

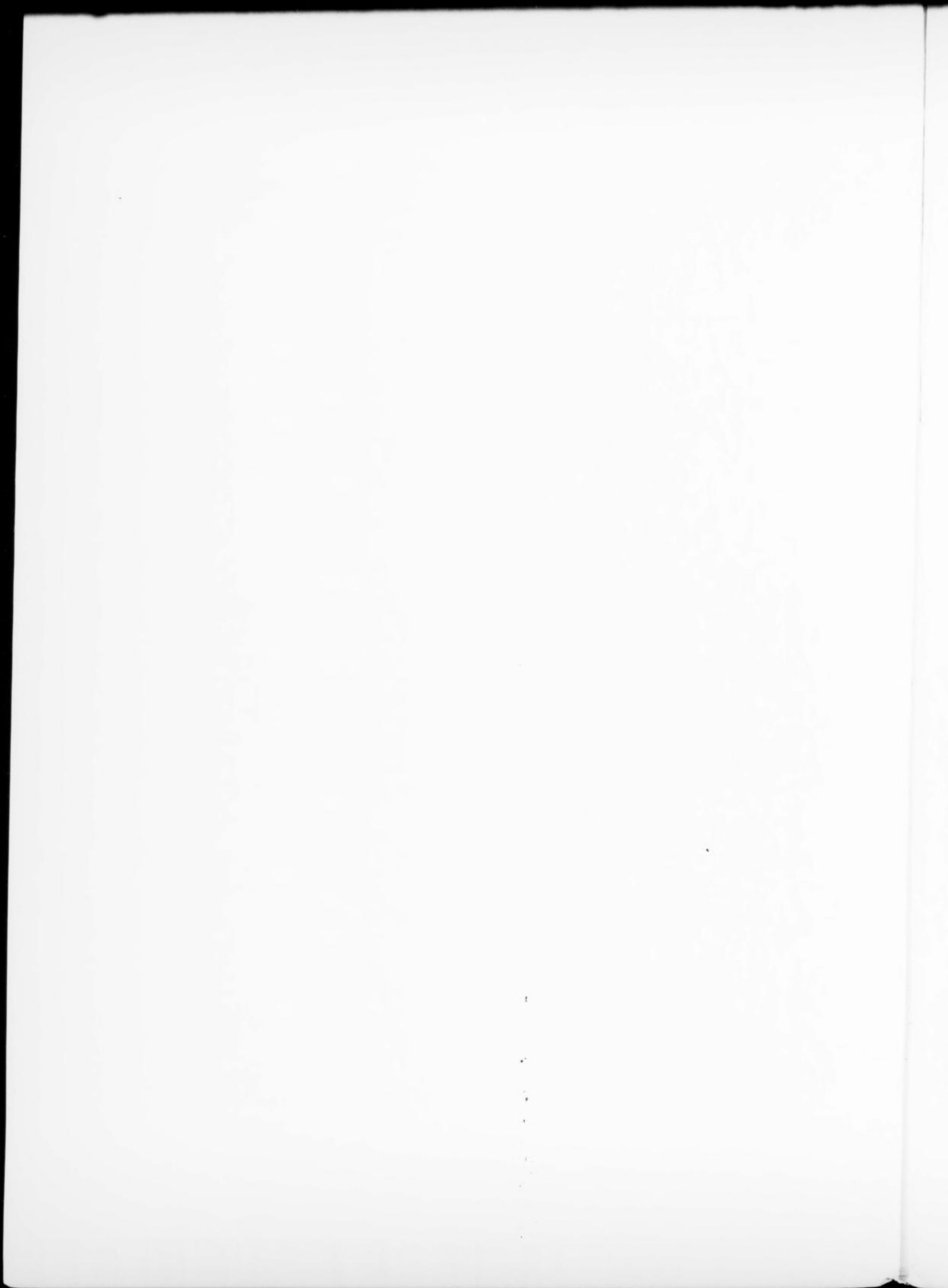
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

**WORKERS' 'AFFLUENCE'
IN USA — THE REALITY**
VICTOR PERLO

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

1968

CONTENTS



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COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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The workers of Turin speaking: economic demands, political tasks

The conditions of the working class in Italy and their struggle to improve them, the work of the Communist Party—these were the subject of a recent discussion between members of the Editorial Board of the journal, representatives of the fraternal Parties on the Board, and a delegation of Turin workers—activists and functionaries of the Italian Communist Party.

Opening the meeting, **Y. P. Frantsev**, Editor-in-Chief, said that the experience of the struggle of the Turin workers, one of the leading contingents of the Italian proletariat, was of considerable interest. **M. Rossi**, representative of the Italian Communist Party on the journal, noted for his part that conditions in Turin reflected the specific difficulties connected with the domination there of one giant monopoly—Fiat.

Many of the problems today facing the Italian Communist Party, said **Vito Damico**, member of its Central Committee and deputy secretary of the Piedmont Regional Committee, were discussed at a Conference of Communist workers, held in Turin last December.

We wanted to establish the causes for the deterioration in the conditions of the Italian workers, the reasons for their widespread dissatisfaction. To this end we decided to study conditions at 102 factories in the Piedmont region and to take polls of workers.*

We tried to show the connection between the worsening of the conditions of the workers and the nature of the present economic growth or, to be more precise, capitalist expansion.

Proceeding from this we focussed attention at the Turin conference on how to raise the general resistance of the workers and compel an improvement in the existing situation. We hold that the worsening conditions of the working class are also due to the political crisis in Italy. Trade union

action, therefore, is not enough. A political way out of the present political crisis must be explored.

CAPITALIST EXPANSION AND INTENSIFIED EXPLOITATION

Speaking of the labor conditions and the fight of the workers, **V. Damico** said that a feature of Italian employers today was their so-called policy of effectiveness, or efficiency drive, which they are pursuing in many directions.

The prime concern is to make production at the given enterprise competitive. In practice this means that the chronic unemployment is swelled by technological unemployment, that is, unemployment caused by automation. The efficiency drive means added pressure on the worker. Thus, since 1963 production increased by 26 per cent while the labor force was cut by 700,000. It might be argued that new methods of labor organization and organization of production are now employed. True enough. But it is equally true that one of the indicators worrying all, including the government, is that investments in the produc-

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 2 (1968).—Ed.

tive sphere are not increasing. The fact remains that higher output with fewer workers and invariable investments spells *intensified exploitation*.

Among Common Market countries Italy has one of the lowest wage levels. The average monthly wage in Turin is 75,000-80,000 lire. For women, who are employed mostly in the textile and clothing industries, it is approximately 50,000 lire. In short, the efficiency drive prejudices not only employment but also wages.

Workers' skills are not being properly used. The present generation of workers is more skilled than the previous one. But their trades are not recognized. They have to perform jobs that do not call for proficiency. To cite an example. When I was employed at Fiat,* skilled workers accounted for half of the total number employed in the plant. Today they account for only 30 per cent of the labor force. This, too, is the outcome of the efficiency drive.

The gap between the present level of education, schooling and skills, on the one hand, and the way knowledge is used in industry, on the other, is steadily widening. The worker acquires his skill at the expense of the family. It is therefore essential to establish a new link between occupational training and general education. Hence the present movement in Italy for reform of the entire educational system.

The struggle is a sharp one. When we left Turin, for example, students had occupied the university. They were forced out by the police later. Some were arrested. We are trying to link the fight for educational reform with the fight of the working class.

Intensified exploitation also results in worsening of working conditions, occupational illness and the use in production of substances injurious to the health. The following statistics are from official sources: an industrial accident every twenty seconds; a worker maimed or incapacitated every 20 minutes; one fatal accident every two hours. Or these figures issued by the Ministry of Labor: about 23 million accidents and registered cases of occupational illness in the past 20 years, of which 82,500 proved fatal. To this should be added that two-thirds of these figures refer to the past 10 years, when industrial expansion was greatest.

The policy of cutting back employment, depressing wages and intensified exploitation goes hand in hand with an unrelenting

onslaught on trade union and political rights.

In their incessant efficiency drive the capitalists are exacting sacrifices from every section of Italian society. I will cite an example. Production costs do not, of course, include such items as losses to the worker and his family due to accidents, some of them fatal, or occupational illness. Here the cost is borne by the community (and, of course, by the workers themselves). Italy's social security system is one of the most backward in Europe. Much the same applies to pensions—half of all pensioned workers get the minimum pension, 12,000 lire a month. We are fighting for reform of the social security and pension systems.

In opposition to the capitalist efficiency drive, we maintain that for an individual factory to operate on a competitive basis for any sustained period the whole economy must be run on a competitive basis.

Our argument is that there can be no sustained economic development if it is based on worsening the workers' conditions. And here the task of the Communist Party is to merge labor's struggle for better conditions with the struggle for a new departure in economic and social development. We believe that by advancing slogans and advancing aims that stem from the present position of the working class, the Communists can become the leading and guiding force.

AMERICANIZATION OF THE ECONOMY

One of the things we have to combat today is economic Americanization. Briefly, this implies orienting production on consumer durables, mostly for export. That makes the Italian economy especially sensitive to market fluctuations and adverse developments in other countries. But there is also this: Italian capitalists do not want to invest in industries that would give the country a stronger economic structure, preferring to invest in other countries, and last year no less than 3,000 billion lire were drained out of the country. Yet there is an inflow of foreign, chiefly American, capital. This holds out a clear danger of economic colonization.

To illustrate the point, I shall cite three examples. A branch of the Olivetti firm in Turin started production of electronic appliances, the first Italian firm to do so. Now this branch is a subsidiary of the U.S. General Electric firm, with the result that Italy has virtually lost control of this crucial industry.

*Comrade Damico was dismissed from Fiat in 1952 for organizing a trade union group.—Ed.

Second example: Italy has always been a major producer of ball bearings, an essential element in all branches of engineering. RIV ball bearings made in Turin were known and bought throughout the world. Our Turin workers always pride themselves on having helped build the first Soviet ball bearing plant in Moscow. Today Italy has been shouldered out of this industry: U.S. capital, working through a Swedish bank and the SKF group, has taken over RIV.

Third example: Italy was a large producer of photographic equipment. Today the leading concern in this field, Ferrania, belongs to an American company.

The thing does not make economic sense: Italy has to look around for markets abroad at a time when her own industry is increasingly coming under American control. We Communists must fight to change that.

DEVELOPMENT OF LABOR'S STRUGGLE

V. Damico: The worsening of the workers' conditions referred to above is not the result of defeat or retreat, and still less of labor's refusal to fight. In fact, it comes at a time when the protest movement has reached a high pitch. There is a purposeful nationwide struggle for democratic reform, a more recent development, for factory-level agreements to complement industry-wide bargaining arrangements.

The sharpness of class collisions is attributable to the greater pressure exerted by the workers and to the adamant resistance of the employers.

A while ago the capitalists published statistics which, they claim, are "a disgrace to Italy": eight out of every 10 strikers in the six Common Market countries are Italians. What especially upsets the Italian capitalist is that in 1966 the country lost 14 million work-days as a result of strikes. And there has been no let-up in 1967; if anything, the fight is more intensive. Again some relevant figures: of the 45 industry-wide bargaining agreements concluded by December 1967, 43 were signed only after long and tenacious strikes, and we were able to conclude more than 3,000 factory-level agreements.

In this worker resistance we can detect the embryo of open protest, of an outright challenge to the existing order of things. And it depends on us, Communist workers, to broaden, deepen and give leadership to this new spirit of resistance. The slogan we have put out in recent years: "The boss

must not decide everything; the workers must have a say in every aspect of production," is attracting and convincing more and more workers.

As the struggle develops there is a growing urge for trade union unity, a growing realization of the need to mount a counter-offensive and achieve a new political unity of the Left. Indicative in this respect is the recent agreement signed by the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity. We thus have a new rallying center for the forces of the Left, for the agreement is open to anyone who wishes to join. And it is no mere accident that when it was published many Socialists urged accession to it, among them such prominent personalities as ex-Prime Minister Parri.

In conclusion, I wish to make it plain that we are working to link our day-to-day struggle with the fight for socialism, and I want to explain, in this context, how we regard our work as Communists.

We say that our work as Communists does not begin where trade union activity ends, but that we can and should work with active trade unionists in the factories. We must be in the van of labor's struggles, formulate joint demands based on the concrete position in the factory, reveal their link with the general interests of the working class and its fight for better conditions and for a new social pattern, for a new society.

Today the fight for a new society differs from what it was a few years ago. For one thing, it is being waged on a much wider scale and more intensively. It goes beyond economic demands and is becoming a political and ideological struggle in which the Communists are not the only participants. Throughout the capitalist West, and more especially in our own country, Italy, there is a growing feeling that the social pattern needs to be refashioned, a growing urge for a society worthy of man. And many Catholics, and to a lesser degree Socialists, no longer regard America or Sweden as examples. On the contrary, many are disenchanted with the welfare state which, they are coming to realize, is an imperialist society. Together with other forces we want to show up the evil economic and social logic of that society, which imposes a way of life that makes men slaves of technology, of the new production processes which, in the end, lead to destruction of the personality.

The alternative which is shaping up today, and for the achievement of which

workers and intellectuals are joining forces, is a new life in the world of tomorrow. And in this world scientific discoveries will play a leading role, but *man will be their master, not their slave*. By formulating and upholding this concept we link our day-to-day struggle for better conditions with the fight for the socialist perspective.

Damico's statement was followed by a flow of questions. J. Gibbons (Britain) asked about Communist Party representation in Parliament for Turin and the composition of the Turin Municipal Council.

The questions were answered by Nazareno Guasso, head of the industrial department of the Turin Party organization.

Turin Province, he said, has a population of two million, of which 1,120,000 live in the city. Turin is basically an industrial area with 465,000 blue-collar and white-collar workers. The backbone of the industrial structure is, of course, Fiat, but there are other monopolies, Michelin, Pirelli (rubber tires), Olivetti (office machines), Montecatini (chemicals) and a host of small and medium-sized enterprises producing chiefly automobile parts.

