulfilled.

What is equally important, serious qualitative changes designed to raise the effectiveness of production, were introduced in the industry of the CMEA countries, most of which are operating new principles of economic planning and management. Towards the end of 1967 the Soviet Union had established the new system of planning and incentives in 7,000 enterprises accounting for about 40 per cent of total industrial output. It would be premature to judge the ultimate effect of the reforms, but the initial results show their timeliness and soundness. As a rule, these enterprises and branches operating the new system achieve better results, greater productivity of labor, bigger profits and exert an influence throughout industry.

Major structural changes, too, were effected in 1967. In a number of countries the gap between growth rates in producer and consumer goods industries was considerably narrowed. In the Soviet Union, for instance, output in the former grew by 10.2 per cent, in the latter 9 per cent.

Progress was registered in the engineering, chemical, power and other key industries. Engineering output increased by 20.1 per cent in Bulgaria, 9 per cent in Hungary, 9.7 per cent in Poland, 17 per cent in Rumania, 12 per cent in the Soviet Union and 10.4 per cent in Czechoslovakia. A number of new types of production were assimilated.

Some 650 new items that began to be manufactured in Poland include 200,000 kw steam turbines and automatically-controlled copying lathes. In the course of the year the rapidly developing electro-technical and electronic industries in the GDR increased their output by 9.5 per cent. Among the items is the Robotron-300 electronic computer. More than 3,000 models of new machines, equipment and apparatus and about 1,500 instruments of a new type were designed and manufactured in the Soviet Union. In Bulgaria, the share of the engineering industry in total industrial output rose from 12.5 per cent in 1960 to 19.5 per cent in 1967.

In the first two years of the current five-year plans the CMEA countries achieved important quantitative and qualitative

changes in chemistry. In 1967 output in Bulgaria's chemical industry rose 19.9 per cent, in Hungary 13, Poland 13.9, Rumania 23, the Soviet Union 13 and Czechoslovakia 10.2 per cent. In the GDR output of plastics rose by 13.8 per cent, synthetic fibres 28.4 per cent and mineral fertilizers 5.3 per cent.

All CMEA countries show a growing output of electric power.

OUTPUT OF ELECTRIC POWER (in billions of kilowatt-hours):

	1950	1960	1965	1967
Bulgaria	0.8	4.7	10.2	13.6
Hungary	3.0	7.6	11.2	12.5
GDR	19.5	40.3	53.6	56.9*
Mongolia	0.02	0.1	0.2	0.3
Poland	9.4	29.3	43.8	51.2
Rumania	2.1	7.7	17.2	24.8
USSR	91.2	292.3	507	589
Czechoslovakia	9.3	24.4	34.2	38.6

* In 1966.

According to preliminary estimates, the 1967 output of electric power in the CMEA system reached 790,000 million kwh—almost double the 1960 figure and nearly six times that of 1950. Recent years have witnessed a steady growth of reciprocal transmission of electric power. Deliveries through joint power grids amounted to 5,900 million kwh in 1966 and 6,500 million in the first nine months of 1967. Last year Bulgaria was added to the members of the power pool.

Special attention is paid to the iron and steel industry, all the more so since some CMEA countries still experience a shortage of metal.

STEEL PRODUCTION (in millions of tons)

	1950	1960	1965	1967
Bulgaria	0.01	0.3	0.6	2.2
Hungary	1.0	1.9	2.5	2.7*
GDR	1.3	3.8	4.4	4.5**
Poland	2.5	6.7	9.1	10.5
Rumania	0.6	1.8	3.4	4.0
USSR	27.2	65.3	91.0	102.2
Czechoslovakia	3.1	6.8	8.6	10.0

* Estimate.

** In 1966.

Total steel output in 1967 was approximately 135 million tons—60 per cent more than in 1960 and almost four times that

of 1950. In 1967 three CMEA countries established new records for steel output: Poland and Czechoslovakia produced 10 million tons and the Soviet Union 100 million tons.

Output of cement is steadily rising. In Bulgaria it reached 3.36 million tons last year compared to 2.68 million tons in 1965 and 0.6 million tons in 1950. Hungary produced 0.8 million tons in 1950, 2.38 million tons in 1965 and an estimated 2.65 million tons last year; Poland, 2.5 million tons, and 11.1 million tons, and the Soviet Union, 10.2 million tons, 72.4 million tons and 84.8 million tons respectively.

Good results were achieved in light industry. Output of cotton textiles in Bulgaria stood at 71 million metres in 1950, 253 million in 1965 and 306 million in 1967. In Poland, 778 million metres of cotton and cotton-type textiles were manufactured in 1967 (397 million and 754 million in 1950 and 1960 respectively). Last year the Soviet cotton industry turned out 5,915 million metres as against 2,745 million in 1950 and 5,502 million in 1965.

Absolute growth of industrial output was accompanied by a considerable improvement in quality. In most countries labor productivity rose, production costs were lowered and profits were greater.

GROWTH IN LABOR PRODUCTIVITY (in %%)

	Annual average in 1961-65	1967	Estimated annual average in 1966-67
Bulgaria	6.8	8.1	6.3
Hungary	4.7	7.0	6.5
GDR	5.6	7.2	6.6
Poland	4.1	3.5*	3.6
Rumania	7.7	9.4	8.8
USSR	4.6	7.0	6.0
Czechoslovakia	3.5	6.0	5.3

* Value of gross output per worker.

In most CMEA countries growth of labor productivity plays an increasing role in boosting production. In Czechoslovakia, for instance, it accounted for 85 per cent of the rise in industrial output.

AGRICULTURE

Because of bad weather the 1967 agricultural year was for most CMEA countries less favorable than 1966. But thanks to steady mechanization, wider use of fertilizer, and incentive measures, they not

only overcame the inclemency of the weather but made further progress in crop raising and animal husbandry, which is particularly noteworthy when compared to the annual averages of the preceding five years. In Bulgaria, for instance, gross agricultural output exceeded the annual average for 1961-65 by 25.7 per cent. In Hungary a record grain yield brought grain production to 21 per cent above 1966. In the German Democratic Republic the best showing was made by the state sector, where the output of animal husbandry grew by 4.6 per cent and crop raising by 10 per cent. Mongolia, despite unfavorable weather conditions, achieved good results in animal husbandry and especially in crop raising, where 20.2 per cent more grain was harvested than in 1966. Gross agricultural production in Poland went up by 2.3 per cent. In Rumania the average annual increase in agriculture in 1966-67 was 7.5 per cent, compared to the 2.4 per cent annual average in 1961-65.

Measures to boost agriculture in the USSR helped counter the effect of unfavorable weather and exceed the record 1966 gross output by one per cent. Average rate of growth in Soviet agriculture in 1966-67 approximated 5.4 per cent, as against 2.1 per cent in 1961-65. While grain production did not reach the 1966 level, it exceeded the average for 1961-65 by 13 per cent. There was a considerable increase in the potato crop, in vegetables, sugar-beet and livestock products. Agricultural output rose by 3.5 per cent in Czechoslovakia, which gathered the best postwar grain harvest.

STANDARD OF LIVING

Economic progress can be judged by growth of national income.

GROWTH OF NATIONAL INCOME (in %%)

	Annual average in 1961-65	1967	Estimated annual average in 1966-67
Bulgaria	6.7	9	10.3
Hungary	4.5	7	7.7
GDR	3.3	5	4.7
Poland	6.2	6	6.3
Rumania	9.1	7.5	8.2
USSR	6.6	6.7	7.1
Czechoslovakia	1.9	8	9.3

In the first two years of their five-year

plans the member-countries in the CMEA system considerably accelerated the growth of national income as compared with the previous five-year period. Moreover, some countries exceeded the targets planned for 1967. For instance, in Hungary, which had planned for 3.5-4 per cent, the national income grew by about 7 per cent.

Greater production in the socialist world signifies a rise in the standard of living. In the past year, cash incomes in Hungary grew by 7 per cent, per capita real income by 6 per cent and real wages 3-3.5 per cent. The minimum wage in the German Democratic Republic was raised from 220 to 300 marks. Cash incomes in Rumania registered a 9.1 per cent increase. Per capita real income in the Soviet Union grew by 6 per cent. Growth of real wages in Czechoslovakia averaged 3.5 per cent.

Higher real incomes boosted retail trade by 10 per cent in Hungary, 4 per cent in the GDR, 5.5 per cent in Mongolia, 7.5 per cent in Poland and 9.4 per cent in the Soviet Union.

All the CMEA countries have large-scale housing programs. Last year Hungary built 61,000 flats, Rumania 51,000, Poland 127,000 and the Soviet Union 1,900,000.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The attention paid to foreign trade in the current five-year plans of the CMEA countries is explained by the new stage reached in the development of the productive forces and by the common task of raising the effectiveness of the national economy. Special importance is attached to improving the forms of economic relations with other countries, enhancing the profitability of foreign trade and extending the international socialist division of labor in its higher forms — specialization and cooperation. These processes are facilitated by the fact that economic relations within the CMEA system have long been based on coordination of national-economic plans.

In 1967 Bulgaria's exports rose 13.4 per cent and imports by 6 per cent. Hungary's exports rose 7 per cent and imports 13 per cent. The German Democratic Republic's exports rose 8 per cent, while ex-

ports to the Soviet Union rose 10.3 per cent, and 100 per cent to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Poland's foreign trade rose by 8.3 per cent, and in terms of value exceeded 20,000 million gold zloty. Exports went up 11 per cent. The share of industrial plant in exports reached 36.2 per cent, that of consumer goods, 15.4 per cent. Rumania's foreign trade turnover exceeded the 1966 level by 22.4 per cent, and the 1965 level by 34.8 per cent. The Soviet Union increased its foreign trade by 9 per cent. A favorable balance of trade was achieved by Czechoslovakia, whose exports rose 6.9 per cent and foreign trade turnover by 2 per cent. Its trade with the socialist countries was 3.6 per cent greater than in 1966.

These preliminary results show that in the case of most CMEA countries growth of trade within the system was greater than that of the developed capitalist countries, where the bad economic situation aggravated marketing difficulties and led to sharper competition. By way of illustration, in 1967 foreign trade is estimated to have grown by less than 5 per cent in the United States, approximately 5 per cent in the Common Market countries and about 3 per cent in Britain (with an absolute decrease in exports). Only Canada and Japan can boast a substantial growth of foreign trade (10 and 12 per cent respectively), but in the case of Japan most of the increase is accounted for by greater imports, whereas her exports grew by less than 5 per cent, as a result of which her foreign trade deficit reached 1,220 million dollars.

* * *

As can be seen from these first results for 1967, the five-year plans of the CMEA countries are being fulfilled. A new stage has been reached in the economic competition with capitalism. The share of the socialist countries in world production has further grown.

Today the efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties, governments and all working people in the socialist countries are aimed at consolidating their success and achieving further progress in the coming years.

V. LATER

The GDR's socialist constitution

On January 31, 1968, the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic approved the draft of a new, socialist Constitution. The draft has now been submitted to the public for discussion, and people are urged to send in their views and proposals to the People's Chamber Commission. The text of the Constitution and the report of the Drafting Commission have been sent to every family.

The nationwide discussion has already begun at meetings in factories and residential areas, colleges and universities.

The draft Constitution deals with fundamental questions of GDR policy, the country's economic and cultural development and the basic problems of the class struggle in Germany.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE GDR'S NATIONAL MISSION

Addressing the People's Chamber Walter Ulbricht said: "The Commission endeavored to produce a draft that would meet all the requirements of a Constitution of the socialist society and socialist state of the German nation." The draft is predicated on the understanding that in this era of socialist reconstruction of the world and of the scientific and technological revolution, the state and the people can fulfil their mission only through the socialist refashioning of social relations to give free rein to the people's physical and spiritual qualities.

By consistently following the path chosen after 1945, and implementing the first Constitution of October 7, 1949, the GDR laid the foundations of socialism and assured predominance of socialist relations of production. The new, socialist Constitution consolidates these gains and, at the same time, provides a program of political, economic and cultural progress. It provides the political and legal foundation for building a developed socialist society. Its framers were guided by the scientific prognosis formulated in the decisions of the Socialist Unity Party's Seventh Congress.

The preamble says the Constitution is

expressive of the responsibility of the GDR and its citizens for indicating to the entire German nation the way to a peaceful, democratic and socialist future. The results of social change, legally consolidated in the new Constitution, and the path it maps out for completing the building of socialism, fully accord with the vital interests of the entire nation. The Constitution clearly shows that Germany's national problem can be solved only by eliminating the power of imperialism, uniting all the democratic forces under working-class leadership and vesting political and economic power in the working people.

The preamble records that "the United States government, in collusion with West German monopoly capital and to the detriment of vital national interests, partitioned Germany in order to convert its western areas into a base of imperialism and anti-socialism." German Big Business, which repeatedly plunged the country into disastrous wars and crises, helped U.S. imperialism to partition Germany to prevent, at least in the western areas, fulfilment of the Potsdam agreements, which called for the extirpation of nazism and militarism, and the elimination of monopoly rule. In re-establishing monopoly rule in West Germany, the German and American imperialists were motivated by common interests, not by the national interests of the German people. They sponsored the West German separatist state and by concluding the Paris agreements hardened the division of Germany. The emergence of a separate Bonn state provided the conditions for remilitarizing West Germany as the European operational base against the socialist countries. The Paris agreements brought West Germany into NATO. Bonn hoped that reunification would now be achieved only by the whole of Germany adhering to the NATO alliance. Its policy of war and revenge is a menace to European peace: its drive for nuclear weapons, support of America's imperialist global strategy and its barbarous war against Vietnam are determining factors behind the suppression of

the democratic and peace forces, encouragement of neo-nazism and the abolition of what remained of bourgeois democracy. This extreme anti-national policy of West German monopoly capital and its Bonn government is one more indication that imperialism is doomed.

In the German Democratic Republic nazism and militarism have been completely eradicated. Monopoly capital has been stripped of every vestige of power. Led by the working class, the people have become masters of the country and its economy. The socialist changes have created a firm foundation for applying the creative abilities of the people in peaceful endeavor and social progress. The German Democratic Republic has become a key factor of European peace and security. Thus two German states have emerged, states with mutually-opposed social systems, and the gap between them is becoming wider. Unfortunately, all the efforts of the GDR failed to prevent events taking this course. In 1952 and 1954 the GDR suggested the conclusion of a German peace treaty and establishment of normal relations between the two states.

NORMAL RELATIONS ESSENTIAL TO PEACE

West German propaganda maintains that the GDR's new Constitution can but harden the present division. But the men responsible for this propaganda are responsible also for the partition of Germany and the strained relations between the two German states. The new Constitution points out that standing opposed in the two German states are progress and reaction, humanism and hatred, peace and aggression.

The people of the GDR have nothing in common with the monopolists, bankers, Hitler generals and neo-nazis in West Germany. But there is a close community of interests between the German Democratic Republic and its citizens and the working class and all the democratic forces in West Germany. The new Constitution inspires in them faith in the triumph of the German people's vital interests. It shows them that there can be neither genuine democracy nor progress unless militarism and nazism are extirpated and the West German monopolies restricted and, subsequently, abolished. What is needed in West Germany is the operation of the anti-monopoly, anti-fascist and democratic measures prescribed by the Potsdam agreements.

The new, socialist Constitution will be

of immense assistance to the working class and all the democratic forces in West Germany because strengthening the peaceful German state, its steady progress and the development of its social system, tend to restrict the power of West German imperialism and advance the fundamental interests of West Germany's working class and working people generally.

The draft Constitution clearly states the GDR position on relations between the two states. Article 8 says: "The establishment and maintenance of normal relations and cooperation between the two German states on a basis of full equality is a national goal of the German Democratic Republic." This constitutional provision fully accords with the interests of the European nations and peace in Europe.

Normalization brooks no delay; the tension between the two German states must be removed. The German Democratic Republic and its citizens are also anxious to overcome the imperialist-imposed partition of Germany by fostering closer relations with a view to eventual reunification in democracy and socialism—that is expressly stated in the Constitution. Reunification is bound to be a long process; what the German imperialists divided, will be reunited by the German workers in alliance with the peasants, intellectuals and all other sections of the working people and the progressive bourgeois elements.

ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP

The German Democratic Republic (Art. 1 of the draft Constitution says) is "the political organization of the working people of town and country who are jointly building socialism under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party." The people have once and for all shattered the fetters of capitalism and have built a state which serves their interests, safeguards their peaceful labor and promotes social progress. This finds expression in Article 2, which proclaims the sovereignty of the people: "All political power in the German Democratic Republic is vested in the working people."

Article 1 consolidates the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party, the Socialist Unity Party. This is a guarantee of the people's sovereignty and of the continued expansion of socialist democracy, a guarantee, also, of successful building of a developed socialist society. Class antagonisms have been overcome and

class struggle is no longer a motive force. The motive force is "harmony of the political, material and cultural interests of the working people and their collectives and the requirements of society." The working class continues to play the leading role, and the formation of a developed socialist society makes new demands on it.

The enhanced leading role of the working class and its party follows from the need for more scientific guidance of the social processes. For only the working-class party, guided by Marxism-Leninism, creatively applying and enriching it by collective effort and by drawing on the rich experience of the masses, can provide the scientific prognostication needed to build a developed socialist society as an integral system and chart its path into the future.

The Marxist-Leninist party, the organized vanguard of the working class, exercises its leadership through its scientifically substantiated policy, the appeal of its decisions and the activity of its members, and not through administrative coercion. Its task is to develop the political understanding and activity of all citizens in tackling and solving the problems confronting society. The role of the Party has grown. This does not imply a lesser role for the other social forces, but closer cooperation and joint responsibility, particularly closer cooperation of the parties and the public organizations, the value of which has been fully confirmed by experience. Firm alliance of the working class and the cooperative farmers, intellectuals and other sections of the people, Article 2 says, is the inviolable foundation of the socialist system. Its organizational form is the National Front of Democratic Germany. Article 3 states: "Through the National Front of Democratic Germany, parties and public organizations unite all the forces of the people for joint effort in further developing socialist society."

ECONOMICS, SCIENCE, EDUCATION, CULTURE

Socialist relations of production have triumphed in the German Democratic Republic. Accordingly, the draft Constitution proudly proclaims: "Exploitation of man by man has been abolished for all time. Everything produced by the people belongs to the people. The underlying principle is 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work'." Socialist property, planned and guided social development in accordance with scientific achievement, are

basic to our socialist society (Art. 2). Founded on socialist ownership of the means of production, the GDR economy is a planned socialist economy. It serves to strengthen the socialist system and makes for progressively fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people, development of the personality and of socialist relations (Art. 9).

Economic power in the hands of the working people is an essential safeguard of their political power and a necessary condition for the development of socialist democracy. The task is properly to understand and employ the forms and methods necessary to assure rapid development of the productive forces to take full advantage of the scientific and technological revolution. This is a process of growth, study, critical review of what has been accomplished, struggle against mediocrity—in short, a process of consistent solution of all the problems facing society. One of the key elements of the socialist economic system, which the Constitution seeks to bring into full operation, is the link between the central planning and management bodies and local government (Art. 9). Solution of economic problems, higher production and higher efficiency of social labor can be achieved only by stimulating democracy within the economy, encouraging more responsibility at factory level and enlisting all the people to share in planning and running their enterprise and the economy as a whole. That, too, is implicit in the draft.

Science, education and culture, which hold an important place in the constitutional provisions, are regarded not only as the inherent rights of all citizens, but rather as one of the foundations of our socialist system. The educational system offers every citizen maximum opportunities to meet constantly mounting requirements. The Constitution expressly forbids the use of scientific achievement to the detriment of peace and understanding among the nations, against human life and dignity (Art. 16). The GDR promotes and safeguards socialist culture, which serves the cause of peace, humanism and social progress. Our society develops cultural life, upholds all the humanistic values of world culture and encourages the growth of a socialist national culture (Art. 17).

MAN AND SOCIETY

The Constitution provides for the all-round development of man's abilities and accomplishments, for satisfaction of his material and spiritual needs. Article 2 pro-

claims: "Man is the central element of all the undertakings of socialist society and the socialist state." The new Constitution will be the fundamental law of a country that faithfully fulfils its obligations to its citizens. It can do that because revolutionary change has created the conditions for a life worthy of man. The jungle law of capitalism has been abolished, as have all the factors that make for exploitation, for a society of "one against all," which is the underlying principle of capitalism. Humanism and justice, the fundamental rights of the citizen and respect for human dignity are firmly guaranteed by the economic, political and legal systems of the socialist state.

That is why the Constitution singles out as the fundamental right of the citizen "the right actively to share in shaping the political, economic, social and cultural life of socialist society and the socialist state" (Art. 20). This right is exercised primarily through democratic election of all government bodies and through participation in planning and conducting public affairs. Citizens are entitled to demand an account of the activity of all officials and all elected bodies and persons.

This right to an active share in social and political life is closely associated with another constitutional right, the right to work (Art. 30). Citizens of the GDR are not only guaranteed employment, but also the right and opportunity to participate in planning and managing their enterprises and the national economy as a whole.

Equally important, the citizen is guaranteed the right to education, which under the new Constitution is being substantially expanded. Article 31 says: "Ten-year polytechnical schooling is compulsory for all children. All young people are obliged to acquire a profession." And these rights are backed by effective guarantees: vocational training, special schools and institutes and facilities for adult education are open to all. In fact, every citizen is afforded ample opportunity to acquire the knowledge necessitated by the higher requirements of the scientific and technological revolution.

Socialism presupposes the emancipation of woman and ample opportunity for the development of her abilities, which is something bourgeois "emancipation" cannot do.

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE AND THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

"Sovereignty of the working people,

exercised on the basis of democratic centralism, is a fundamental principle of the political structure" (Art. 47). Accordingly, the people exercise their political power through democratically elected bodies. The latter—from the People's Chamber down to local elected bodies—constitute the basis of government, the only source of government authority.

Supreme authority is vested in the People's Chamber, the sole body authorized to promulgate the Constitution and laws of the German Democratic Republic (Art. 48). The People's Chamber adopts fundamental policy decisions, and has both legislative and executive powers and authority to assure realization of its decisions (Art. 49). The new Constitution contains the important provision that the People's Chamber defines guiding principles for the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, the National Defense Council, the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor's Office and alone has the authority to appoint and dissolve these bodies. (Articles 49 and 50.)

The same principle applies to all local government bodies—regional, district, city, etc. They independently decide all questions relating to the given area and its population in conformity with operating legislation. They see to it that the people have an adequate share in political, economic, cultural and public affairs, and in all their work they cooperate with public organizations (Art. 81).

This method of formulating the national will, plus accountability of all government agencies to elected bodies and of the latter to the electorate, and the diverse forms in which the people share in political and economic affairs, are proof that the new Constitution is the most democratic ever presented to the German people.

BULWARK OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

The new Constitution gives legal consolidation to the principles of GDR foreign policy. As the socialist state of the German nation, the GDR has drawn the necessary lessons from the country's history and, in keeping with international commitments binding on all Germans, has rooted out militarism and nazism. Its foreign policy aims at peace, security and closer understanding among nations (Art. 6). The draft says that, in keeping with the principles of socialist internationalism, the

German Democratic Republic supports and develops all-round cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. It maintains close fraternal friendship with the armies of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the interests of preserving peace, promoting the Republic's defense capacity and defending its socialist system and the peaceful labors of its people. The Constitution makes it incumbent on the GDR and its citizens to support peoples advancing to freedom and independence, to cooperate with all nations on a basis of equality and mutual respect, and calls for a collective security system in Europe and lasting peace throughout the world. Expressed in these constitutional provisions is the German Democratic Republic's attitude towards the fundamental standards of international law. Article 8 states: "Generally accepted standards of international law that serve peace and peaceful cooperation are obligatory for the government and citizens of the German Democratic Republic. The GDR will never wage wars of aggrandizement, nor will it use its armed

forces to suppress the freedom of other nations."

It follows, then, that the new Constitution stresses the role of the German Democratic Republic as a bulwark of peace in Central Europe. The socialist GDR is an insuperable barrier to Bonn's peace-menacing and revanchist policies. Those countries that have not yet adopted a clear attitude towards the GDR will now have a fuller picture of its aims and policies, its national and international mission. The new Constitution will show European governments which, influenced by Bonn's revanchist policy, have refrained from establishing normal relations with the GDR that they can no longer afford to disregard the historic changes that have taken place in Germany and their impact on Europe. If they want to assure Europe peace and security, they can no longer by-pass the peaceful socialist state of the German nation. The German Democratic Republic is a steadfast and powerful factor for European peace and security.

Tord RIEMANN

Czechoslovak economists on planning and the market mechanism under socialism

The main problem now being discussed by Czechoslovak economists—as a glance at any economic journal will show—is the role of planning and the market in a socialist society.

The discussion is free and constructive. Its participants draw on the concepts enunciated by Lenin, carefully analyze the work of Soviet economists of the twenties and of Western economists of the thirties (von Mises, Hayek), the late Polish economist Oskar Lange and others, the experience of fraternal socialist countries and everything that can be usefully borrowed from capitalist experience.

The discussion should be seen against the background of Czechoslovakia's economic position and recent economic research.

Studies published in 1967 came after earlier theoretical research had been incorporated into documents of Party and government bodies, and after far-reaching changes in planning and management. For instance, rigid economic planning was abandoned, industry contributions to the national budget were made uniform, factories were given a wider margin of independence to enable them to react to changing market conditions and to the goals set by central planning agencies. The economy regained

its former growth rate and industry on the whole was already running at a higher efficiency level.

Several concepts which were the subject of heated debate in 1963-66 were in 1967 accepted unreservedly by practically all our economists. It is now generally agreed that planning by administrative directive does not accord with the present stage of *intensive* development and tends to aggravate rather than solve economic problems. Today, no economist subscribes to the theory that the market is a spontaneous force that must be suppressed by the plan, or to the formula: "The market is capitalism, the plan socialism." Economic thought revolves around a different problem altogether, namely, *how best to combine planning with the market mechanism in the interests of socialist society.*

Speaking on the subject last June, M. Kohoutek, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission, remarked: "We cannot work with a plan that excludes the market, just as we cannot work with a market that excludes the plan. However, the market should not be regarded as an instrument of plan implementation. The market is an objective economic category, the subject and object of study, and is influenced through the plan. Placing the market and the plan on one and the same level can only lead to confusion. For the former represents a definite complex of economic processes, whereas the latter is a definite program, even, I would say, an expression of subjective will, a program of aims and the means of their attainment. We should therefore speak of the relation between the objective and subjective. This does not mean that the plan should be subjective; no, it must take into account the market as a real economic category, but at the same time serve as an instrument of policy-making, as a means of influencing economic processes, and, consequently, in a certain sense, also the market." (*Planned Economy*, No. 9, 1967, p. 17).

Having rejected planning by binding directive, Czechoslovak economists have taken a new approach to the institutional structure of society. It is wrong, they believe, to regard the economy as a mechanism in which the central element acts as a sort of brains trust whose decisions are dutifully carried out by the lower units, with the intermediate units acting merely as transmission agencies. The consensus of opinion now is that the socialist economy

is a complex organism in which the industrial enterprise is a micro-organism within the economic macro-organism, but the enterprise has its own "brain," and reacts in its own way to environmental change.

One aspect of this complex mechanism is described by E. Loeble as follows: "We should see the national economy in the new economic system as a bi-polar whole, in which the micro-economy and the macro-economy represent separate systems of coordination, each operating on its own level" (*Economic Gazette*, No. 49, 1967, p. 3).

Another aspect of the problem is discussed by D. Fiser: "If we accept the view that there are not one but many decision-making centers in our society, that besides the government there are various public institutions, cooperatives and industrial enterprises, then what we should demand from planning is timely coordination of decisions made by these various directing centers, or, to use a more current expression, the plan must facilitate the interlocking of different interests" (*Planned Economy*, No. 10, 1967, p. 31).

Implicit in this formula is the idea that planning cannot be dictation from above; it can only be a means of harmonizing interests. But how is that to be achieved? Only if the market, and not the plan, acts as a stimulator, and also as a force of economic coercion, to attain a higher level of technical and economic performance.

In this context some Czechoslovak economists discuss ways and means of combining the two, stimulation and coercion, to improve production. This, roughly, is their line of argument: prices should be parametric, that is, they should be tested on the market to provide an objective criterion of necessary social labor. Every enterprise must strictly abide by the principle that its profits depend entirely on realization of its product on the market; contributions to the national budget should not impair operation of this principle (hence the idea of uniform budget contributions). If economic stimulation and coercion are left to the plan (as is the case in rigid, directive planning), then every plan indicator is bound to become the subject of endless bargaining between the central bodies and factory managements. And this, it is emphasized, is the main obstacle to scientifically substantiated planning.

This brings us to the next problem, which can be briefly formulated as follows:

how can the market mechanism be used for scientific planning. The following can be taken as typical thinking on the subject.