COMMUNISTS IN ELECTIVE BODIES

The following data can be taken as a gauge of Communist influence in Turin. In the 1964 municipal and province elections the Party polled about 25 per cent of the total vote—27 per cent in the city of Turin and 22 per cent in the rest of the province. In the 1963 general election, we topped the poll in Turin with more than 200,000 votes, and our total for the province was about 315,000. These are the results for the other parties: Socialists—11 per cent; Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity—2.3 per cent; Social-Democrats—8.6 per cent; Christian Democrats 33.5 per cent.

The figures indicate that we have a sizeable following, but they also show a gap between the Party's political influence and the growth of its membership. For with 30,000 members we were able to muster more than 300,000 votes.

V. Damico added that there are five Communist members of Parliament and two Senators from Turin province. The Piedmont region, of which Turin province is part, returns 12 Communists to Parliament and six to the Senate.

The Communist Party has 166 members of Parliament out of a total of 630, and 84 Senators out of a total of 315, or a total of 250 in the country's central legislative bodies. The Communists hold 23 seats out of 80 in the Turin Municipal Council.

Gianfranco Coriasco, secretary of the Party organization in the RIV-SKF plant, remarked that Comrade Damico is himself a member of the Municipal Council.

Employer tactics against the Communist Party were described by several speakers. P. Hentgès (France) asked about concrete forms of Communist activity in the factories and methods of countering the employer ideological offensive.

The main employer weapon, Giovanni Mercandino, Party secretary at the Fiat plants, said, was still paternalism. At Fiat this takes the form of a pension fund, management administered health services, specially oriented wage policies, etc.

PATERNALISM AND OPPRESSION— TWO ASPECTS OF EMPLOYER POLICY

But there are also other paternalistic techniques: summer camps for children, small financial grants to needy families, a modest low-rent housing program and so on.

The purpose of these measures, singly and in combination, is to instil in the worker the idea that his interests are identical with those of management, that the worker is interested in plant expansion because some of the additional profit will accrue to him. Fiat management is making a special effort to steer the worker away from politics; he is told: "On any issue that arises, you can always depend on Fiat to look after your interests." And that argument is ever-present in the Fiat-controlled newspaper, *Stampa*, which has a fairly wide readership in the plant.

Paternalism has also purely economic objectives—step up exploitation to produce additional profits (part of which goes into paternalistic measures).

However, paternalism has another aspect, oppression and an unremitting anti-Left offensive, of which victimization, firings and similar techniques are by no means a minor element. More than 2,000 Fiat workers, among them active Communists, were fired in 1951-53. Militants are not always dismissed outright; they are transferred to shops scheduled for closure or to special "exile shops" where conditions are worse and wages lower.

It has been the policy of management and government to indoctrinate the worker with what may be described as a consumer outlook and to limit his horizon and interests to the acquisition of material things. The differing levels of class-consciousness are adroitly exploited. For it should be

remembered that Turin's population has risen from 750,000 to 1,120,000 in the past 15-18 years. This means that hundreds of thousands of peasants, mainly from the South, many of them illiterate, have been brought into industry. Their adaptation to the North's "industrial civilization" has centered on saving up for a television set or a car, with scant interest in education.

The bourgeoisie has been quick to utilize this to prevent growth of class consciousness, to divert the worker from the fight to improve his material and social status. And there has been a steady campaign of ideological conditioning. "We'll see that you acquire a car and other things. But these Communists are against that kind of thing," is one of the arguments.

N. Guasso, continuing discussion of the work of the Turin Party organization, said that 18,000 of their 30,000 members are workers at the bench, but of these only little more than 5,000 belong to factory-based Party units, the remainder belong to territorial branches.

There are Party organizations in 240 of the 3,000 enterprises in Turin and the province. This means that there are thousands of factories with workers' commissions and trade unions, but with no Communist Party organization. One of our main tasks, therefore, is to set up factory organizations and strengthen the existing ones.

The record of the past few years suggests that this can be done, for we are recruiting new members all the time. In the first two or three months of the 1968 registration campaign, more than 400 workers, most of them young people, joined our factory units.

The RIV-SKF plant, for instance, has its own Party organization, and there are three Party sections in the Fiat plant. All told, there are 16 factory Party sections and more than 200 factory units in Turin and the province.

Propaganda, a major element of Party work, is conducted mainly through distribution of leaflets, but in the past few years we have launched out on a new venture, factory newspapers. There are now ten, plus ten more for residential areas and a special paper for technical personnel, widely read throughout the Turin-Milan-Genoa industrial triangle. All the papers—there are 21 with a monthly circulation of 135,000—are distributed at factory gates.

The papers have two main features—general political issues (peace, Vietnam, opposition to the Center-Left government,

economic policy, etc.) and issues concerning a particular factory.

THE FACTORY NEWSPAPER

We are trying to get more workers to contribute to these papers. This, of course, is not easy. N. Guasso remarked that it was difficult to gauge the exact size of the readership, but it can be safely said that it has increased substantially in the past year. Some factory papers are of long standing. For instance, *l'Acciaio* (Steel), began publication in the Fiat steel mills immediately after the liberation in 1945 and has been appearing regularly ever since. Some of our older papers are firmly established and are read by practically all the workers. Among these mention should be made of *il 7 B* for the RIV plant. Whenever one of these papers is late in coming out the workers always want to know why.

Another example is *Unita Operaia* (Labor Unity), started in another Fiat factory in 1955, after an unsuccessful strike when we had to strengthen our contacts with the workers. Now the paper comes out regularly and has already established itself.

Some of the papers are of fairly recent origin; one of them, *Paraurti*, for railwaymen, began publication on January 1, 1968.

In some factories, among them RIV and the Fiat steel mills, workers contribute to the fighting fund.

G. Mercandino discussed some of the shortcomings in this department of Party work. The older newspapers, founded when we were going through a difficult period in the factories, were meant to help us form contacts with the workers, that is, penetrate the factories. But this was not always done in the most effective way. The papers dealt with general issues, sometimes reprinting material from *Unita*. That simplified approach got us nowhere and the workers told us so; there were cases where workers just wouldn't bother to read our papers.

More recently, and particularly in the past 12 months, we have concentrated on collecting data in the factories as a starting point for our discussion of political issues. This makes the paper more understandable to the rank-and-file worker and helps us form direct inside-factory contacts and build up groups of Communist and non-Communist workers. Of course, that is easier said than done, but we are persevering and are making headway.

V. Damico remarked that *Unita Operaia* was founded at a time when the movement

in the Fiat plant was at its lowest. We had factory papers at the Fiat steel, automobile, heavy motor and other factories, but they were banned after the defeat of the workers in 1954. We had no choice but to try to regain lost ground by working from outside. What we need is not one big paper for Fiat, but a series of papers catering to the various Fiat factories. And where the Party is strong we have been able to keep the papers going; for instance, in the Fiat steel mills.

As a start towards a paper in every Fiat factory, N. Guasco added, we have been concentrating on more simple and accessible means of propaganda such as mimeographed bulletins. There is one in the Fiat forge plant and more are being put out in other plants.

PARTY UNITS IN FACTORIES

P. Hentgès: Are the factory newspapers a help in organizing Party units in the factories, and what are you doing to organize such units in factories where there are none at present?

Of course, G. Mercandino replied, there is no direct link between publication of the paper and the emergence of a factory Party unit, though the paper is a help. We must always bear in mind the real problems facing the workers. Let me cite this example. The Fiat Mirafiori plant employs 60,000 workers and office personnel in its 80 shops, each of which has a working force ranging from 500 to 4,000. We cannot build a factory-wide Party organization. Instead, we study the conditions in each shop, contact the workers, get them interested in our Party and only then proceed to organize a Party unit. The Party unit can only be organized by people, not by a newspaper, though the paper can and does help to create the necessary climate. For instance, in the Fiat forge shop we increased Party membership from 27 to 50, that is, nearly double, but that took seven months of painstaking work. Most of the new members are young comrades. This and other experience shows that where we come to grips with the real problems we can look forward to good results.

There are many impediments to factory organization. We must never forget that the threat of victimization and unemployment always hangs over the worker. Nor should we forget that thousands of workers who only recently have come from rural areas find their way of life radically changed: instead of working on a farm for

16 hours a day for 30,000 lire a month, they now work eight hours and can earn double that or more, and this affects their thinking and attitudes. They bring their peasant psychology with them to the factory, and only gradually do they acquire a sense of worker class consciousness.

N. Guasco: On the other hand, however, these hundreds of thousands of new workers bring with them their rich experience of struggle in the South, notably the struggle for land, and gradually they adapt themselves to the new conditions. This is borne out by the fact that at the height of the migration from the South we witnessed a widespread strike movement and a high degree of militancy, which confirms the soundness of our policy of defending the interests not only of the working class, but of all working people.

V. Damico: We have been discussing the objective impediments to Party activity, but there are also difficulties of a subjective nature—our own weakness. Organization of Party units in the factories is one of our most difficult jobs. Communist workers must have a high degree of political and ideological understanding to grasp all the factors that go into the formation of class consciousness and be able to influence the process. But the Communist worker faces the constant threat of victimization, and some are reluctant to join factory organizations, preferring to remain “non-factory” Party members. We tell them that that is not what is expected of a good Communist, and that they should work in factory units and help form new ones.

We are not taking disciplinary action against them. Of course, we could draw up a list of Communist workers not belonging to factory units (about 60 per cent of the total) and transfer them to the factories, but that would be a bureaucratic way of doing things. Instead, we try to persuade them that it is their duty to the Party to be active in the factory and be able to counter constant employer pressure. In other words, we want them to acquire a degree of class consciousness that will enable them to make that decision themselves.

We do not expect new recruits to be full-fledged Communists. We want them to become that by participating in the Party's struggles. This policy has negative as well as positive aspects and we make a special effort to give new members a correct political and ideological orientation.

P. Hentgès: The objective and subjective

difficulties the Italian Communists have to contend with in organizing factory units are not unlike those we have to contend with in France. How does the Italian Party tie up its parliamentary and municipal work with the work of the Party units?

V. Damico: That is one of our big jobs, and also one of our big shortcomings. Linking up the mass movement with parliamentary initiative, with the work in the municipal and provincial councils, has always been a problem. And when we say that the position of the working class must be the very heart of all political struggle, we are thereby injecting an element of self-criticism, for we believe that this should hold a much more important place in parliamentary work.

Take the pension issue. So far we have not been able to develop a broad, coordinated mass movement. We are now trying to get Parliament to discuss the new pension bill before the next elections.

As for Fiat, the problem of linking the mass struggle with parliamentary work is a national rather than local one. Its solution hinges on our ability to influence developments in the plant from a working-class standpoint and follow that up by working out a general economic and political line that would hamstring employer power.

F. Anton (Spain) asked: Does unity extend to the Catholic and the Catholic-influenced workers? This is of special interest to us because in Spain the Communists have found allies among the Catholics.

UNITY WITH PROGRESSIVE CATHOLICS

V. Damico: Catholic workers are affected, like all others, by phenomena arising out of social developments in Italy and in the world. Up till now, as we all know, Catholicism has been customarily represented as a worldwide weapon of imperialism, and for many years it performed that function. But today we see new trends in Catholicism. For instance, Italian Catholics are eager to work jointly with fellow religionists in Latin America and Asia in opposing the war in Vietnam. They are obliged to face, and try to solve, problems which closely affect the future of the world.

And the objective situation impels them to take a new approach to these problems. That is why, because of this new trend, attempts to split our labor movement have met with failure. In fact, in the Catholic trade unions, the second strongest after ours, there has been a growing movement

towards a new unity, and this can be seen in the joint struggle for economic demands. Today unions of differing affiliation agree that there has to be joint action to enforce collective bargaining agreements. Similarly, all unions want to recruit new members; so far the majority of Italian workers are not organized.

But there is also a growing movement for a united trade union center, that is, for organizational unity and not merely united action. This, however, can make no progress if it is not matched by progress towards political unity.

We are striving for agreement with Catholic workers not only on trade union matters, but also on major political issues. There are Catholics on all the Stop-Bombing-Vietnam Committees we have set up, and they share in organizing and conducting united actions.

I do not propose to enumerate all the demonstrations and other activities we have sponsored over the past 18 months. I will mention only two. Together with Catholics and other political groups, we organized a demonstration on June 2, 1967, Italy's National Day. We called upon the workers to boycott the official celebrations and come to Milan to demonstrate their protest against the war in Vietnam. Some 50,000, four-fifths of them young people, responded. The other solidarity campaign is donations to the Vietnam blood-bank. In conjunction with the Red Cross, the joint committees have organized blood donations in a number of cities, and hundreds, including many Catholics, have responded.

M. Rossi (Italy): At the blood donors' centers Communist leaders and Catholic priests often rub shoulders, giving blood for Vietnam patriots.

V. Damico: The Catholics and we are jointly organizing a protest movement against fascism in Greece. All kinds of new committees are being formed on the same unitarian basis to combat colonialism. For example, a committee of solidarity with the people of "Portuguese" Guinea was recently organized in Turin.

In sum, fighting for better conditions for the workers it is necessary, we hold, to act jointly with other trade union bodies. Also, jointly with Catholic forces, we have initiated a study of what the role of the working class should be in a capitalist country in helping peoples fighting for independence. Our main concern is to build up a broad front against imperialism.

But there is also a specific negative aspect. Catholics are critical of all political

parties in the country. Their criticism is justified, because Italy is experiencing a profound political crisis. But the Catholics do not accuse any specific party, because the Catholic Demochristian Party predominates in the government. Their attack is against all parties, including ours. We want to show that our Party is different, and that it is about time for them to sweep out the old tale about the supra-class or inter-class character of the Christian-Democratic Party.

G. Mercandino spoke next. After the Liberation, he said, Italy had a united trade union center, split in 1948-50 by the offensive of the industrialists and by U.S. interference. As a result, we now have three centers—a Catholic one, a Social-Democratic one and a unitarian class center, the General Confederation of Labor, which also embraces the Communists. The split has impaired the movement. Certain industrialists took advantage of it to create company unions.

TRADE UNIONS: THE SPLIT AND THE DESIRE FOR UNITY

Here are a few facts indicative of the influence of the various trade unions. In terms of the whole country, the General Confederation of Labor has of late polled 57 per cent of the votes in elections to workers' committees, the Social-Democratic unions about 20 per cent and the Catholic unions approximately the same. The remainder went to the company and other unions.

The split has had its repercussions in the Fiat factories. The Fiat company union, for example, is fairly large. For a number of years, it polled a relative majority of some 40 per cent. At present, however, the GCL polls 31.6 per cent of the votes, or a relative majority, the Social-Democratic union 28.5 per cent, the company union 22.5 per cent and the Catholic union 13.9 per cent, while the minor neo-fascist center polled 3.5 per cent.

P. Hentgès: How do the unions get on with each other?

G. Mercandino: We could not come to terms and act jointly for quite a long time. That was a most difficult period, during which many of our activists were victimized. The industrialists refused out of hand to deal with the unions.

Now, things have changed. We have overcome many of our weaknesses, our representatives meet to discuss questions of common interest, chiefly related to union

work. This is true everywhere, not in Fiat alone.

P. Hentgès: What attitude does the company union take?

G. Mercandino: For a long time, the Fiat company union fought the other unions and went out of its way to impede contacts between unions. It favored collective bargaining at factory level, rather than on a national scale, in order to isolate the automobile workers, particularly Fiat workers, from the others. At present, however, seeing the trend towards unity and anxious to escape isolation, it participates in the inter-union meetings and in the common effort.

CO-OPERATION OF THE LEFT PARTIES

P. Hentgès called attention to political unity. He understood from the statement that in Piedmont the Socialist Party polled 11 per cent of the votes and the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity 2.3 per cent. Recently, the Communist Party and Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity reached an understanding to nominate joint candidates to Senate elections. What political importance do you attach to this agreement?

M. Rossi: To begin with, the voting percentages relate to elections held a long time ago. The former Italian Socialist Party no longer exists. Now, there is the United Socialist Party, that is, the ISP united with Social-Democrats, controlling 19 per cent of the votes. The agreement with the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity is geared to the electoral law. Both our parties, the Communists and the Socialists of Proletarian Unity will benefit from joining forces.

Besides, our call for unity is not directed to only the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity. We direct it also to other Left forces who have responded affirmatively. That is part of the process of cementing unity, and will certainly exert a beneficial influence on the general outcome of elections.

V. Damico: The election campaign is round the corner and our understanding with the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity is very important politically. When the Nenni Socialists entered the Center-Left government, many members of the Socialist Party resigned and founded the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity. Now that the Center-Left government has obviously failed at home and abroad, the labor movement must mount a counter-offensive, for Left unity. Our alliance with the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity is open to all Left forces. Hence, it is not

enough to say that the Proletarian Unity Socialists control two or three per cent of the vote, for on the national scale about a million people cast their ballots for that Party—ample evidence that it is an important Left force. But there is more to it than that. In Turin, for example, some of the United Socialist Party leaders resigned in response to Ferruccio Parri's appeal in order to be able to adhere to the alliance. As we see it, our understanding with the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, far from hindering unity, will only provide a better basis for it.

F. Mieres (Venezuela) asked what solutions the CP has for combating U.S. economic penetration.

Another question by Mieres referred to the opinion of the Italian comrades that economic growth cannot be based on a worsening of the workers' conditions. That, he said, is open to question, because Japan's experience shows how a long period of depression in the workers' and peasants' living conditions operated as a major factor in the accumulation of capital.

Questions on the same subject were put by J. Gibbons.

As in the rest of Western Europe, he said, Britain, too, has problems stemming from the Americanization of industry. I should like to know whether the U.S. enterprises in Italy recognize union-capital agreements. What does the Turin CP federation think of the influx of foreign capital? Does it really promote growth? Is it of any help to the labor movement in the sense that unemployment might be greater without it?

V. Damico: As regards Americanization, we have enterprises with purely American capital and with mixed capital. Whatever the case may be, the workers and unions, hand in hand with our Party, are seeing to it that Italian laws and collective agreements are properly observed. So the relevant agreements apply in these enterprises.

Now, the influx of foreign capital. It is true that investments mean growth. But the issue is not one of growth or lack of growth. It concerns the manner of the growth. Our job is to show who should benefit from the growth and who should pay its cost. For us, therefore, the nature of the growth is the result of continuous class struggle. This is the Italian experience, I cannot speak of other countries.

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In Italy's case, the existence of a strong

Communist Party and a broad trade union movement have had a strong bearing on the type of our economic growth. The trade unions do not oppose growth, but they call for a new type of growth. That is not a simple matter.

M. Rossi: That is a fairly difficult question. The inflow of U.S. investments tends to make the government's foreign policy pro-American. Internally, when the present government speaks of growth we Communists do not oppose growth as such; we ask what kind of growth is contemplated, in whose interests is it, and who will pay its cost? There is a tendency, as in other countries, particularly Britain, to introduce an incomes policy envisaging a wage freeze. That is growth in the interests of the monopolies. And our reply to it is the same as that of our British comrades: we reject it, for there is another kind of growth—in the interest of the people, not the monopolies. And that is the kind of growth we want to see in Italy.

There is the economic and social problem of the Italian South. We need an investment policy for the South. And the question of enlarging the home market is also vital. We counter the economic and political line of the government put in power by the monopolies with the idea of economic growth in the national interest, the interest of the people and of the working class. That is the area in which class forces collide at all levels, in all fields of public endeavor.

The problem put on the order of the day by the Fourth Conference of Communist workers was for the fight to be waged at workshop level. The working class would then assume responsibility not only for fighting for its immediate demands, but for the economic policy as a whole. Other forces, too, are opposed to the present reactionary policy; in addition to the Communist Party there are Left groups anxious to work in alliance with the Communists, there are the unions and some of the Left Catholic trends, who want what we want, that is, unity of forces with an alternative to the present government. That is why the struggle transcends the economic plane and is also political.

A Salem (Jordan): I want to ask about the factory councils mentioned by Antonio Gramsci in his writings. For Gramsci the determinative role of factory councils was a specific feature of the Italian labor movement, and we should like to know what the Communists think today about

the role and prospects of the workers' committees in the enterprises?

H. Berg: (GDR) One more aspect of the same problem. Comrade Damico said Communists link up the daily struggle with the fight for socialism. I should like to know how this is actually done.

G. Mercandino: The problem of workers' administration is an area where we run into great difficulty, both theoretical and practical. I should like to give my personal opinion on the matter. It seems to me that whenever the question arises, we tend to look for answers where none exist, and to use certain formulas that do not quite accord with reality.

The attempt to establish workers' power in the enterprises dates back to Gramsci's work in 1920-22, a time of the political and economic crisis brought on by the First World War, the October Revolution and subsequent events. Often, recalling that time, we speak of the workers' committees as instruments of workers' power. But that, I think, is not always in harmony with the actual state of affairs.

THE PROBLEM OF "WORKERS' POWER"

It seems to me that the most important thing is to develop the movement as such. We should proceed from the actual conditions; knowing these conditions, we should act in concert with the workers and other wage-earners in solving the problems posited by reality. Later, it will be possible and necessary to tackle the question of the instruments of power. The main thing is that the workers' consciousness should grow and that they should be conscious of the need for change. The problem of the forms of workers' administration will arise as a consequence. It would be a delusion to try and define *a priori* measures, particular steps and slogans. That is my personal opinion.

N. Guasso: Workers' power in the factories and its instruments are a special problem. We should proceed from the actual facts. At this time the facts are that we have no more than an inkling, not even any sort of certainty, that a new demand is arising for workers' self-government, that the workers demand the right to make decisions, to determine and participate in management. The thousands of notes that the workers attached to their replies in our poll contained demands for participation in decision making in the factories.

I think Mercandino is right in saying that in the present conditions it is hard to

anticipate the forms and formulas of workers' administration. The forms will emerge from the practical struggle. Here is an example of new forms in which workers intervened in the fate of their factory. It refers to the workers of one factory but, as I see it, it has a broader meaning.

When the Olivetti Elettronica plant was taken over by General Electric, a U.S. firm, we joined forces with the committee representing all the political forces in the factory—Communists, Catholics, Social-Democrats and other trends — to save the factory and fight against the dismissals planned by General Electric. Also, we began a political campaign for a national government-run center and legislation concerning the perspectives of the electronics industry. I repeat, the experience is limited, it has not gone far, but it stems from the actual realities. An instrument was found in the struggle, a united committee at factory level, which worked out a joint proposal for reform, involving parliament, the government and state power. That, I think, is the way we should follow.

As for the factory councils of Gramsci's time, that experience, it appears to me, cannot be transplanted without alternations on modern soil; the same is also true of the management councils set up after the Liberation. These councils performed highly important functions, but their experience cannot be mechanically adopted today in an economic and political situation drastically different from that of the postwar reconstruction. What we need now are new forms of "workers power," new forms of the workers' direct intervention in management. But experience has still to be accumulated, generalized and converted into appropriate formulas. We must go on with this work, we must carry on the search, maintaining close contact with the workers posing these problems, and must resolve them boldly.

V. Damico: A few objective features of the present developed industrial society. Under present-day capitalism, the worker in the factory, the student and the townsman are kept out of solving economic, production and social problems; they have no say in decision-making. Under the old-time capitalism, the worker did not simply participate in production, for he influenced the quantity produced and the production process as a whole, depending on the tempo of his work, his skill and the form of payment he received. Working in a present-day collective, the worker is tied to the conveyor and the compulsory rhythm

of production; he performs operations thoroughly planned beforehand and is merely an operative.

FOR NEW DEVELOPMENT FOR THE SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE

There is a kind of pyramid in society as regards decision-making. The larger the masses, the farther they are kept from the making of decisions. The workers want the pyramid turned upside down; they want this trend to be reversed. Their demand is expressed in different ways, they speak not only of workers' power, but also of peasant power, of student power, etc. We are not insured against distortions. Being Communists, we must study and use the new elements germinating in our developed capitalist society, paving the way for broad autonomous participation by the people in the administration of public affairs.

At the same time, we must combat the undemocratic tendency of present-day capitalism to fence off the masses from such participation. We Communists take pride in rallying forces and in expressing the democratic trend. It is not a question of merely gathering round a table and deciding what instrument will guarantee workers' power, or peasant power, etc. The question is to develop the movement, to give impulse to the mass struggle in the process of which the pertinent instruments will come to light. That is the way we link up with the nationwide slogans. Take the demand for national centers, in particular the one for the electronics industry and in the older industries such as textile, presently in the throes of reorganization.

What we are suggesting is that the nationalized industries and banks handling government finance should control the investment policy of the bigger enterprises, because in our time the investments deter-

mine the activity of these enterprises and affect the economy as a whole. Thereby we would challenge the economic policy of the monopolies and the government and work for a change in the country's political leadership. What it boils down to is a fight for power. But it is not a fight for some specific instrument, but a many-sided campaign for an alternative to the present political set-up. What we want is genuine power, not palliatives such as "power" for students, artisans, etc. Out of this struggle will emerge the political power of the working class. Certainly, we are deeply aware that the problems are complex indeed.

This question of power and related problems are generating certain trends among the Left forces, but though they may be mistaken in many respects, we do not attach labels of "extremism" to them. We want to understand the unique situation, its new aspects, for the process must be advanced hand in hand with all the forces of the Left.

I cannot say whether we have managed to answer Comrade Berg's question. For us, the fight for socialist society is a fight for a new degree of consciousness among industrial workers and other wage-earners. There is a dialectical connection between the fight for new growth, for greater democracy, for workers' participation in running the country, and the fight for the socialist perspective. We should hate to be abstract propagandists of socialism as a paradise that heaven will bestow upon earth. We look upon socialism as the result of conscious efforts aimed at overcoming the old capitalist structures and building a new society together with all the people, and we shall do our best to make a specific Italian contribution to this new society and make the most of the features typical for our country.

Labor conditions in the United States

VICTOR PERLO

American workers, on the average, have a standard of living as high or higher than that of workers in any other country. Per capita consumption of commodities and services is unsurpassed. Many American workers lead reasonably comfortable lives, and consider that they have a stake in society.

Official propaganda, however, exaggerates these facts, and concentrates on them, while omitting the negative features of American workers' lives. Moreover, it falsely attributes the good things to the system, whereas here as elsewhere, workers' gains were won only through struggle against the capitalists. The extreme tension and competitiveness of American life, the lack of creativity and emptiness of most jobs, the poison of widespread racism, the backwardness of mass cultural life, all detract seriously from man's happiness, and add elements of misery to the workers' lot.

Many times each year thousands of workers, some of whom have been imbued with illusions about American society and their place in it, suddenly are left jobless and poverty stricken by the closing down of a factory, by the cancellation of an armament contract.

The favorite epithets used by apologists for capitalism in defaming socialist lands is to describe life there as "dull and drab." Save for the synthetic excitation of drugs and oversexed movies and publications, these are exactly the characteristic adjectives for the life of the average American

working man, with these added terms: "tense and insecure."

Much is made of those workers who enjoy the standard of living depicted for a "typical" family in U.S. official exhibitions. But these are a minority. The majority fall short. And there are huge sections of the American working class who do not share in the advantages, but suffer deep poverty.

The higher real wages which American workers enjoy in comparison with their fellow workers abroad must be balanced against the fact that all of these negative features are more acute in the United States than in most other industrialized countries.