D. Fiser: "In a definite sense effective functioning of the market facilitates planning and the construction of an econometric model as the basis for decision making. By assuring smooth functioning of the economy, the market mechanism obviates the need for detailed planning and, consequently, enables the planners to concentrate on cardinal problems" (*Planned Economy*, No. 10, 1967, p. 29).

K. Kouba: "Planning calls for a price mechanism that will furnish the necessary data for decision making" (*Political Economy*, No. 9, 1967, p. 776). Only if the market (i.e., a force operating outside the planning process) performs its stimulative and coercive functions will factory managers put into their plan all their latent potentialities. The central planners will thus be able mathematically to construct an optimal national plan. If industry does not bring out its real potentialities, and does not provide a true picture of what can be accomplished, there is no point in trying to draw up a precise plan.

The chief argument, Kouba maintains, is that the socialist market provides the necessary criteria for scientific planning. He puts it in these words: "Without a rational price structure, optimal planning is impossible" (*Political Economy*, No. 9, 1967, p. 777).

To buttress his case, Kouba goes back to the Hayek-Lange controversy of the 1930's. Hayek contended that socialist ownership of the means of production meant that there was no market and therefore no rational price structure for producer goods. Lange argued that the central planners could fix rational prices on producer goods even in the absence of a functioning market. To this Kouba objects: "Lange's idea of substituting directives from the center for a functioning market presupposes the availability of all the necessary data for decision making . . . but the exchange of information between central planning agencies and factories involves interested parties. The gathering of reliable information and its transmission in the form of rigid parametric prices presupposes identical interests of factory management and society as a whole. . . . However, all earlier investigations suggest not harmony but rather disharmony, both in short-term and long-term interests, of enterprises and central bodies, production collectives and their managers, managers and the community.

This makes it questionable whether such a system of information would make it possible to replace the market by economic planning." And developing his argument in defense of socialism, Kouba writes: "Lange borrowed from the critics of socialism the idea that socialization of the means of production precludes a functioning market. There is nothing to substantiate that. . . . Our present 'discussion about socialism' is predicated on other theoretical concepts and uses other practical methods. . . .

"The fact is that there can be a special market for producer goods. Socialist factories, as economic subjects of such a market, can exchange their product at market prices, and this is all the easier since, as a rule, the socialist economy is not isolated from the world market in producer goods. Furthermore, such a market is fully compatible with regulation of individual and collective (factory) incomes that will assure socialist distribution of the national income" (*Political Economy*, No. 9, 1967, pp. 775-76).

Though Czechoslovak economists definitely favor employment of the market mechanism in a socialist economy, they do not consider this a cure for all ills. There have been several critical studies of market functioning. One of the more outstanding contributions has been made by D. Fiser. He uses analysis of market malfunctioning to define more precisely the purpose and significance of planning. To do this, he examines fluctuations and recessions in the capitalist market and discusses various ways of eliminating these through centralized planning. Fiser believes that a thorough study of the causes of market recessions can, in some cases at least, help towards more precise planning.

In other words, Fiser seeks to draw from the experience of capitalism everything that can be usefully applied in socialist planning. A study of the experience of developed capitalist countries, he says, is valuable for two basic reasons: "First, it shows how not to plan, what one should not do, if we want to keep the market mechanism in operation. Second, it shows how to plan, that is, how to construct plans and what instruments to use in doing so, in a situation of a functioning market" (*Planned Economy*, No. 4, 1967, p. 65).

In another study, "Marxism and Planning in Developed Capitalist Countries" (*Political Economy*, No. 1, 1967), Fiser takes as his starting point the Marxist-Leninist view of planning under capitalism, criticizes the

metaphysical approach of certain authors who deduce from the contradiction between the social character of the productive forces and the private ownership of the means of production, that capitalism presupposes anarchy and is the negation of all planning. Fiser writes: "Planning in developed capitalist and socialist countries has something in common, namely, that it is conducted in a situation of a functioning market. But that should not be taken to mean that we can automatically transplant capitalist methods and experience to socialist countries. It should be borne in mind that in one case planning is geared to the requirements of capitalism and in the other to the requirements of socialism. This is bound to tell also on the functioning of the market mechanism and its relevance to various forms of planning."

To what degree is capitalist planning experience applicable? There is this interesting point by J. Kotrc: "We have a rather curious situation . . . the capitalist countries shied away from planning which they denounced as smacking of socialism. But expansion of the productive forces compelled them to 'slide' into planning to one or another degree. The socialist countries rejected the law of value and, consequently, its main attribute, the market, which they denounced as one of the more negative aspects of capitalism, until expansion of the productive forces and economic realities compelled them to reestablish the law of value." (*Planned Economy*, No. 5, 1967, p. 4).

These excerpts from recent Czechoslovak economic writing show that the market mechanism is regarded only as a means of improving socialist planning, and certainly not as an instrument of plan fulfillment.

That has been strongly emphasized by Kohoutek and is examined in detail by K. Kouba. He writes: "The underlying idea of the economic reform, which is meant to combine the plan with a regulated market mechanism, is gradual elaboration of a rational price structure as the starting point of economic (as distinct from administrative) planning. However, we sometimes meet with another concept. The traditional understanding of planning remains, in effect, unaltered. The proposed changes concern only the formulation of indicators, which are now orientation guides rather than rigid directives. Furthermore, it is proposed to supplement this reconstructed plan by a price mechanism which, in combination with other economic levers, will

serve as an instrument of plan realization. However, this interpretation of the reform does not go beyond the administrative-directive model of economic management (*Political Economy*, No. 9, 1967, p. 777).

Any one conversant with the economic position in Czechoslovakia over the past 10 years will, of course, realize that this is a criticism of the economic reform which we tried to introduce in 1958-60. It might be recalled that the plan-market relationship was then considered in a different light than now. Planning was in no way related to objective market criteria. Instead of being guided by the formula: "Planning in conformity with objective market criteria," the accepted formula was: "Carry out the subjective plan directives by deforming market categories."

These two formulas are more than a measure of the change in economic thinking in the decade 1957-67. They are also a clear indication of the acute problem facing us today. Old style planning has by no means been completely eliminated. In fact, in a number of cases it has proved to be very much alive: decision is based entirely on subjectivism, and prices are regulated to produce the desired effect. What we have, then, is an attempt to deform the market by using obsolete methods based on an obsolete understanding of planning.

M. Kohoutek flatly rejects these methods and their underlying concept. He writes: "The present stage is one of reconstruction of the entire management system, but so far there is no functioning market. Consequently, the proper relation between plan and market has to be approached in the light of this concrete situation. I believe that the plan is an instrument of economic reform . . . but today it is also an instrument of market formation. That may appear paradoxical, but in my opinion that is how things stand. We had two alternatives in creating a functioning market: immediate liberalization of market relations to allow, indeed encourage, uncontrolled market operation. This would have led to a sharp price rise and would have adversely reacted on the level and structure of production, and on employment and living standards, though market equilibrium could have been restored within a comparatively short time. The other alternative—and the one we accepted—was gradual consolidation of the economic reform. . . . We carefully appraised the potentialities of our economy and decided in favor of this alternative . . . for our economic structure could

not have quickly adapted itself to this sudden change-over, which would have entailed heavy losses" (*Planned Economy*, No. 9, 1967, pp. 23-24).

Understandably, a number of theoretical problems remain temporarily unsolved as we go ahead with the economic reform. But there can be little doubt that 1968 and the coming years will produce constructive ideas on this all-important problem of combining planning with the market mechanism. As M. Kohoutek, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission, told a re-

cent conference of economists: "Economic research should now concentrate on scientific elaboration of remaining problems and on analyzing the functioning of the new economic system. This is necessary as a basis for practical work, notably continued perfection of the management system we intend to introduce in full after 1970. Economic research must always be more than a step ahead of practice" (*Planned Economy*, No. 9, 1967, p. 25).

Otakar TUREK

USA 1968 — *the sick society*

I.

In 1967 the United States of America, the richest country by far in the capitalist world, the country which has seen the greatest expansion of the productive forces in the history of capitalism, began to be diagnosed as the "sick society."

How comforting it would be for the man in the White House and for his colleagues in the State Department and the Pentagon, if the chiefs of the FBI and CIA could produce dossiers denouncing the diagnosticians of the *malaise* as Reds and, therefore, agents of the Kremlin.

But for all their ingenuity this is something the nation's top policemen cannot provide. For the most outspoken critic of Johnsonism, a man who can hardly be tarred with the Left brush, is none other than Senator William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee. "The Great Society," in the words of the Senator, "has become the sick society."

And Fulbright's "sick society" diagnosis is supported by the National Committee for an Effective Congress which has described the state of the nation in these words: "At all levels of American life people share the similar fears, insecurities and gnawing doubts to such an intense degree that the country may be suffering from a kind of national nervous breakdown."

These statements, far from being isolated views on the subject of America's moral crisis, find confirmation and elaboration in the daily press and in the numerous weekly magazines. Men in all walks of life are gravely disturbed by the alarming symptoms of the ailment. And in their searching for the reasons for it the trails lead unmistakably to the White House, the Pentagon and the other citadels of the military-industrial-political complex in Washington.

Any listing of the symptoms of the current malady could begin with the MacCarthy years, the persecution of the Com-

munist Party and the left intellectuals, the assassination of President Kennedy — a crime which deeply shocked and pained the people of the United States and indeed people all over the world; then came the assassination of Oswald, the alleged assassin of the President, while in police custody, in the very presence of the police and seen by millions of astonished televisioners throughout the country; next would be the crime wave which on a national scale has made streets and even the home places of danger to the citizenry; there is the race problem, which in the summer of 1967 developed into a shooting war in over a hundred cities; there is the poverty which for 35 million people signifies a life of bleakness and misery; there is the war in Vietnam which has deeply divided the nation and, as a consequence, a loss of trust and confidence in the leaders of the country and in its political institutions. The experience of Johnsonism has taught people to doubt the veracity of any statement made by the President or Secretary of State Rusk.

To use a word very much in vogue in the United States these days, the people, young and old, Black and white, worker and intellectual, have been *alienated* by the aggressive imperialist policy of the man in the White House. And yet only a brief four years ago, on Nov. 3, 1964, when Lyndon Baines Johnson was elected to his first full term in the White House by the biggest popular vote in American history, his prestige was, in American parlance, at an all-time high.

In the 1964 election the trade unions, the various peace organizations, religious bodies, students and young people generally, women's organizations, even Republican politicians and newspapers, rejecting the blood-thirsty war cries of Goldwater, supported Johnson who wooed the electors with the solemn promise to pursue a policy that would help make the United States the "... most peaceful nation in

the history of mankind."

In the three and a half years since that election promise was made to the American people Johnson has so escalated the war in Vietnam that the United States is now waging the biggest and the most ruthless colonial war in all the blood-stained history of imperialism; terror bombing of the civilian population, naval bombardment, napalm, toxic chemicals, helicopters and a half a million American troops—all are deployed in the desperate and futile effort to secure victory.

And far away from this calculated destruction of a small country and its people, Barry Goldwater, the rejected Presidential candidate, ruefully recalls in his Arizona retirement that he, in the course of the 1964 election campaign, had been denounced "as a trigger-happy warmonger" for advocating the very war policy now assiduously pursued by Johnson.

Far be it from us to suggest that the colonial war in Vietnam is the outcome solely of an aberration on the part of the President and his colleagues in Washington. Its genesis goes back much farther, certainly to those days in the mid-nineteenth century when, after the wars of extermination against the original Indian inhabitants, Americans beheld from the mountain peaks of California the vast and alluring expanses of the Pacific Ocean. New frontiers beckoned, and America's imperial dream, if not exactly born at that particular moment, received a terrific impetus from the completion of the long transcontinental trek from Manhattan Island to the Pacific coast.

Apologists of Uncle Sam's belated imperial expansion often claim that the acquisition of an American empire was an "accidental" by product, that somehow the U.S. had "stumbled" into its imperial role, that this role had been "thrust" upon it. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

For American political literature of the second half of the 19th century is replete with declarations advocating expansion in all directions. In the 1850's, Senator William Henry Seward, who later became Lincoln's Secretary of State, a passionate advocate of Pacific expansion, proclaimed that the "Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter." And even before the happy "accident" of the Spanish American War, when its first imperialist Big Leap secured to the United States the an-

nexation of Hawaii, jubilant empire dreamers in Washington exulted in saying: "We have planted a Gibraltar in the heart of the Pacific."

The deliberately provoked war against Spain, loudly trumpeted as a war for the "liberation of Cuba," had the paradoxical result of the "liberator" being transformed overnight into a country with a vast empire; the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico were annexed. Spain was forced out of the Western hemisphere; the United States had moved into what in the imperialist jargon of today is known as the "vacuum" caused by the Spanish withdrawal; this, its second Big Leap, extended its Western frontier seven thousand miles out into the Pacific.

The people of the Philippines, however, had as little liking for the new dollar imperialists as they had for the hapless Spaniards. Their dislike took the form of a rebellion against the Yankee invader with the result that the Americans found themselves bogged down in a long and bloody colonial war, the first of their major colonial wars against an Asiatic people.

Even before the war with Spain, Washington had been needling Britain in the Western Hemisphere. And when in the 1890's a boundary dispute arose between Britain and Venezuela over British Guiana, Secretary of State Olney served notice on Britain, saying: "Today the U.S. is practically sovereign in this continent." Hot-heads shouted for war against Britain, and "Europe, Asia and Africa" were rudely warned "to keep their hands off the Hemisphere on the penalty of being thrashed within an inch of their lives."

Such was the intoxication with the heady wine of the first U.S. essay in empire building. Aggression had whetted the appetite, and the appetite fed on aggression.

Soon Britain prudently withdrew her naval force from Caribbean waters and this "vacuum," too, was duly filled; the Caribbean became a United States lake, a naval base was installed in Cuba, tutelage established over the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Nicaragua, and the whole unsavory and still unfinished history of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone began.

These developments paved the way in the 1920s to another colonial war, this time in the Western Hemisphere against the people of Nicaragua led by the legendary Sandino. This, incidentally, was the first colonial war in which the imperialist

aggressor used the new airpower in a big way against civilians. Terror bombing, tried out by the United States airforce against the people of Nicaragua long before Hitler's Luftwaffe blasted the Spanish city of Guernica, had arrived.

The allied victory in World War II, a victory which laid imperial Japan prostrate, was seized upon by the United States to make its third and biggest leap in the area of the Pacific resulting in a string of bases stretching from Japan to South Korea, and Taiwan.

This third leap, accompanied by use of the newer terror weapon in the shape of the Atom Bomb, had taken the Washington empire builders quite a long way along their dazzling road towards world domination.

But clouds were now darkening the skies, roadblocks appeared in the way of the hitherto triumphal procession towards an American world empire. The socialist Soviet Union, despite fearful losses in dead and devastation, emerged from the war with a prestige unsurpassed by any Great Power. Hitler's massive war machine suffered shattering blows in the famous battles at Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Warsaw, Budapest and, ultimately, in Berlin itself. These defeats acted as a powerful stimulus to the resistance movements in the Hitler occupied countries of Europe. And after the war in eastern and south-east Europe many of the countries turned to socialism, while in all colonial and semi-colonial countries anti-imperialist national-liberation movements and struggles gained momentum. And soon the so-called third-world countries began to play an active anti-imperialist role.

For the United States these developments signified the dimming of its dreams of stepping into the imperial shoes of Britain, France, Japan and the lesser imperialist countries such as the Netherlands and Belgium. The realization brought on a bout of political hysteria, of which anti-communism and atomic blackmail were the distinguishing symptoms—the "sick society" at home extrapolated onto the international plane.

By 1950 the Truman administration, invoking "the Communist danger" was extending aid to the hard-pressed French forces in Indochina. A little later it launched its aggression against the Korean Democratic Republic, and is presently using all the military devices of the technological revolution against the people of

Vietnam. That is to say that for the past 20 years or more United States imperialism, a hideous Frankenstein-like monster of the atomic age, has been waging non-stop wars of aggression against small peasant countries in Southeast Asia.

In the Caribbean area, too, there have been murderous onslaughts against freedom fighters in the Canal Zone and in the Dominican Republic.

The same is true of many of the newly-free African countries, of Iran, and the Middle East generally. And how true it is of the ultra-reactionary regime of the Greek colonels in Athens.

The totality, then, adds up to a Washington inspired and Washington organized permanent counter-revolution, to a series of non-stop anti-revolutionary wars waged by varying means in South-East Asia, Latin America and Europe.

And how utterly paradoxical that this worldwide anti-revolutionary war should be waged by the very country that was born in the blood and travail of a revolutionary war against the greatest colonial power of the day.

The wheel of history, it seems, has come full circle. Today it is Vietnam that is fighting the war of independence, with its leaders and its liberation Army doing what Washington and his "ragged army" did in 1776. And how ironical that President Johnson, thirty-fifth successor to Washington, should be seen in the monarchical role of a George the Third.

The heart of the matter is that the men of American monopoly capitalism, seeing their advance to world domination halted and threatened by the rise of the socialist world system, have turned to anti-communism as their basic state policy; they are, judging by their foreign-policy actions, completely obsessed with anti-communism, and from this obsession one can trace much of the neurosis with which American capitalist society, especially its top layers, is now beset.

To the anti-communist obsession can be traced directly the war in Vietnam, and grievous though all the crime committed at home in the United States is, it pales before this single crime of a war against humanity. And for this crime of crimes not even Mr. Hoover and his FBI can accuse the Negro people in the United States, the teenagers, students, the working class, trade unionists, intelligentsia and the millions more who in their totality add up to the really great American society.

Indeed one of the more healthy signs in U.S. public life is the growing numbers actively campaigning against the crime of the Vietnam war. And the fact of its being a criminal war impels the Administration to crude deception, to the Goebellsian tactic of the Big Lie. Hence the phenomenon of the "credibility gap," i.e., refusal nowadays by large segments of the public to believe a single word coming out of the White House or the State Department. People recall, for example, the lies that came from the White House in 1966 denying that Hanoi and Haiphong were being bombed, they recall the cynical perversion of truth by Rusk when he told (July 1967) a Senate subcommittee that he was opposed to declaring war on North Vietnam because to do so might be seen as a threat to destroy (!) the country.

The anti-Communist obsession has over the past twenty-five years led to neglect of the grave internal ailments chief of which is the racial issue, which last summer flared up into street action which the press described as a second American Civil War.

The Negro population now numbers 22 million, two-thirds of whom presently live in the industrial cities of the North. Although the Negroes in the United States antecede by some two hundred years all other ethnic arrivals with the sole exception of the original Anglo-Saxon settlers, they have never had the opportunity or the slightest encouragement to integrate. From the first arrivals in the seventeenth century right up until the First World War they mostly lived in the notorious Uncle Tom cabins of the white plantation owners in the Deep South. There, isolated from urban life, they experienced all the humiliations of slavery, and the horrors of lynch law long after the official abolition of slavery. The two world wars of the twentieth century with their massive demand for labor power uprooted millions of Negro families and catapulted them into the great industrial cities of the North. There, having exchanged the hell of the Southern planters for the purgatory of the moguls of northern industry, they found themselves condemned to segregation in the slums and ghettos of whose existence official America remained discreetly silent until the revolt of 1966-67 shattered the silence with the tramping feet of a militant people now on the march and serving notice on their oppressors that they are no longer pre-

pared to endure the old way of American life.

The factory and participation in strikes have schooled large numbers of Negroes in a way that the old isolated Mississippi way never could. Many are active and leading members in trade unions, despite the fact that some of the older craft unions, especially in the building trades, deny membership to Negroes. A Negro intelligentsia has in its ranks men and women whose contribution to American literature and the arts generally, to the fight for freedom, has won them worldwide fame. The international Communist movement is proud of the part played in the American Communist Party by such men as the veteran William Patterson, by the deceased James Ford and Benjamin Davis, by Henry Winston, James Jackson and many others.

And today when the Negro people of the United States look outward across the Atlantic they see in African countries, yesterday's colonies, their own kith and kin who, having won liberation and become masters of their countries, are guiding their destinies infinitely better—despite obstruction and sabotage in many places—than the colonialists did during their years of rule.

In the socialist part of the world where racialism is outlawed and equality of peoples established, they see countries like Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and others that have advanced right into the modern industrial age with all that implies in the matter of modern housing, standard of living, education, culture and freedom.

Their own development through struggle in the United States, the freedom won by the Black man in Africa, and the progress made by the formerly oppressed peoples in the Socialist world have demonstrated to the Negro people the complete bankruptcy of those ideological trumpeters of racialism, mentioned earlier, who, seeking justification for empire building, adapted and twisted Darwin's writings on evolution for their sinister purpose.

They want not the war of extermination against the people of Vietnam, a war they abhor, and not the sham of the war against poverty at home, but action now to enable them to stand on their feet as free men and women, with the same access to decent homes and decent neighborhoods, the same access to schools and jobs and to the same human rights as their white American fellows.

But for this they will have to fight hard.

For President Johnson's recent State of the Union message had little to offer them beyond more action by police and military to cope with the "restlessness" in the ghettos. Of his budget of 186,000 million dollars, 80,000 million are allocated for military purposes, and of this sum roughly one-third—26,000 million—is for the war in Vietnam. Of the 22,000 million allocated for various social programs, a bare 2,000 million is for the "war on poverty." Johnson's budget, then, allocates thirteen times more money to raining death and destruction on the people of Vietnam than it does to the demolition of the ghettos in American cities and their replacement by decent homes and amenities for the Negro people.

Mr. Nixon, who may be Johnson's Republican contender in this year's Presidential election, has prophesied that this summer will see not just riots but "war" in the big cities and, like Johnson, he wants "police planning to meet the radicals' threat of war." A U.S. Army Colonel, Riggs, insists that "army units must be trained and oriented to know the cement jungle of every American city," for this in Colonel Briggs' view, is the only way to solve "the social, economic and political problems of America."

It follows, then, that the President, the likely Republican contender for the Presidency and the Army Colonel are more intent on preparing not for a war on poverty but for a war against the victims of the poverty.

* * *

Far from having any monopoly of the poverty in the United States the Negroes share their misfortune with considerable masses of white people. The figure officially accepted for the poverty-level is in the region of 35 million people—13 million in excess of the total Negro population. And of the total 35 million living in poverty, eight million are classified as actual paupers.

The mind balks at these figures, especially when we recall that the United States is the most opulent by far of all the highly developed capitalist countries. That this super-power of capitalism, the country with the greatest accumulation of capital should simultaneously be the country with the greatest accumulation of human misery and poverty is certainly a sobering thought. And the statistics, staggering though they are, are merely the tip of the iceberg. A letter printed in the New

York weekly *The Nation* (13/11/67) provided a glimpse of the submerged lower depths: "Negroes in rural Mississippi areas," it read, "are subsisting partially on grass, and begging for food and/or money at civil rights headquarters in their various localities."

And the shock of facts such as these impels many in the United States to ask: what has become of the American dream. About a hundred years ago when emigrants from Ireland, Italy, Germany, Poland, the Czech lands, Slovakia, the Ukraine and Northern Europe were streaming across the Atlantic to "the land of the free" they were greeted as they steamed into New York harbor with the noble and highly emotional words inscribed on the Statue of Liberty: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free," words that expressed the American dream, the American promise. And justice requires it to be said that for many in those days the dream and the promise were realized. But the sad reality today, in the year 1968, is that of much larger masses huddled in a hundred rat-infested ghettos fighting desperately to breathe free only to be clubbed down and shot by police; the reality, not the promise, is the eight million paupers, and, as *The Nation* reported, it is Negroes in Mississippi eating grass. For these unfortunates the pleasant dream of the past generations is the nightmare reality of the present.

In his 1968 State of the Union message the President stated that the most urgent business before Congress was the national sickness of crime.

Crime seems to be all-pervading, seeping downwards from the guilty men responsible for the crime of crimes in Vietnam to every pore of American society. And many are wondering how the President can solve the state of crime in the nation when the responsibility for the million times more terrible crime of the war in Vietnam is plain for all to see. After all, the numbers killed by bandits in the cities of the United States, fearful though they are, pale when compared with the hundreds of thousands of men, women and children slaughtered in Vietnam by Pentagon bombs and guns over the past five years.

Many Americans see a direct link between the violence of the past 25 years of Washington's permanent counter-revolution, of its anti-revolutionary wars, and the ever-increasing violence at home in

the United States. Crime and violence at home.

And people outside the United States had yet another reminder, the thirteenth of its kind, of the danger inherent in the anti-communist obsession, of what we would prefer to describe as the Pentagon, rather than the national, nervous breakdown, in the recent crashing in Thule, Greenland, of the B-52 strategic bomber with four H-bombs on board. The sheer irresponsibility of these flights, their lunacy, and the danger they bode for the world, make the mind boggle.

* * *

If history has a lesson to offer, it is surely that the cure for a "sick society" cannot be found in theory and practice of racial superiority, racial violence, in dreams of empire, and anti-revolutionary wars.

The melancholy history of Hitler's Germany, with its anti-communism, monstrous race theory and insane dreams of world empire is pretty convincing proof of such vanity.

In more recent times we have seen the dust of the British Empire, of the French, Dutch and Belgian empires added to the layers of dust piled up by the Roman Em-

pire and by all the other empires of antiquity.

The center from which the sickness of American society emanates and spreads outward is restricted to the area in Washington of the Pentagon-CIA-White House triangle.

Throughout the nation the really sound American society consists of those masses who in their hearts are utterly opposed to the war in the Vietnam; it consists of the young people who prefer to burn their call-up papers rather than take part in killing people in Vietnam, but who gladly take part in the "freedom now" marches in the Deep South and elsewhere; it consists of those sincere men and women who with magnificent civic courage travel to Washington to keep vigil for peace at the gates of the White House and the Pentagon; it consists of trade unionists and intellectuals, of the Communist Party and its members, of all those active in the movement for peace in Vietnam and for policies of sanity at home and abroad.

And this America, the genuinely sound and healthy America, it is this America that is saluted, esteemed and honored by their fellow fighters for peace and freedom all over the world.

John GIBBONS

The sterling crisis and its effects

KARL-HEINZ SCHWANK, JOACHIM GRUNER

A PURELY BRITISH AILMENT?

In the past decades "sickness" became a household word among capitalist economists and commentators in reference to the British economy, and doubly so since the sterling crisis reached its peak in November 1967 when the pound had to be devalued.

On the face of it, Britain's economic scene since the fifties appears to corroborate the ideas of a British ailment. Since the war, and especially after the Tories took over in 1951, any upward trend of

appreciable length was conspicuous by its absence. Every shot in the arm of the state monopoly variety and every spell of improved business was followed by a fresh balance of payments and currency crisis. For all their differences, the postwar British governments reacted to the crisis alike: clamping down on the home market, restricting imports, freezing economic growth and negotiating loans with foreign financiers. Not until the currency outlook brightened did the government shift the switches, reverting to expansion. This stop-go policy, alternation of inhibition and

excitation, is largely to blame for Britain's being at the bottom of the list of industrial countries for economic growth throughout the fifties and sixties.

The Labor Party denounced this approach, pursued by the Tories for 13 years from 1951 to 1964, in a manifesto issued for the 1964 general election. The Conservative government, it said, slowed Britain's rate of industrial expansion and followed a stop-go economic policy resulting in intermittent bouts of high unemployment and a continuing excess of imports over exports, with consequent balance of payments and currency crises forcing the government again and again to halt expansion and to squeeze and freeze the economy.

But no progressive policy was introduced after the Labor Party won the election and Harold Wilson took the helm. Despite its promises, the Labor government kept to the beaten path of restraints and curbs. Not surprisingly, commentators said "the Laborites are framing typically Tory measures."

Recently, however, harsher import tariffs, restraints of all sorts and foreign loans of more than \$3,000 million failed, despite optimistic forecasts, to put the British balance of payments out of the red and to stabilize the pound for a more or less significant length of time. In June 1967, the Wilson government negotiated for more monetary aid. Yet in September the Bank of England had to shore up the pound once again, and when the 450 million Swiss francs loaned by a Swiss consortium were spent almost overnight with little or no tangible effect, while parleys for a fresh loan struck deadlock, Wilson had no other recourse but to devalue the pound by 14.3 per cent.

With the pound's rate of exchange dropping from \$2.80 to \$2.40, the British currency lost one-seventh of its value. Wilson expects the devaluation to improve the balance of payments by at least £500 million annually, with British exporters underselling, and thus gaining a temporary advantage over their competitors. But there is the other side of the coin to consider: the price of imports has risen by the same one-seventh, the only exception being imports from the 25 countries that devalued their currencies in the wake of the pound. Yet Britain's economy is highly dependent on imports, which chronically exceed exports. Some 75 per cent of all raw materials, for example, are imported, with 1967

imports passing the record £6,000 million mark. In the past five years imports have exceeded exports by an average annual £333 million, the gap widening to £565 million last year. This imbalance is pushing up prices and expenditures.