INCOMES AND REQUIREMENTS

The annual cost of living at a moderate standard for a non-farm family of four with one man working in 1966 was estimated by the U.S. Department of Labor at \$9,191. The Labor Department notes that this sum is needed for meeting goals currently established by social and technical developments, but meeting them rather sparsely, below the level to which most American families aspire.

However, in 1966 the actual median income of families (of four, with one man working), was around \$7,500, or 18 per cent below the "moderate standard."

The table compares actual median incomes of workers and their families, regardless of family size, for each major occupation group, in comparison with the "moderate standard."

COMPARISON OF WORKERS' INCOMES WITH MODERATE LIVING STANDARDS, 1966*

Occupation Group of Family Heads of Workers	Median Income, Dollars		Percent Median Income of Moderate Family Budget Needs	
	Families	Male Workers	Families	Male Workers
Salaried professionals	10,585	8,542	115	92
Clerical	7,955	6,069	87	66
Sales	9,041	6,537	98	71
Skilled craftsmen	8,595	6,911	94	75
Operatives	7,263	5,665	79	62
Service workers	6,264	4,134	68	45
Farm laborers	3,296	1,734	36	19
Other laborers	5,884	3,520	64	38

*U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 52, Aug. 21, 1967, U.S. Department of Labor, City Workers' Family Budget for a Moderate Living Standard, Autumn 1966, Bulletin No. 1570-1.

Considering the incomes of all workers' families, and of individual male workers, regardless of family size and number of workers in a family, shows that only families of professional workers, but not individual professionals, average above the \$9,191 budget figure. Even the majority of white collar workers, and their families, fall below the standard, as do the skilled craftsmen.

Operatives are the largest category numerically, with one-quarter of the male workers. Families headed by operatives fell 21 per cent below, and individual male operatives 38 per cent below the moderate standard income. Individual incomes of service workers and laborers came to less than half the required amount, and their family incomes, even with a number of people working, to two-thirds or less on the average.

Millions of families are headed by women, whose incomes are generally half those of men in the same occupations. In the many cases where two or more people in the same family work, living requirements are increased. The figures exclude families of unemployed and retired workers, and of those drafted into the armed forces. All these have lower earnings.

We may generalize as follows: the majority of American workers suffer varying degrees of deprivation, in relation to the government-specified "moderate" standard. And a substantial minority are so far below as to live in conditions of poverty, certainly in relation to current American standards.

Apart from statistics, a reasonable de-

scription of the "average" workers' material conditions of life is somewhat as follows. He has an automobile, a TV set, and various household appliances. He eats reasonably well. His housing is mediocre, his recreational and cultural life very limited, his access to medical services and education inadequate. The durable goods and housing, that status symbol of American "affluence," are maintained only with considerable struggle, and insecurely. Almost always they are obtained on credit. Workers' payments of debt interest and amortization take up a substantial part of their incomes. When there is an interruption to earnings, due to a layoff, or prolonged illness, debt defaults follow quickly. The car, the refrigerator, the home, may be lost. Each year the number of mortgage foreclosures increases. In 1966 it was over 117,000, the largest number since the economic crisis year 1938.

HIGH AND INCREASING RATE OF EXPLOITATION

The American worker's command over commodities is low in comparison with such enormous productivity levels as the 15 yearly vehicles produced per U.S. auto worker, and the 200 tons of steel produced per iron and steel worker. Nor are the earnings adequate compensation for the intense, high-pressure labor characteristic of U.S. conditions.

According to official statistics, in 1964, in operating manufacturing establishments, payrolls totalled \$98.7 billion, wages of production workers \$65.8 billion, and value by

manufacture \$206.0 billion. In relation to production workers' wages, the gross surplus created was \$140.2 billion, for a rate of surplus value of over 200 per cent. In relation to total payrolls, the surplus was \$107.3 billion for a rate of 109 per cent. The truth lies somewhere within the indicated range—perhaps in the neighborhood of 150 per cent.

Official propaganda, by lumping together wages and salaries of workers and employees engaged in production with a share of profits hidden as salaries of corporation officials, with increasing parasitic expenditure for advertising, government bureaucracy and military employees, claims that labor's share in the national income holds steady. But objective analysis covering the postwar period shows a marked decline in labor's share, and a corresponding increase in the rate of exploitation of labor.*

UNFAVORABLE TRENDS IN REAL WAGES

During World War II and for a period thereafter workers in the United States made significant gains in real wages, which stood out especially in comparison with the losses of workers in most of the countries torn by war. This gain made it easier to spread illusions among American workers. But the rate of gain in real wages has dwindled as U.S. imperialism has expanded globally.

Official figures show the following average annual increases in real take-home pay of U.S. factory workers:

1937 . . . 3.0%	1947-57 . . . 2.2%
1957-67 . . . 1.4%	

These figures overstate reality somewhat, but we are concerned here with the deceleration, which would still be apparent with more accurate figures.

In contrast, during the past decade, the reported average annual increase in real wages in West Germany, France, Japan, and Italy has been of the order of 4-5 per cent yearly. All-round gains of workers in socialist countries have been at least that favorable. Under these conditions, the advantages of American workers over their overseas brothers will become obviously insignificant in another decade or two.

Finally, the Vietnam War is proving that American workers can no longer be *personally exempt* from the physical sacrifices involved in wars of aggression—from losing in living standards, from being forced to

fight and die in far-off lands, from the risk of a devastating nuclear attack on their homeland. Official figures admit a decline in real take-home pay of factory workers of 1½ per cent between 1965 and 1967, which certainly understates the real loss. Soaring taxes and prices and government pressure against wage increases threaten more severe losses in 1968 if the Vietnam War continues.

LENGTHENING WORKWEEK AND INCREASING LABOR INTENSITY

The shorter workweek, historically, was a major objective of American labor struggles. By the 1930s, the 40-hour week was won by most basic industry workers, and written into law covering about half the working class.

After World War II, the historical trend was reversed. The employers gradually lengthened the workweek where limitations on straight-time work existed through systematic use of overtime. The leadership of key unions collaborated with the employers, signing contracts providing for compulsory overtime at the employer's choice. Average overtime hours in manufacturing reached a peak, except for World War II, of 3.9 hours per week in 1966, for all workers, including those who worked no overtime. This means an average for those working overtime of eight hours per week or more. The average factory workweek, including part-time workers, reached 41.3 hours, the highest, except for World War II, since 1930.* Considering the whole economy, in 1966 41.7 per cent of all full-time workers worked 41 hours or more. The actual average for these 23.5 million was 55 hours; 6.7 million worked 60 hours or more, of which 3 million worked 70 hours or more.**

Mechanization, automation, computerization displace labor while forcing a more constant tension of labor among those remaining. In non-manufacturing also, from bank tellers and stock exchange clerks to dishwashers, laundry workers and chain store checkout girls, labor intensity increases. The American workers pay for their dwindling monetary advantages with demands on their energy and health not faced by workers elsewhere.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Most of the time since World War II the trend of unemployment has been upward,

*Employment and Earnings, March 1967.

**Employment and Earnings, Jan. 1967.

*World Marxist Review, No. 3, 1966.

although never regaining the levels of the great crisis of the 1930s. For the seven years before the Vietnam War, the unemployment rate remained above 5 per cent, and in recession years came close to 7 per cent. The Vietnam War boom brought unemployment down to just under 4 per cent in 1966 and 1967.

Official unemployment statistics are grossly incomplete. In 1966, in addition to the 3 million admitted fully unemployed, the Labor Department counted 1.6 million men of working age, able to work, not in school, as "not in the labor force." The majority of these are actually poor workers. Probably a larger number of women workers are counted as not in the labor force. Another two million workers were counted as working part time for economic reasons. While really the equivalent of at least another million people fully unemployed, they appear as employed in the statistics. Thus at any time actual unemployment is at least twice as severe as admitted in official statistics.

The Johnson Administration, surpassing predecessors in the brazenness of its falsehoods generally, has revised the unemployment statistics, beginning in 1967, to sharply reduce the totals.

Owing to the irregularity of employment in the United States, even in good years about one-fifth of the working class suffers from unemployment of varying duration. Thus, during the course of 1964, according to Labor Department figures, 14 million workers suffered from unemployment, among whom 10 million were out of work for more than a month, and over six million for more than three months. These figures exclude the millions of workers arbitrarily counted out of the labor force by the government statisticians.

Young and old workers are hit hardest. Even in 1966, when the Vietnam War increased employment and put many young men in the armed forces, unemployment was counted at 11.7 per cent among teenage males and 14.7 per cent among teenage females.

Discrimination against Negroes is especially acute in unemployment. The official unemployment rates in 1966 were 3.4 per cent for whites and 7.5 per cent for non-whites. Analysis of the statistics of those arbitrarily excluded from the labor force shows that actual total unemployment among Negroes is at least twice as severe as admitted, or 15 per cent in 1966.

LAGGING "FRINGE BENEFITS"

Inspired by the social gains of workers in the USSR, workers in most industrialized capitalist countries were able to extract from the capitalist systems of social security, subsidized health services, restraints on layoffs, etc. American workers have lagged behind in this respect. According to a recent survey by the Brookings Institution, the United States ranks 20th among 22 capitalist countries in the proportion of the national income going to social security services. The U.S. percentage, 6.0%, compares with 20.8% in West Germany, 18.9% in France, etc. It is even lower than the percentage in fascist Portugal. The U.S. social security system completely lacks such common provisions as supplements for children, maternity and pregnancy benefits, automatic cost-of-living adjustments.

The average old-age pension paid under the social insurance system amounts to only 17% of the average wages of an employed factory worker. It is obvious that the pension is a poverty pittance. The ratio of pensions to wages is actually less today than in 1940. However, the deductions from workers' wages, which finance half of the pensions, have increased time and again.

After decades of resistance by the drug and insurance companies and the leading doctors' organization, a federal medicare program was adopted, effective in 1966, which provides federal reimbursement for part of the medical expenses of people over 65 years old.

Owing to the inadequacy of federal programs, the stronger unions have included demands for employer-financed pension and health insurance schemes in union contracts. Some non-unionized employers have initiated such schemes to forestall organization.

A particular weakness of the health schemes, federal and private, is that they are not accompanied by socialization of or social control over medical services. As a result, the hospitals and the doctors systematically raise their fees, so that the workers have to pay nearly as much now as before they received these benefits. The private plans have the disadvantage of tying the worker to the fate and good will of a particular employer. Thus, if a worker changes jobs, or is laid off owing to the closing down of a plant, or is fired for militancy, he loses the pension rights accum-

ulated over many years. The employers and banks retain control over the pension funds and use them as a vast reservoir of financial power. In order to minimize their contributions to the funds, the employers make a practice of firing workers nearing retirement age on any or no pretext, wherever unions are non-existent or weak enough to permit it.

WHITE AND BLUE COLLAR WORKERS

A feature of labor conditions in the U.S. is the accentuation and freezing of patterns of stratification. The difference between white and blue collar workers becomes more important. On the one hand, the technical differences and earnings differentials between these two categories have been diminishing. On the other hand, the numerical importance of white collar workers—now constituting nearly 40% of the working class—has been increasing. The political-organizational difference thereby becomes more serious. The vast majority of white collar workers are unorganized. They suffer less from job insecurity, have more opportunities for promotion, and are more apt to become associated with the capitalist ideology.

Countering this stratification, trade union organization has been increasing among white collar workers, embracing significant numbers of store clerks, journalists, teachers, and some other categories of government employees, besides such traditionally organized groups as postal and railway clerks. In some cases heavy industry unions such as the automobile and steel workers have succeeded in organizing clerical workers in the same unions with blue collar workers. But the proportion of white collar workers in unions is still half or less the proportion of organized blue collar workers.

WHITE-NEGRO DIFFERENTIALS

The most critical, dangerous stratification is between white and Negro workers. In a country where many construction craftsmen receive \$15 for three hours work, a million Negro women are forced to toil a 60-hour week for \$15. Extremes of wages and discrimination against Negroes are old features of American life, but in postwar United States these two features have largely coalesced. A generation ago most Negroes lived in the southern countryside, where they were frightfully exploited as share-croppers, farm laborers, etc. The minority of Negroes in the urban pro-

letariat constituted a small proportion of the working class.

Now the Negroes are concentrated in the cities. Along with the Puerto Ricans and other specially exploited groups, they constitute typically 20-40% of the population of the large cities. Nationally they constitute one-fifth of the working class. The worst jobs are set aside for Negroes, and unreasonably low wage rates established for them. The median income of non-white families in 1965 was only 55% of that of white families, a percentage which has shown only minor fluctuations since World War II.

When the Negro peoples' struggle reached a climax in 1963-64, Congress passed a Civil Rights law supposedly guaranteeing equal employment opportunities. However, the Commission appointed to enforce the law was given no real powers and trivial funds. The Johnson Administration, never really interested in enforcement, in the course of the Vietnam war has become increasingly dependent politically on the racist Southern Senators, Congressmen, and generals.

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission has a budget of \$5.2 million, or 50 cents for every minority worker. In three years the Commission claims to have benefited 675 Negroes. The Government has taken no action against large companies because of discrimination by employers. A recent Government report shows that in the automobile industry, 24% of the male unskilled and service workers were Negroes, but only 2.4% of the skilled workers and about 1/2% of the professional, managerial, sales and technical workers. This is in an industry where the union follows a relatively enlightened policy, and in its resolutions opposes all discrimination.

However, like many other unions, it has failed to make this a major issue of struggle. Some of the independent left progressive unions, such as ILWU (West Coast longshoremen), and UE (United Electrical Workers) have done better, as have some AFL-CIO unions with very large Negro membership. But many unions, such as the building trades, skilled railway crafts, garment and textile industry unions, with few exceptions, collaborate with employers in enforcing a racist pattern of exclusion of Negroes from all but the hardest, worst paying jobs. Within the union movement, many local and medium level officials cooperate with civil rights forces in struggling against discrimination. The main efforts

in this area are by largely Negro civil rights organizations and the Negro American Labor Council. The Communist Party has always supported these struggles, and urged special measures to help overcome past discrimination against Negroes.

The existence of racism among many white workers derives fundamentally from the fear of loss of jobs to Negroes, inspired by employer propaganda. This makes headway because of the general instability of employment in American industry. The correct solution includes a joint struggle of Negro and white workers for full employment, which would provide additional jobs and promotions for Negroes without displacing whites, combined with improvements in the conditions and bargaining power of all workers.

RUNAWAY SHOPS AND SUPER-EXPLOITED OCCUPATIONS

An important element of stratification of the working class is the spreading of non-union industrial enterprises in the South and in rural areas in the North. Big corporations move old production units, or set up additional ones, in areas with a large potential labor surplus—i.e., hidden rural unemployment—, no tradition of trade union organization, and local government officials who can be paid off to provide big tax benefits to the corporations. Similar situations arise in areas where old industries have died out, such as New England textile towns and coal mining centers of Appalachia. In one typical type of a move, a garment factory owner, running away from union wage scales in New York, opens up a shop in a Pennsylvania coal mining town, hiring the wives of permanently unemployed miners at one-half the New York garment level. In another type, an electronics company opens a new factory in a small southern community. The town officials build a factory building and rent it to the corporation at a small rental. They grant the company local tax exemption. Employment is limited to whites, except for menial jobs. Members of local capitalist and landlord families get supervisory jobs. The town finds it has no tax revenues with which to provide schools, roads, or other municipal facilities to the Negro part of town.

The most extreme exploitation occurs in agriculture, southern lumbering and sawmills, and primary processing of farm products. According to official figures covering over three million farm wage laborers, their median daily wage in 1965 was

\$6.05. Since farm workers are required to toil from dawn to dusk, this amounts to barely 50 cents per hour, or under 40% of the legal minimum. For the non-white workers who constitute 30% of the farm laborers covered by the statistics, the median was only \$4.50 per day. Forty per cent of the farm laborers were teen-age youth aged 14-19.* Not covered were large numbers of child laborers, compelled to work in the fields to help their families ward off starvation.

Worst off among the farm laborers are migrants, without homes, travelling from area to area with the harvest, sleeping in the open, or in automobiles, or in wretched shacks provided by the "agrobusiness" enterprises. They are not provided with elementary sanitary or medical facilities, their children are not given an education, they are cheated by labor contractors, and chased out of an area when no longer needed for work.

Year after year, sociologists and journalists expose the frightful conditions of the migratory farm laborers, and Government Commissions issue reports, but American capitalism is unable on its own initiative to make even the slightest reform in this system of savage super-exploitation. In California, Texas, and Mississippi, the farm workers themselves are striving to win improvements through self-organization. This is not the first time such attempts have been made, but in the past they were always crushed by the brutal repression of the capitalist farmers and the state, abetted by the lack of solidarity of non-farm workers. However, this time significant assistance came from existing unions to an organizing movement in California. Several thousand workers have won collective bargaining contracts after prolonged strikes, in a victory that may be the forerunner of lasting progress.

Conditions are little better in many of the personal service industries, such as laundries and restaurants. The median income of two million domestic servants was only \$766 in 1965, or about \$15 per week. The majority are Negroes, forced to take care of children and do the housework of white masters while their own children go unattended and their own homes are neglected.

POVERTY

The latest Economic Report of the President admits 32.7 million people living in

*Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1965, No. 339, p. 242.

poverty. To be counted as poor according to this definition, a family of four must have an income under \$3,200, just over a third of the moderate family budget referred to earlier. Yet at least as many families with incomes above \$3,200 suffer from a significant degree of poverty or deprivation.

As with all other negative aspects of American life, the Negroes are hit especially hard by poverty. According to a recent Government study, in Metropolitan Areas of the United States in March 1966, 56.7% of the Negroes lived in "poverty areas," as compared with 10.4% of the whites.

The Johnson Administration took over the late President Kennedy's "anti-poverty program." There has been much ballyhoo, but little substance to its activities. It has set up a vast bureaucracy, given lucrative management contracts to large corporations, set up token training programs, and given small disguised handouts to a fraction of the poor.

The main form of relief to the poor still consists of charity handouts, distributed through public assistance programs which are largely federally financed but locally administered. An average of eight million individuals, including dependents, received payments totalling \$4.3 billion in 1966. If distributed among all the officially admitted poor, this came to \$131 per capita. But, as can be seen, only one-fourth of them received anything. The benefits were paid, mainly in the big urban centers. In New York, for example, in many cases the main part of the welfare aid consists of rental payments to ghetto landlords for slum dwellings.

But in many cases the majority of the poor are given no relief whatsoever. At least a million of the 2.3 million inhabitants of Mississippi are below the official poverty level. But fewer than 200,000 received any kind of public assistance, in token amounts.

A Senate Committee visiting Mississippi in 1967 observed "conditions of malnutrition and widespread hunger in the delta countries of Mississippi that can only be described as shocking, and which we believe constitute an emergency . . . Some of the children could not go to school because they had no shoes, and had distended stomachs, chronic sores of the upper lip, and were extremely lethargic—all of which are the tragic evidence of serious malnutrition." Reports received by the committee indicated that similar conditions prevailed throughout the cotton-tobacco belt of the Southeast. Similar conditions of mass hunger and cold are reported periodically

from the Appalachia hill country, and conditions equally shocking, if different in detail, from the rat-infested urban slum ghettos.

The President's Council of Economic Advisers calculates that it would cost only \$11 billion, or 1.6% of the gross national product, to raise the incomes of all poor people over the poverty threshold. The real cost would be much more, because the officials, as previously noted, place that threshold far too low. But the general implication of the figure is correct — the United States could afford *easily*, to completely and permanently wipe out poverty.

A government analysis shows that more than two-thirds of the poor families, other than old people, are headed by active workers, many of them with full-year or nearly full-year work. Thus, while unemployment is a factor in poverty, wages that fall far below the amount necessary to reproduce the worker's labor power is at least as big a cause.

Increasing official concern about poverty in the United States stems from the rising level of mass struggle, from the slum ghettos of the North to the plantations of the South and the factory farms of the West. As Senator Robert Kennedy put it:

"All around our nation, Negroes and Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and Indians, poor whites in Appalachia and in blighted city areas are waking up to what we have done. They are demanding their rights as human beings."

The Johnson Administration is meeting this challenge at home as it does abroad, by police violence, by slander, by the attempt to cast the poor permanently outside of American society. The policy emerging is to create a vast Lazarus-layer of idle, stricken people, existing on trivial doles in a condition of near-starvation, with no hope and no future for their children.

THE VIETNAM WAR AND AMERICAN LABOR

The Vietnam war has aggravated all the sore spots in the conditions of American labor. As already noted, real wages have turned downwards. Utilizing the strengthened war demand for all sorts of commodities, the monopolies have jacked up prices of vital necessities. The capitalists are forcing the workers to pay virtually the entire \$30 billion per year cost of the Vietnam war through higher direct taxes. On the basis of trends so far in this fiscal

year, federal taxes taken from workers' paychecks in fiscal 1968 (ending June 1968) will total 55%, or nearly \$30 billion, more than in fiscal 1965, 2½-3 times the combined increase paid by capitalists and corporations. State and local taxes levied against workers are increasing just as rapidly. The vaunted "Great Society" programs have been forgotten, as the varied evils of American domestic life worsen and fester unchecked.

Johnson increasingly invokes the Vietnam war "emergency" as an excuse for breaking or trying to break all major strikes. Unfortunately, many union leaders play along with this line, and weaken the solidarity of labor by exempting shops with military contracts from strike calls. The draft is used to decimate the strongest and most militant elements in the working class, especially in the Negro ghetto areas.

As we have seen, the Vietnam war has brought a decline in real wages of the employed, while the level of industrial employment, after a period of increase, is again stagnating.

Thus the Vietnam war has exposed the

falseness of the claims of U.S. imperialism to bestow a high standard of living on the working class.

It also should help dispel the myth of the buying off of the majority of the U.S. working class by U.S. imperialism. Certain "radicals" propagate this theory, including the concept of the complete corruption and political hopelessness of American labor. But the majority of workers, and the working class as a whole, are net losers from the aggressions of U.S. imperialism.

During that war, indeed, the scale and intensity of labor economic struggles is increasing, and the Negro people's struggles are taking on a more militant character. To the extent that the American working class comes to understand the anti-labor essence of U.S. imperialism's foreign policy, and actively combats that policy, it will be able to raise and carry through struggles for major improvements in living and labor conditions, and for the elimination of the most glaring violations of elementary human decency in the conditions inflicted on tens of millions of American workers and their families.

The political situation in France

FRANCOIS BILLOUX

Last October the Central Committee of the French Communist Party set three important tasks for the current period:

1. To promote joint struggles for the working people's demands.
2. To foster solidarity with the people of Vietnam.
3. To work for a common program for the Left.

Obviously, we must strengthen the Communist Party itself—ideologically and organizationally—if these tasks are to be fulfilled.

The Central Committee concerned itself with this matter in January, when it also discussed the preparations for a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

LESSONS OF THE CANTONAL ELECTIONS

The elections held over September 24-October 1, 1967, involved only half of the cantons. Paris did not vote at all and in the new Departments in the Paris area the general councils had to be elected in their entirety.*

The present government of the monopolies has done more than all the previous bourgeois governments to restrict the role of the elected Department councils in favor of the central authority, which uses the prefect as its instrument. The government wanted the elections for general councilors to be chiefly an "administrative" campaign. But the cantonal elections confirmed and, indeed, accentuated the principal political trends which first made themselves

felt during the 1965 presidential election and were reaffirmed with particular force in the 1967 general election. These trends consist in the growing influence of the Communist Party and the advance of the Left, on the one hand, and on the other the declining prestige of Gaullism and the retreat of reaction as a whole.

These increasingly manifest changes are indications of the reality of the class antagonisms steadily aggravated by state-monopoly capitalism despite the seeming "stability of a strong authority." They have alarmed the Gaullists. What can no longer be ignored is that the ebbing of Gaullist influence, accompanied by setbacks for the other reactionary forces, is evidence of our people's growing desire to get rid of one-man rule and replace it by a new, democratic system capable of consistently following a policy of social progress and peace.

The alliance of the Left parties is emerging as a political force that can win the majority of the nation and substitute a government of democratic unity for the Gaullist regime. This explains why de Gaulle and his backers, now on the defensive, have again unfurled the shabby banner of anti-communism. They hope this will enable them to regroup the conservative and reactionary forces, split the democratic movement by means of lies and calumny and strike at the Communist Party, which has always championed Left unity. Nor does the government scruple to use the services of a handful of Maoists for its purposes.

However, this maneuver can neither eliminate nor yet conceal the fundamental issue of French politics. On the contrary, it stresses that today, more than ever be-

*The general councils are elected by the cantons for six years. Half their composition is renewed in half the cantons in every three years.—Ed.

fore, there is a choice between continuing the policy of the big bourgeoisie and pursuing a genuinely democratic policy.

GROWING INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The first round of the cantonal elections brought the Communist Party 2,200,063 votes, or 384,222 more than in the previous elections in 1961. This is an increase of 3.52 per cent. In the councils being renewed the Party had 101 seats before and now has 179. But even this impressive figure does not reflect the full influence of France's leading party. Given proportional representation, the Party would have secured 451 seats.

The electoral districts were so constituted as to distort—in favor of the reactionary and conservative candidates—the voting results. The system is intrinsically unfavorable to the working class (one deputy per district, two rounds). A rural canton may have one-tenth of the voters in an urban canton. There are also imbalances in the towns between bourgeois and working-class cantons. This legalized fraud produced the following results: on the average, one "Giscardist" general councillor represents 3,500 voters, one "Centrist" 4,300, one Gaullist 5,400 and one Communist 12,500 voters. These facts should be taken into account by anyone who wishes to assess the new Communist gain.

The Party's influence, on the rise throughout the country, is very considerable in numerous Paris suburbs and in the big industrial centers. It is increasing noticeably also in many rural cantons.

The Party polled 696,261 votes in the new Departments of the Paris area. This meant an absolute increase of 33,485 votes, or 2.77 per cent, and 34 seats. Communist deputies make up a majority on the council of Seine-Saint-Denis Department and are the largest group within the Left majority on the council of Val-de-Marne Department.

Today the Party is represented on six Department Councils where it had no deputies before: Corsica, Côte d'Or, Loiret, Meuse, Morbihan and Yonne. The Party gains in a number of cities contribute to its prestige and augur well for future general and municipal elections.

The Party registered its biggest gains in the industrial areas to the north of the Loire—further evidence of its increased influence. But it is no less revealing that the

number of ballots cast for Communists was greater in many rural cantons where the CP candidate had no chance of winning.

It is noteworthy, especially in the case of elections of this kind, that this time the political significance of the vote, its importance to the people and their future, won the upper hand over considerations of immediate and local success. A similar conclusion suggests itself in respect of the unprecedented number of votes (in absolute and percentage terms) obtained by some Communists who were hardly known to masses and whom the Party, desirous of sharing responsibility as effectively as possible, nominated in the suburbs of the capital for the first time.

Lastly, our Party hailed the election of eight Communist general councillors in regions which the big bourgeoisie, following its neo-colonialist policy, continues to regard as "Overseas Departments"; Réunion (three seats—in spite of an organized fraud), Guadeloupe (four) and Martinique (one). The Central Committee fully identified itself on this occasion with "the three Communist parties of these islands and with other democratic organizations seeking an autonomous status."