Prime Minister Wilson declared that the devaluation could have been averted if more foreign loans had been obtained to buttress the pound. Deplorably, he said, the terms for such loans were unacceptable. This explanation was meant to justify the Labor government's increasingly unpopular policy. Yet subsequent to the devaluation, Britain was compelled after weeks of tortuous negotiation to accept the terms all the same.

THE REAL REASONS

The real reasons for the devaluation are rooted in the profound intrinsic contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism. It was the chronic instability of the pound stemming from these contradictions that actually necessitated the devaluation.

Throughout postwar Conservative and Labor governments alike have clung to the old imperialist power policies. They battled to maintain British imperialism's historically obsolete positions in defiance of the totally changed balance of world forces. The cost of this foolhardy undertaking, notably that of atomic arming, of overseas bases and the maintenance of British troops on the Rhine, coupled with the cost entailed by a neo-colonialist policy, have for years stretched the endurance of the British economy. In just the past six years, £1,500 million in military expenditure abroad and £1,650 million in neo-colonialist "aid" to developing countries contributed conspicuously to upsetting the balance of payments. The gaping hole that resulted caused a monetary instability which no conceivable state-monopoly stratagems could redress.

Britain's economy is still tightly laced with the colonial empire that disintegrated after the war. Colonial profits have dropped, while the cost of the passage from colonialism to the new neo-colonialist methods have increased. In the circumstances, great-power imperialist policy has had a disastrous effect on Britain's economy. The stop-go policy necessitated by this situation blocked adjustment of the economy to the requirements of the technological revolution. Grave structural disproportions appeared. Some fields, it is true,

are registering good results, but by and large the backward industries occupy a disproportionately prominent place.

The economic policy of restraints, with its high discount rate, its investment curbs and various other restrictions, has over the past two decades affected productivity and made many industries sub-competitive. As a result, Britain's share in the capitalist world's output and foreign trade has shrunk visibly, as shown in the table below.

	1955	1960	1966
Britain's share (%%):			
in industrial output			
of capitalist countries	10.2	9.3	8.4
in aggregate exports of			
capitalist countries	9.8	8.9	7.9
in exports of industrial			
commodities of 12 capi-			
talist countries	19.7	16.3	12.9

The other reason for the stop-go policy was the pound's function as an international reserve currency. It is still a leading trading currency, and has been until now an important prop for Britain's overseas domination. Many Commonwealth and a few other countries in the sterling area pegged the exchange rate of their currencies to the pound and deposit a substantial though generally decreasing portion of their gold and paper reserves in London. In combination with a ramified system of overseas bases, this furnished British finance capital with a far-flung apparatus of domination and intervention.

Britain's financiers are eager to maintain this function of the pound also for the profit it yields. Yet sterling's ability to meet the relevant requirements is fast decreasing, because the "returns" which the British economy could produce if it were developing more rapidly, are sorely lacking.

The above snags were the main cause of the periodical and lasting currency and balance of payments crises, of which as many as ten are on record since 1946.

Yet despite its many undesirable consequences, the imperialist policy has been for the British monopolies a source of considerable profit, as evidenced by the fact that in just the past six years private British investments abroad (including securities) climbed to £1,950 million. According to the Bank of England, British properties abroad increased 25 per cent, from £8,000 million to £10,000 million between 1962 and 1966.

The devaluation has to be examined in association with the plans for Britain joining the Common Market. Since most of Labor's projects to modernize the economy have fallen through, the spur of EEC competition is expected to stimulate the desperately needed structural changes. After a thorough study of the disproportion between Britain's actual economic growth and that needed to equilibrate the balance of payments, an EEC body in Brussels stipulated in September 1967 a set of radical measures before it would consider admitting Britain (and a few other applicants). So the devaluation, like Wilson's other associated measures, are viewed as part of the required "adaptation" to the EEC terms, designed to head off the objections which the French government put forward to motivate its refusal to negotiate Britain's admission to the Common Market.

THE PLIGHT OF THE POUND AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM

Certainly, the plight of the pound speaks first and foremost of the maladies afflicting British imperialism. But the effects are felt far beyond the home economy, for sterling performs a definite function in the international monetary system based on the gold and paper standard and formalized in the Bretton Woods Agreements, which anchored the U.S. dollar and British pound to gold as an international reserve currency partially redeemable in gold.

The international monetary system geared to the Second World War correlation of imperialist forces was designed to meet the rapidly growing requirements of the international division of labor in the interests of state-monopoly capitalism.

But never since Bretton Woods has the capitalist monetary system come out of its state of instability, although the imperialist states increased cooperation in currency matters considerably. In the past few years, the International Monetary Fund and the so-called ten-nation group of the financially strongest imperialist states (United States, France, FRG, Italy, Japan, Sweden, Canada, Belgium, Netherlands and Britain) have been immersed in a heated controversy over the pros and cons of reorganizing the existing monetary relationships. Money is losing value due to budget and balance of payments difficulties and to the increasing instability of the dollar and pound. Meanwhile, Britain's cur-

rency reserves have been hovering on the brink of the absolute minimum ever since the fifties (with a drop below the minimum averted time and again through support from outside), while U.S. gold reserves, once abundant, have shrunk. The dollar's position of privilege as a reserve currency, it is true, has so far enabled the United States to offset much of its foreign debt with treasury notes. By not presenting these for redemption, the countries of the Bretton Woods system, notably West Germany and the other U.S. allies, have indirectly assisted in financing U.S. global strategy and its aggression in Vietnam. However, France and a few other countries are no longer prepared to go on with it, producing deep rifts between the imperialist states.

The devaluation of the pound has evidently brought about a new phase in the crisis of the capitalist monetary system. Its increasing incapacity and the acute contradictions raise the question of how long the U.S. government will withstand the demand for a dollar devaluation or a higher gold price. The abolition of the 25-per cent gold covering of the dollar and the "austerity program" announced at the beginning of January will at best, like the devaluation of the pound and the restraints in Britain, temporarily dampen the prevailing contradictions, but not put them out of existence.

The devaluation of the pound turned the spotlight on the general instability of the present-day capitalist system. Under imperialism, the fiscal and monetary system is internationally, and at home, one of the key instruments of state-monopoly regulation. Since funds for militarization and the expansion of monopoly capital are marshalled with its help, any acute monetary crisis reflects a state of crisis in the economy and policy of the affected countries. It is now evident that even the most subtle methods of state-monopoly regulation cannot properly gear capitalist relations of production to the rapidly rising needs of the productive forces impelled by the technological revolution. Monopoly capital is trying to fight off the resultant steadily growing contradictions in two ways: firstly, by overcoming the structural crises and other difficulties through state-monopoly measures and securing a continuous economic growth, and, secondly, by mitigating the situation through a policy of imperialist expansion. In this, the fiscal system plays an important part.

The above is borne out conclusively by the train of events in Britain, the United States and West Germany: in the past 12 months, it became increasingly evident that the cost of their aggressive policies to keep the obsolete capitalist system alive exceeds their economic capabilities.

They are trying vainly to remedy the resulting instability and the sharpening contradictions by dishing out more of the same: redoubling their expansionist efforts and thus adding to their expenses. Fiscal and currency crises inexorably punctuate this capitalist vicious circle.

Viewed from this angle, the currency crisis in Britain, culminating in the devaluation, is by no means a symptom of any purely "British ailment." It betokens a sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism.

Not surprisingly, it is farthest from the mind of the monopoly bourgeoisie, be it British or of any other imperialist country, to admit this or to name the real causes of the devaluation. As before, it is trying to shift the blame onto the workers and their organizations. The West German imperialists follow the same course. Ex-Chancellor Ludwig Erhard maintained in the Conservative *Sunday Telegraph* that the "British ailment" stemmed chiefly from the extravagant attention the state devoted to the people's welfare. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote on November 21, 1967, that exaggerated social benefits, the workers' wage demands and the overlarge taxes imposed on the monopolies, but above all the "excessive power" and "brutality" of the trade unions, were the determinative causes of the currency crisis. This was how the West German imperialists used the sterling devaluation as a pretext for an offensive, notably against the unions. They want people to think that the pound was devalued because of the immoderation of the British unions and that similar immoderation by their West German counterparts would create the same situation if they are not checked.

Despite the charge that the British unions wield "excessive power," obviously contrary to the facts, the show is run incontestably by the monopoly bourgeoisie. Neither should any credence be put in the allegation of exaggerated social benefits, wage demands, and the like. On the contrary, for years the British people have been paying heavily for the pernicious imperialist policy of their rulers. The worker's hourly wage has risen no more than

by one-third since 1958, while that in most of the other capitalist states rose 70 to 90 per cent. The consumer price index, in the meantime, has risen by 28 points. For one thing, the *Volkswirt*, economic mouth-piece of West German big business, admitted that there was "little sense . . . in saying that the British were living beyond their means."

WHAT THE DEVALUATION SIGNIFIED FOR THE CAPITALISTS AND FOR THE WORKERS

While the devaluation gave the monopolies certain temporary advantages over their foreign rivals, the Labor Government placed the brunt of the resulting burdens on the people. Speaking about the devaluation on television, Wilson observed in a reference to manufacturers that 14 per cent was a good export premium. That is true. It reduced export prices, making the British monopolies more competitive abroad and spelling bigger profits — of course, at the expense of the vast majority, for, as Wilson added, it is just as vital that any prices that do go up "are not used as an excuse for excessive wage demands." The Labor Government's policy is deliberately oriented on pressing down the standard of living.

It is estimated that since prices were raised every family has had to spend at least ten shillings more a week. But that is not all. The workers have been affected by the other measures associated with the devaluation, such as the curbs on hire-purchase and, especially, the curtailment of social benefits passed by the Commons in January. In April 1951 Harold Wilson, who was then President of the Board of Trade, resigned in protest against a charge for medical prescriptions. Yet today he and his cabinet fell back on measures he denounced 17 years ago. The charge for prescriptions has been reintroduced and the cost of dental treatment has been raised 50 per cent, combining with other social curbs and the restrictions in the educational system. Furthermore, another increase in taxes has been announced for spring, while the unions have been asked to show restraint in wage demands until mid-1969.

While pursuing its imperialist "incomes policy," the government has stepped up political pressure on the unions. As noted by the British Communist Party, the Labor cabinet's policy "puts the whole bur-

den of sacrifices on the people, and is designed to try and shore up the capitalist system which the labor movement was founded to change."

The *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* of Munich on November 19, 1967, quoted Wilson as having said shortly before the devaluation that "a reserve labor force, that is, a reserve of unemployed, is necessary." By mid-January the unemployment figure had climbed to 631,000, comprising 2.7 per cent of the employed population. In the meantime, the Labor government is going out of its way to facilitate the profit-making activities of the monopoly bourgeoisie. This is meant to stimulate interest in exports, which are expected to improve Britain's balance of payments.

Trade unionists and Social-Democratic workers in the imperialist countries are shocked by the fact that Labor ministers are haranguing for greater monopoly profits. But, clearly, those who fight shy of changes in the social set-up, like the Social Democrats in office, have no choice but to follow a state-monopoly policy. To influence or regulate the economy from these positions is to pursue a monopoly-oriented line. This inescapable tendency is observed in other countries where Right-wing Social Democrats have a hand in government. Social-Democrat Schiller, Bonn Economic Minister, last year advocated more government spending to encourage demand in order to head off the incipient crisis. Who benefited most from this, however, were the monopolies. Soon after the Social Democrats joined the so-called grand coalition, the *Volkswirt* noted that "the obvious intention of the Federal government is to boost the incomes of the manufacturers. And the Social-Democratic Party is helping. Social Democrat Schiller, the Federal Minister of Economy, is pushing this policy."

The recent sterling devaluation was the third in 36 years, with all three carried out by Labor governments — by Ramsay MacDonald in 1931 as a consequence of the crisis (40 per cent), and by Clement Attlee in 1949 under immediate U.S. pressure (30.5 per cent). The Labor Party comes to power at times of acute economic difficulties, when living standards drop. And instead of getting at the roots of the trouble caused by imperialist policies, instead of modifying social relations as promised in the election campaigns, and instead of checking monopoly power and framing an anti-monopoly policy in the interest of the

vast majority, the Right-wing dish out more of the same old policy.

This is also true of the Federal Republic of Germany. If German imperialism recovered so rapidly after the Second World War with Western, notably U.S., help, this was due partly to the support extended by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders to the postwar regime. It was the same after the First World War. And at the end of 1966, when Erhard's government publicly declared itself bankrupt because, among other things, the budget was in an unholy mess and an economic crisis was brewing, the Social-Democratic leaders again offered their services to save the state-monopoly system. "They acted in the old Social-Democratic tradition," said an SDP brochure, *Survey 1966*, issued on the occasion. "The SDP was always invited whenever . . . the Reich needed help." Quite true. Just as they had helped the monopolies recover in 1918 and 1945, they helped stabilize the position of the CDU/CSU as the immediate spokesman of West German monopoly capital at the end of 1966.

West German experience indicates that at times of crisis the monopoly bourgeoisie is quite willing to delegate the function of government to Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, who do not hesitate to push through unpopular monopoly-oriented measures and help the imperialist system, on the brink of bankruptcy, back to its feet. But by turning their backs on the aims of the labor movement and the vital interests of the vast majority, they are losing the trust of many electors. As a rule, the Labor Party was defeated in elections that followed such "radical measures." In the past two years, too, the various elections were highlighted by setbacks for the Labor Party, which also holds true for the West German Social-Democrats after they entered the grand coalition government.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote concerning the devaluation, on November 24, 1967: "It is no accident that the pound was on all occasions devalued by Labor governments. The latest devaluation, too, was the inevitable result of Labor's economic and social policy. This will create many headaches for socialist parties all over Europe." What the monopoly paper wanted to impress on its readers was that any devaluation of sterling is due to "socialist policy." But that is not true: it is the sad aftermath of imperialist policy, a legacy left by the Tories, the root

of all the adversities suffered by Britain's currency. But instead of drawing the due conclusion and placing the cost of the necessary measures on the monopoly bourgeoisie, the chief culprit of the economic dislocation, the Labor government, like all its Labor predecessors, is shifting the burden onto the people. Instead of battling for a progressive anti-imperialist policy after its 1964 and 1966 general election victories, the Labor leadership picked up where the Tories left off, following the old imperialist great-power line and thereby aggravating the sterling crisis and the economic difficulties.

By pursuing an imperialist policy, the Right-wing Social-Democrat leaders are creating rifts within their parties. The Labor Party, for one thing, is in the throes of a crisis. Last year, 71 Left-wing Members of Parliament came out with an alternative policy. When the Commons voted on the curbs on education, public health and housing, etc., this January, 25 Labor MPs denied their support, refusing to go against their party's election promises. Wilson disciplined them, but if he continues his monopoly-oriented policy he is not likely to prevent new rebellions.

In January, Wilson also announced a reduction of military spending, envisaging a troop withdrawal from Singapore and Malaysia, and from the Persian Gulf area, a few years before the originally fixed date. But this will not happen until 1971 and the currency saving from the cancellation of an order for 50 F-111 U.S.-made warplanes costing some £400 million will not pay off until 1977-78. Besides, the Tories have "promised" the House of Commons that they would scrap these plans if they took over after the next general election.

To be consistent, the envisaged saving should become effective immediately, reducing military spending abroad and cutting arms expenditures, which have been rising steadily year after year, under Wilson as well. Support for U.S. global strategy and for Bonn's revenge-seeking plans should cease. Millions of pounds could also be saved by withdrawing the 50,000-strong army from the Federal Republic. If this were done, the Labor government need not have had to reduce social benefits and forfeited much of the trust of its followers. This conforms with the interests of the workers, the middle classes and most other sections of the nation, subjected today to terrific monopoly pressure.

Sweden: *promises and realities*

The marked loss of votes in the 1966 elections sparked off a heated discussion in the Swedish Social-Democratic Party. Exponents of the Left trend are advocating policy changes that would replace the present course of regulating capitalist society with an anti-monopoly policy aimed at tilting the class balance and modifying property relations. It is too early to say to what extent the Left will succeed.

WHAT THE "TIDEN" SAYS ON THIS SCORE

A few facts in the ninth (November 1967) issue of *Tiden*, the Social-Democratic Labor Party journal, are worth noting.

Its editorial on the Extraordinary Party Congress held in October 1967, says the economic program adopted by congress "contains many important elements and stands for a clearer socialist policy." Though this was said "for the public," doing lip service to the demands of the Left opposition, the statement is essentially critical of the present Social-Democratic policy of concessions to big capital.

"The basic demands concerning labor, security and development," the editorial points out, "cannot be met unless public influence on the economy is increased. Conscious that development on a larger scale requires measures that will change the balance of forces in society, the Social-Democrats will soon propose a number of measures."

Elsewhere it says: "Enterprises lightly shift the concern for the unemployed onto society and the taxpayers; what they are concerned about mainly is profit. That is how our present mixed economy works."

Quite true. Sweden, which has had practically full employment throughout the post-war and even a labor shortage from time to time, had nearly 100,000 jobless at

the turn of the year. That is how the "mixed economy" works. The Social-Democratic doctrine that full employment can be maintained under monopoly-capital domination, has gone up in smoke. The working class is expecting the Social Democratic leadership to turn over a new leaf and work for the extremely necessary change in the balance of forces.

But the journal is sceptical. "The most important thing is still hanging fire," it says. "Congress decisions still have to be converted into government recommendations and Riksdag resolutions; after this the majority of electors have to be convinced that the policy is correct." And the author adds: "It should not be difficult to show that the problems posed by the course of events cannot be solved by anything but a socialist policy."

Well put! But what the government did immediately after Congress was to recommend a cut in monopoly taxes of 1,200 million crowns with a tightening of indirect taxation of the people, coupled with a record rent increase.

Another article in the same issue, by sociologist Sten Johansson, assails the Social-Democratic government for its "equality policy," once the cornerstone of the Party platform, designed to level out incomes. He asks: don't party economists think that current economic trends are destroying the foundation of the Social-Democratic ideology, which gives top priority to questions of distribution?

Here is his own answer: "We might assume that this is so, looking from the angle of equality at the fantastic political measures that leave a 55-year-old small farmer unemployed in the name of 'rationalization' or sacrifice the homeless (plus thousands of building workers) and people needing relief on the altar of export profits. That confusion is spreading like a

contagion in Social-Democratic ranks and that young people are leaving the party, is not due to any lack of information about party policy."

Certainly not.

Johansson examines the question of capitalist rationalization and maintains that in the '60s the Social Democrats endeavored to ease the rationalization process in the belief that it is up to the state "to make the labor force more mobile, so it could be used where it brought the greatest profit."

This economic doctrine places the blame for the fundamental weakness of the capitalist system, which they had formerly denounced, squarely on the Social Democratic politicians. Structural rationalization, the writer says, does not level out wages; nor does it push them up. Instead, factory and office workers made mobile have to pay dearly for its consequences. That is not all. It is the least secure segment of workers who suffer from it the most.

Rudolf Meidner, ex-economist of the Swedish trade union movement, who made a special study of the problem, says that more than two per cent of Sweden's labor force changes jobs annually due to territorial shift, or closure, of industrial enterprises. Investigations show conclusively that some 20 to 25 per cent of the thus released labor force does not find new jobs. Each year, half of one per cent of the country's labor force join the unemployed, go on the sick list or become pensioners prematurely due to general technological growth. About a quarter of those who find new jobs lose their ratings and accept a smaller wage or inferior conditions. The third and biggest group are not dismissed, but are shifted to other jobs where they get a lower wage or working conditions are worse.

In sum, a total of two to 2.5 per cent, or about 100,000 of our gainfully employed, suffer annually from unfavorable changes in their status.

The author, a Social Democrat, says he does not object to "structural rationalization and greater economic effectiveness," but points out that he cannot look on complacently how the 'released' workers are treated and how structural rationalization is allowed to become a solid rock suspended each year above the heads of 100,000 people, while knowing that their number will keep rising."

Yet the SD leadership is anxious to

speed up structural rationalization. Economists maintain that "releasing" people pays good dividends. To whom? That is the question. The article says rightly that it is the stock companies alone that benefit from it. For them it is a "dividend" that people are unemployed during the weeks needed by the enterprise to "move" to new sites or that some of them become permanently jobless.

The conclusion could not be clearer. It is a boon for capitalism to have a reserve army of unemployed. The writer is perfectly justified in rejecting this. "Therefore," he says, "I think there is no reason to accept the idea that a factory should close down before all its employees are guaranteed a new job the day after it closes. Jobs should be booked in advance for those who cannot find them in the 'open market', so that they could start on them before the factory closes. This should be taken for granted."

At the end of the article, Meidner concludes that the least secure workers suffer the most from technological advance. That is typical of the capitalist system. As the author sees it, however, "the new element in the '60s is that those Social Democratic politicians who have espoused this inhuman doctrine are no longer concerned with protecting these people against the deficiencies of the system and are now protecting the system against people."

Here is his conclusion:

"It is time for the Social Democrats to abandon the welfare state legend. A far-sighted Norwegian sociologist says that the myth of our living in a welfare state is the welfare state's greatest enemy."

How right he is.

PLAYING WITH POWER

In his book, *Playing with Power in Sweden*, Ake Ortmark, an economist who heads the home affairs department of Swedish television, produces an incisive picture of the "coexistence" of big capitalist firms and the present-day Social Democracy in our so-called "mixed society." The 255-page volume which had an unusually big sale in Sweden, builds its examination on Marxist as well as on bourgeois sources. Public interest in the book was aroused by Ortmark's transcripts of hundreds of interviews with ranking figures in what he calls the four centers of power: Social Democratic government quarters and their

links with the SDLP and Sweden's trade union center, the bureaucracy, the bourgeois opposition and the big monopoly industrialists. The writer weighs the balance of forces and tells how men in key posts react to issues uppermost in Swedish politics.

The struggle cannot be examined at length in an article. Those keen to learn of the specifics of the fight between Swedish monopoly capital and its parties, on the one hand, and the Social Democratic leadership heading the government for practically 35 consecutive years, on the other, will benefit from reading the book. It reveals that the backstage struggle does not consist in any open capitalist pressure on the government. The key to understanding it lies in the SD policy of adapting itself to what is basically bourgeois ideology, creating illusions about equality being possible in a society where monopoly capital operates without any restraints, exploiting mass sentiment, and in the way of the top Social Democrats, who are part of the privileged class.

The art of Social Democratic leadership hinges, among other things, on knowledge of public opinion through direct investigations by special agencies, but also by the SDLP and the trade union center. Flexible leadership is achieved through unofficial meetings with people holding key posts in the labor movement and those representing industrialists.

Ortmark's material contains ample evidence that in Sweden public opinion is chiefly made by the bourgeois press and publishers, teachers, the bourgeois bureaucracy and the machinery of state, consisting chiefly of people with a bourgeois background. The government never gave any preponderance to the labor movement in radio and television, although their impact on public opinion is self-evident. Practically all popular entertainment is essentially bourgeois.

Playing with Power in Sweden bears out the study made of Social Democracy by the Left Party-Communists: the Social Democrats run Swedish capitalist society without the slightest concern for changing the existing balance of forces. Convincing examples may be advanced from Ortmark's book.

BOURGEOIS PREPONDERANCE IN THE GOVERNMENT APPARATUS

The central government body, that is, the government chancellery and its various

departments, employs approximately 700 people engaged by order of the government, with no more than one of fifteen being a member of the Social Democratic Party.

The old tradition is that officials should be above political passions, should be neutral and loyal, performing the will of king and Government. Most of the present officials are said to be "non-political," though many of them act with a distinctly bourgeois bias. Clearly, no official can do his job in a vacuum. Performing his daily task, analyzing or planning for the future, he cannot help expressing his views. The legal profession, too, trained in poring over old laws in search of precedents instead of finding up-to-date solutions to suit the new times, is as much an impediment to the demands of radical public opinion.

A look at how these 700 officials vote reveals that 70 (at most 100) vote for the Social Democratic Party. "Social Democratic ministers," Ortmark writes, "can depend on the ideological allegiance of not more than 10 per cent of the government chancellery staff."

Only few of the state secretaries, the closest aides of the Ministers, are Social Democrats. It is only natural to assume, therefore, that most of them interfere and hinder the work of the ministries. Ex-Minister of Finance, Per Edvin Skoeld, once said: "I think people whose political views are unknown are the most valuable." In describing the work of government committees, Ortmark indicates that the present Finance Minister (Gunnar Straeng, a former farm laborer) holds similar views.

In the Foreign Ministry "none of the top career men is a member of the Social Democratic Party," Ortmark says. The list of Foreign Ministry officials reveals that they were not picked from labor organizations. Their titles, carefully preserved, indicate that practically all aristocratic families in Sweden are represented in the foreign service.

Torsten Nilsson, one-time stonemason and now Foreign Minister, to whose prestige in the labor movement Ortmark refers with deep respect, "is gripped as in a vice by his administration." The verbiage that, as a rule, opens foreign policy debates in the Riksdag, is tailored to fit Foreign Ministry tradition rather than the government. The foreign service is heavy-handed and ponderous, and almost impervious to the refreshing influence of progressive

opinion. Its main purpose is to avoid conflict and undesirable public reaction, particularly in the United States.

Even people with a bourgeois background are critical of the atmosphere in the Foreign Ministry. Herbert Tingsten, expert on questions of the state, writes in his memoirs about the time when he was a Foreign Ministry attache. "The moral atmosphere is disgusting and the social milieu terrible," he writes. "I think the Foreign Ministry will become intolerable and I shall leave it, unless I become morally corrupted."

Ortmark holds that the situation has improved somewhat since Tingsten's days, but adds: "It is clear, all the same, that the views of the vast majority of Foreign Ministry officials differ from those of the Social Democrats in all the basic issues."

A FAMILY OF GREAT POWER

Playing with Power in Sweden contains a striking description of the Swedish upper crust, particularly the Wallenberg family, which controls a capital of 1,600 million crowns and most of the big enterprises employing nearly half a million people. In no other industrial country, wrote *Time* magazine about the Wallenbergs, does any single family possess such immense economic power.

This does not prevent the Wallenbergs from preaching social service. A few years ago the man who was then in charge of a Wallenberg bank, said: "The history of the bank shows that we have always served our country. Any government in power could rely on the Stockholms Enskilda Bank in matters that, in our opinion, were consistent with the country's interests."

"This statement may be typical of those with a strong sense of doing their duty in the name of lofty interests," Ortmark comments, "but it also indicates—almost in so many words—that trust in one's own position, one's own assessment, comes first: we shall serve you if you act as we think best for the country. The family may note with satisfaction that, by and large, Sweden has always been ruled by intelligent governments that never obstructed the leading members of the family in any vital areas."

Until now, Swedish finance capital did not feel the need to resort directly to the language of power. Wallenberg, in fact, prefers "to be but not be seen."

A prominent capitalist close to the Wallenbergs, a member of the boards of 40 enterprises including the Enskilda Bank, was asked in a recent TV interview whether his many posts secured for him a position of power. "I did not think of it in terms of power," he said. "For me it was more a desire to be useful."

Ortmark thinks this "stratagem of usefulness" has been highly successful, for "nobody has so far said that the Wallenberg family with its immense wealth has ever harmed Sweden. Quite the reverse." To be sure, the writer is unaware of the criticism levelled at the monopolies by the Communists, though the criticism has not won sufficient circulation among the public.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

In the chase for superprofits, Marcus Wallenberg, the present family head, launched out on many different undertakings. Among other things, he initiated the large international investment company, Adela, with the avowed purpose of "investing and furnishing experience" in Latin America. It was announced that Adela would invest in countries that "maintain an investment climate favorable for private enterprise," leading Ortmark to the logical conclusion that by its policy of investments Adela "could maintain regimes opposed to social revolutions."

When Swedish capitalism entered into its monopoly stage, the Wallenbergs moved away from politics, fearing that the people would see through them. But there is nothing to show that they kept to the sidelines in critical international situations. Ortmark points out that during the last war the Wallenbergs were "in many respects a part of the foreign service." The bourgeoisie tried to make a Wallenberg foreign minister in the wartime coalition government, but, conscious of public sentiment, the then Prime Minister (Social Democrat Per Albin Hansson) declared that a Hansson-Wallenberg cabinet was inconceivable.

The Enskilda Bank board report to shareholders in 1939, said: "Ever since the German state has under purposeful leadership regained its place as a great power, it has in a short time greatly advanced its foreign program . . . Gaining security through an alliance with Italy, armed under Mussolini's firm leadership, Germany has without use of arms occupied Austria in March

and parts of Czechoslovakia inhabited by Germans in September."

The "philosophy of service" in thus reflected in obsequious acclamation of the policies of extreme reactionary and aggressive quarters.

Wallenberg dispensed gifts to the supreme commander of the Swedish Armed Forces. It came to light inadvertently that in 1961 he presented the commander with 80,000 crowns for "promoting the interests of the Armed Forces."

It would be too much to look into all the contradictions of the Swedish financial world. We could point out, for example, that despite the contradictions, the monopolists are all backing the bourgeois parties, above all the Right party, but also the People's Party. It may be noted, too, that Big Business is, naturally, more interested in its own connections than in current Swedish policy. But whenever an acute situation arises, they form unofficial alignments to intervene directly in political developments through special channels.

In the light of these facts, which illustrate the immense concentration of capital coupled with the power the upper class wields over public opinion media and the machinery of government, the Social-Democratic theory that in Sweden relations between monopoly capital and the labor movement have struck a balance, is a case of all but grotesque insensibility.

WIDENING RIFT IN INCOMES

Playing with Power in Sweden reveals that taxation does not affect the profits of Big Business. For many years, the Social-Democrats said that through taxation combined with social policy and wage policy, disparities in incomes could be reduced. The facts, taken from a recently published tax report, speak of the contrary. A more conclusive idea about the widening rift will be obtained after the publication of the long-awaited report on the lower-paid categories.

The author shows that trade-union economists were shocked when they discovered in the 'sixties that the "policy of equalization" pursued by the Social-Democrats after the war failed to yield the desired results. The impression arises that the Social-Democrats are falling victim to their own mistaken theories.

Ortmark is not a Marxist. He is one of those who refuse to suffer the increasing rift between classes and social groups in the light of the social morals one could legitimately expect in a country where equalization of incomes has been government doctrine for a quarter of a century. The author does not speak of aims; he makes his impact through objective political observations. Yet at one point he, too, erupts in anger: when describing the luxury in which only an insignificant minority can afford to live.

"Two hundred and fifty of the powerful—242 men and eight women," he writes, "belong to the privileged class. It is above all for this class that the road lies open to universities, expensive restaurants, theatres, villas and tennis courts. The best doctors and the most capable lawyers are trained for this class. Writers produce books, artists paint and composers write music for it . . . They are ones who have the most pleasant and most interesting work, the highest salaries, the greatest prestige, power and prominence in society."

The lively public interest aroused by *Playing with Power in Sweden* is a sign that in the "idyll of welfare" the ideological-political collisions are also growing more acute. Inevitably so if the country wants to embark on democracy and the people want to assail Big Business in order to secure a prosperous life for all and to ensure the neutrality that will prevent Big Business from inhibiting the struggle of the developing countries for democracy and economic independence.

Gunnar and Rodny OEHRMAN

Freedom fighters hit hard

(military survey)

The Liberation Front armed forces ended the past year with conspicuous success. Enemy casualties in 1967 added up to more than 365,000 killed and wounded, with nearly half the losses borne by U.S. troops and their satellites. Freedom fighters destroyed a vast amount of equipment and vehicles. Total planes shot down or demolished on the ground was 50 per cent higher than the year before and the number of warships sunk or damaged doubled.

Although the U.S. aggressor threw in all his "trumps" — a half-million-strong army, strategic air force, the Seventh Fleet, Marines, paratroops and air-borne units — he failed to bring the people of Vietnam to their knees or to escape a succession of major setbacks. An official survey issued in January by the Liberation Front command said that "the major victories by the Liberation Front in 1967 have been of considerable strategic importance, proving that the harder the People's Armed Forces fight, the stronger they become, and, conversely, the longer the U.S. aggressors fight, the more their setbacks pile up, driving them into a cul-de-sac."

The U.S. has not reached the strategic objectives of its dual-purpose "search and destroy" and "pacification" plan for South Vietnam. It was a considerable part of the U.S. and puppet forces that were searched out and destroyed, while the Liberation Forces and the people of South Vietnam extended their initiative, pounding the enemy continuously on all fronts. The Pentagon's "pacification" program, too, was, in effect, a failure, while the area under Liberation Front control expanded.

Disconcerted, the enemy is casting about for new forms of warfare. In efforts to adapt to the terrain in the theatre of operations and to the uniquely flexible tactics of the freedom fighters, he is using helicopters armed with rockets, guided missiles and automatic guns. No longer are 'copters purely a means of transport: they give fire

support to air-borne units and have special radar and infra-red "night vision" equipment for after-sundown operations.

As a rule, air reconnaissance and strong fighter-bomber, artillery and helicopter-gunship softening-up bombardments are used to facilitate troop landings. But the technique often fails. During the reconnaissance and bombardment, freedom fighters make skilled use of the terrain to shift swiftly to new positions, and hit the closely-watched enemy at the most favorable moment. Frequently, the invading force is compelled to repeat its pre-landing barrage several times over. A bridge commander of the 101st U.S. Airborne Division complained in a battle report that he had ordered four battalion-scale operations in six days and shifted his gun positions eleven times before attempting a landing, with the brigade failing to accomplish its mission all the same.

Imposing their will on the enemy, the Liberation Forces have made the U.S. command revise infantry tactics, highlighted by supreme caution, careful preliminary reconnaissance and thorough guarding on the march and in position. "For the foot soldiers," the U.S. *Military Review* wrote recently, "the moment of greatest danger—and also the period of maximum casualties—is the initial contact with the enemy. Because of the nature of the terrain in South Vietnam, it often is necessary for a platoon to advance in single file down a narrow path. . . . In such a situation, scouts will proceed with great caution, stopping to listen for the enemy. . . . Nevertheless, ambush often cannot be avoided. . . . The Viet Cong unit commander will allow the first U.S. squads or platoons to pass along the path, and then direct all available fire at the other platoons strung out along the path. In such an incident, casualties are likely to be heavy on the U.S. side."

Those are admissions taken from the military press. The *Military Review* com-

plains, by the way, that the terrain rules out the use of tanks, though they were employed quite extensively on the central plateau and for patrolling communications. To repulse the freedom fighters more effectively, the journal recommends wider use of dart shells.

A variety of radio-electronic computers is being brought in for planning operations in South Vietnam and air raids on the DRV, with a heavy accent on reconnaissance techniques: radars, infra-red and seismological apparatus to detect movements of men and vehicles, and devices reacting to the chemical exudations of the human body, thus warning of ambushes along the trails.

Sophisticated radio gear is supplied, with inflatable 20-meter antennas extending the ultra-short-wave transmission range in the jungle, while satellites are used for direct communications between the Pentagon and commanders in Vietnam, and high-precision lasers measure the distance to targets for the artillery. This enumeration of sophisticated equipment could be prolonged indefinitely, showing that the interventionists are employing the newest devices in their war against the people of Vietnam.

But the resistance encountered is devastating. The earth of Vietnam is literally burning under their feet. Aided by the civil population, the Liberation Forces mounted strong attacks at the end of January and in early February, harassing the enemy at many points from the 17th parallel in the north to the Ca Mau peninsula in the south, assaulting more than 40 large cities and hundreds of smaller towns, hitting 30 airfields, cutting ground and river communications, blowing up hundreds of bridges, and destroying or capturing ammunition dumps and ordnance and fuel depots.

The thoroughly planned operation took the interventionists by surprise, causing confusion among the U.S. command. General D. Chasson, head of the U.S. operational center in South Vietnam, admitted, for one thing, that the offensive was splendidly planned and organized, and, moreover, amazingly well coordinated. The *London Times* correspondent in Saigon, too, wrote that the Liberation Front offensive reduced years of U.S. effort to nought.

In the first week of the fighting enemy casualties passed the 50,000 mark. More

than 1,500 planes and helicopters were either destroyed or damaged. The enemy also lost about 4,000 vehicles, 50 warships and numerous radio stations, with the 7th puppet armor regiment, two U.S. armor regiments at Hue and Phu Bai, and 40 battalions (including nine U.S. and one Australian) totally wiped out, while the troops of 168 puppet base camps went over to the people.

The heaviest fighting took place through February in the Saigon-Za Din area, in the ancient fortress-capital of Hue and around the U.S. Marine base at Khe Sanh.

In the Saigon-Gia Dinh area the Liberation Forces, supported actively by the local population, drove deep wedges into key U.S. and puppet positions, attacking "Independence Palace," the U.S. Embassy, the puppet headquarters, the Tan Son Nhut airfield, artillery positions and the camps of motorized units, airborne troops and the U.S. Marines, police stations, etc. Some densely populated districts comprising nearly half of Saigon, were captured, while the Liberation Forces and local freedom fighters attacked the enemy in the environs of the city, shelling U.S. bases at Lai Khe, Dong Du and Dau Tian, striking at base camps and air bases in Bien Hoa Province, and cutting off the main roads and waterways to Saigon. In and around Saigon the enemy lost nearly 10,000 men, some 200 planes and about 1,000 vehicles. Commenting on the situation, a senior U.S. officer said the security of a city like Saigon could not be guaranteed 100 per cent.

The city of Hue, some 80 kilometres south of the 17th parallel, also saw long and heavy fighting. Liberation troops who captured the town on the morning of January 30 held out tenaciously for nearly a month against ferociously attacking U.S. and puppet forces using heavy guns, bombs and napalm. Ultimately the positions in Hue were abandoned in face of superior numbers.

The U.S. Marine base at Khe Sanh was encircled at the beginning of the general offensive. The U.S. command communicated with and supplied the beleaguered stronghold by helicopters and transport planes, and, lacking reserves to relieve it, hoped to mitigate its plight by bombing the attacking force. In January more than 7,000 sorties were flown, including 800 by strategic B-52 bombers, to bomb the besieging force, with U.S. experts estimating that the aggregate explosive power of the bombs, missiles and shells exceeded that of

the two atomic bombs dropped over Japan towards the end of the Second World War.

Efforts to lift the siege by air strikes have been unsuccessful, for the freedom fighters have built a tight ring round the base, making skilled use of the terrain for protection from the air, maneuvering adroitly, using their fire power with deadly effect and taking cover in tunnels and trenches. U.S. commanders fear that the advance into the immediate proximity of the Marine perimeter will soon make any air support too dangerous for their own troops.

Throughout February heavy fighting continued on all fronts. Enemy losses mounted. By March 1, the enemy lost nearly 100,000 effectives, some 1,800 planes and more than 1,300 troop-carriers and tanks.

The air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, involving between 200 and 250 planes daily, have not yielded the desired results either. Strategic B-52 bombers from Guam and the U Taphao base in Thailand are used extensively alongside fighters and fighter-bombers.

But the aggressor has to reckon with mounting anti-aircraft power in the DRV. To reduce its losses, the U.S. Air Force is changing tactics, planes flying at higher altitudes to stay out of range of the small-calibre anti-aircraft artillery and rifle and machine-gun fire. The time over the target has also been cut drastically. Effective action by North Vietnam interceptors compels the U.S. command to deploy a considerable fighter force for cover. All planes carry radio electronic devices to interfere

with radar spotters. An appreciable force is assigned to hit DRV anti-aircraft defenses, especially interceptor airstrips, with still greater strength devoted to attacks on ground-to-air missile launching pads. Diversionary groups, interference planes and decoy units are maintained for this purpose.

U.S. generals claim that their planes hit military targets. However, most of the raids are against civilians. Thousands of bombs, napalm containers and rockets are dropped on densely populated areas, schools, hospitals and cultural institutions, with Hanoi and Haiphong raided methodically.

But bombing towns and villages will not break the will of the people, who have shown unexampled courage, fortitude and tenacity. Vietnam rocketeers, ack-ack gunners and fighter pilots are perfecting their skills. By now they have shot down nearly 3,000 U.S. planes.

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The recent freedom offensive has shown the world that the Vietnamese are determined to fight on for their just cause. The U.S. imperialists will fail in their purpose, no matter how much they escalate their criminal aggression. Not through escalation but through an immediate halt to the aggression will peace be attained. That is the demand of all progressives. U.S. efforts to expand the war are meeting continuously mounting Vietnamese resistance, backed selflessly by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

Nikolai DENISOV

Visiting an embattled people

(notes by a Mongolian journalist)

As correspondent of the newspaper *Unen* I had occasion to visit the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and witness the bravery of a people locked in battle.

Travelling from area to area I saw towns and villages reduced to rubble, fields torn by explosions—the aftermath of the crimes committed by the U.S. aggressor. The U.S. military would have the world believe that their aircraft bomb only strategic targets. But invariably these objectives happen to be kindergartens, schools, hospitals, colleges, the huts of peasants and dwellings of workers. And the victims of this ruthless bombing are peasants and factory and office workers.

In the province of Thanh Hoa I was told that since 1965 U.S. planes bombed Thanh Hoa, capital of the province, at least 500 times, dropping some 8,000 bombs on it. Today the town is a heap of rubble. In 1965 some 5,000 heavy bombs were dropped on the territory of the province, which has an area of 10,000 sq. kilometres; in 1966 the number grew to 25,000 and the figure for the first nine months of 1967 reached 26,390; the number of cluster bombs dropped for the same period was 19,000, 25,000 and 72,280 respectively. Behind these figures are thousands of killed and wounded.

The province of Thai Binh was raided more than 500 times in the first 11 months of 1967; leading to the destruction of 142 villages. I saw the bodies of 30 children of the village of Tuydan, killed during the bombing of their school.

In a hospital in Thanh Hoa province I spoke with a peasant by the name of Can. His leg had been torn off by a rocket splinter while working on a rice field. One would hardly consider a rice field a military target. Not so the American airmen who discharged the rockets.

The number of bombs dropped in the Quang Binh province adds up to four bombs per square metre.

The air intruders are encountering a growing resistance. To date, some 3,000 U.S. planes have met their end in the skies of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The people have risen to a man in defense of their homeland. Armed self-defense units have been formed in all the districts and villages, and in enterprises and institutions which, together with the men of the People's Army, are repelling the attacks. To cite a few of many examples: in the Hoang Hoa district, Thanh Hoa province, an anti-aircraft unit manned by a crew of elderly men brought down two enemy planes in one month. Two planes were shot down by a neighboring anti-aircraft battery operated by young women. The anti-aircraft crew of young women in the district of Hualoc, which took up its position only two weeks ago has already shot down one enemy plane whose pilot was taken prisoner.

I shall always remember my meeting with the defenders of the Ham Rong bridge in Thanh Hoa province; the operational repair team who have put 100 enemy aircraft out of commission are mostly young men and women between the ages of 17 and 24. When off duty they study, or give a helping hand to the cooperative in the vicinity. I was told about the exploits in repair work and in studies of one of the companies defending the bridge. When this company, commanded by Dang Thi Le, was stationed in the province of Nghe An, American bombers destroyed the school where they were studying. To procure the necessary text-books and copy-books, the teacher Lai Thi Te walked to the town of Thanh Hoa, 90 kilometres away, only to find that the library where she had hoped to obtain the needed number of text-books had been evacuated, and that only one copy had been left behind. She thereupon spent two days and two nights recopying the material.

North Vietnam is virtually a battle camp with its people holding the enemy at bay and performing feats of labor in the name of victory. Day and night columns of trucks, cyclists, and pedestrians can be seen streaming along the roads. They are not refugees, fleeing in disorder from the war, from the enemy. They are working men and women, soldiers who are firmly advancing to their goal. Endless columns of trucks deliver guns, shells, and rockets to the anti-aircraft units, transport rice, sugar cane, and fruit—in a word, everything needed for defense and life. Where trucks cannot go they are replaced by cyclists and carriers. This stream of people and vehicles symbolizes the interlacing of two important fronts—the fighting front and the labor front.

The workers, peasants and office employees are working selflessly, inspired by the knowledge that victory will be theirs. Their confidence is reinforced by the moral support and material aid rendered by the countries of the socialist community, by men and women all over the world.

Throughout the Republic women are doing their bit to bring the day of victory nearer. They have taken the place on the

home front of their husbands, brothers and sons who have gone to the battlefield.

The peasants have started a movement to collect five tons of rice per hectare. Last year some cooperatives managed to secure a harvest of eight tons per hectare. Before the revolution the peasants of Thai Binh province lived in want for 10 months of the year, or simply died of starvation. In the bad harvest year of 1945 some 250,000 people died in one month alone in this province. After the liberation, it was not long before Thai Binh was harvesting a rice crop that placed it among the foremost provinces in the Republic. It plans to obtain an average crop yield of six tons per hectare by 1970.

The people have marshalled all their forces and means to fight the aggressor. Their valiant struggle, their labor achievements, the aid of the socialist countries, the support rendered by progressive mankind—all this augurs that the people of Vietnam will be victorious. It was good to know that also my country, the Mongolian People's Republic, was contributing its bit to victory.

Tsend Ayushiin MISHIGDORZH

Reflections on continental strategy for Latin-American revolutionaries

SCHAFIK HANDAL

I.

THE CURRENT DEBATE AND ITS ROOTS

Latin-American revolutionaries are debating the fundamental problems of the present historical phase. The discussion has spread to newspapers and magazines, university campuses, trade union meetings, prison cells and guerrilla encampments, the manifest tendency being to question all or nearly all strategic and tactical concepts of the past decades. This search for new, realistic solutions is, however, laced together with a clash of old and new dogmas, of one set of lifeless formulas with another.

The debate has generated considerable tension. Yet, for all its sharpness, for all the dangers it presents to the movement, it is unavoidable and necessary and responds to the logic of world and Latin-American development. It is not our purpose to argue this point. Our purpose is to examine the two continental processes that gave impetus to the debate. First, Latin America is unquestionably riding a *revolutionary* wave. There have been at least two long periods of high tide on the continent in the past 25 years, making a profound impression on the socio-political and ideological scene. Second, large segments of the middle strata are joining the fight against imperialism, for socialist structures, and their advance forces are challenging the vanguard role of the Communist Parties, the *traditional and best organized revolutionary force* in the Latin-American countries.

It was the mounting intensity of the struggle, the mounting intensity also of the contradictions produced by changes in the

social composition of the anti-imperialist movement, that led to the debate and to the factional trends presently observed in the revolutionary movement, affecting the Communist Parties and most of the non-Communist Left organizations, both old and new, though if we probed deeply enough we should probably discover that the Communist Parties have suffered least from the centrifugal effects.

Beyond question, the attempt of the Chinese Communist Party leadership to impose their theoretical ideas on the world revolutionary movement did, at a definite stage, exert a distinct influence on the polemics. But that influence has now waned and the debate is mainly on the *real* and basic problems of the *Latin-American* revolution. The overall picture is still chaotic, but that is typical for this phase in any major theoretical confrontation. Sooner or later, experience shows, the "chaos" gives way to clarity; new solutions and concepts crystallize, in keeping with the needs of the times and doing effective service in revolutionary practice.

Those with a simplistic approach, say: "Things were going well until the ultra-left began to cast doubt on everything. We must defeat the ultras and reinstate the old, indubitable truths."

It is quite true that ultra-left views must be combated. But the root of the matter, as we see it, goes much deeper. In effect, life has taken a course that our concepts did not envisage. This is not to say that *all* our concepts have failed the test. Some were correct when formulated and they are correct today; others, once sound, are no longer so, or they are sound only in part, while some were out of step with reality from

the beginning. What with the changes in the world balance of forces since the mid-fifties, the new revolutionary upswing in Latin America and the Cuban revolution, the situation on the continent is no longer what it was. Our adversary is more experienced, has overhauled his tactics, and the structure of capitalist society in our countries has changed. So our concepts, too, need to be altered to fit the new realities.

Yet one of the factors behind the current discussion, we hold, is of a general theoretical nature and amounts to the fact that the *Marxist-Leninist theory of the Latin-American* revolution is still insufficiently developed. We side with those who maintain that revolution in Latin America has features that distinguish it from the "classical" national-liberation revolutions on other continents; if you will, it is of a "semi-socialist" complexion.

By saying that our theory is insufficiently developed we mean not only our strategy and tactics prior to and in winning power, including the economic theory of backwardness and dependence, but also the theory of building a new society, including elucidation of the sociological and ideological aspects of revolution in both its stages. It is due to these blank spots that some of the national-liberation movements still operate as uncontrollable natural effects, encouraging spontaneity in politics and ideology.

True, the victory of the Chinese revolution and after it the experience of the national-liberation movement in other Asian and African countries impelled a deeper study of some aspects of the national-liberation revolution. But this was handicapped by a tendency to generalize in a mechanical way propositions pinpointed in the analysis of the various national and regional processes: the role of the national bourgeoisie in the revolution, the non-capitalist way, the state of national democracy, etc. Examination of these aspects of the "Afro-Asian" experience yields useful elements for the revolutionary movement on our continent. Yet the tendency to see them as absolutes — to affirm (or deny) out of historical context their validity for Latin America—has all too often resulted in dogmatic distortions.

Fruitful attempts have been made in Latin America over the past decade to produce a general theory for our revolution. Much of the credit for this goes to Comrade Arismendi, who pursues the task with method and perseverance. Some of his conclusions are nothing short of dis-

coveries, duly verified by the continental revolutionary process, while others are still controversial. However, they have the indisputable distinction of having "launched" new categories expressing the essence of the problems concerned (structural crisis, continental revolution, etc.). An equally welcome contribution has been made over the past few years by the *World Marxist Review*, notably its issues 5, 6 and 7 for 1967, including the article by Comrade Luis Corvalan.

THE CONDUCT OF THE DEBATE

However, an important detail in the theoretical mechanism is not functioning as it should. Our allusion is to an objective, concrete and critical *analysis of the revolutionary experience of the past decades*, notably the period after the Cuban revolution, when all the strategic and tactical concepts advanced *before* and *after*, and in the name of the Cuban revolution were put to test. The successes and setbacks of those stormy years are invaluable for theoretical elaboration. The Communist Parties and other revolutionary organizations have, in the course of their battle, defined and applied new tactical and organizational formulas, producing new strategy theses that to some extent offer a solution to many of the controversial issues. An objective analysis of this concrete experience will enable us to draw the lessons of the rich revolutionary practice of the past years. This historical method, however, calls for a *debate of a different kind*, in which conflicting formulas (or slogans) would give place to genuine exchanges of views, to polemics without name-calling, to a joint search for the truth, which, Marxism-Leninism tells us, is always concrete. So far, however, all we have had are emotional oratory and hypertrophied sensibilities that all too often turned a difference of opinion into an insult, becoming a sectarian veto on any discussion of the main topics of revolution and reducing the debate to mutual attacks conceivable solely in relation to enemies.

The compulsion to heed the voice of practice does not, however, imply that we should wait until practice has had its final say on all the problems troubling revolutionaries in the present phase, for over the years practice has, after all, pronounced judgment quite emphatically. In fact, theoretical work has fallen far behind the objective revolutionary development: 9 or 10 years on some problems and a quarter of

a century, even as much as four decades, on others.

In the circumstances, the call to shun "theorizing," heard often enough from exponents of "pure action," and also from those who invoke "immutable truths," is comparable to what Lenin described in relation to similar sentiments in early 20th-century Russia as a "funeral jig." For the Latin-American revolutionaries, too, are in urgent need of theoretical analysis and generalization. Failing this analysis, our practice will be blind, carrying on at random the "trial and error" method, with the waves of revolution breaking against the barriers our adversary has now learned to put up. Nothing can justify the reluctance to analyze, critically and in earnest, all that has taken place on our continent at least since the Cuban revolution, and, to begin with, the Cuban revolution itself.

Some object to protracting the debate and deepening the analysis because, they say, it "may strain relations"; or refer in pleading their case to the national framework of the movement, saying that they are fighting in specific conditions and problems of concern for other countries have no relation to them. However sincere, these and similar postures only widen the gap between theory and practice which it is urgently and objectively necessary for the movement to overcome.

To be sure, should the debate take the wrong course and shed the due restraint it may entail undesirable consequences. But in our view there is no great danger of the debate assuming improper forms and producing undesirable results. We Communists could set the pace for a new kind of discussion, creating a climate of truly scientific and active searching, a climate of constructive study and of the necessary depth of perception. We could, thereby, channel in the desired direction the stormy and basically sound interest in the "vexing problems" of our theory and practice, to which many revolutionaries lack the right answers, for simplistic slogans and dogmatic formulas can on no account be considered adequate.

The task is to find the *practical forms* for our theoretical work that would help to enlist in the common effort other revolutionary forces, above all those professing to be socialist, even Marxist-Leninist. Instead of questioning their right to proclaim allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, we should enlist them not only in joint actions (which is regularly done), but also in joint theo-

retical work. This was precisely what Comrade Corvalan urged in his article when he referred to dividing the tasks of the vanguard and achieving the highest possible degree of cooperation with other revolutionary forces.

In conclusion, two more points. The call for a new kind of discussion, for joint efforts in theory, should not be interpreted as a proposal to discontinue all action for the duration of the debate and the elaboration of theory. Quite the reverse. Revolutionary action must develop in scope and depth. It cannot wait until we hammer out a comprehensive theory, because, among other things, it is action and practice that will resolve the controversial issues.

Of course, this does *not* imply that we should also produce a *single political line* to be followed in all the countries of our continent. What we need is a *general theory* of Latin-American revolution obtainable from a critical all-embracing analysis of the basic problems of history, sociology, the economics of our respective countries, philosophy, political and military strategy and tactics, etc.

CONTROVERSIAL PROBLEMS

Whatever those who deny the existence of continental problems of the revolution may say to the contrary, a discussion of points whose all-continental complexion is indisputable, has been germinating in Latin America for some years. The following is a list — obviously incomplete—of the points:

a) the objective and subjective conditions of the Latin-American revolution (material basis of the revolution: current crisis of structures, its interweaving with cyclical crises, standards of political struggle, of organization and revolutionary consciousness, etc.);

b) the potential and actual role played in the revolutionary struggle on the continent by the working class, the role of the middle strata and the bourgeoisie; of the peasants and of the rest of the rural population;

c) who constitute the organized vanguard of revolution and what is the vanguard ("guerrilla unit or party");

d) the character of the Latin-American revolution and its program;

e) can a continental revolutionary strategy be formulated? How to combat the continental strategy of U.S. imperialism? The possibilities and limits of regional and

continental revolutionary coordination.

What is international revolutionary solidarity?

f) ways of the revolution and forms of struggle. Violent and non-violent forms of struggle. Significance of the guerrilla unit and the guerrilla center, and of the mass political struggle; the order, correlation and combination of different forms of struggle;

g) study and assessment of the strategy and tactics pursued by imperialism and by various segments of the Latin-American bourgeoisie. Significance and long-term outlook of the imperialist plan to "integrate" the Latin American economy (Central American and Latin American common markets, Alliance for Progress). Essence and outlook of "imperialist reformism" and the reformism of the national and petty bourgeoisie;

h) the united anti-imperialist front, its composition and possibilities;

i) Latin-American armies: social characteristics, role and contradictions, etc.

II.

We should like to speak our mind here on one of the above points, namely, *the possibility and the necessity of charting the main contours of the general revolutionary strategic concept for Latin America*, which, naturally, is related to some of the other problems. Our point of view was set out by the delegation of the Communist Party of Salvador at the OLAS conference in August 1967 and conforms in some respects with points made in articles appearing in numbers 5, 6 and 7, 1967 of *World Marxist Review*.

In our view it is perfectly feasible to work out the basic theses of a strategic revolutionary concept for all Latin America. This is feasible because some objective factors are common and determinative for all or nearly all our countries in the present phase of the history of our continent. Here are three of them:

1. The revolutionary movement on our continent has a common enemy—U.S. imperialism, which has built up in our countries (with, of course, the sole exception of Cuba) a uniform system of dominance and exploitation and pursues a continental counter-revolutionary strategy.

2. All our countries — despite differing degrees of development—are following the same capitalist way, exposed to the crippling effects of economic and political dependence on U.S. imperialism.

3. A relatively simultaneous ebb and flow of mass revolutionary activity is typical for Latin America.

THE COMMON ADVERSARY AND WAYS OF COMBATING HIM

Unlike the Asian and African countries, those of Latin America are, in effect, dominated by *one and the same* imperialist power. The common enemy of all our peoples is at once the most powerful enemy of the world revolution who is straining his giant resources to block the road to socialism and communism. The accent in all areas of U.S. foreign policy (diplomatic, economic, military, etc.) is on preserving and extending the capitalist system as a whole, rather than, as before, promoting the interests of any U.S. monopoly. This is in the interest of the U.S. financial oligarchy and conforms with the nature of present-day U.S. state-monopoly capitalism.

As part of its global policy, U.S., imperialism is applying a common strategy of counter-revolution in all countries of our continent, regardless of the size of U.S. investments, the wishes of its reactionary allies, holding the Marine corps and its paratroops in reserve as an extreme tactical weapon. The armed action in Panama and the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 have dispelled all possible doubt on this score.

The imperialists prefer, of course, to avoid using their armed forces in suppressing our peoples. That is why they are trying to create the so-called Inter-American Peace Force. But with or without this force, with or without the collaboration of the varied assortment of "gorillas," U.S. imperialism will send its troops wherever the revolution may be about to win or has overpowered "local" rulers. The difficulties that imperialism has run into over the Inter-American Force should not, as we see it, generate the illusion that the danger of a direct armed U.S. intervention against our revolutions (not to mention the current operations of the "green berets," the CIA, etc.) is now less.