SOURCES OF OUR INFLUENCE

Our Party and all its organizations and every member steadfastly uphold the demands and aspirations of the working class and other working people. They expose and uncompromisingly reject a policy militating against the interests of the nation and combat a regime subservient to the monopolies. At the same time they put forward objectives and propose means of pursuing a genuine policy of social progress, democracy and peace. This policy, at once bold and realistic, is gaining recognition among the working people and democrats because it offers solutions to their problems.

The working people and democrats know from experience that unity of the forces they represent and alliance of the political organizations operating on their behalf are a condition for any real progress. They put on record that the Communists' ideas and activity show them to be energetic architects of working-class and Left unity. It is perfectly natural, therefore, that more and more democrats who feel that they must make a personal contribution to unity are prompted to support Communist unity actions.

This is all the more so since the Com-

munists' fight for unity is not determined, as the entire history of the Party shows, by tactical considerations suggested by the situation, but is a permanent course of action serving both the immediate and the future interests of the working people.

GAINS FOR THE LEFT

The latest cantonal elections showed that the gains of the united Left do not benefit the Communist Party alone but all the Left organizations.

Compared with the previous cantonal elections, the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (FDSL) won 155,000 more votes and several dozen more seats. The United Socialist Party, which nominated 178 candidates in 48 departments, polled 123,781 votes and won 18 seats.

These facts refute the Gaullist ministers' allegations, taken up by the reactionary press, to the effect that the Left alliance is a Communist maneuver designed to strengthen the Communists "to the detriment of their so-called allies."

In reality, the Left achieved a common gain to the detriment of reactionary influence. It is hard to compare in quantitative terms the results of the cantonal elections with those of 1961. At that time the Gaullists put forward few candidates on behalf of their party but secured the allegiance of most of the other Right candidates. It is a fact, however, that the Gaullist sphere of influence has shrunk still more since the 1967 general election. On September 24 and October 1 the French electorate reaffirmed its condemnation, expressed once before, of the anti-social policies of the one-man regime and its undemocratic methods. However, the Gaullist leaders evidently had no illusions about popular opinion. The arbitrary recasting of the electoral districts, persistent protestations about the "non-political" character of the elections, and the masking of an appreciable number of Gaullist candidates by means of vague and harmless tags—all showed that their primary concern was to prevent too sharp an expression of that opinion in the first round. Not until after September 24 did they go openly into action by striking up their old anti-Communist tune in every corner of the country—with a suddenness and unanimity leaving no room for doubt as to which way the conductor's baton had swung.

As for the Democratic Center, it has continued to lose influence almost everywhere since Lecanuet was defeated in the first

round of the 1965 presidential election. True, its candidates were elected in a number of cantons, but they owed that to Gaullist voters. Class solidarity outweighed particular divergences and ambitions, and the reactionary — Gaullist, "Centrist" and "Giscardist"—groupings did their utmost in some cantons to oppose a single candidate to the "Left pressure." In the National Assembly, too, they joined forces to oppose the FDSL and Communist motion condemning government policy.

The Rightists' attempts to sink differences, if only for a while, so as to form a united front, bring out the limits of the "opposition" of a Giscard d'Estaing. The united Left delivered a telling blow to the whole reactionary camp.

NEW STEPS TOWARDS UNITY

After September 25 the Federations of the Communist Party and FDSL agreed to withdraw their candidates in the second round in Nord, Pas-de-Calais and Haute-Vienne Departments with a strong Socialist influence. In some Departments, such as Hauts-de-Seine, Val-de-Marne and Val-d'Oise in the Paris area, it was all the Communists could do to overcome vacillations hampering agreement. In the end agreement was reached everywhere except for a few Departments, including Essonne, Gard, Ardennes and Marne, and as a rule, candidates were withdrawn on a reciprocal basis in favor of the Left candidate who had made the best showing in the first round. Ten FDSL candidates refused to withdraw, thereby violating the agreement. Seven of them were rejected by the voters who helped the Communist candidates to win in conditions comparable to those of the recent by-elections in the town of Alès, and thus showed that it is becoming more and more difficult to go against the democrats' desire for unity. On the whole, the swing in the second round to the single Left candidate was satisfactory. And while some FDSL candidates lost some of the votes they had commanded earlier, the Left candidate—Communist or FDSL—obtained a substantial proportion of the Democratic Center votes in a number of cantons.

Examples such as these are test cases of the appeal of the Left alliance, which manifested itself throughout the elections.

DEFEAT FOR THE RIGHT

The results of the cantonal elections are further proof of the defeat suffered by re-

action. Although the Gaullist government had a variety of powerful means at its disposal it could not prevent a further drop in its influence. The other Right-wing groupings—the “Centrists” and “Giscardists”—who are “opposed” to the Gaullists only over the choice of means of implementing the policy of the big bourgeoisie and, more importantly, of perpetuating its rule in all circumstances, were judged by the electorate according to their class character. The maneuvers to which the various Right alignments have resorted thus far have failed to halt the advance of the democratic movement.

Between the referendum—September 28, 1958—and the first round of the presidential election—December 5, 1965—the number of votes cast for de Gaulle dropped from 80 to 45 per cent. Ever since then, each more or less important voting has confirmed the decline in the prestige of one-man rule throughout the nation. The Gaullists and “Giscardists,” who on March 5, 1967, won a mere 38 per cent of the votes, would have no majority in the National Assembly had the electoral law been equitable, that is, had each party been represented in proportion to the number of its voters.

On the other hand, the Left parties registered an important gain between November 1962 and March 1967 by increasing their first-round general election vote by 1,650,000. With 1,300,000 more than the Gaullists, the Left candidates won 43 per cent of the votes, or 11 per cent more than in the first ballot in the presidential election.

The advance of the Left is confirmed by every step they take towards unity of action in resisting a policy that has been pursued for nine years now, a return to the past in any form and all attempts to give reactionary rule a new lease of life.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LEFT PARTIES

Two years ago the Left parties’ virtual agreement on a joint candidate in the presidential election enabled them to deliver the first telling blow to the reactionaries. The agreement forced de Gaulle to submit to a second ballot and defeated Lecanuet.

The December 1966 Communist-FDSL agreement, joined by the United Socialist Party, paved the way to the new gains won by all the Left parties in March 1967.

In June 1967 the FDSL and the Commu-

nist Party decided to set up a working group to study the possibilities of an agreement going beyond the convergences noted in the communique of December 20, 1966. The report submitted by the group to the two organizations in October pointed out both convergences and divergences. And while it is not a government program, Waldeck Rochet has stressed that it contains proposals that are an advance over the December unity agreement.

The leading committees of the two organizations are to draw up, on the basis of the proposals of the working group, a program for joint action with which all democrats are to be acquainted. Accordingly, our Party on November 16 sent a letter signed by its Secretary General to Francois Mitterrand, President of the FDSL, suggesting an early meeting of spokesmen of the two organizations.

Our Party has stinted no effort to promote understanding and agreement between the Left organizations. It has been guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle Maurice Thorez taught us to apply in a creative spirit: a united front means unity in action and the organization of mass action.

THE MASS MOVEMENT

The mass movement has played a decisive part in all the advances towards unity which during the past three years have characterized French politics. Following the example of the working class, which in 1949 forced the government to revise its decision to curtail social insurance benefits, various sections of the working people in town and country—industrial, white-collar and professional—joined in the campaign to counter the encroachments of monopoly capitalism and the state expressing and serving capitalist interests.

Communists take part in every action—in factory and mine, on building site and in office, in the university, in the rural areas and in residential neighborhoods. They contribute their enthusiasm and their experience in helping the masses to achieve immediate demands, in unrelentingly exposing the causes of the declining standard of living, of the inroads on the people’s political, social and cultural rights, and in showing up those responsible for these ills. They want to help the masses to organize political actions of their own against the Gaullist regime, for the political and economic reforms that are a necessary con-

dition for a genuine policy of social progress, democracy and peace.

As a result of the movement of the masses, with whom our Party has always dealt in terms of frankness and action, the majority of the working people today side with the far-sighted minority which during the 1958 referendum said "no" to the monarchic principle and to an intensified dictatorship of the monopolies.

We owe it to the mass movement and to our Party's policy of unity that attempts to split and mislead the people and to bring a segment of the Left under the sway of the wilder reactionaries—the Lecanuet "Centrists" and the "Independents" of ex-Gaullist Minister Giscard d'Estaing—have come to nothing.

The working people and democratic forces want the Left to win state power, to pursue a policy needed by the masses and not a policy that suits reaction, such as followed by the non-Communist Left in the Fourth Republic or is followed today by Wilson and Brandt—very much to the detriment of their people and parties.

That is why the working people and the democratic forces approve of the rapprochement between our Party and the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left. They follow the discussions going on between our Party and the Socialist Party and want as soon as possible a solid alliance of the Left—the only way to bring about a democratic replacement of the Gaullist regime.

This means that the joint program should have a progressive social content—that it should take into account scientific and technical progress and really meet the aspirations and interests of our people.

OLD ANTI-COMMUNIST TUNE

In an effort to hold back the democratic movement, whose progress threatens to sweep him away, de Gaulle decided to revive the anti-Communist campaign, that extreme method of reactionary governments in danger. The top leaders of the Gaullist party took the first steps in this direction between the two rounds of the cantonal elections by calling for a realignment of the Right. After the second round attacks on our Party became systematic, the tone being set by Premier Pompidou. Speaking in the National Assembly when his economic and social policies were being debated and criticized, he smeared the French Left and the socialist countries, in

particular the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and the GDR which his government still refuses to recognize.

Anti-communism was on the agenda of the Gaullist party's national congress in Lille. Delegates received a text of six points containing outdated slogans which the RPF* had once tried in vain to popularize. At the ensuing press conference, de Gaulle gave his blessing to the congress and anathematized the Communists, whom he described as "conspirators in a totalitarian cause."

The reason for this anti-Communist violence is simple. It is the miscarriage of all methods used by the Gaullists and reactionaries to isolate the Communist Party, whose activity serves both the immediate and the future interests of the working class and people of France.

De Gaulle and his associates do not count so much on their stale arguments convincing anyone as on the vast propaganda media—the press, radio and television—by means of which they expect to thrust these arguments on ordinary people, "those political animals."**

The surest way to thwart this design aimed at prolonging monopoly exploitation of the working people and plunder of the nation is to consolidate the alliance of the workers and the democratic forces and Left parties against whom the maneuver is directed. In this case, too the will of the masses will decide the issue. The Communists abide, therefore, by the fundamental idea that independent activity among the masses by the Party is a condition for the success of all its actions for unity.

A STRONGER PARTY: REQUISITE OF DEMOCRATIC FUTURE OF FRANCE

Bearing this in mind, the organizations and members of the Party are concentrating on the fundamental tasks defined by the Central Committee.

To ensure the development of the everyday struggles for economic and social demands in the broadest possible union, the Communists support trade-union actions for the repeal of Gaullist decrees, above all those undermining social security. The Communists devote special attention to the demands and the level of organization of diverse categories of working people and

*"Union of the French People," a movement which de Gaulle founded in the early period of the Fourth Republic and tried, unsuccessfully, to use for regaining power in 1947.

**Expression used in de Gaulle's book *At the Point of the Sword*, published in 1932.

work for the success of big national demonstrations, such as the one held on December 13. Inside the outside parliament, they fight for higher wages, guaranteed employment, democratic taxation, schools and universities open to all. They back the lawful demands of the peasants and other working people.

The Communists help to promote the most varied forms of active solidarity with the people of Vietnam, who with the aid of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, are waging a heroic fight against the U.S. imperialists' barbarous aggression. They took part in organizing powerful demonstrations on October 21 and contributed to their success. During these demonstrations millions in Paris and other cities demanded an immediate and unconditional halt to the bombing of the DRV, recognition of the National Liberation Front as the only genuine spokesman of the South Vietnamese population, withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Vietnam and the dismantling of U.S. bases on Vietnamese soil. November 26 witnessed a national demonstration under the slogan "The Youth Are with Vietnam," organized by the Communist Youth Movement. About 70,000 young people marched through the streets of Paris. Our Party, confident that it was acting in harmony with our people's feelings for the courageous people of Vietnam, called on all political, trade union, pacifist and solidarity organizations jointly to begin and carry out a nation-wide collection of funds, medical supplies and food for

Vietnam. Over 30 organizations responded to its call on a national scale.

As they prepare for and realize their actions, the Communists try through public statements and the press to acquaint the population with the realistic proposals of the Party. Indeed, the standard of living cannot be really improved on a lasting basis nor the French people's security guaranteed as long as the monopolies exercise their undivided control over the nation's resources, defense and foreign relations in keeping with their class interests, even though they are compelled to reckon with the present balance of world forces and the contradictions which oppose them to other imperialists.

Needed for the really new perspective for which our people are striving is a political democracy guaranteed by measures of economic democracy, along with the fight for social progress and for an active peace policy.

To fulfil these tasks, which are essential to the democratic future of the country, to expose every falsehood of the anti-Communist campaign and disclose its purpose, the Party must steadily strengthen itself, increase its membership and the number of its branches, raise collective and individual ideological standards and improve the work of its branches among the masses.

It is in this spirit of responsibility and confidence that the Communists this year have begun to exchange membership cards with a view to enlisting new champions of social progress, democracy and socialism.

For a democratic alternative to the Franco dictatorship

The devaluation of the peseta and the austerity measures announced last November have sharply accentuated the crisis in Spain.

By these moves the government virtually admitted the failure of its economic policy, carried out in the interests of finance capital and to the detriment of the vast majority of the population. But there are

more far-reaching implications: they are a clear indication of the failure of the regime, of its inability to solve any of the country's political, social and economic problems.

For months official propaganda has been playing up the catch phrase coined by the Minister responsible for the Development Plan: "The only problem facing the Spanish economy is that of its excellent health."

There is also the propaganda figment that the plan has been an uninterrupted success.