Nor has imperialism abandoned its cherished aim, the cornerstone of its strategy in Latin America, of crushing the Cuban revolution and turning back the history of the continent to the mid-fifties. Cuba is upheld by the might of the Soviet Union, by the solidarity of the socialist camp and all the peoples, above all the Latin-American peoples, and their revolutionary and

democratic organizations. Among their immediate tasks, the Communist Parties of our continent give priority to that of safeguarding Cuba. It should be borne in mind, however, that U.S. planes, warships and rockets are trained on the island, and that U.S. generals are straining at the leash, waiting for a favorable moment or for the insane order of a pugnacious maniac.

U.S. continental counter-revolutionary strategy is not confined to the military field. It covers politics and ideology, and after the Cuban revolution its methods in all these fields have been brought up to date.

In their continental strategy, we may note, the imperialists reckon both with the stable features and the transient situations that distinguish one country from another. On the one hand, they endeavor—and not without success—to establish continental or regional economic, political and military organizations in order to head off revolution and buttress their domination over the continent as a whole, and, on the other, they make their concept tactically flexible and versatile. It would be wrong to think that imperialism always uses the same tactics on the continental scale or in any of the countries. It changes tactics and jockeys constantly for positions best suited to preserve its grip on the helm in line with the developments of the “inner” class struggle even within each country.

Take, for example, U.S. imperialist policy in San Salvador since 1960. It went over from outright suppression of democratic and revolutionary forces in street clashes (1960-61) to tactics aimed at avoiding direct collision with the masses whom it sought to assuage with reformism, while showering reprisals on revolutionary organizations (part of 1961, 1962 and 1963); then it softened the reprisals somewhat, reducing them to “deterrent actions” while drumming up reformist demagoguery, offering some room for legal revolutionary work and furnishing guarantees and opportunities for such bourgeois opposition trends as Christian Democracy.

In Venezuela, Peru and Colombia armed operations against guerrillas are combined with “representative democracy,” while imperialist tactics in Uruguay and Chile, for example, differ from those in the adjoining countries, etc.

Methods involving direct violence are not the only ones employed by the imperialists. When no other choice remains, they resort to “reforms,” with the Alliance for Pro-

gress probably being their most ambitious and broadest maneuver. It has failed as a plan ostensibly devised to resolve (or alleviate) the continent’s social problems, but then the imperialists never really meant to resolve them. Their aim was to window dress the way of dependent capitalist development, elevate U.S. prestige and the U.S. role on the continent, to win the middle and small bourgeoisie, produce a counterweight to the Cuban revolution and the socialist perspective, and to weaken and isolate the revolutionary forces. (At the same time, Alliance for Progress is still the vehicle of a broad offensive of U.S. capital on the continent.)

It would be wrong, therefore, to say that the Alliance for Progress has failed all down the line. It fell through wherever Communist Parties and other revolutionary forces acted on the key principle of genuinely revolutionary policy: win the masses, stand in their van, maintain close contact with the masses, and combated reformism with stepped up class struggle and broad popular mobilization, combining all necessary and suitable forms of struggle to accomplish this task. Wherever reformism is opposed by a clear-cut revolutionary line, it suffers failure. What is more, there the impulses and carvings roused by it among the poor turn into an effective force aimed at goals transcending the reformist framework and facilitating growth of revolution. That is what is happening in Chile where the hope of getting land coupled with a thirst for social emancipation roused in the countryside by Frei’s demagoguery and half-hearted “agrarian reform” have helped the Communist Party and the People’s Action Front to organize a broad movement that is rapidly approaching revolutionary positions.

A few years ago the *continental* tactics of U.S. imperialism vacillated between organizing armed coups and supporting military dictatorships, on the one hand, and encouraging reformism and “representative democracy,” on the other. One or the other of these approaches would gain ascendancy from time to time, and each period was given the name of the statesman whose methods prevailed: the Roosevelt period and the periods of Dulles, Kennedy and Mann. This rushing from one extreme to the other is, it seems, over. Today, the imperialists pursue a flexible policy in which both methods are employed either in turn or simultaneously, depending on the situation.

The requirements of the times, the char-

acter of the struggle against American imperialism and, in particular, the reformist aspects of its tactics, show how essential it is to link *every mass movement*—strike, armed or democratic—*every form of struggle*—legal or illegal—with the *perspective of winning power*. If the revolution is to be successful the masses must be given at all stages of their struggle the *revolutionary alternative of power* (as a perspective or an immediate task—depending on the maturity of the struggle), with a program of anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist reforms. That is the watershed between the reformist way and the revolutionary way. Without this alternative the rallying of the masses by the revolutionary forces might become a prop for reformism. *But an alternative of power not related to the development of the class struggle and lacking a constructive program, is no real alternative.* In the same way, a movement based on the development of the class struggle and having a program, *but incapable of taking the necessary practical steps to change the character of political power*, cannot serve at the crucial moment as a real alternative to the power of the oligarchies and the imperialists.

An analysis of the counter-revolutionary strategy of imperialism shows that the conquest of power through armed struggle is the general rule in the Latin-American revolution. The exceptions merely prove this rule.

When speaking of the need for armed struggle in those cases where the conquest of power is advanced as the immediate practical task, i.e., at the *stage of revolution*, we should bear in mind that there are countries in Latin America where—because there are no longer any possibilities for certain forms of struggle, although the conditions exist for the further maturing of the revolutionary process — the armed struggle is being waged (or is about to be launched) already at the stage when the necessary forces are *still being mustered*.

Imperialism can be flexible on tactics, it can reconcile itself to the traditional existence of a democratic regime in one or another country; even more, it can assist the transition to the formal norms of this democracy, hoping thereby to buttress its domination and frustrate the revolution. But we should never lose sight of the fact that imperialism is fully determined to prevent the revolution from gaining power, leave alone retaining it. Intensive ideological activity, of which anti-communism is

the principal instrument; pressure on the army and the police; military coups, intervention by mercenaries and, as a last resort, by the regular army — such is the range of methods employed by imperialism in exporting counter-revolution to our continent.

Hence the need to prepare most carefully and thoroughly for the armed way to the conquest of power, or defense of the victorious revolution and national sovereignty. We would all much prefer the revolution to triumph without armed struggle. But in our conditions the thesis that “one and the other is possible; either we will have to take to arms, or will be able to win power and defend it the peaceful way” entails, in most cases, considerable risk. For it does not give a clear orientation regarding the practical preparations for decisive action; furthermore, it holds out the danger that at the crucial moment we might find ourselves unable to ensure the victory of the revolution. This has been known to happen . . .

Despite the acuteness of contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the peoples of Latin America the *revolution on our continent is, first and foremost, an “internal” process, stemming from the development of the class struggle.* Failure to take this into account has led to the assumption that the Latin-American revolution is an “absolutely uniform” process originating not on the basis of the “internal” class struggle, but simply as a result of the peoples’ collision with imperialism, that the objective prerequisites for this collision exist permanently whereas the subjective prerequisites have to be created by the armed struggle started by a group of revolutionaries. This strategic concept is bound to lead to mistakes of both a military and political nature.

Of course, there is always the possibility that a group of revolutionaries might decide to take armed action, irrespective of the concrete situation on the fronts of the class struggle. Such action might coincide with a situation when the objective conditions are ripe (it is a question, first of all, of the sentiment of the masses) for armed struggle. In that case, the armed struggle can rely on the support of the masses, can become a decisive factor in the political life of the country and grow into a victorious revolution. Experience shows that launching the armed struggle in these circumstances, that is, when still gathering

strength, becomes an important factor accelerating the revolutionary process.

But much more often, armed actions *not directly connected with development of the mass struggle* end in defeat—despite the heroism of the group of intrepid men. What is more, the armed struggle originating on the basis of class conflicts, or a democratic mass movement, can “lose touch” with its base and in its development forfeit the active support of the masses because of such mistakes as underestimating the political struggle, or failing to take into account changes in the situation, or as a result of imperialism and the local reaction achieving a temporary tactical-political superiority of forces. Having lost touch with the class struggle and the support of the masses—*sympathy* alone is not enough—the group of heroes become a group again who do not add to their strength merely by proclaiming the anti-imperialist and socialist character of their struggle. The revolutionary history of the continent has provided many examples of this.

The reverse, but no less serious, mistake is made, we think, by those who, while agreeing in theory that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the Latin-American revolution, at the same time elaborate their own strategy (and tactics) as though it were a question exclusively of the national process, the *outcome* of which depended solely on internal factors. Such an approach has more than once led to grave defeats, for, as already noted, at the crucial moment imperialism throws all its resources onto the scales of counter-revolution. Everyone concerned with the interests of the revolution should, therefore, prepare for direct or indirect and, at the decisive moment, for *armed* clashes with the external enemy—before the conquest of political power, during the fighting for it or after the conquest of power. We Latin-American revolutionaries should, consequently, examine the development of the internal class struggle in the light of continental strategy, develop a militant solidarity that can take the form of even direct revolutionary coordination and cooperation, and educate our peoples in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism.

THE GENERAL PATH OF DEVELOPMENT, THE GENERAL AND THE SPECIFIC IN THE REVOLUTION

All the Latin-American countries (with the exception of Cuba), are following one and the same socio-economic pattern, that

of a dependent and deformed capitalist development.

Most of them threw off the colonial yoke in the first quarter of the last century when there was still no such thing as a socialist system, and when capitalism in Europe proved in its competition with feudalism that it was the more dynamic and progressive model of development. By then capitalist tendencies had already appeared on the continent and developed capitalism—which had advanced from Europe, and later, from North America, in quest of new markets and raw materials—was knocking at the continent's door. Liberation from Spanish and Portuguese rule caught the young republics in the meshes of world trade based on free competition. Towards the end of the century, world capitalism entered upon the monopoly phase of its development, and Latin America found itself completely in the vise of imperialism.

Thus, for more than a century now (and in the case of some countries more than a century and a half), our continent has been moving along the path of dependent and deformed capitalist development. Consequently unlike many other countries of the Third World, the Latin-American countries have long since passed the juncture of the capitalist and *non-capitalist* paths and do not face the “option” any more. Latin-America's present “choice” is of a qualitatively different character, and is determined by the nature of the crisis in the socio-economic structures of the continent's societies, that evolved in the past century and which has become particularly acute of late.

Capitalist development left the land in the hands of the latifundists and preserved other survivals of feudalism which, coupled with growing dependence on imperialism, is more and more impeding the economic, social and political advance of our countries. The Latin-American revolution can develop only as a process that will break with the path of *dependent, deformed* capitalism. Or in other words, our countries can be diverted from this pernicious, anti-national and anti-people's course only by an anti-imperialist, agrarian, democratic, people's revolution which, not stopping at this stage, will rapidly grow into a socialist one (in some countries more rapidly than in others, depending on the level and specific features of their development). These general roots and the general character of the revolution (at any rate for most of our countries) are another factor that makes

possible, in our view, the elaboration of the basic principles of a continental strategy.

Here it should be stressed—to avoid the concept of mechanical uniformity — that within the framework of the given path and stage of development, common for the continent as a whole (some Marxist scholars refer to it as the “middle stage of capitalist development”), this development is at different levels, determining to a considerable extent also the politically-different patterns of the different countries. As capitalism developed on our continent nations took shape with their own internal economic relationships, their own national character, territory, state, etc. All this has, undoubtedly, laid its imprint on the specific aspects of the social processes which, however, are developing along the general path.

Two extreme and erroneous attitudes to this problem have become apparent, we think, in the present debate.

For some, the fact of differentiation rules out the possibility of charting and applying a continental revolutionary strategy, for they see Latin America simply as a conglomerate of nations, a mosaic of national differences, likening it to Europe. But from the very beginning Latin America developed in conditions of foreign (Spanish) exploitation which extended to practically the entire continent. The transition to independence likewise took place on a continental scale and in a relatively brief historical period for most of our countries. In the course of this capitalist development there also took shape uniform foreign-economic relations which subordinated the national economy, the government, the army and culture to a “single master” — imperialism. The tendency today is to strengthen the continental character of imperialist rule and exploitation. The term “economic and political penetration” does not adequately express the essence of the new process in which imperialism wants to tie all the threads of imperialist domination into a single net. Parts of this net are the Central American and Latin-American common markets, the Central American and Inter-American armies, in short, the military, political and other organizations, known to all.

The struggle for national independence, defense of national dignity, patriotism, the fight for the return of the national wealth—these are all sources of the great revolutionary energy of the peoples in the battle against the common enemy and the ex-

ploiter. Anti-imperialist nationalism can and should be channelled into the stream of the Latin-American revolution. There is also the possibility that the liberation of our peoples may take place through the concentration of national revolutions in an historically brief space of time, as the revolutionary upheavals on our continent have demonstrated.

For all these reasons, we consider that the national differences on the continent do not justify the attitude of those who favor a mosaic of national-revolutionary strategy, who are opposed to elaborating a common strategy for the revolutionary movement on the continent.

Another, in our opinion, incorrect view is that there are no nations, national differences and frontiers, and if there are, these have been artificially created by imperialism for the purpose of subsequently dividing and weakening our peoples. The advocates of this view maintain that the revolution does not have to worry about frontiers if groups of fighters are found in every country ready to start guerrilla warfare in the mountains, later coordinating their actions on a continental scale. They claim that the revolution can, and should, take the form of a *continental anti-imperialist war* which, even though not beginning simultaneously in the different countries, should nonetheless become a continental one in a more or less short time, irrespective of the concrete political conditions in each country—conditions which are determined by the specific way the class struggle develops nationally and, hence, cannot mature simultaneously for decisive military revolutionary actions. This uneven maturing of the *political* conditions for revolution is due to the difference in the level of material development, and also to the complex interaction of different factors in national and international policy. The processes of social psychology—still to be studied by revolutionaries — which often have an alienating effect on collective thinking, likewise influence the shaping of favorable—or unfavorable—subjective conditions for the transition to the higher forms of the class struggle.

This brings us to yet another aspect of this problem.

To revolutionaries who abstract themselves completely or partly from the national factor, the continental strategy of the revolution is reduced to military strategy, elaborated without due regard (or

very slight regard) for the concrete conditions of the class struggle in the different countries. They seek the genesis of this strategy almost exclusively in the imperialist exploitation and oppression of our peoples. Considering it possible to start a continental war in a number of countries simultaneously, irrespective of how the national class, and particularly, the political struggle is developing, the advocates of this concept affirm that this war, started by those who "have the will to fight" will act as a fillip to the political struggle and create the political conditions necessary for revolution. Accordingly, war ceases to be a "continuation of politics by other means" and politics, on the contrary, becomes the "continuation of war . . ."

In the final analysis, concepts of this kind might lead one to believe that imperialism is virtually all-powerful, that it is now in a position to prevent national revolutions on the continent.

It is clear that the need for a Latin-American revolutionary strategy stems from the objective, common factors of our process, from its present, common trends, and from the existence of a common enemy. But we also consider that a common strategy cannot write off the existence of nations, the different levels of development, different degrees of maturity of the revolutionary process and the class struggle. A continental strategy must take into account both these common and specific features if we do not want to doom it to defeat. A half reality is never a reality and cannot serve as a basis for any realistic theory of revolution.

THE ALL-CONTINENTAL DYNAMICS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The history of the revolutionary movement in Latin America shows that the periods of revolutionary upheavals alternate with periods of reactionary offensives (or a decline in the intensity of the revolutionary process), that each of these periods might include shorter periods of "ebb" and "flow." It is a question of the *continental* dynamics of historical development, since the "ebb" and "flow" of the movement occur relatively simultaneously in the different countries of Latin America, despite the different conditions in them.

The *structural* crisis of Latin-American societies, its different phases and steady aggravation, constitutes the material basis of the relatively long periods of greater or

lesser intensity of the revolutionary upheavals we are presently experiencing. The theory of the continental crisis in traditional socio-economic structures was first elaborated by Comrade Arismendi. It has been discussed in several works (for example, the article in No. 5 (1967) of this journal), but it still needs to be amplified, before it can be complete. Some people call in question this concept. We are among those who hold that the concept of structural crisis corresponds to the existing, objective process which should not be confused with the cyclical crisis. We likewise hold that the theory of the general crisis of capitalism does not provide a definition of the structural crisis, nor does it explain it, although the latter is a part of the general crisis.

But since it is a question of the relative simultaneity of the less prolonged phases of ebb and flow of the revolutionary movement on the continent, the material base of this phenomenon should be sought, we think, in the cyclical crises. Or, more correctly, in the relative coincidence of the phases of economic crisis and economic upsurge and realization of Latin-American raw materials, so important for our dependent economies.

This relative simultaneity of ebb and flow makes it possible to coordinate the different aspects of the revolutionary movement on a regional and continental scale.

It is also possible, we think, to raise the historical "effectiveness" of these processes. Just as in the past, in the periods of the upsurge of the movement, tyrannical governments fell in a chain reaction, so now too the activity and coordination of revolutionary forces can enable the peoples to strike a series of telling blows at imperialism and the oligarchies.

* * *

In recent years the Latin-American revolution has suffered a number of defeats both in the countries where armed struggle was started and in the countries where it was a question of peaceful transition. It would seem that Marx had the Latin America of 1963-1967 in mind when he wrote about the France of 1848-1849: "With the exception of only a few chapters, every more important part of the annals of the revolution . . . carries the heading: Defeat of the revolution!"

"What succumbed in these defeats was not the revolution. It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, results of social relationships which had not yet come

to the point of sharp class antagonisms—persons, illusions, conceptions, projects from which the revolutionary party before the February Revolution was not free, from which it could be freed not by the victory of February, but only by a series of defeats.

"In a word: the revolution made progress, forged ahead, not by its immediate . . . achievements, but on the contrary by the creation of a powerful, united counter-revolution, by the creation of an opponent in combat with whom, only, the party of overthrow ripened into a really revolutionary party."

Decisive battles lie ahead in the not distant future. We think that unity of the revolutionary forces in each country and on a continental scale is an absolute requisite if the immediate years are to witness the victory of the revolution in new countries of Latin America.

The different aspects and processes of the Latin-American revolution can, and

should, be coordinated on a regional and continental scale, on the basis of complete independence of every party, movement or revolutionary organization to elaborate their line in keeping with the requirements and specific features of the class struggle in their country. Such coordination between the independent movements can begin with solidarity and cooperation with the revolutionary movements of the fraternal peoples, without stipulating what course or forms the struggle must follow.

Strategic and tactical clarity is another important condition if our efforts to win the masses and political power are to be effective.

Unity of action, solidarity in practice, fraternal and critical discussion of the problems of our revolution, joint efforts in the theoretical sphere—such, in our view, is the way to reaching our objectives.

San Salvador

September 1967

Pre-election climate in Venezuela

An interview with Comrade Teodoro Petkov

The name of Teodoro Petkov, a leading member of the Venezuelan Communist Party, flashed across the front pages of the world press early last year when he and his Party colleagues, Pompeyo Marquez and Guillermo Garcia Ponce, made a daring escape from the San Carlos fortress-prison in Caracas, where they had been held without trial for nearly three years.

This was not the first time Petkov had made a prison break. On a previous occasion he simulated sickness and, transferred from his prison cell to a military hospital, lowered himself by a rope from a fifth story window after sawing through the window-bars of his isolation ward.

Petkov is known as a man of indomitable courage and keen political vision, who made a name for himself first as a student leader in Caracas University, and later as

a member of the Miranda State Legislative Assembly and Member of the National Congress.

At the beginning of 1968, a *World Marxist Review* correspondent interviewed Petkov on the current political situation in Venezuela.

* * *

What can you say about the armed struggle presently being waged in Venezuela?

The revolutionary movement has hit on difficult times. The success of an armed struggle depends on the general revolutionary situation; and not until we cope with our political difficulties can we hope to overcome the difficulties in our armed movement. The question of capturing power by force came up at our Third Party Con-

gress. In 1961-63 things developed satisfactorily: guerrilla war erupted in the countryside and the townspeople, too, began an armed resistance. This occurred at the height of an economic and political crisis, highlighted by an obvious surge of public sentiment. Although the police crushed the first guerrilla centers with relative ease in a matter of two or three months, the two surviving groups rebuilt their forces and resumed operations. We owed this rapid recovery to the favorable political evolution which, among other things, stimulated a flow of freedom fighters from towns to the countryside and a series of public actions against the police in Caracas and elsewhere. That was possibly the most specific aspect of our experience in armed action, traceable to the active and varied participation of the townsmen and their aid to the freedom fighters.

That was how the armed struggle began and expanded. But I must draw your attention to the fact that it was never the main form of our political fight, and at no time did it attain the critical point at which armed action becomes a self-sustaining force determining all socio-political development.

When the government succeeded in ending the economic depression with emergency measures against unemployment and in farming, and when it passed the political rubicon of the 1963 election by winning over the opposition parties (the Republican-Democratic Union, for example, whose leadership expelled the Left wing, turned from an ally into an enemy of the revolutionary movement) with promises of seats in the cabinet, the mass movement subsided. The armed struggle declined, the guerrilla units lost contact with the people, which impaired their capability and exposed them to murderous police and army attacks. On top of this came the split in our revolutionary movement, which weakened them still more.

What we have today is *not armed struggle in the proper sense of the word, but merely armed units*: two under Communist leadership which, by a decision of the Party, are not engaged in military action at the moment; then there is one headed by Douglas Bravo, which engages only in sporadic actions, and there are two of the Left Revolutionary Movement which are in much the same position. But that applies to the countryside. The situation in the towns is worse. That part of the urban apparatus which joined Douglas Bravo has

been almost entirely wiped out in government reprisals. The LRM is in much the same position. The surviving urban forces are extremely weak and inactive.

How, then, do you explain the existence of guerrilla units?

To begin with, the composition of the units has changed drastically. At first, they were made up almost entirely of people from the towns (mostly students and some workers), with some peasants joining later. Now, the Communist-led units and the Douglas Bravo column consist mostly of peasants, though I cannot tell whether this applies equally to the LRM people.

That the guerrillas are chiefly peasants explains why they can survive more easily than before, for they are native to the areas in which they operate and have contact with the local people; also, they are accustomed to the adversities of rural life and are better equipped to obtain food, contact friends in the villages, and find shelter.

That they are able to survive is also due to their political work among the peasants. Someone compared a guerrilla unit that does not fight to an aircraft whose engines go dead in flight and is therefore doomed. But our experience disproves this. The periods of fighting add up to much less than those of no fighting. But the latter are profitably employed for work with the people, expanding the social base, recruiting, and building up defenses. Both our good and bad experience is therefore of considerable interest. Take the Simon Bolivar front in the state of Lara, the most important guerrilla center with considerable combat experience, which dealt some hard blows at the army. Crushed at the beginning of 1963, it managed to reorganize, but fought no battles until mid-1965. In the two-year interim our guerrillas did important political work, boosting the influence of the Communist Party and revolutionary movement in the villages of Lara, Portuguesa and Trujillo with a population of some 100,000.

The work with peasants was conducted in relatively peaceful periods, though we kept our rifles slung over the shoulder. Guerrilla influence spread to a fairly extensive zone of about 125 villages, some quite large. Our big mistake was that we worked in the open, founding National Liberation Front committees in the villages, the units moving about freely in the large

mountain area, under the illusion that we were in full control. However, when the army mounted an offensive, informers supplied it with lists of our people and their helpers, and nearly 200 were executed and most of our political organizations were crushed.

But I want to make it clear that our propaganda work had by then produced a social base which functioned effectively despite the army offensive and our mistake of working in the open, because we also had an underground organization which helped our guerrillas escape annihilation, so that they renewed operations against the army with appreciable success in 1965-66. When I say success I mean military success, not any gain in political influence. We fought several highly effective engagements and hit the army effectively, ambushing troops and learning to use explosives as a kind of guerrilla heavy artillery. To sum up, we owe our guerrilla success in the State of Lara to the unit's work with the people during the two years of no fighting.

As you see, the inference that a militarily inactive guerrilla unit is like a plane with dead engines does not apply in our case. Our experience speaks of the contrary. Now, too, when our guerrillas do not engage in fighting, they are anything but like a falling plane, because they are in the mountains and hard at work extending their political ties with the peasants.

What in your opinion is the military and political weight of the Bravo group?

At present, the Bravo group exists chiefly in foreign propaganda reports, though it started as a fairly large force. When Bravo broke with the Party, he took over the bulk of our urban military apparatus and the Jose Leonardo Chirinos guerrilla front in the state of Falcon, also 19 men of the Simon Bolivar front in Lara, Portuguesa and Trujillo. That made a considerable force, the largest in numbers and the best armed, with a strong urban military apparatus.

Bravo's tactic was to mount what he called an armed offensive. Predictably, however, his offensive ended in disaster. If the army and police succeeded in crippling a **military apparatus** like ours, this applied doubly to Douglas Bravo's, for it had no political shield since Bravo had no party to back him, no political links and no influence among the people. His unit buckled in face of the police reprisals, and his urban

force was, in effect, almost entirely wiped out in three large police actions in the first six months of 1967. Not only the original members of Bravo's urban apparatus, but also guerrillas sent from the mountains "to reinforce the town" were arrested, with the result that the strength of his guerrilla column was considerably reduced.

This was when differences broke out among his colleagues. A split developed, and some of them are now abroad. So there are grounds to think that the Bravo group is breaking up. I am trying to be as impartial as I can, because when factional differences arise, each side usually tends to say the worst about the other. But I may be more objective, because my brother is on the other side and I am deeply attached to him and feel badly about his defeat. Besides, some splendid people are on the other side, too, with whom our spiritual bonds are still alive because only recently they had been our comrades and we know that they are not counter-revolutionaries despite their unfortunate choice. They are men frustrated by years of armed struggle with no tangible results, men somewhat like the old anarchists who thought a declining movement could be revived by plots or acts of terror. But they are good people all the same, fired with revolutionary ardor, and their defeat is not just their own, being to some extent also a setback for our entire revolutionary movement, affecting the movement as a whole because it is difficult for the people to distinguish between the various groups. What the people see is an armed movement suffering setbacks—the sad picture of a movement with no real victories, while the newspapers report the number killed and the number captured, and that there are informers in their ranks. This naturally reflects adversely on the armed struggle and the revolutionary movement.

In conclusion, it would be interesting to examine the following facts: Douglas Bravo declared that once his group has got rid of the restraints of the "Rightist" Political Bureau of the Communist Party, the war in Venezuela would expand rapidly. Yet for two years now Douglas Bravo has been on his own, but, far from expanding, the war has subsided and the hopes Bravo placed on his guerrilla column, expecting it to fight day in and day out, to set the country ablaze, overthrow the government and establish revolutionary power — all these hopes have vanished, even among the leaders of his group.

Militarily, our situation is grave. The Communist-led guerrilla units are operating on two fronts—in the west and the east. They are a larger force than Bravo's and larger, too, than that of the Left Revolutionary Movement, which also has two fronts. We are reorganizing; that is part of our general line, which lays the accent on a political offensive while temporarily discontinuing armed action. We want to improve our organizational work, because our position has not changed. For us armed action is still the main way, for no revolutionary or democratic change can be attained without it. Our experience in Venezuela teaches us that no revolutionary movement can be victorious without armed struggle. We must therefore remodel and reinforce our apparatus, in order to operate more effectively than before at those critical moments when the objective evolution, our political work and renewed links with the masses create a revolutionary situation.

Would it be correct to conclude that guerrilla fighting in Venezuela has taken a back seat?

I would put it like this: there is a sincere and realistic reassessment of the guerrilla movement. In substance, guerrilla warfare has never been in the forefront of our political struggle, nor has it been the most important component of our armed struggle. The decisive battles—those that could have yielded victory, or in which we suffered defeat—were fought in the towns. In my opinion, we could have won if in 1962 we had properly combined the armed struggle in the towns with risings by army patriots and revolutionaries. In January 1962 we were close to victory: the transport strike in the state of Tachira grew in a matter of days into a national strike of transport workers and merged with a popular rising in Caracas. By that time we had an effective apparatus in the armed forces, which, if we had activated it, would have made a revolutionary victory very likely.

The later army risings (though they were the first truly revolutionary insurrections in Venezuela in this century) had little chance of victory. No specific situation existed at the time of the Carupano rising, no popular ferment that could have helped it to spread. Therefore, it fell far short of being the spark that could have inflamed the people. The fighting in Carupano was relatively brief, the people were not given arms, and none of the other gar-

risons joined it. Things were different at Puerto Cabello, the chief naval base, where a three-day battle developed into a popular uprising claiming a toll of 500 lives. There, arms were distributed to guerrillas released from the fortress-prison and to the townsmen.

The people and some military units fought fiercely against the government troops. The air force bombed Puerto Cabello as though it were an enemy city. The government did not hesitate to use rocket missiles and heavy artillery. But the Carupano rising and the government's counter-measures had so weakened our apparatus by then that we could not secure the support of other garrisons to back up Puerto Cabello. Neither could the people of Caracas and the other cities, who were taken unawares by the events.

Speaking of the armed struggle in towns, I should like to say that our experience, especially in Caracas, is of considerable interest. The National Liberation Front had five units there, each consisting of 101 men. Each unit had what it called a rear-line base—a system of secret hiding places, a medical and legal service, transport of all kinds and caches of arms and ammunition. Extensive contacts made the units highly mobile; they could disappear when necessary, had considerable resources and were backed by the people. Many of the unit members were students from the petty bourgeoisie, from the propertied classes, so that wealthy homes, too, were a source of help.

In action, the units were highly effective. Their planning was so detailed and precise that at times it appeared excessive. For example, the raid on the U.S. military mission in Caracas was thoroughly prepared, especially as regards reconnaissance, and was therefore successful.

The units engaged not only in group operations. They led full-scale battles between the people of an entire city quarter and the police and army. The fearlessness and tenacity shown by our comrades in the street fighting were little short of miraculous. The hills of Caracas became fortresses and were a nightmare for police and troops. After any large-scale operation, with the city quarter blocked off, the police searches usually yielded next to nothing (fighters and arms "vanishing" inexplicably), because the vanguard was closely linked with the people in the area. We treasure this experience, which will surely yield fruit in the none-too-distant future.

To sum up, our analysis of past activity shows that, though guerrilla warfare is something we cannot abandon, it is not the chief form of armed struggle. In our country, guerrilla action depends on developments in the town; guerrilla units may survive without help from the towns, but they cannot develop without it. This is one of the features of the position in our country, which is growing quite rapidly along the lines of dependent capitalism, with capitalist relations of production absolutely and irreversibly preponderant in the towns and in the countryside over the pre-capitalist forms, which are steadily withering into mere survivals. The share of the pre-capitalist production sector in the national product is less than five per cent. The same is true of the population structure. Seventy-three per cent of the population lives in towns of more than 2,500 inhabitants, but the more eloquent evidence of concentration and urbanization is that more than 60 per cent lives in the 38 towns with populations exceeding 20,000, while more than 30 per cent are in the capital and its environs where 70 per cent of the manufacturing industry is located. The big centers of imperialist exploitation are all urban.

Rapid capitalist growth in agriculture, brutal reprisals against people living in zones of guerrilla activity and the bourgeois agrarian reform and settlement (under the "agrarian reform" signboard) in the villages—this has speeded up urbanization of peasants in the past 10 years and, especially, the erosion of the main rural class force, the landless and poor peasants. The younger and more restless section of the rural population is streaming into the towns, bringing with it social tensions previously observed only in the villages. In colliding with the problems of urban life and especially under the impact of what is usually termed the revolution of hope, these tensions are many-sided and highly dynamic, and it is up to us Communists to learn to pinpoint them and give them a revolutionary orientation. The environs of our larger cities are therefore comparable to large, temporarily dormant volcanoes.

What we need as a precondition for revolution is an enduring alliance between the working class and the semi-proletarians, residing mostly in these environs. That is why the town can be described as the locomotive of the main socio-political processes.

What is the policy of the Venezuelan Communist Party in the present situation?

This, the tenth year that the Democratic Action Party has been in power may also be its last year, for a general election will be held in December. Hence, all political life is centered on the election campaign. This is a good time for intensifying the struggle for power in view of the decline of the armed struggle and the brutal reprisals and violence. A meeting of our Central Committee held last year adopted two important decisions: firstly, to ease up the armed struggle in order to preserve and redouble our resources, because we believe that poorly conducted armed operations are no longer a suitable tactical means for our revolutionary strategy and, secondly, to mount a political offensive and integrate the Party in the process sparked off by the election campaign.

Integrating the Party and the revolutionary movement in this political process signifies renewing our contact with some of the phenomena from which we have been aloof of late, renewing our contact with some of the democratic and anti-imperialist groups, and renewing our contact with the masses, especially in the towns, because in many ways it was broken off and we were dangerously isolated. By so doing, we could help the revolutionary movement to overcome the crisis. The revolutionary mass movement must be so consolidated that it becomes a lever capable of securing a new upsurge and stimulating revolutionary activity with an eye on decisive political changes. Briefly, our plan is to accentuate struggle in the political context, chiefly through the election campaign.

Is this *new tactic* a betrayal of the revolutionary line of 1963, when we refused to take part in the election? Have we changed our strategy? Of course, not. In 1963 we decided to stay out of the election also for *tactical reasons*. Was this right or wrong? As we see it, the decision was right at that time. Our attitude to elections was not final. It was a definite tactical attitude fitting a definite political situation. Now, in a different political context, we are taking a different stand. Some people think that the revolutionaries in Venezuela have turned their backs on elections forever. That is not so.

What this stormy decade—a decade of upheaval, conflict, instability and dissatisfaction—has meant for Venezuela is evi-

dent from the third successive split in the ruling Democratic Action Party, occasioned not by a number of youth leaders or a few middle-echelon functionaries leaving the Party, but by differences among the old guard, the men who founded the party in 1936. The split has had repercussions in the trade unions and in the peasant movement, thus affecting the party's mass support. This can be seen in the fact that the break-away group constitutes the majority of the Democratic Action Party and is headed by the Party's president and vice-president, and also by the fact that 70 per cent of the local branches have named Dr. Prieto Figueroa, their leader, as their presidential candidate in the coming election, while denying support to the official nominee of the Betancourt wing. What took place in the Democratic Action Party was an eruption of contradictions between Betancourtism, which stands for betrayal of national ideals and anti-Betancourtism, representing the masses, misled and deceived for years. To assess the contribution this popular trend can make to the fight for genuine change, we have to take into consideration that in our country the fight against Betancourtism is one of the main elements of the fight against U.S. imperialism. Furthermore, we should consider the fact that the Democratic Action Party knew even before the split that it faced possible defeat in the election, because votes cast for it dropped from 84 per cent in 1946 to 32 per cent in 1963, and its further loss of popularity has been obvious in recent years. To defeat Betancourtism in the coming election was one of the aims set by the above-mentioned meeting of our Central Committee.

The break-away group of the Democratic Action Party, which has founded a party of its own, the People's Election Movement, and nominated Dr. Prieto Figueroa as its presidential candidate, makes it objectively possible to secure a realignment of political forces more consistent with the traditional ideas of "Left" and "Right," that is, the people's democratic and revolutionary forces, on the one hand, and the anti-democratic and reactionary forces, on the other. Until now the Rights in Venezuela could head off the revolutionary movement by acting through the influential Democratic Action Party. At present, however, having lost the support of the people, Betancourt and his party, having shown their true colors, are isolated as the leading party in the pres-

ent government. Although the heterogeneity of the People's Election Movement is giving rise to antagonisms, inconsistencies and an element of demagoguery in policy, the fact remains that it is compelled to enter the political arena with a distinctly anti-Betancourt orientation, stimulating a useful and necessary process through which people are beginning to understand the true nature of the present government. All this is an important precondition for a revolutionary upsurge.

At the same time, it is now clear that the Rights and U.S. imperialism are staking on Dr. Caldera, leader of the Social-Christian Party (COPEI), for the presidency. So, while opposing the Betancourt clique, it is also up to us to prevent the COPEI Party from taking over.

These two trends, whose defeat we seek, are but two sides of the same coin: they are the two most reactionary pro-imperialist political forces in the country. The COPEI Party, essentially conservative, serves as the main political instrument of the big bourgeoisie, with a following in some of the backward, rural areas. In other words, it should not be compared with the Christian-Democratic Party of Chile. Although the "renovation" of the Church, with all its consequences, has given rise to various Left trends among the youth, notably in the student and trade union movements, taking inspiration from the advanced Left Catholic ideas, the Right Social-Christians still retain their grip on power. They try to preserve their unity by promising to win the 1968 election. However, the crisis in the Party is deepening. This is borne out by such symptoms as the expulsion of student leaders, participation of dissident Social-Christian groups in university elections, etc. A new defeat for Caldera in the coming election would expedite this crisis and pave the way to a progressive Left movement among Social-Christians. This would be a fresh success for our political line in the coming election. Besides, it would polarize the political forces—a Rightist minority, on the one hand, and the progressive majority, on the other, with a strong bearing on the future victory of the revolutionary forces.

In combating the Caldera nomination, the Prietist movement, whose stand on this score is clear, would join hands with the more democratic groups and the revolutionaries, making a convergence of the whole or part of the non-Social-Christian opposition quite possible with the purpose

of terminating the Betancourt policy and preventing the Right clericals from coming to power. Should this perspective, behind which we have thrown all our weight, be realized, it could bring into motion the main forces of the nation and spark a new upsurge of the mass movement. Once the prospect of an electoral victory for the mass movement becomes clearer, it might activate those elements in the army that

seek to "fill the vacuum of power" caused by the split in the Democratic Action Party.

Aware of this and other circumstances liable to arise in the present process, the Communist Party of Venezuela is working to rally the people in the fight for its strategic aims.

H.R.

Oriented on bourgeois reformism

(a review of the journal **Vision**)

Vision is one of many U.S.-sponsored periodicals appearing in Latin America. It is published twice monthly in Mexico by Alberto Lleras Camargo, ex-president of Colombia and ex-secretary of the OAS.

Camargo voices the reformism of the big bourgeoisie which wants a policy that would be an antidote to the revolution, a policy that would soften the antagonisms presently rending the continent. Camargo's editorials conform to the line pursued by Betancourt, Haya de la Torre and Figueres—the advocates of a policy of compromise with U.S. imperialism and betrayal of the national interest.

These men see Latin America simply as a subsidiary of the United States and its monopolies. Their economic studies, consequently, don't go beyond the bounds of the International Monetary Fund. They pin their hopes for economic development through a Latin-American common market. Hence their advocacy of a bourgeois agrarian reform, seeking in this way to off-set the sharp class struggle sweeping the continent today.

Camargo tries to cover as wide a range of subjects as possible and thus evade coming to grips with the crucial issues.

THE REAL FOUNDATION—REPRESSION

The subjects discussed by *Vision* can be grouped into two sections. The first deals

with reformism, which includes all the paraphernalia associated with the Alliance for Progress. The second treats of the agonizing reflections induced by the violence and the repressions on the continent: reflections about the anti-guerrilla war, the repressions in the universities, the experience of the Vietnam war, how to use the instruments of coercion more flexibly, about how and when Uncle Sam should use the Big Stick again.

Here we encounter both sides of the medal: on the one, the hypocrisy of a sham free-thinker, acting the liberal and, on the other, the coiled spring of the ruling class, its finger on the trigger, waiting for the occasion to open fire on the people.

We are not surprised, therefore, when we discover that anti-communism is the underlying theme of all the articles; their purpose is to show that for Latin America there is a solution to the problems other than revolution, that the ruling classes can resolve these problems painlessly and in a "civilized" manner.

The credo expounded by *Vision* is an extremely simple one. It takes its cue from the White House to which it is tied by an umbilical cord of dollars. Thus, on the question of the latifundia, "agrarian reforms" financed by U.S. loans are proposed; on the question of overcoming the illiteracy on the continent—"educational plans" elaborated by U.S. foundations; on

the question of remedying the disastrous state to which the continent's economies have been reduced by the U.S. monopolies—economic “planning” which in all instances will further bolster the U.S. economy. In short, prescriptions designed to preserve intact the continent's archaic status quo. However, when it comes to the basic issue, to a confrontation between the opposing classes, Camargo proposes something entirely different, what is called the “new war,” i.e., a counter-revolutionary preventive war against the peoples.

“TEMPERING” THE CONTRADICTIONS

Vision propagates cooperation between the dependent countries and the U.S. metropolis. What it has in mind, however, is not just ordinary “cooperation,” but a transcendental unity of cultures and destinies to counter the “barbarian trends.” It seeks to present the American continent as one whole, free of internal contradictions, as a continent whose historical mission is to guard against “threats from the outside.”

And so, the journal skirts the crux of matter. It reduces everything to the plane of an ideal civilization, free of antagonisms, barring a few contradictions of no consequence, and where the most important thing is the common denominator: “Western” democracy and “Christian” culture versus communism.

Having taken this line, Camargo naturally has to ignore the social battles and maintain that the conflicts on the continent have been resolved. He writes, for example, in his article of April 14, 1967: “The Latin American does not now find himself in a situation of failure and frustration, although when the Alliance for Progress went into operation it seemed the situation necessitated and justified the Alliance. The most conservative sections of Latin American society who until then refused to accept radical changes in the status quo, have been defeated. Nobody can now assert that the hoary coalition of political, military and clerical power which protected the property of an aristocratic, arrogant class, holds sway in all the countries of the continent, as was the case until recently.”

Have the contradictions in Latin America become less sharp? Have the despotic governments in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, and in most of our countries, which have donned the mask of “progres-

sive” administrations, ceased to persecute their peoples? Has the Johnson administration not coincided with an aggravation of social difference? And has not all this explosive social material a direct bearing on the efforts being made to create a permanent inter-American armed force to behead any insurgent social movement?

THE “NEW WAR”

Passing from the ambiguous sphere of bourgeois reformism to the sphere of the actual ideology of their class—the ideology of reprisals—we shall clearly see how these supporters of the oligarchy visualize Latin America. There is no longer any room here for the Alliance for Progress. It has been replaced by an alliance of armies spearheaded against the people. Referring to the increasingly violent class battles on the continent, Camargo writes in an article entitled “The New War” (September 15, 1967): “This war cannot be waged, let alone won, with soldiers conscripted for a year or a year and a half. It must be waged by a professional army whose soldiers are better trained and better equipped, more efficient and more brutal than the guerrillas in their zone of operations. Quite obviously, such a war will be a very expensive one. The supersonic planes which can be transported by helicopters this would start an arms race—are useless in a real war like this; their purchase will divert the funds needed for obtaining ultra-modern and highly mobile equipment which can be transported by helicopters and which can help detect the guerrillas and defeat them.”

The tone of these articles should caution us against the tendency to underestimate the enemy's strength and consider that we have all the answers, that imperialism and its agents are not revising some of their concepts in keeping with the times. These articles show a certain degree of perspicacity and a panoramic view of the process. Referring to the “new war,” the author asserts: “It is clear that surprises like this (the Cuban revolution) will not occur a second time in Latin America, for here we fell into a trap; the Latin-American governments will resemble, less and less, the government that collapsed in Cuba, surrendering victory to Castro. There will no more be armies such as the Cuban army of Batista's time.” (*Vision*, September 1, 1967.)

Camargo insists on one thing: on the

need to convert the army from a classical institution, from an organ safeguarding frontiers, into an instrument for waging war inside the Latin-American countries against the people and by means characteristic of counter-revolutionary wars. The experience of the Cuban revolution and the lessons of the war in Vietnam are strongly influencing the continent's bourgeoisie. It is obsessed by one idea—to preclude the slightest possibility of a new Cuba. It regards social reforms and repressions as two aspects of the policy aimed at destroying the revolutionary movement. It sees the role of the army as one of waging a social war, of being the advance detachment in the growing class battles.

As it escalates its concept of repressions, the big bourgeoisie justifies and sanctifies as "natural" U.S. intervention in the event of revolution. Camargo asserts: "A Latin America, spiritually and materially unarmed in the face of a growing threat—a threat which recently found embodiment in the Tri-Continental Conference—such a Latin America will be bound hand and foot in the event of invasion or subversion and the consequent inevitable and immediate landing of Marines and their participation in the anti-communist struggle" (*Vision*, November 25, 1966).

In this manner they assess any social protest as an element of the "new war," and their "reformism" becomes a basis for brutal repressions by the "gorillas."

THE POVERTY OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST ARGUMENTS

The program of this politician who calls for an anti-Communist crusade reveals a poverty of argument and lack of cohesion. All Camargo does is to bring the old anti-communist legacy of the conservatives up to date, impart a certain flexibility to it, without, however, impinging on its irrational substance, on the time-worn arguments which caricature the working class and its concepts. Like any fascist, he regards the socialist system as "red barbarism"; the homeland of Lenin and the socialist camp generally is simply a "big, lifeless body," and Cuba, the star of socialism rising over Latin America, is a "patrimony where communist terror reigns." Camargo's verbal acrobatics boil down to downright slander. He treats his readers with contempt, as ignoramuses. When it comes to argumentation there is a complete vacuum in his writings. It

could not be otherwise, for anti-communism could not last were it to renounce its irrational and utterly reactionary base.

"IN WAR THE TRUTH DISAPPEARS"

Devoted heart and soul to Washington, Camargo has to justify at all costs imperialist wars and, especially, the war against Vietnam. He starts out by denying the possibility of knowing the truth: "Throughout the centuries," he writes, "the first victim of any war, whether waged by us or against us, has been truth." Seeking to obscure the question as to who is the aggressor, he continues: "There is much discussion nowadays about who is the aggressor, and it is absolutely falsely assumed that where there is a war there is an aggressor . . ." (*Vision*, July 7, 1967.)

Justifying war crimes, he attacks those journalists who expose them. The war in Vietnam, he writes, has greatly damaged the image of the United States in the eyes of other nations; perhaps it is because this war—since it had to be waged—is being waged not as a war in which—as in any action of this kind—many freedoms are curtailed and limitations imposed on the discontent usual in peace time. The impression is created, he continues, that this war has been organized as a big military game for photographers, cameramen, newspaper and radio correspondents who exaggerate and distort it. "It is true," he writes, "they have been able to produce some very contrasting pictures showing strapping American soldiers, who look like footballers from the top league, and armed to the teeth, dragging corpses of small, barefoot and practically naked Vietcong guerrillas. And all this is reproduced on photographs and films and distributed all over the world, thanks to the miraculous communication media of the United States . . ." (*Vision*, March 17, 1967). It would be difficult, indeed, to find another lackey who so passionately demands silence about the crimes of his master.

CONTEMPT FOR THE COMMON PEOPLE

As part of its ideological work, every issue of *Vision* preaches contempt of the masses. The author of the editorials writes, having in mind the youth, but warning at the same time against all whom he calls rebels: "Traditionally, the rebels were in the minority. It was a privileged minority which enjoyed sympathy . . . But today

the rebels are legion, and they are seen as representing a whole generation. They are found in all countries and in all cities . . ." He continues: "Today this exceptional, oligarchic process of the minority (and until the middle of this century everything that was beautiful and good belonged to this minority: riches, literature, art) has become the possession of the masses, and explosively contagious." (*Vision*, June 10, 1966.)

He shows the working class of Latin America in a distorted light, depicting it as a privileged section: "For many years social security and aid, control on incomes, protection of the rights of the classes which economically are in the lower brackets, have been entirely in the interests of the urban worker. We have done much in this respect, in some cases too much. We have the most advanced legislation which has created a privileged subclass among the workers . . ." (*Vision*, July 8, 1966.)

Camargo does not, of course, miss the opportunity to attack the progressive intelligentsia: "There are times when political differences and the cold war send up the temperature several degrees and at such times there invariably appears the fauna represented by the intelligentsia who present a sorry spectacle of opportunism . . . Nearly always the attempt is made to play up to the Communist Party, since it is no longer fashionable—and this is true—to speak for free enterprise and the capitalist system . . ." (*Vision*, June 9, 1967.)

Who, in the eyes of Senor Camargo—ever ready to abuse workers, students and progressive intelligentsia—possesses the positive qualities? American imperialism, of course. In his opinion the United States is to the world what it has always been: "a useful . . . nation, a nation whose concept of its role has led it to over-exaggerate its commitments and its power." (*Vision*, May 27, 1966.)

Camargo examines problems from a standpoint where the social processes lose their logic. In other words, if the logic of the privileged minority is to be maintained, the question of responsibility must be evaded and events put on a plane where cause and effect are unknown. He discusses the strike movement of the teachers for higher salaries. "In Chile the teachers declared a strike, demanding a salary increase. In Colombia a group of some 80 village and urban teachers held a protest

march when their salaries were delayed. The drop in the purchasing power of the peso or escudo forces the state to pay more for the same or worse services and values. To avoid inflation the authorities refuse to increase teachers' salaries. So you have strikes, hunger marches, disorders. And the upshot is that nobody is right." (*Vision*, November 11, 1966.)

The impression created is that the capitalist class regards the economic forces as something beyond control and not subordinate to any law, that for it there are no class interests setting social processes in motion, that social conflicts spring from Pandora's box, and "the upshot is that nobody is right." As Camargo sees it, the process develops magically in the mysterious categories called "banknote surpluses," "inflation," "crisis," "price increases," "lower purchasing power." This incoherence reveals, on the one hand, the bourgeoisie's inability to plan the economy, that is, to run modern society. On the other, it reveals its intention not passively to renounce its administration of the state. Which is why it deliberately obscures the question of responsibility for the growing social conflicts.

WHAT ARE THE RESULTS OF THE POLICY ADVOCATED BY "VISION"?

The formulas proposed by the Alliance for Progress have been tested in practice. And what are the actual results?

This policy, based on U.S. loans and which places the destiny of independent economic development in the hands of the U.S. monopolies, has been a fiasco. As much is admitted even by its advocates, in this case by Camargo in his articles. They reveal certain contradictions and reservations in connection with the International Monetary Fund's terms on which it grants loans.

Criticizing the Fund's approach, Camargo wrote on December 23, 1966: "The black banner of devaluation now joins that of the Fund's." With life shattering his utopia he admits, in the issue of November 11, 1966: "Nowhere have our efforts been crowned with success. While still meeting their commitments to other countries and to themselves (reference is to the Alliance for Progress), the Latin-American states find themselves faced with a chronic budget deficit which inevitably brings them into collision with the rigid policy of the Monetary Fund."

Needless to say, these plans had no chance of success from the very outset for they were made dependent on imperialism, which by its very nature is the enemy of independent development. Thus, on the question of agrarian reform, Camargo wrote on August 5, 1966: "Unfortunately, the best known agrarian reform since Roman times consists in distributing the land, but the distribution reduces, without exception, productivity." Consequently, he concludes, what is needed is a technical agrarian reform. This is exactly what the Italians are trying to do, he goes on to say. And their main concern at the moment is not division of the latifundia, but raising productivity and reducing cost price. Camargo does not, however, indicate how this can be accomplished without prejudicing the interests of the latifundists. Instead, he proposes his own utopia, an agrarian reform which leaves the class of landowners intact.

All this exposes the Latin-American bourgeoisie's inability to reconcile itself with the need to go forward along the road of progress and social development, so imperative for the continent. The fig leaf of reformism conceals the historical doom

of classes whose attitude is in antagonistic contradiction to the progressive trends in our society, trends which call for a realistic policy and not the reactionary demagoguery of bourgeois reformism.

The articles in *Vision* are of interest to the extent that they reflect the substance of the policy of the Latin-American bourgeoisie which is desperately trying to find solutions that will defeat or stave off revolutionary explosion. The kid glove of the so-called progressive plans conceals the iron hand of reprisals waiting to strike at the suitable moment.

By virtue of the very laws of history these plans cannot solve Latin-America's structural problems. Although they delay, in some cases, the awakening of the people, they are powerless to avert the class battles sweeping the continent. The wishful thinking of experts in rhetoric of the Camargo type remains wishful thinking. As for the peoples, they see it as their task to organize and advance along the path of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution which will break the backbone of backwardness and open the doors to socialist development.

Manuel CEPEDA

The Israeli Communist Party in the fight against aggression and for peace

MEIR VILNER

I.

The war the Israeli government unleashed against its Arab neighbors on June 5, 1967 did not come as a surprise to our Communist Party. The Israeli rulers had long been preparing this war, militarily and politically. And they were not working single-handed. They needed, and they got, money, arms and political support from the imperialist powers. The main role in the preparation of this "six-day war" fell to the United States and an "honorable part" was played by West Germany and Britain. Without the U.S. the Israeli government would never have dared to flout world public opinion and start the war or to continue to occupy parts of the UAR, Jordan and Syria and annex the eastern part of Jerusalem.

That does not mean that the Arab states made no mistakes, and that manifestations of anti-Israeli chauvinism in the Arab national movement and terrorist acts on Israeli territory did not facilitate preparation of imperialist aggression with the help of Israel. The Israeli-Arab conflict was the pretext, but the main cause of this aggressive war should be sought in the antagonism between the imperialist powers and the anti-imperialist Middle East national-liberation movement, and primarily in the relations between U.S., West German and British imperialism on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist Arab countries, the UAR and Syria, on the other.

Relations between the imperialist powers and the overwhelming majority of Arab

nations deteriorated sharply in recent years. Most Arab countries broke off diplomatic relations with West Germany and Britain. Relations with the United States are more strained too. The Arab struggle against British rule in Aden and in the Arabian Peninsula reached its climax. Anti-imperialist Arab governments are demanding revision of oil agreements favoring oil-producing and oil pipe-line countries. The Western monopolies were alarmed by the Syrian anti-imperialist revolution of February 1966, when the Baath Left-wing came to power. After several unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the Syrian regime by reactionary coups, the imperialists used the compliant Israeli government to increase their military pressure on Syria.

The big Israeli air attack on Syria on April 7, 1967, when Israeli bombers appeared over Damascus, signaled a turning point in the strategy of the Israeli rulers, who clear every important step they take with the U.S. After the raid, when it became clear that there was no chance of a successful coup, the plan was for foreign intervention. When the UAR announced it would stand by Syria, tactics were changed, but not strategy. Instead of trying to oust the anti-imperialist governments one by one, first in Syria and then in the UAR, it was decided to deliver a simultaneous blow against both countries. The Israeli threat of war aroused a wave of solidarity throughout the Arab world and influenced the attitude of the Jordanian and other governments.

Essentially, the June war was a conflict

of imperialist and anti-imperialist interests. It is therefore no accident that U.S. imperialism openly supported Israel in its attack on the Arab countries and continues to give full support to the aggression, preventing a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Nor was it any accident that the socialist camp, the international communist movement, the international peace movement, the World Trade Union, Women's and Youth Federations, and the independent Afro-Asian countries all trenchantly condemned the Israeli aggression.

It can be said that, in the final analysis, this is a class struggle, part of the general struggle between the forces of peace, national independence and social progress and the forces of war, imperialism and social reaction. It is not a matter of the subjective aims and designs of the parties involved. What matters is the objective nature of the struggle — what class and political forces benefit from it. The Middle East conflict is a segment of the global struggle between imperialism and anti-imperialism, between the forces of war and peace. It is being waged from Vietnam in the Far East to Germany in Western Europe; through Greece and Cyprus it has been extended to the Middle East.

II.

The Israeli Communist Party vigorously opposed the war from the very outset and called for a cease-fire and withdrawal to the positions held prior to June 5, 1967. In doing so, our Party continued its internationalist and patriotic tradition of 1956, when it came out against the triple aggression of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt following nationalization of the Suez Canal. Having reviewed the experience of the war, our Central Committee highly commended the activity of Party members and sympathizers who stood a much more severe test in much more complex and difficult conditions than in 1956. Far from weakening our Party, the 1967 war has steeled it. Arrests, restrictions, exile, persecution and terror did not daunt our comrades and other progressives. There is closer unity and a stronger resolve to oppose aggression and work for peace.

The internationalist Jewish-Arab unity of our Party passed the test with honor, and in these trying months has become stronger. It is now clear that the division of forces in Israel and the Middle East is not between Jews and Arabs, but between sup-

porters of peace and supporters of war, opponents of imperialist plans and abettors of imperialism, champions of national independence and traitors to the people's interests.

Our Party was in an especially difficult position — it had to go against the "national unity" of all the Knesset parties which came out in full support of the war, chauvinism and alliance with the imperialist powers. Representatives of the extreme Right were brought into the government a few days before the war: the Rafi party of Ben-Gurion and Dayan, and the pro-fascist Herut party of Begin. This is the first time since the proclamation of the State of Israel that this party is represented in the government, and from the very outset its paper, *Hayom*, called for a ban on the Communist Party. For the first time in Israel's history the Communists were the only opposition party in the Knesset.

On June 5, 1967, all the Knesset parties (117 deputies) voted for loans and taxes to finance the war; only three Communist deputies voted against.

It is clear that refusal to evacuate the occupied areas means that the Israeli government wants to annex them. Similarly, it is clear that an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied parts of Jordan, the UAR, and Syria, could open new vistas in Israeli-Arab relations. Most Arab countries are prepared to accept the Security Council resolution as a basis for settlement. But there must be an Israeli withdrawal and guarantees of the independence and security of all the countries in the area without exception.

Supported by the United States, the Israeli government has adamantly refused to adopt a realistic policy and is intensifying its oppression in the occupied territories, employing collective punishment against the population and beginning to settle Israelis in some areas. This myopic policy, based on sheer adventurism, is meeting with opposition even from members of the government parties, who fear that this hard line could land Israel in another war.