And Franco himself, addressing the opening session of the new, "tamed" Cortes only two days before the devaluation, painted a glowing picture of the country's political and economic position. He made much of the high economic growth rate ("the world's highest," were his words) and promised that "by 1970 Spain would catch up with the European standard of living."

Now an end has been put to this farce. No longer is there any talk about the "Spanish miracle," no promise of prosperity, only cynical appeals for austerity—the people are being told to tighten their belts.

There is, however, a growing awareness among the population of the regime's responsibility for this state of affairs. And there is indignation over the fraudulent statements that the austerity will be equally shared. All Spaniards, the government says, will be called upon to sacrifice, the wage freeze will be compensated by stable prices, government spending will be cut, and so on. Workers, blue-collar and white-collar, farmers, civil servants, the middle strata, small and medium businessmen feared that they would have to foot the austerity bill, just as they did during the earlier devaluation and adoption of the 1959 stabilization plan.

Their fears were fully justified — the price spiral began the day after the austerity measures were introduced. "All-round retrenchment and restraint" has boiled down to pegged wages and lay-offs in industry. That is what the government and big business wanted — one of its main spokesmen, the Governor of the Bank of Spain, frankly says so in his 1967 report.

The working class, which has suffered most from these measures, was quick to retaliate. The workers' commissions, formed and functioning despite reprisals by the dictatorship, immediately came out against the wage freeze and mass lay-offs. The workers, they declared, will not agree to sacrifice as long as the country is ruled by the present regime. The demand for higher wages to offset the higher prices is spreading to more and more factories. Strikes, too, have become more frequent and of longer duration, involving thousands of workers in all parts of the country. There have been major stoppages in the Asturian coal mines, notably at Caudal and Aller, traditional militant centers, and by metalworkers, builders and workers in the automobile, electronics and other industries in Madrid, Jerez de la Frontera, Puerto de

Santa Maria, Seville, Barcelona and other towns.

The sweep and vigor of the democratic student movement should be seen against this background of mounting labor protest and organization. The students are waging a persistent and united struggle for the right to a democratic union and for university reform to replace the archaic structures and obsolete instruction methods, but the fight is also for democracy, and their close solidarity with the workers has earned them the admiration of the people. Spain's universities have become the focal points of the battle for democracy. In the past few months strikes and demonstrations have spread to practically every university center. They are a heartening chapter in the battle for democracy. The universities of Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, Malaga, Seville, Santiago de Compostela, Oviedo, Saragossa, Salamanca and Pamplona figure prominently in the news.

Franco, anxious to stem the tide which threatens to engulf his regime, has stepped up the repressions, but this has not daunted the opposition.

Significant in this respect is the recent trial by a Public Order Tribunal of a group of workers' commission leaders, Julian Ariza, Trinidad Garcia, Juan Goicoechea, Luis Royo and Manuel Trava. Thousands of Madrid workers downed tools in protest against the trial and thousands more demonstrated outside the Palace of Justice demanding to be allowed to attend the proceedings. Only a few were allowed into the courtroom, but their presence was a demonstration of solidarity with the accused.

The government has denounced the student movement "as subversive groups wholly alien to the universities and instigated and supported by outside forces." No one believes that, nor has the persecution intimidated the students. The result has been the reverse—solidarity is being broadened and more faculty members are supporting student demands. The workers' commissions, too, are issuing statements in support of the students.

The failure of the regime is openly admitted by the influential monarchist ABC newspaper. At the height of the repressions, commenting on the closure of several faculties in Madrid, police raids on universities and the arrest and trial of hundreds of students, it wrote in an editorial (January 25): "The method used to quell university unrest has proved, as on earlier occasions, ineffectual and offers no solution. The

university disorders did not start today or even last year; they have a much longer history. There had been faculty closures before, but the moment studies were resumed there was more student revolt. We are still caught in that vicious circle: unrest and suspension of studies; resumption of studies and more violence; suspension of studies—and so it goes on.”

The sharpening national crisis poses, squarely and urgently, the need for a political solution, the need, that is, for an alternative to the dictatorship, which is leading the country to disaster. And the conditions for this alternative are maturing.

The antagonisms rending the regime are more clearly and painfully felt. There are two main factors: Francoism is undergoing a process of self-destruction, and on the other hand, there is a mounting popular movement, with the worker and democratic opposition exerting a stronger influence on the march of events.

Comrade Santiago Carrillo, our Party General Secretary, writes in his book, “New Approach to the Problems of the Day,” that by reverting to strong-arm policies the Franco regime is virtually beginning to destroy itself, for it aims its blows “not only against the classical opposition and the new opposition that has emerged in the past ten years, but also against those in its own ranks who insist on a new policy more in consonance with the present trends in European capitalism. They contend that the present fascist structure militates against their interests.”

There are ample facts to bear that out. For meeting no support from the regime, with its die-hard, ossified policies, these big business elements—usually referred to as the “evolutionists”—find themselves compelled to go beyond their traditional moderation and come out in outright opposition to the government, to the falangist bureaucrats and the ultras. On some issues their position coincides with that of the labor and democratic forces.

That is evident from statements in the press that speaks for this evolutionist bourgeoisie. For instance, during the orchestrated Cortes elections, which were supposed to give the dictatorship a semblance of democracy, they contributed to their failure by more or less open propaganda of indifference, and in some cases by appealing for a boycott. When the Madrid workers staged a Day of Struggle on October 27, the *Madrid* newspaper, one of the most influential evolutionist publications, sided with the workers’ commissions,

and it again pleaded their case when it denounced devaluation and the wage freeze.

To this might be added concrete manifestations of a resistance spirit in a number of government institutions, a spirit due entirely to the evolutionists’ influence on part of the government apparatus. For instance, government prescribed measures against the October 27 strikes and demonstrations were not everywhere carried out. True, in many parts of the country the authorities kept to the letter of the orders from Madrid, but in other areas they exercised a certain restraint. In one Madrid district there was a case of the police refusing to arrest demonstrators. It has also been established that the Captain-General of Catalonia overrode the civilian authorities and refused to hand over arrested workers and students to a military tribunal. In another military area, Burgos, the military tribunals quashed all the cases and released the arrested men.

These and other facts justified Comrade Carrillo in declaring, in a speech to a group of Communists on December 3, that the attitude of the evolutionists “is a serious factor and gives cause for hope. The ruling classes feel that they cannot continue to rule in the old way. Lenin taught us that an essential condition for any revolution is not only the determination of the oppressed classes to win freedom, but also the fact that the ruling classes can no longer rule as of old.”

At the other end of the political spectrum, in the democratic camp, the new labor movement is making rapid progress. The workers’ commissions organized the October 27 demonstration despite the reprisals. And it will be no exaggeration to say that this was the most powerful demonstration of Madrid workers since Franco came to power. It revealed the militancy, unity and organization of the working-class vanguard. But it had wider implications—it showed that the new labor movement is determined to win the right to organization, assembly and public action. And, lastly, it made the workers’ commissions the undisputed leading force of the democratic and labor movement, the decisive force, in fact, that can lead the country to democracy.

The mounting anti-fascist movement of other classes and sections of the population, and the increasingly closer identity of the positions of the various democratic opposition groups, are due primarily to the role played by the working class.

A new and significant development is the

growing anti-fascist actions of Catholics, and its more radical and essentially democratic orientation. This has found expression in the Palamos Manifesto (named after the village where it was framed). Its author, Ruiz Gimenez, is president of the international Pax Romana organization and enjoys much influence in the Vatican. The solutions it outlines for Spain's basic problems coincide with, or are close to, the Communist position.

These and other facts show that the Party is pursuing a sound policy.

A statement by its Executive says the Party is ready to share in the elaboration of a political alternative to Franco based on a concrete agreement between all forces, including those outside the democratic opposition who are convinced that no evolution of the present regime can solve Spain's problems. The agreement must include the following essential points: 1) re-establishment of political freedoms without any discrimination, 2) general amnesty

for all political prisoners and political emigres, 3) election of a constituent Cortes to decide on the country's future structure.

The statement emphasizes that the Communists do not insist on being represented in the transitional government formed on this basis, though they are prepared to cooperate with it if it faithfully carries out the above program. Furthermore, the Communist Party "categorically rejects any attempt to impose, without ascertaining the will of the people, retention of the reactionary regime under a monarchical signboard."

The Communist Party is fully aware, of course, that a hard struggle lies ahead. But it is also aware that an alternative to the present regime will result only from development and expansion of mass action in diverse forms, following the pattern set by the working class and students October 27, and culminating in a general nationwide political strike.

Francisco ANTON

Unity — the way to strengthen Moroccan independence and democracy

ALI YATA

Our purpose is to analyze the present situation in Morocco, to pinpoint the general orientation and our stand in relation to important events, and to define our main tasks.

The situation in Morocco is an extraordinary one. We are deprived of elementary freedoms; the basic human rights are withheld; anyone devoted to the nation, to freedom and social justice, finds himself in difficulties. And this in the age of liberation and democracy!

Progressive parties and organizations find it difficult to carry on legally. Any pub-

lic meeting, be it even a cultural conference, is banned. We, for example, were prevented by the authorities from holding a conference on the subject of territories seized by Spain.

Hardest hit is the progressive press, which, by order of the Home Ministry, is subjected to rigid police censorship. Issues of our own paper, *Al Kifah al Watani*, have been confiscated 21 times since November 1965.

It goes hard with anyone expressing opinions contrary to the official viewpoint. The national papers are faced by the choice

of either going along with the government and surviving, or sealing their lips and going under.

The reactionaries of course do not want a free press, one that would champion democracy and progress. What they want is a press remote from the masses and their problems, supporting government policies, serving monopoly interests, misinforming the public and setting the people against everything progressive in both the national and international areas.

Censorship also applies to films and literature, and to private correspondence. Almost every post office has a police officer checking letters from abroad and confiscating books, journals, pamphlets and newspapers.

While freedoms are being shorn, repression is mounting.

Many of our activists have been imprisoned: comrades from Oujda, Fes and El Jadida, members of the National Union of Popular Forces, notably the lawyer Lyazghi and the poet Habib Forquany, and trade union leaders such as Mahjub Ben Seddiq, who was sentenced to a jail term of 18 months.

The reactionary offensive is wide-ranging; directed against all the political forces, it spares none. It shows that the reactionaries are carrying out a plan which they framed after independence, whose outlines are becoming clearer as time goes on: to wipe out, or at least paralyze, the revolutionary movement. As part of this plan, they outlawed the Communist Party, dissolved the resistance movement, thinned the ranks of the Union of Popular Forces, and are now poised to crush the Moroccan Labor Union.

At the same time, there is a trend towards so-called economic liberalism with an accent on relations with foreign finance monopolies, easing through measures favoring the monopolies and guaranteeing privileges to companies exploiting our resources. The ruler could not care less if this brings us under the domination of foreign capital and the imperialist powers. The effect on our economy is debilitating and is causing deep anxiety.

It is officially admitted that the three-year plan ending this year has failed: its targets, though very modest, have been fulfilled to the extent of a mere 40 per cent.

The new official theory lays the accent on agriculture. But the general trend of our agricultural policy, the measures envisaged in farming, are not likely to produce

the desired results, because the population is increasing at an average annual 400,000, while the people aspire to a higher standard of living.

The agrarian problem hinges on the question of landownership. Nothing can solve it but a realistic and far-reaching reform that would give land to those who have none, that is, to more than half the rural population, and to the poor fellahs, also very numerous. The reform should dispossess the colons and the feudal beys and reduce the estates of the big landowners.

The industrial scene is no better. Like most other sectors of our economy, production is stagnant.

For economic growth and political sovereignty we need to be independent from Western capital. But our present government passes up our possibilities, our home capacity and considerable natural resources, while opening the door to foreign, notably American, finance monopolies. This is done despite the obvious reluctance of the United States to help underdeveloped countries industrialize; where it agrees for political reasons to help in industrialization, its contracts are always short-term and the interest exacted always high, making the whole thing unprofitable.

We are doing our utmost to expose this policy, which goes against the interests of our people. We show the people that credits from capitalist governments or banks can no more mitigate the general crisis of the economy than they can secure rapid economic growth.

The worsening crisis, the greed of foreign and home capitalists, their association with the top rulers, coupled with inhuman exploitation are a blight for the workers, harassed by high prices, low wages and mounting unemployment.

The position in public education is no better.

Educational standards are plummeting at all levels. The number of children that cannot be accommodated in the primary schools is growing. So is the number of those kept out of secondary schools and those who cannot get scholarships to college or university.

The reason for this is the scant budgetary allocation for education coupled with the neglect and incompetence shown by the Education Ministry.

The melancholy conclusion is that our rulers are no more capable of coping with

the difficulties and satisfying the people's desire for education than they are of coping with our other national problems, economic and social.

It should be noted that they are conscious of their incompetence, though they refuse to admit it, fearing an outburst of public reaction. This partially explains the more frequent resort to reprisals, though reprisals are a sign not of wisdom but rather of incapacity and inevitable failure.

It was some of the international developments that sparked this escalation of folly, this haste in adopting and effecting sweeping reactionary measures.

The world has changed beyond recognition since fascism was defeated in the Second World War and socialism emerged as a world system. The changes began with the victory of the October Revolution, whose 50th anniversary and historic success the world proletariat, the national-liberation movement and all progressives celebrated recently. That it put an end to the undivided power of imperialism ranks among its greatest achievements.

Mankind has entered a new era—that of passage from enslavement to liberation, from capitalism to socialism.

Yet world imperialism refuses to accept defeat, to give up its privileges and positions, and is as aggressive as ever. Ever since it realized that a world war would not end in its favor, that its doom would be sealed by the greatly increased economic and military strength of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and by the greatly increased consciousness of the peoples and their militancy, it has been trying to regain the lost ground, by means of "local wars."