III.

Our Party was completely isolated at the beginning of the war. Now many in Israel are having second thoughts. The workers and other sections of the people, youth, intellectuals, the middle strata, are coming to realize that they were misled.

The official justification for unleashing the war was that the Arab governments were planning to attack Israel and the latter had no choice but to start a "defensive war," in other words, a preventive war. It is now clear that the Arab countries were not planning to attack Israel. Even Prime Minister Eshkol repudiated, albeit unwittingly, the official propaganda line in an interview with the *Yediot Aharonot* of October 18, 1967. He quoted a statement he made in May to the effect that the deployment of Egyptian forces in the Sinai Peninsula and the general pattern of military movement suggested that the Egyptians were taking up defensive positions south of Israel.

And so, even according to the Prime Minister, the deployment of Egyptian forces in the Sinai was for defense. Eshkol's statement infuriated some Israeli quarters and newspapers and they sharply criticized the Prime Minister for his indiscretion, for his statement repudiated all government propaganda on the eve of and during the war and complicated things for Israeli diplomats abroad.

The Israeli press reported — and Eshkol admitted this too — that ex-Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion had opposed the war. Ben-Gurion is an extreme militarist and his argument was that the war ought to be postponed, even for a year in anticipation that one of the Western powers would join Israel (as was the case in 1956) and not merely give it back-stage support. Ben-Gurion feared that since France had turned her back on Israel, the United States, too, might go back on its obligations. He also feared the Soviet Union. Ben-Gurion's attitude is further proof that even the Israeli leaders did not believe in an "Arab threat."

These and other facts have helped the public to get a more correct picture of the events and to reassess the situation.

The government claimed that the war would bring Israel security and tranquillity. It has brought neither; actually it has further undermined Israel's security.

The government claimed that its sole purpose was to defend the country. Now everyone can see that the war was the result of collusion between Eshkol and Johnson, Eban and Rusk, and that the purpose was to overthrow the anti-imperialist governments of Syria and the UAR, force both to break off relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and strengthen and extend the position of U.S., British and also West German imperialism in

our area. No wonder the Israeli "Blitzkrieg" won such admiration from top representatives of the Kiesinger-Strauss government. And it is to the eternal shame of Israel that a high-ranking Bundeswehr mission visited the country to study Israeli know-how. Of course, the Eshkol government was acting not only in the interests of U.S. imperialism; it had its own aim: territorial expansion, and was determined to impose "peace terms" on the Arab states.

Had the Israeli government really wanted peace it would have taken a serious attitude to the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, would have welcomed Arab readiness to terminate the state of belligerence and recognize Israel's right to existence and security; it would have brought the Israeli army back to the armistice line, resumed cooperation with the UAR, Syria and Jordan in the mixed armistice commissions, recognized the right of the 1948 Arab refugees to return to their homeland and would not have deprived another 350,000 Arabs of their homes to face a hard winter.

Eshkol's uncompromising and adventurist policy is making things increasingly difficult for Israel and its people. The war has increased to menacing dimensions Israel's economic, military and political dependence on the U.S. And it is by no means accidental that, even before the war was over, Finance Minister Sapir visited the United States to adjust wartime financial arrangements. Nor is it a mere accident that Premier Eshkol made a trip to the U.S. early this year. What did he discuss with President Johnson?

1. More supplies of U.S. Skyhawk and Phantom planes for Israel.

2. Co-ordinating policy, in the UN and elsewhere, over the Middle East crisis.

3. More active Israeli support for the U.S. aggression in Vietnam in exchange for American support of Israel's occupation of Arab territory.

4. Additional financial assistance to Israel for the achievement of "joint aims" with the U.S. imperialists in other parts of the world.

The Johnson-Eshkol talks bode no good for Middle East peace. Of course, the talks were secret, but some of the known facts show their general substance and purpose.

During Eshkol's visit the American press carried statements to the effect that "Israel's victory is a victory for the West as a whole." That was the tone of a full-page statement in the *New York Times* of

January 5, signed by more than 100 rabbis. *Newsweek* wrote early in January that the Israeli Premier told President Johnson "a strong Israel presents the U.S. with its only hope of preventing a further increasing Soviet weight in the Middle East."

The communique issued after the talks said the President agreed "to give Israel's military and defense capability a permanent and sympathetic consideration." Eshkol, the communique stated, noted "strengthening of collaboration and the common efforts" with the aim of "curbing aggression against the free world anywhere"—this can only mean a pledge to support U.S. policy on Vietnam. Eshkol was even more outspoken in a public speech: "We know how much the United States, under your leadership, Mr. President, has done for peace and justice throughout the world."

IV.

The results of this "mutual dedication" are spelled out in the following facts:

1. The 1968/69 Israeli budget envisages a sharp rise in military spending which, together with "special reserves" and "special expenditure," will account for 36.5 per cent of the total (2,500 million out of 5,900 million Israeli pounds), compared with 26.3 per cent in 1967/68. Military expenditure will take up 22.5 per cent of the estimated 1968 national income, a record figure.

Devaluation of Israeli currency in 1967 was necessitated more by military spending than by devaluation of the British pound.

The result has been a decline in real and even nominal wages and higher prices.

The military budget is being upped more than 20 per cent, and the police budget 15 per cent, allocations for education are being cut 24 per cent and on public health and social welfare 25 per cent.

2. The conscription term for men has been raised from 2.5 to three years, and the term for women remains two years.

3. Land has been confiscated in East Jerusalem for settlement by Israelis, and similar measures have been taken in other areas in preparation for their annexation.

4. Harsher persecution of the Communist Party. Restrictions on movement were prolonged to the end of 1968. They apply to active members of the Party, including Political Bureau and Secretariat members, who are not allowed to leave their city or village without the permission of the military governor, and more such restrictions

are being imposed, many on women, Arab and Jewish. Another form of persecution is the obligation to report to the police twice a day.

5. Intensified oppression of the Arab population in the occupied territories. Harsher measures are being taken against leaders and activists of the Jordanian Communist Party in these territories. Jordanian public leaders, democrats and Communists are being deported.

Some Israeli papers are hinting at a new "preventive" war to destroy Arab military strength before it is rebuilt. The *Haaretz*, which often speaks for Defense Minister Dayan, came out on December 31 with this significant headline: "Israeli Circles Anticipate New Round Against Arabs in Near Future." And just as on the eve of the war, some Israeli papers are deliberately distorting the facts to condition the public to a "new defensive war" allegedly "in view of Arab aggression."

That being the situation, we should not underestimate the damage caused by those Arab circles which continue to speak of a military solution as the only possible one.

V.

In combating aggression and working for peace and the security of Israel, our Communist Party is fulfilling its internationalist duty of promoting peace and progress in the Middle East and throughout the world. Our internationalism and patriotism are inseparable. The government's policy is not only anti-Arab, anti-communist and pro-imperialist. It is also anti-national, for it holds a clear menace to the people of Israel and their future. Considering the situation in the Middle East and the world, this policy stands absolutely no chance of success.

The program of our Party is peace and defense of lawful rights of all the nations of our area. This has enabled the Party to find a common language with the Communists and other anti-imperialists in the Arab world. It has shown our working people and all men of good will that there is a peaceful way out of the war and the bloodshed, a solution that would be in the interests of all the nations concerned.

The fact that fraternal Communist Parties in both socialist and capitalist countries have expressed their solidarity with our policy and struggle, and that we have substantially extended our international contacts, brings inspiration and encourage-

ment not only to Party members and sympathizers, but to every Israeli who is coming to realize that the Communist Party can act as a bridge to the Arab peoples and to the forces of peace and socialism throughout the world.

Ours is a policy of national salvation; it indicates the only way of solving the difficult problems confronting the Israeli people. Our Party is working for a united front that will bring together all peace-loving Israelis who, irrespective of political views, insist on evacuation of the occupied territories and on a peaceful settlement on the following basis:

1. Withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied parts of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria as a necessary step towards a peaceful and just settlement based on mutual respect of rights, including Israel's right to exist.

2. Recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs, and primarily the rights of the Arab refugees, in accordance with the UN resolution.

The efforts for a policy independent of imperialism are closely associated with struggle for a change in Israel's attitude towards the Arab national-liberation movement.

The Israeli Communist Party highly appreciates the Soviet Union's Middle East policy, which aims at safeguarding the peace, independence and security of all nations.

We do not for a moment doubt that the present difficulties, no matter how formidable, are temporary ones. The anti-imperialist cause, the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress, are bound to triumph in the end.

Communists and the development of the Left forces in Denmark

IB NORLUND

In Denmark as in other West-European countries there has for some time been a noticeable change in public opinion, usually described as a turn to the "left." That rather nebulous term is used to denote the growth of more or less articulate anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist sentiment within and beyond the labor movement, and the emergence of broader democratic demands. Another feature is heightened mass activity in movements that cut across party lines, demonstrations and similar actions. The government feels, and has to react to, the pressure of this "leftward shift."

Long years of development and struggle have given the Danish workers democratic rights and a relatively high standard of living. Some maintain that this is a manifestation of "Scandinavian socialism." That, however, is not the case, inasmuch as mon-

opoly capital, though forced to make certain concessions, has strengthened its power and intensified exploitation of the workers. And in the fight for their rights and better conditions the workers are constantly confronted with new problems both in the internal and foreign policy spheres. Following a long-standing Danish tradition, these developments have been labelled a "turn to the left."

Although the turn finds diverse expressions, the totality is indicative of a strong desire to explore new paths. The process has resulted in the emergence of new trends and parties which maintain that it would be comparatively easy to implement a Left or even socialist policy once we discard the "prejudice" that this necessarily entails class struggle at home and abroad. This, in fact, has been the premise for attempts

to set up new groups in opposition to the Communists and obstruct joint action with them.

For a time these notions had fairly wide currency, and this was not unconnected with the high rate of economic activity. But there was no change in the main direction of Danish policy and the proponents of these theories had to admit that implementing a Left policy is easier said than done. More, vagueness and the absence of a clear perspective, plus refusal to cooperate with other Left forces, culminated in the failure of the movement, which the Right forces were quick to exploit.

All this creates a new basis for discussion of what path the Left should follow. The disillusionment caused by the unjustified hopes has led some to passivity and others to what might be described as "verbal extremism"; in both cases the consequences are the same. But there is also a strong urge among all groups to draw the inescapable lessons and find a more solid and realistic foundation for a viable Left movement in Danish politics.

This presupposes a change of attitude towards the Communists. Their contribution to the discussion on paths for the Left, based on their Marxist-Leninist understanding of the laws of social development, has been fully confirmed by events.

The following is a detailed examination of the background and course of this discussion.

1. LEFTWARD SHIFT AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT GOVERNMENT POLICY

The leftward shift in public thinking was prompted by developments at home and abroad. The following are its main expressions: new attitude towards U.S. imperialism, notably condemnation of its aggression in Vietnam; growing distrust of NATO, even opposition to it, and disagreement with increased military expenditure necessitated by NATO membership; unanimous condemnation of the rise of neo-Nazism in West Germany and, in this connection, mounting distrust of Denmark's alliance with revived German imperialism; heightened interest in broader cooperation and other ties with the socialist countries; the widespread view that Denmark ought to recognize the Oder-Neisse line and the GDR, and lastly, more frequent appeals for neutrality, a European security conference, etc.

On the home front, the leftward shift can be seen in the more vigorous demands

for broader democracy; workers' share in management, control of the monopolies, public influence on economic policies. There have been demands for public supervision of the judiciary, administration and political affairs generally, recognition of the right to work, and housing as the natural inherent right of the citizen, democratic tax and educational policies, etc.

However, though these demands enjoyed increasing support, they did not in most cases lead to any appreciable changes, and whatever changes there were, were not all for the better.

Of course, the government has had to dissociate itself from the U.S. bombing in Vietnam, the military coup in Greece, urge better relations with the socialist countries and NATO's conversion into a "detente instrument." But at the same time Denmark was being more securely tied to NATO and the joint Denmark-Bonn military command with all their far-reaching armament plans. Military expenditure has risen sharply. Submission to NATO on all military matters continues. Denmark would have long since forfeited its economic independence in favor of supranational Common Market agencies, had not de Gaulle vetoed British membership in the Common Market. This has influenced the Danish position.

The boom made for higher consumption, higher wages, minimum unemployment and more expenditure on some of the social services. But the deteriorating economic position brought stagnation, in some cases even recession. The most painfully felt result, perhaps, is the growth of unemployment. Despite higher living standards, the share of big capital, both in the national income and in the national wealth, has increased perceptibly, and there is no control over the monopolies. Land speculation has reached fantastic dimensions. There has been no nationalization whatever. The National Bank (which is not government-owned) decides important financial questions at its own discretion. Employers are still free to "allocate and supervise" work in their factories.

In this period the leftward shift found expression in elections, with parties advocating social progress and peace increasing their vote. The Social Democrats were in office, but even the traditional conservative parties found it necessary to react to public opinion and tried to present a progressive image. Of course, the tone changed after the elections. All important policy decisions were based on a "compromise" between the Social Democrats, the Center

and right-wing bourgeois parties. There was such a "compromise" on the defense issue in 1960, as a result of which Denmark accepted the new NATO armed forces standards. Another compromise, in 1963, this time on taxes, shifted the burden to indirect taxes, which came as a telling blow to low-income families. Still another compromise, on housing, (1966) abolished earlier democratic legislation and sent rents soaring. These "compromises" are so binding on the parties concerned that insistent voter pressure has had no effect at all.

The result, as was only to be expected, was to widen the rift between the left-minded masses and the policies of the parties. And, as was only to be expected, there was no dearth of demagoguery in an attempt to paper over the differences. At any rate, the parties were for a time able to keep the electorate in tow.

On balance, the celebrated Scandinavian socialism did not produce any social changes, nor did it alter the political alignment in a way that would diminish the power of the monopolies and strengthen the position of the working people.

II. RISE OF THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S PARTY

Throughout this period the Communist Party endeavored to provide perspective and direction to these efforts for a new, democratic policy. It issued several policy statements, "The Road of the Danish People" (1952), later concretized in the "Program of Democratic Renewal" (1960), and in another document, "New Paths for Denmark" (1965). The Party also worked to unite the working-class and democratic-minded forces for a vigorous campaign to reorientate Danish policy. These efforts were especially successful during the big strike wave of 1956 and in the protest movement against undemocratically imposed collective bargaining agreements. That we were unable to follow up this success was primarily due to the split in the Communist Party, sparked off by certain events outside Denmark.

In 1959 the split led to the formation of the so-called Socialist People's Party (SPP). This Party maintained that it subscribed to a "revitalized Marxism" which would enable it to achieve a "Social-Democrat swing to the Left." The SPP's "revitalization" of Marxism was directed primarily against working-class internationalism. It denied that there was any socialism in the

socialist countries, and the denial was accompanied by attacks on the socialist states. In tense situations these attacks fully followed the ritualistic anti-communist propaganda line. The SPP has also sought to "reappraise" the concept of the historic role of the working class as the leading force of social renewal. Accordingly, modern capitalism is depicted as a society spontaneously moving "towards socialism." The SPP program, adopted in 1963, does not mention the class struggle, nor is it implicit in its discussion of national and international issues.

Standing to the "left" of the Social-Democratic Party, the SPP was able to win over part of the latter's supporters. On many current issues it adopted demands and policies first formulated by the Communists, but adamantly rejected united action on the basis of these demands. It concentrated entirely on parliamentary debate and parliamentary alliances.

For several years this tactic produced results in parliament and at the polls. It won 11 seats in the 1960 Folketing elections, 10 in 1964, and 20 in 1966: as an opposition party it appealed to part of the left-minded voters. But cashing in on the leftward swing was one thing, projecting a Left policy in national affairs was quite another.

The Communists warned that the policy of the SPP leaders would but retard the turn to the left, set it on a futile course, and this might play into the hands of those working for a swing to the Right. But guided solely by election results, they ignored this warning. For several years the opinion dominated in certain quarters that by renouncing the fundamentals of Marxism, the SPP had paved the way to simple and convenient "socialist development." The march of events is steadily dispelling that illusion.

III. COLLAPSE OF THE "LABOR MAJORITY"

The SPP victory in the 1966 elections gave it, together with the Social Democrats who lost some seats, a majority in the Folketing—for the first time Denmark had a "labor majority." This was a reflection of the Left swing. There were fond hopes, particularly among the workers, that now, with the introduction of reforms no longer dependent on support of the capitalist parties, the country would launch out on a new policy. The Communist slogan was

"Make use of the majority" and our Party formulated concrete proposals for an active democratic policy. But it also gave this warning: "Whether the hopes come true, or all the election pledges are forgotten, now depends on activity in the factories and in the trade unions."

The SPP leadership took a different view. Carried away by its election victory, it declared that there would be "a change of system" in Denmark, a "breakthrough in economic democracy," the new parliamentary majority would put things right. The SPP leaders began by negotiating with the Social Democrats on ministerial portfolios.

This roused vigorous protest from the rank and file, for the SPP election campaign had been spearheaded against certain undemocratic measures of the Social-Democrat government. There were endless deputations to party headquarters and numerous protest telegrams, and in the end the idea had to be abandoned, and the two parties concluded an agreement on cooperation in parliament.

When published, this agreement caused surprise, for all it called for were a few paltry reforms. In fact, the Social Democrats could say that it envisaged continuation of their policy. What struck everyone was that on issues on which the SPP was able to win votes from the Social Democrats — NATO, military policy, housing — there was not even a hint of a change of policy. Before the elections the Social Democrats had agreed with the capitalist parties on a steep rent rise which triggered off a new round of land speculation. The indignation aroused by this gave the SPP a large number of votes, on the strength of its promise to demand repeal of the "housing compromise." After the election, in the negotiations with the Social Democrats, this demand was shelved. The SPP did not even try to appeal for public pressure on the Social Democrats. All the SPP leaders tried to achieve was the right to abstain or vote against the new housing legislation.

All this notwithstanding, the SPP leaders still insisted that there would be "a change of system" and "a breakthrough in economic democracy." They said they had "put down an iron curtain to prevent revival of a capitalist majority," that "the socialist perspective" was "not reforms carried out overnight, but a process, at first slow and then gaining momentum, encompassing a series of reforms, each complementing the other, and thanks to the trust this would

inspire in the labor movement, the new majority would be stabilized and at the next election would ask the people for a mandate to introduce even more far-reaching changes."

Things did not work out that way. Though there was much talk of "socialist aims" and "new paths", the "labor majority" did nothing to strengthen the position of the workers or restrict monopoly power.

This became obvious a few months after the new parliamentary majority was formed, when the collective bargaining contracts came up for renewal. The workers expected that this time they would have the support of the government. They were cruelly disillusioned: using legal technicalities, the employers reduced the cost-of-living bonus earlier agreed upon to offset rising prices.

The much-advertised tax reform resulted in more indirect taxes: a 10 per cent surcharge on essential consumer goods. When the surcharge was first proposed by the capitalist parties the SPP vigorously opposed it and made it a major election issue. The government tried to "guild the pill" by introducing certain changes in direct taxation, but this did not allay the resentment. In fact, the capitalist parties thought it prudent to vote against the surcharge which they had themselves proposed. Consequently, it was left to the "labor majority" to put through this unpopular piece of legislation and bear full responsibility for the resultant price rises, contraction of the home market and the growth of unemployment, the first in many years.

It was hoped that the new government would cut back military expenditure, but it continued at the same level, in conformity with NATO's demands. The SPP, which earlier had voted against the budget because it provided for excessive military spending, now backed the government. The SPP chairman, Aksel Larsen, said he would have no compunction in joining a pro-NATO government.

These and other developments produced a deep feeling of disappointment and resentment in the labor movement. Confidence in the "labor majority" faded and there was little belief in its promises of "renewal," which had figured so prominently in SPP statements. No longer was there any talk of a "chain of reforms" to undermine monopoly power and transform popular activity into a force capable of refashioning the social structure. This had its repercussions within the SPP. The lead-

ership used political pressure to get the rank and file to accept Social-Democratic policy. At the emergency party congress in June 1967 Larsen and the other Rights were in the minority. The Left obtained 27 of the 32 seats on the Executive. For all that, however, the congress ended in a compromise: it "approved the cooperation begun with the Social Democrats," and the Right interpreted this as approval of its "labor majority" policy. The Left did not put up their own candidate for the party chairmanship.

Immediately after the congress the right wing started an acrimonious factional struggle and for months kept up a steady flow of statements calculated to discredit the Left. Larsen even told a television audience that behind the Left in his party were "certain foreign circles."

Meanwhile unemployment continued to swell. Despite protests from the workers, the monopolies closed factories with the tacit approval of the government. The only thing the SPP chairman could tell the workers was that they had "set their sights too high and advanced demands far in excess of available resources." When Britain devalued the pound last November, the government took "vigorous measures," this time, too, directed against the workers. With the approval of the SPP it devalued the crown, though there was absolutely no need to do so. It also recommended changing collective-bargaining agreements to take away more of the cost-of-living bonus.

Support of all these moves by the SPP right wing was all the more significant since it had all along maintained that full employment was "an essential starting point in the battle for socialism." And the only measure capable of assuring full employment, one SPP leader argued, was "intervention that would reach down to the very foundations of capitalism." He would have a hard time, indeed, proving that transferring some of the cost-of-living bonus from the worker to the capitalist was intervention of this kind.

The SPP Left, which for some time had been following a wait-and-see policy, came out against this move, realizing that the "labor majority" and the SPP were veering to the right. Six of the 20 SPP MP's joined the Left, thereby depriving the government of its majority. The Lefts started negotiations with the Social Democrats, but their indecision and inconsistency created the danger that they would finally yield to

pressure from the party leadership. However, at the last moment they voted against the government, which had to resign. The new elections brought the capitalist parties to power. That was the end of the "labor majority."

Differences within the SPP came to a head during the government crisis. At the special congress called at the insistence of the Rights the party was sharply divided. In a full change-over to Social-Democrat positions, the Right, led by Larsen, issued a policy statement which said:

"Socialism is the future, a future that has already begun.

"Socialist society is being born within capitalist society. Democracy is gaining strength in the economy. A labor majority can give this trend a socialist orientation. . .

"Socialism will not come overnight. But come it will. Gradually, but inevitably. . ."

A leading Social Democrat member of parliament had every reason to remark: "It took the Social Democrats several generations to travel the road to political degradation; for the SPP it was merely a matter of months."

The Right had a slight majority at the SPP congress, which met the day after the government's defeat. The Left withdrew to form the Left Socialist Party. One of the reasons for the secession was leadership opposition to re-election of the six Left MPs.

Now there are four Left parties, which does not make matters any less complicated.

IV. COMMUNIST POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE LABOR MAJORITY

Throughout the 14 months of the "labor majority's" bungled policies culminating in its loss of power, the Communist Party made numerous proposals which were fully vindicated by developments. This is one more proof that a Left policy cannot be implemented without the communists or against them. It is also proof that, working from their ideological and political positions, the Communists can and should help unite and strengthen the Left. The Communist contribution, based on a clear Marxist-Leninist analysis and class positions, is essential to an effective left movement. The present situation in the Danish labor movement should serve as a warning against ignoring Communist influence and Communist participation. The value of what the Communists can contribute

should not be measured by the Party's numerical strength.

The Communists gave timely warning of the looming crisis. At their national conference (November 18-19, 1967) they analyzed the policy of the "labor majority" and adopted a resolution which reads in part:

"The parliamentary labor majority should continue, but not one that pursues a bourgeois policy. Only if the Right is opposed by a policy clearly directed against big capital, the militarists and speculators, and carried out in the interests of the working people, will Right-wing demagoguery prove powerless.

"Half-way measures, which cannot be divorced from bourgeois policy, cannot inspire active popular support and can only play into the hands of the Right...

"The labor movement is again faced with the all-important question of what line to follow: cooperate with Big Business and adapt itself to its needs, or fight Big Business and further the interests of the working people? All past experience has shown that only the latter path leads to progress and social change. And it is by this experience that the Communists have always been guided."

It can safely be said that developments have fully corroborated that view and the methods the Communist Party conference recommended to foil the right wing bid for power:

"Reasonable relations between all the Left forces is now a vital necessity. . . . The time has come for the entire labor movement, all Left trends, to discuss and implement a common initiative for a policy that would oust the capitalist forces from power."

The Communists also suggested concrete measures to secure full employment, halt land speculation, launch a program of low-rent housing, and orient foreign policy on neutrality. Since the conference met on the day the crown was devalued, it protested against the government's decision and demanded that the losses caused by devaluation of sterling be compensated by reducing military spending. If the other groups in the labor movement had supported this attitude, the government crisis could have been avoided and the capitalist parties would not now be in office.

The Communists have always maintained that a genuine progressive policy requires constant struggle against monopoly domination, and in this struggle the labor major-

ity must win the full and active support of the working people and their organizations. But the "labor majority" leaders did the very opposite.

Only if the Left Majority is committed to a new policy based on the activity of the working people can we achieve an alignment of class forces that will compel the Rights to retreat.

V. FOR A LEFT FRONT

The new elections (January 23, 1968) wrote *finis* to the "labor majority." The Social Democrat group in parliament was reduced from 69 to 63, and the SPP, which lost nearly half its seats, from 20 to 11. The election law militates against the smaller parties, and there was a real danger that the Left Socialists would not be represented at all, though they polled 57,000 votes; they were saved by a slim majority of 87, which gave them four seats.

It would be wrong, however, to interpret the election results as full support for Right-wing policies. The Radicals, who polled more votes than any other capitalist party, fought the elections largely on criticism of NATO and military policy. Their traditional cooperation with the Social Democrats was another factor, for it gave them a better image than parties standing further to the Right. True, this did not prevent the more conservative parties from getting a majority, including the most important ministerial posts, in the coalition government, though the premiership went to a Radical. The contradiction between the government's right wing orientation and the continued turn to the Left on many issues, creates an unstable position for the new government.

The Communist Party made some progress, increasing its vote from 21,000 in 1966 to 30,000. If we consider the difficulties the electoral law creates for the small parties, this 40 per cent increase is much weightier than might appear to the outside observer. But it was not weighty enough to surmount the obstacles erected by the electoral law. It has to be said, however, that no other Left party, and no minority party, was able to increase its vote. Besides, there can be little doubt that the sudden emergence of the Left Socialist Party prevented the Communists from scoring a bigger success.

The fact that the Communists are the only party in the labor and the Left movement with a clear perspective that has been

confirmed by events may very well play an important part in future. Other parties are torn by inner contradictions, the result, in many cases, of more or less conscious attempts to find new paths. The Social Democrats suffered considerable losses in several election contests, and this trend is to be observed in northern Europe and in other parts of the continent. The SPP concept of socialism and how to achieve it has proved a failure, and those remaining in the party are having a very hard time in somehow substantiating their right to existence parallel with the Social Democrats. The Left Socialists have much less support among SPP voters than they hoped for, and there has been much indecision in formulating policy. On some issues they have adopted views which hitherto have been held only by the Communists. There are also efforts to re-establish the SPP to its former position and attract lefts in order to counterpose the party to the Communists.

Within these parties there are elements working for a turn to the left. That also applies to the Radical Party. But the Left forces are active not only, and not chiefly, in the various parties, especially since the SPP and to a greater extent the Left Socialists are organizationally weak. Both in numbers and scope of activity their organizations are smaller than those of the Communists. The Left forces, however, are strong in the trade unions and in the youth, student and other movements.

That being so, the Communist Party Central Committee has appealed for unity of the working people to counter the offensive launched by the new government. The Communists call for a new effort to build a "Left front in Danish politics, based on the activity of the people and capable of forcing the government to yield, and thereby pave the way to a democratic, progressive policy."

Accordingly, the Communists urge agreement on the following demands as the basis of a Left front:

- full employment by expanding the home and foreign market;
- an end to land speculation and inflation

by measures that would effectively restrict monopoly power;

- democratic rights, including worker participation in management;

- trade union influence on economic policy and development;

- neutrality by breaking free of NATO and its armaments demands; a national referendum by 1969 on Denmark's membership in NATO;

- solidarity with victims of colonial and imperialist policy.

The Central Committee further states:

"Notwithstanding differing views on these issues, there can be unity for joint and energetic action on common demands. There will have to be discussion, and the Communist Party is prepared to make its contribution based on its independent and socialist views."

The dismal failure of the "labor majority" in Denmark is further proof of the importance of a Communist contribution for the success of the Left. Experience has shown that the specific contribution the Communists can make to the democratic and Left movement in Denmark presupposes the following:

- upholding and strengthening the role of the working class as the decisive social force in the democratic struggle for abolition of monopoly power;

- the understanding that democracy gains strength through greater activity of the people; that is the only path to progress;

- indicating the road to unity in the face of unceasing and subtle attempts to sow division among the working people and set up mutually hostile groups, exploiting not only political and religious differences, but also age, professional differences, etc.;

- promoting a clear understanding of socialist development in our time, when the achievements of socialism create a definite perspective of democratic change.

Organized action in this direction is necessary if the Left is not to be doomed to inactivity, indifference, illusion and defeat; if it is to become a powerful movement destroying all obstacles and blazing new paths.

Important event in the life of the Iraqi Communist Party

Throughout the more than one-third of a century of its life, the Iraqi Communist Party has been subject to continuous persecution and terror. Apart from a brief period of semi-legality after the July 1958 Revolution, it has had to work underground. This, however, did not break the will and the resolve of the Iraqi Communists to pursue their struggle on behalf of the working class and the people. Nor did it prevent the workers, peasants and the people generally from rallying closely around their Party.

But it did make it difficult for the leading committees to carry on normal organizing work. Thus, only ten years after its foundation (1934) could it hold its first national conference (1944), and one year later (1945) its first Congress. A second national conference took place in 1956.

Last year the Party began to prepare for its second congress. It published drafts of its new program and rules for general discussion by members and sympathizers before submitting them to the Congress. It also circulated a draft document assessing the work done by the Party since 1958. An atmosphere of democratic discussion and active preparation for the congress prevailed. The establishment of a preparatory committee and guides for electing Congress delegates were approved.

All was in readiness for the Congress, which was to be convened towards the end of the year when, in September an opportunist splinter group set out to split the Party. This group did not stop at personal violence against Party leaders and cadres. Their action was preceded by a campaign of slander against the Party and its Central Committee.

Since the situation in the Party was not conducive to holding the Congress, the Central Committee decided to hold instead a National Conference, and this duly took place in December 1967.

BIGGEST ASSEMBLY IN PARTY HISTORY

The Conference, which lasted 10 days, was attended by 55 comrades with full voting rights and two with consultative vote. In addition to the CC members, delegates were elected at conferences and enlarged meetings of the province and local committees throughout the country and by Party organizations abroad. Workers made up about one-third of the delegates. As for the national composition of the Conference, 62 per cent of the delegates were Arabs, 31 per cent Kurds and seven per cent representatives of national minorities.

The Conference discussed and adopted documents related to the political tasks of the Party, to ways and means of strengthening its ideological and organizational unity and an assessment of the Party's past policies.

In view of the circumstances it was decided that the Conference should assume the tasks of the Second Congress in electing the leadership and approving the basic documents.

The Conference decided that all the Party organizations and the public should continue the discussion of the draft Party program which will be submitted to the Second Congress, and it approved, with some modifications, the new Party rules.

CONDEMNING THE SPLINTER GROUPS

The resolution condemning the splinter group says in part: "Our Party, while it has combated and still combats Right opportunism as the main danger, is not neglecting the fight also against the danger of 'Left' sectarian opportunism. This fight has become an urgent task, especially now that sectarian opportunism has crystallized in the formation of a splitting center hostile to the Party."

The splitters concentrated their attacks against the Central Committee. Their aim was to seize leadership of the Party.

The resolution points out that "experience has shown that to uphold consistently and resolutely the unity of the Party and its revolutionary policy it is necessary to adhere to the Leninist methods in inner Party life and to combat all liberal trends and group relations which constitute the embryo of all factions and splits."

A second smaller group of splitters is characterized by its anti-internationalist position, by hostility to the strategy of the international Communist movement. (The two groups have recently merged.)

The Conference approved the Central Committee decision to expel from the Party the heads of the two groups.

The resolution called on the local organizations to continue the fight against the splinter groups at ideological, political and organizational levels, to condemn their erroneous and dangerous concepts which are contrary to the Leninist standards of Party life.

THE SITUATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

This resolution points out that the growth of the military, economic and political might of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp and its all-round aid to the national-liberation movement have enriched this movement with a deep social content and created new conditions in which the working class and its Communist parties are in many developing countries playing a leading role in the fight for political and economic liberation.

The conference expressed gratitude to the CPSU and the other fraternal parties for their internationalist solidarity at the time of the fascist putsch in February 1963. "That glorious internationalist solidarity," the resolution stressed, "played a big role in helping our Party to emerge anew as a major political force in our country."

The resolution stressed that "the international solidarity of the socialist camp, of its vanguard, the Soviet Union, and the world Communist movement with the Arab peoples when subjected to the Zionist-imperialist aggression in June, 1967, was a main factor in halting the aggression..."

Reviewing the situation in the international Communist movement, the conference condemned Right-wing opportunism,

dogmatism, "Left" sectarianism and national narrow-mindedness. It regretted the split in the ranks of the world movement which hampers its vanguard role and its effective contribution to the international revolutionary process for the overthrow of the world imperialist system and the building of a new world, the world of socialism and communism.

"The negative aspects in the world movement are transient and will disappear provided the Communist parties devote their efforts to overcome them . . . The unity of the international Communist movement can be realized and consolidated on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and through the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and reaction."

The Iraqi Party declares that it is for principled relations among the Communist parties as defined by the 1957 and 1960 documents of the Communist movement.

THE SITUATION IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES

After describing the situation in the Arab East following the Israeli aggression, the resolution says that the setback revealed the shortcomings in the political regimes in the progressive Arab countries. In the conditions which prevailed in those countries, especially in the UAR and Syria, reactionary and Right-wing bourgeois elements held key posts in the state, army and ideological apparatus and played a subversive role which was an important factor in the defeat. The political institutions ruling these countries failed to rally the masses both before and during the battle.

"The conscious Arabs and their vanguard political forces consider that the elimination of the consequences of the aggression and successful resistance to the designs of imperialism, Israel and the reactionary forces, call for radical changes in the structure, policies and ideology of the political regimes in the liberated Arab countries, especially in the brother countries, Egypt and Syria, which bear the main burden in the fight against the enemy. The steps taken by Egypt and Syria to re-establish and complete their defense potential are important. The tangible reforms carried out in the command of the Egyptian army and in other spheres are also among the important prerequisites for overcoming the setback. But the central issue remains, that

is, a radical turn towards the people and their revolutionary political forces, by seriously undertaking to establish popular, democratic and revolutionary political regimes."

Victory over the enemy and progress along the road to socialism require a political party equipped with the ideology of the working class. The resolution stressed also that full freedom for all the revolutionary political parties and forces is an important condition for the rallying of the forces of the people. Hence the conference proposed the formation of national-democratic fronts and coalition governments which would include the Communist parties and all the progressive and patriotic forces. Through these fronts and governments in the different Arab countries a solid foundation can be built for an effective Arab solidarity capable of rallying the Arab liberation forces and eliminating the consequences of the aggression.

To reduce the latter solely to a military or a political solution does not reflect a spirit of realism and a sense of responsibility towards the destinies of the Arab world. To achieve these aims it will be necessary to combine both. To speak of a people's war as the sole way can only harm the common Arab effort. While it is necessary to criticize sectarian positions and ultra-revolutionary slogans, we should also expose the attitude taken by the reactionary governments in some Arab countries and the demagoguery of the dictatorial rulers in Iraq.

The aggressive policy of the Iraqi government against the Kurdish people has prevented Iraq from playing its role in the common Arab struggle.

AUTONOMY FOR KURDISTAN

In the resolution on the Kurd question, the Conference reaffirmed the attitude of the Iraqi Communist Party, an attitude based on the Marxist-Leninist principle which recognizes for all nations, big or small, the right to self-determination, to be liberated from national oppression and to establish a united and independent national state for each nation.

The imperialists, their oil companies and their agents in Iraq and the neighboring countries are furthering the chauvinistic trends among the Arab ruling classes and bourgeois organizations, on the one hand, and, on the other, are fostering trends of national narrow-mindedness and separatist

tendencies among the Kurds.

"The national-liberation movement of the Kurdish people is a part of the revolutionary democratic movement in Iraq and an ally of the Iraqi proletariat in its struggle for its immediate and ultimate aims. There can be no just and permanent solution of the Kurd question under a reactionary dictatorial regime."

The Iraqi Communist Party is working for the consolidation of the course chosen by the Kurdish people, the course of common struggle of Arabs and Kurds in Iraq against imperialism and reaction, for freedom and democracy for the Iraqi people as a whole, and autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan within the framework of the Iraqi Republic and, lastly, for the liberation of all Iraqi toilers from exploitation in all its forms and common struggle for building socialism.

The Conference called on the government to satisfy the just demands of the Kurds and warned it against its present policy which is conducive to resumption of the fratricidal war in Kurdistan.

It called on the forces of the Kurdish revolution and its leadership to close their ranks and enhance their vigilance against the intrigues of the rulers so as not to be the victim of a surprise attack.

It called on them also to stand resolutely against the attempts of the imperialist and reactionary circles to undermine the Kurdish liberation movement. It is necessary to unite all the revolutionary forces in Kurdistan and to correct the mistakes and shortcomings of the Kurdish revolution.

Finally the resolution declared:

"If the chauvinistic dictatorial regime undertakes to resume the aggressive war, the people of Kurdistan will rally to their revolution and defeat the aggressors. They expect to receive effective and multiform support from the masses throughout Iraq and from Arab and world public opinion."

THE NATIONAL FRONT

"The realization of a political alliance among the patriotic and progressive forces," the resolution said, "will create favorable conditions for getting rid of the reactionary dictatorial regime — the main obstacle on the way to the victory of the people and the achievement of their national and democratic aims."

The resolution noted the new alignment of social classes in the country since the July 1958 Revolution. Big changes have

taken place in the attitude of some sections of the middle bourgeoisie. Some of them have turned to the reactionary camp and subscribe to reactionary programs and policies, especially on social issues.

The alliance of workers and peasants is the cornerstone and the basis of the national front for which the Party is working. The Party watches attentively the process of development and crystallization now taking place in some petty-bourgeois organizations. These organizations and groups are adopting a critical attitude to some of their past concepts and policies, especially the physical destruction of Communists and democrats after the fascist coup in February 1963. This is creating better conditions for rapprochement and alliance between these parties, our Party and the patriotic and progressive forces.

The Party believes that there are real possibilities for an alliance of the patriotic and progressive forces for the following immediate tasks: to overthrow the present dictatorial regime and to form a government of a national-democratic coalition that will eliminate the consequences and evils of the past dictatorial regimes; to restore democratic rights, especially the right to form political parties; to decree a general amnesty for all political prisoners; to reintegrate the expelled and dismissed

into their jobs and posts; to eliminate the consequences of the aggression against Kurdistan and to take the necessary measures to satisfy the national rights of the Kurds, including autonomy; to solve the problem of the high cost of living from which the working people suffer; to abrogate the reactionary amendments of the Land Reform Law; to take a resolute stand in order to wrest our rights from the monopoly oil companies and to establish an independent national oil sector; to strengthen solidarity with the liberated Arab states against imperialism, Zionism and reaction for elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, defense of the Arab people's rights in Palestine; to extend and strengthen relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist world.

* * *

The conference adopted a resolution declaring solidarity with the Vietnam people and condemning the U.S. aggression. It also adopted a resolution on political prisoners and arrested persons.

The newly elected central committee was charged with completing the preparations for the second congress.

Samir AHMED

New program of the Communist Party of Germany

The draft program of the Communist Party of Germany, published on February 8, has evoked a lively response among the Party membership and the public. The press conference scheduled in Frankfurt-on-Maine was banned and the Political Bureau spokesmen, Max Scheffer and Herbert Mies, who came to acquaint the journalists with the program, were arrested. But public protests in West Germany and elsewhere compelled the authorities to release them the following day.

The West German authorities thus betrayed their dread of any legal action by

the Marxist-Leninist Party and of the publication of the Party program, which offers a socialist perspective and a democratic alternative to the existing order. But their reprisals boomeranged. By trying to prevent news of the program from reaching the public they have, in effect, galvanized the interest of trade unionists, Social Democrats, young workers and students. More people are supporting the Party's demand that the authorities should not interfere in the free dissemination and discussion of the draft program.

The draft consists of five main sections,

the first of which is devoted to economic and political developments that have aroused public anxiety. The same section deals with the history-making changes wrought in the world since the October Socialist Revolution, notably the emergence of the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist state on German soil. It enumerates the reasons for the division of Germany and names those responsible for it, stressing the fundamentally new developments in the country's east. "This has tilted the scales sharply in favor of the workers and the rest of the working population," says the draft, "creating much more favorable conditions for achieving peace, democracy and social security in the Federal Republic." The draft stresses, too, that friendship and cooperation with the socialist GDR is vital to the people of West Germany.

The program examines the dangers implicit in Bonn's foreign and military policies, which it describes as sterile and suicidal. The draft scrutinizes the role of the bourgeois parties and assesses the policy of the right-wing Social-Democratic leaders. It shows that the neo-Nazi National-Democratic Party is the offspring of official policy and that its nationalist and revenge-seeking demands differ from those of the CDU-CSU only in that they are more outspoken.

The most important point in the first section is the analysis of the correlation of the main economic and political forces in the Federal Republic. "The predominance of big capital and the system of state-monopoly capitalism," it says, "are an obstacle to the country's all-round growth."

The existing system is incapable of resolving vital problems and turning technological progress to the public good. From this the conclusion is drawn that developments in the Federal Republic are objectively leading up to socialism.

The draft is built around the Communist Party's alternative, envisaging deep-going anti-monopoly reconstruction and conversion of the Federal Republic to peace and progressive democracy. It notes that the fight for socialist reconstruction will not be successful until the majority of the workers and people are willing to join it. The path is a long and tortuous one, and the socialist and revolutionary forces cannot afford to underrate the interim democratic anti-monopoly tasks on the order of the day.

The Party's democratic demands contain

specific recommendations for a consistent peace policy and normal, equitable relations with the German Democratic Republic. The Party advocates peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and stresses that this does not imply a "social, political or ideological civic peace with the imperialists," nor any halt to the class struggle and the fight for democracy. What peaceful coexistence stands for is the very reverse. The Party calls for recognition of the GDR, rejection of claims to sole representation, repeal of the Hallstein doctrine, acceptance of West Berlin as a special political unit, repudiation of nuclear weapons, a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, recognition of the existing European frontiers, withdrawal from Nato and establishment of an all-European security system, a halt to all support for imperialist aggression, notably the U.S. war in Vietnam, and an end to neo-colonialist policies.

The program outlines the Party's proposals for an economic and social policy serving the interests of the people: defense and extension of democratic freedoms; equal educational opportunities; democratic freedom of opinion and creed, including the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas; a political amnesty and lifting the ban on the Communist Party of Germany.

From direct alternative democratic proposals the draft goes on to the question of radical democratic, anti-monopoly reconstruction. "What has to be done to achieve democracy, peace and social progress," it says, "is to change the balance of forces and carry through deep-going democratic reforms and democratic reconstruction embracing all spheres of social life—the economy and state, education and culture—securing for the working people a determinative influence on the destiny of our country."

As the key anti-monopoly reform, the Party recommends giving factory and office workers, technicians and engineers, and their trade unions the *right to full participation in management at all levels*. Yet the draft points out that this say in management has to be won by the workers through persevering struggle against monopoly capital and the present regime.

This participation in economic management, the Party notes, should lead to *democratic planning*, which will facilitate democratic control over government investment policies. The core of this anti-monopoly program is the demand for na-

tionalizing concerns in the key industries and other enterprises dominating the market, envisaging democratic management and control over the public sector. The demand applies to nuclear-industry enterprises, the large chemical, power-producing, coal-mining and steel concerns, transport machinery plants, computer manufacturers, the big banks and insurance companies.

The program emphasizes that the Party wants to achieve socialist reconstruction by peaceful democratic means. However, it realizes that the reactionary forces will stop at nothing to retain their privilege and power. "The precondition for peaceful socialist reconstruction is that the working class and the people should gain so great an advantage that they will deprive reaction of any chance to use violence against the democratic majority," the program says. Under the socialist system, the Party declares, parliament in the Federal Republic would be a multi-party organ expressing the true will of the nation. In the fight for democracy and for socialism alike, the Party seeks a close alliance of all socialist and anti-monopoly forces.

Section three underscores the need for working-class unity and joint action of all democratic and anti-monopoly forces. The common actions taken of late in many social and economic battles should spread to all political acts against neo-nazism and reaction, for peace and disarmament, in defense of and for the extension of democratic rights.

The program points to the conflicting trends in the Social-Democratic Party and emphasizes the responsibility borne by those members and functionaries who disagree with the policy of the Right-wing leaders and their collaboration with monopoly capital and the CDU/CSU. United action by socialists—Communists, Left Socialists and the socialist forces in the Social-Democratic Party is described as a precondition of success.

Prominence is given in the draft to problems related to the role and the new tasks of the trade unions, the alliance of the working class with intellectuals, peasants and the urban middle strata, the relationship between Communists and Christians and between the labor movement and the younger generation, and the role of women in the democratic struggle.

It is the duty of every Communist, the draft stresses, to take part in union work, protect the unions from reactionary at-

tacks, and promote their influence. It points to the growing role of the intellectual and says the organized labor movement should devote more attention to the interests of professionals.

The Party declares its bonds with working Christians. Broader understanding in the joint struggle for peace and the people's interests, it notes, will, among other things, come from the dialogue between Marxists and Christians. It expresses its solidarity with youth movements, whose sentiment and action reflect the gulf between the young people's notions of a society worthy of man and the capitalist realities, highlighted by the chase for profit and power.

Taking cognizance of the existing extra-parliamentary movements which extend to trade unionists, intellectuals and the youth, the Party recommends further convergence of the democratic forces and a common democratic action program. The Party is convinced that the impact of extra-parliamentary action will influence parliament, with the result that workers and progressives will achieve representation of the people in that body.

The draft program suggests a solution for the national question, noting that the unification of the two German states with basically divergent social and political systems, will come about as a culmination of a long historical process. The future united Germany will be a Germany of peace, democracy and social progress in which the power of big capital will be broken for all time and nazism and militarism will be rooted out.

In its final section of the draft registers the Party's close bonds with the Socialist Unity Party, its solidarity with the Communist and Workers' parties of all continents, with all anti-imperialist and progressive movements, and underscores that today the socialist world system, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the principal force of the revolutionary process. It also underscores the immense significance of the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement and of the fight waged by the socialist and democratic forces in the capitalist countries. It calls for the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement, for imaginative use of Marxism-Leninism in dealing with the present problems of the labor movement, for acceptance of common principles with special consideration for

the historical and national conditions in each country.

The common anti-imperialist front, the draft says, is injured by trends of an anti-Soviet and anti-Leninist complexion, which are causing splits in the labor movement. The Party opposes the tendency towards national exclusiveness and supports international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties.

The program of the Communist Party of Germany contributes significantly to the growth of the democratic anti-monopoly

alternative in the Federal Republic. Its principled assessment of the correlation of economic and political forces and of Bonn's dangerous policies, and its realistic, constructive plan of democratic renewal based on a new balance of political forces, shows the way to joint action by workers and all progressives. Discussion of the draft by the Party membership and progressive groups will help strengthen the labor and democratic movement in the Federal Republic.

K.B.

WMR

against the persecution of democrats

Persecution of Communists condemned

Brutal terror, police persecution, arrests and assassinations—such are the attributes of a society which calls itself “the free world” and which never tires of talking about “human values,” such are the methods used by the exploiters in an attempt to destroy the vanguard of the masses, the Communists, to isolate or destroy all who bring political enlightenment, who organize and lead the masses in the fight against reaction and oppression.

Persecution of Communists has become a feature of the internal policy of Greece, Spain, Portugal, Paraguay, Argentina, Haiti, the South African Republic and many other countries. Deprived of legal status, some forty Communist and Workers' parties are today compelled to work underground.

Staging a military coup in the best tradition of U.S. putsches in the so-called Banana republics, the reactionary junta in Greece, the birthplace of democracy, hurled the full weight of its machinery of repression against the Communists, the heroic sons of the Greek people. The junta's

atrocities shocked even the apostles of European bourgeois democracy.

And honest people the world over still shudder at the recollection of the Bartholomew's Night staged by Indonesian reaction, when tens of thousands of Communists, the fighters for freedom and the independence of their country, were slaughtered in cold blood. In the previous issue of our journal we carried a letter from Djakarta telling of the unceasing savage persecution, of the inhuman conditions in which prisoners are held in the prisons and concentration camps of Indonesia.

As a rule, the reactionaries try to justify these repressions on the grounds that they have thereby saved their countries from “national disaster.” But the facts tell a different story. They show that reactionary coups are invariably followed by increased dependence on imperialism, and on U.S. capital particularly, plunder of the national wealth and a sharp deterioration in living standards.

Experience has proved that Communists

are the most consistent and staunch fighters for the interests of their countries and peoples. This truth has long since been recognized by the imperialists. It should therefore be all the more obvious to those who want to see their countries prosperous and independent.

Unfortunately, the situation in some countries compels us to speak of this. For example, repressions continue in Algeria, and not without the help of reactionary elements. *Humanité*, organ of the French Communists, has written of this repeatedly. And this at a time when the Algerian leaders claim that their objective is to create a party that will "unite active and convinced champions who believe in socialism."

To victimize those fighting for the demo-

cratic and socialist development of their country, for its national interests and against imperialism, to do so is to inevitably facilitate the counter-revolutionary activities of internal and external enemies, to undermine the confidence of the people, and particularly of the working class, in the revolutionary intentions of their leaders, to engender sectarianism which has never done the struggle for democracy and socialism any good.

The masses are more and more appreciating the truth that persecution of Communists imperils the future of countries and nations. That is why protests are being voiced throughout the world against the persecution of Communists.

Albert MASS

Policy of terror and repression

(letter from Saudi Arabia)

The purpose of my letter is to let progressive world opinion know about the reactionary policy of King Faisal's regime in Saudi Arabia, the biggest and richest of the Arab countries, and also the most backward, socially and economically. Our people are denied elementary rights and freedoms. There is no such thing as a Constitution. The entire social life of the country is subordinate to the dictates of the King.

Patriots and democrats, many of whom are united in the National Liberation Front, are waging the struggle against the regime in incredibly difficult conditions.

Last year the Front addressed a policy statement to the people, calling on them to rise in armed struggle against the King. The Front's goals are: 1) liberation of Saudi Arabia and the expulsion of reactionaries and the imperialists from the country; 2) establishment of a just democratic government; 3) respect for the rights of the people; 4) fair distribution of the country's wealth; 5) creation of a progressive society; 6) prosperity for the people.

The nascent national-liberation movement is encountering the desperate resistance of the regime and its direct masters

—the oil monopolies. All means are being used to strangle the movement—the secret police and the army, dismissal from work of persons regarded as "unreliable," arrests and imprisonment without trial, and capital punishment.

However, even these brutal measures have failed to prevent mass actions and strikes. Last year workers downed tools in Dhahran, Ras at Tannura and Bakhik. Anti-imperialist demonstrations were held in Riyadh, Medina, Jidda and Katif.

The foreign monopolies have demanded that Faisal step up repressions, take measures to prevent the spread of progressive ideas. The authorities have, accordingly, prohibited the import of all foreign newspapers, journals and books, with the exception of religious works and "literature" levelled against communism and socialism, against the progressive regimes and national-liberation movement in the Arab countries.

In an attempt to cope with the mounting dissatisfaction, Faisal is now advocating reform. The purpose of this "metamorphosis" is obvious: to wrest the initiative from the patriots, to divert the attention of the

people to secondary issues. All the talk about the "traditions," the "specific conditions" of Saudi Arabia that allegedly hamper progressive social change camouflage, in effect, a definite policy to maintain the appalling backwardness. This policy is supported by the U.S. monopolies, for it makes it easier for them to continue their plunder of our rich oil resources.

Faisal has concluded a "mutual security agreement" with the United States, giving Americans the right to take emergency measures to protect their interests. The eastern part of our country is virtually controlled by U.S. intelligence and officers listed as "advisers of the Saudi-U.S. Mission." The Americans also use Saudi troops, specially picked from among Bedouin tribes.

Arrests continue throughout the country. Between June and December 1967, 967 people were thrown into prison. Altogether, some 30,000 political prisoners are languishing in prisons where many are subjected to torture. For nearly four years 25 patriots have been kept in the Central Prison in Dammam without trial. Similar cases are reported from prisons in Riyadh, Jidda and other towns. Recently two airforce

cadets, Aly al-Maasari and al-Schaari al-Jami, studying in the United States, were taken back and put in a military prison as "undesirable elements." Another four citizens studying in the United States were also sent back by the Embassy. Upon their return they were blacklisted and deprived of the right to travel abroad.

Faisal is reorganizing the secret police and the intelligence service in an attempt to remedy the failure of these organs to neutralize the activity of the patriots and to detain members of the resistance organization, active in all parts of the country. Fifty million dollars have been earmarked for this purpose, in addition to \$284,000,000 for the upkeep of the secret police, the security apparatus, intelligence and the army.

Imperialism is doing everything to turn Saudi Arabia into a rampart to stem the tide of the revolutionary movement in the Arab East.

We call on all who hold dear the ideals of freedom and democracy to raise their voice in support of the just struggle of the patriot forces in Saudi Arabia.

Mohammed Shouhdy ATTIA

Brief notices

Le Parti communiste français dans la Resistance, Paris, Editions sociales, 1967. 354 pp.

French Communist Party in the Resistance. Paris, Editions sociales, 1967. 354 pp.

This book, prepared by a commission of the Maurice Thorez Institute headed by J. Duclos and V. Joannes, and including Marxist scholars, leading Party functionaries and members of the Resistance Movement, tells the reader of the historic services rendered by the French Communist Party, the party that organized and led the finest forces in the Resistance Movement against fascism, the party that suffered the heaviest losses in this Movement.

The book shows the treacherous role played by the agents of big capital who

collaborated with German and Italian fascism against the USSR, and against the progressive forces in France. It also gives an objective picture of the bourgeoisie who participated in the Resistance, their main concern being to restore their dominant position in the country. This explains the contradictory attitude of de Gaulle and his followers to the Resistance—fear of the popular movement, and at the same time reliance on it as a means of protecting the interests of French capital.

The Resistance is shown as a movement that merged into one the defense of national interests and the fight for social progress. And the spokesman of this unity was the Communist Party which became the foremost political party in the country at the

time, winning mass support among the people.

A. ADRON

Tuure LEHEN. *Punaisten ja valkoisten sota*. Helsinki, Kansankulttuuri, 1967. 254 pp.

Tuure LEHEN. *The War of the Reds and the Whites*. Helsinki, Kansankulttuuri, 1967. 254 pp.

Official works dealing with the history of Finland, the character of the Civil War of 1918 and the objectives of the sides participating in it, are frequently presented in a distorted, false light. Although the Finnish Communists have always attached considerable importance to this matter there are all too few works giving a scientific, Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the subject. The book under review is, therefore, all the more welcome because it attempts to give a true picture of that Civil War and its causes.

It opens with an analysis of Finnish society in the years preceding World War I, shows how the situation in the country grew increasingly explosive during the war years, finally erupting into an armed clash between the classes, although neither the working class of Finland, nor the leadership of its party wanted civil war. The book examines in this connection the influence exerted on Finland by the 1905 and 1917 revolutions in Russia.

The author shows that since the bourgeoisie had been preparing for several months to suppress the working-class movement by armed force, the working class had no choice but to take similar action in self-defense. A considerable part of the book deals with the battles that ensued and the reasons for the defeat of the working class. The author reminds the reader of the reactionary role played by Kaiser Germany in sending troops against the Finnish Red Guards.

Tuure Lehen's book will be of interest to

all who want to obtain a true picture of that period in Finland's history.

Erkki PIIRONEN

Ekonomicheskoye planirovaniye v SSSR. Moskva, Ekonomika, 1967. 318 pp.

Economic Planning in the USSR. Moscow, Ekonomika, 1967. 318 pp.

The book under review treats of the experience of economic planning in the USSR, of its forms, methods and perspectives. The analysis is all the more valuable now that the Soviet Union is carrying out an economic reform, gradually introducing a new system of planning and management.

The twelve chapters examine the basic problems of planning: organization and methodology of planning; growth rates and the structure of the economy; planning technological progress, incomes and consumption and employment; territorial and long-range planning. The book also examines questions related to raising the effectiveness of social production. A special chapter deals with coordination of the plans of the socialist countries—a new sphere of joint planning.

Much space is devoted to the connection between the law of balanced development and the law of value, with emphasis on the fact that in the first phase of communism all economic laws, including the law of balanced development, operate in conditions of commodity-money relations. Marxist-Leninist science has long since demonstrated the objective nature of these relations under socialism. That their all-round development is a powerful lever in building a socialist society and the material and technological base of communism is now generally recognized.

The book shows that the system of planned economic management now functioning in the Soviet Union, although highly complex, is also an efficient and co-ordinated one, which largely explains the strides being made in the national economy.

V. TUMLER

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