Imperialism is aiming its blows primarily against the newly independent countries, against the national-liberation movements, hoping to hinder their consolidation and growth of influence, and to relieve the threat presented to its finance monopolies by perspectives leading to socialism.

The limits of this article are too narrow for any deeper analysis of the international situation. Our brief survey is merely meant to underscore the connection between the events in our country and the imperialist maneuvers in the rest of our region.

After the imperialist-Zionist aggression, aimed, among other things, at deposing the progressive regimes in the United Arab Republic and Syria, reaction has come to life in all Arab countries. It is trying to

make the most of the weakening of some of them, to conspire against progressives and revolutionaries, to regain power wherever it lost its grip or to buttress its position where it is still at the helm. Reaction has a common strategy: to halt the progressive movement and tilt the scales in its own and in imperialist interests.

By escalating reprisals against our revolutionaries and progressives, Morocco's reactionaries are but following the example of their friends and allies in the other Arab countries.

They were spurred to action by the outburst of Arab indignation over the imperialist-Zionist aggression, by the solidarity of the masses, the enthusiasm of activists of all political convictions ready to accept the challenge, join in the fighting and champion Arab prestige.

A surge of public anger erupted in our country against the Zionists, their masters, allies and imperialist protectors—American, British and West German.

It matched in intensity the demonstrations at the time of the Resistance and the March 1965 events. The reactionaries were scared. They feared that the wave of anger would become a strike wave over domestic problems, that the latter would grow into a mass struggle difficult to bring under control. It was to avert this that the reactionaries resorted to reprisals, to rigid censorship and further curtailment of civic freedoms.

They exerted themselves to create the impression that they were strong and powerful, and in control of the situation. The fact is, however, that their offensive was mounted from positions of weakness.

They arrested Mahjoub ben Seddiq, the General Secretary of the Labor Union, but maintain relations with Abderrazak, his deputy and close associate. They banned the congress of the National Students' Union, but did not break off relations with the Union leaders and they say the congress could be held provided certain conditions are complied with. In some ten weeks they confiscated eight issues of the *Al Kifah al Watani*, but did not ban the paper outright.

This is example evidence that reaction is not able today, however much it may wish, indiscriminately to obliterate the opposition. It could do no more than fall back on the expedient of weakening the opposition, paralyzing its work and undermining its influence, while the structure, though battered, survives.

If anything, these tactics speak of the

impotence of the reactionaries to give free rein to their wishes, to act as they would like to, to assert their exclusive interests. They are compelled to reckon with the opposition, with its influence at home and its prestige abroad, where it is supported by the national-liberation movements in the Third World countries, the world Communist and working-class movement and other forces.

In the circumstances, the government may decide to go through the motions of liberalizing the regime and strengthening some of the democratic aspects within the absolutist framework, to the advantage of the foreign finance monopolies and the home bourgeoisie.

As we see it, provided nothing unforeseen happens, the immediate future will witness no radical changes in the general official orientation and in the make-up of our institutions.

All the same, we shall be vigilant.

But vigilance alone is not enough. Our revolutionary spirit prompts us to use all possible means, summon all our dedication, to frustrate the plans of adventurers and support all efforts, from whomever they may come, that guard us from a military dictatorship.

If we have to choose between military dictatorship and bourgeois liberalism, we shall not hesitate in picking the latter, despite its hypocrisy, falsehood and disrespect for human rights. We shall choose it because it is the simpler, more amenable, shorter and less painful way to complete and genuine emancipation, for experience shows that dictatorships erect formidable barriers to revolutionaries, that they exact heavy sacrifices and that more time is needed under a dictatorship to achieve the ultimate goal.

At this stage of our examination we come to the main problem, one that calls for the utmost effort: the problem of democracy, its advancement, its defense and expansion. Democracy alone can overcome the crisis; our future depends on democracy.

We do not mean to belittle other cardinal matters by singling out democracy as our key problem. But we hold that any other vitally important matter—safeguarding independence, consolidating sovereignty, resolving the border question and the numerous economic problems, the problem of wages and low salaries, high prices, unemployment, education, health or such external matters as Arab solidarity, not-

ably solidarity with the Algerian Republic, the United Arab Republic and Syria, and cooperation with the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union—that all these problems are closely linked with the problem of democracy.

Without democracy, without honesty in matters of democracy, we can not conceivably rally the people and bring about the changes that would guarantee Morocco's independence, progress and prosperity.

The fight for democracy must never cease, especially at the present time. We are fighting for it continuously, in all areas, being deeply convinced that it can and will produce the desired results even at this time of adversity.

Some may be astonished by this optimism. They may doubt that democratic victories are possible in these unfavorable conditions. We say it is certainly possible, that our optimism is not groundless.

The national movement, the progressive and revolutionary organizations, it is true, have been forced to retreat. They are weaker, their activities and influence have shrunk and their pressure has diminished. They have failed to fulfil their task to the end. This was due to some aspects of their activity, their lack of cohesion and the reprisals showered on them.

This was a crisis which, no doubt, enabled reaction to rear its head, enunciate its positions, and to take action. Sapped by internal strife and by the crisis it has precipitated in the country, reaction was thus able to stave off certain defeat.

It is not on the brink of the abyss now. It is able to cling to power, to preserve its strength and to continue its misrule. It has improved its positions in various sectors of the economy, chiefly in agriculture. Foreign monopoly credits are helping it to win time.

But the point is that, sooner or later, reaction will come to the end of its rope, for it is out of step with history. The crisis that has hit reaction is growing deeper, while the national progressive and revolutionary movement, in step with history, is bound to overcome its own crisis, a temporary one.

Besides, the self-evident truths should never escape us.

On the international scene the balance of forces favors the peoples aspiring to progress and peace. The imperialist crimes are evoking general anger and contempt, and in the United States as well. The peoples are denouncing the U.S. aggression in

Vietnam and will not be reconciled with adventures and conspiracies.

The countries of the Third World possess great revolutionary energy, and once the foremost organizations learn to assume full responsibility it will burst to the surface.

The defeat suffered by the Arab peoples has not undermined their will. On the contrary, it has sharpened their consciousness, added to their experience, their determination and their spirit.

Though the situation in our country, as we have shown, is anything but satisfactory, there are no grounds for pessimism.

In this respect last year's rapprochement between the National Union of Popular Forces and the Moroccan Labor Union was a heartening example and gives rise to optimism.

The two organizations decided to end their long-standing disputes and demonstrated a sincere desire to resolve minor differences and join forces.

We welcomed this important development as a blow to the reactionaries and their plans. We welcomed the appointment of a new Political Bureau, which includes Abdallah Ibrahim, Abderrahim Bouabid and Mahjoub Ben Seddiq, and of a larger Secretariat.

This is a gratifying political development and it removes much of the unease caused by the inner struggle which sowed friction among the Moroccan Left and did much harm to the national and progressive movement. We greet our brothers in these organizations and wish them every success.

No one will deny that the reactionary and colonialist conspiracies of the past few years were successful because of the division of the Left.

Differences between the various left forces created an atmosphere that helped the reactionaries, and they were not slow in exploiting it. This destroyed the gains for which our people had made such great sacrifices, hampered development of the progressive liberation movement and even precipitated its defeat. That is why we have all along maintained that unity and organizational fusion should always be in the center of attention. And we have been working towards that goal, overcoming the minor differences with other progressive and revolutionary elements. We have consistently urged discussions and united action. We encouraged and supported every action likely to promote the unity of all revolutionaries and progressives in the

struggle against imperialism and reaction. We even suggested founding a united revolutionary party.

In the past few years we issued many appeals, published many articles analyzing the unity problem, started a special section in our paper and addressed numerous letters to friends. Our purpose was to pave the way to unity, for we know that unity does not come of itself, but must be prepared.

We are persuaded, as we always have been, that unity, in one or another form, of all progressive and revolutionary forces without exception is the principal factor in countering imperialist and reactionary pressure. Unity is the earnest of a strong, progressive and revolutionary movement in Morocco.

And we are similarly convinced that only an alliance of the Left with other truly national forces can thwart the designs of reaction and imperialism and bring to reality our great national aspirations. We remain true to the ideas of such an alliance because the situation today is neither revolutionary nor pre-revolutionary, but can lead to a revolutionary awakening. What we have is a phase of the national-democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary revolution.

Efforts towards a viable unity of all progressive and revolutionary forces come up against many obstacles. Reference, in particular, is to maneuvers by our enemies to provoke political and social division:

—between the peasantry and urban masses, engineered by the government machine;

—along regional lines, of which the Popular Movement is the symbol and embodiment;

—in labor's ranks by splitting the trade union movement through break-aways from the Moroccan Labor Union, the country's biggest, and through the use of such economic levers as zonal wage differentials, different conditions for workers in private, semi-state and state-industries, etc.

All these methods are being applied, and the revolutionary forces are alive to the need to combat them, but the question is how.

A thorough study of the question has led us to these two principal conclusions.

First, unity is not an unattainable dream; it was achieved fifteen years ago; the memory of it is still very much alive, and the need for it is so great that we are not likely to retreat.

Second, unity cannot be spontaneous, it requires the mobilization of progressive and revolutionary organizations and parties, and only the latter can take the initiative and carry the unity effort to conclusion.

That is fully borne out by our experience and by that of revolutionary movements in all parts of the world.

We have drawn an important lesson from recent unity efforts, for we could not be guided solely by the experience of the Resistance.

Everyone knows that the winning of independence is followed by increasing crystallization of class positions.

However, it should be noted that so far the process has been to the disadvantage of the people and to the advantage of the propertied classes. Their attacks on progressive political and trade union organizations have not met with adequate resistance.

This does not refute, but rather corroborates, the two conclusions set out above, though it does show that the second needs to be amended. Its emphasis on parties and organizations is, at one and the same time, much and too little.

Much because — and this too follows from our past experience — both parties and organizations have failed to cope with their tasks.

Too little because their unity effort should be on a much wider scale, i.e., it should involve not only the leadership but also the primary organizations, and not only the parties but the masses and, it might be added, not only the masses with whom we have traditional ties, but all sections of the population and especially the peasantry.

Some—out of lack of experience, enthusiasm or conviction—maintain that political parties have proved a failure and should be dissolved. We do not subscribe to that. On the contrary, we believe that we have to redouble our efforts for unity, modify our methods so that primary organizations are brought into the work and our message reaches out to every section of the population.

Accordingly, in March 1966 we addressed letters to the National Union of Popular Forces and the Moroccan Labor Union, but did not meet with a positive response.

We then put our case to the active elements in the movement. They heard us with keen interest, indeed with hope, for most of them saw in our efforts not biased

propaganda, but a contribution to the common cause of unity.

True, we cannot always win them over to our orientation. One of the obstacles here is the restraint displayed by representatives of other progressive forces. But since we are convinced that they sincerely want unity in the struggle for democracy and progress, and that prejudice is unlikely to prevail over their desire to serve the country and the people, we believe that we shall be able to overcome this obstacle.

Our friends in the Moroccan Labor Union and the National Union of Popular Forces have rendered a service to the cause of unity by getting rid of the prejudices of the past and reaching agreement. They have thus given a new demonstration of their patriotism, wisdom, maturity and ability to face and overcome difficulties.

However, this development is not without its drawbacks, and we would like to point them out, in a comradely fashion, as we did last August after publication of the merger communique. We know that our friends in the Moroccan Labor Union and the National Union of Popular Forces will receive this criticism in the comradely spirit in which it is given, for they always place reason above prejudice, just as we have always welcomed criticism of our own shortcomings.

We know from our experience and from that of others that unity can be effective only if it rests on a clearly formulated political platform resulting from scientific study of the objective situation and the opportunities it offers. However, so far there is no evidence that our friends have undertaken such a study or have formulated a political program or constitution for their united organization.

We know also that any unity agreement concluded between leaders without participation of the membership is more often than not doomed to failure. And it looks very much as if the present agreement was discussed only by a limited number of top officials and came as a surprise to the lower organizations. Many of their active members do not understand its causes and purpose. Obviously, if the leadership had taken the rank and file into their confidence, the agreement would have had a much greater response both in Morocco and internationally, and would have exerted a much stronger influence.

Also this: a merger can be effective only if the masses translate it into living reality. And in this respect it has to be said, regretfully, that our friends in the Moroccan

Labor Union and the National Union of Popular Forces did not work hard enough for that. This is further evidence of the need to cast off what might be described as fear of the masses, appeal to them openly and enlist their support.

We believe that the new pattern of relations between the two organizations could be the starting point for unity of the Left, the threshold of a new era that could see a coalition of all the progressive and revolutionary forces in Morocco.

Some of our friends in the Labor Union and in the National Union say that by merging the two organizations there has been brought into being a revolutionary party, and it only remains for the Communists to join it, especially since they have repeatedly expressed such a wish.

We still subscribe to the idea of a united revolutionary party and will continue to work for its organization. But it will not be easy; it will require a good deal of painstaking preparation. We have had occasion to demonstrate that a united revolutionary vanguard party can be founded in Morocco only if there is agreement on three fundamentals, viz., theory, program and organization.

1. Theory

Considering the experience of Moroccan political parties, the spread of socialist ideas throughout the Arab world, the enthusiasm and aspirations of our people, and the experience of revolutionary parties in other countries, we believe that a vanguard revolutionary party must fully, unreservedly and unambiguously accept scientific socialism as a guide in all its theoretical and practical work. It must follow its principles and laws and prove its fidelity to the cause of the revolution and the people, the ideals of national, social and political emancipation, and respect for the values and traditions of the people.

2. Program

The united revolutionary party must clearly and precisely formulate its solutions of basic and urgent problems in a program of militant struggle against imperialism and reaction. It must set out its democratic, economic, social and political aims, and make its main and permanent aim Morocco's advance along the non-capitalist way to socialism.

3. Organization

The united revolutionary party must be based on democratic centralism to enable all its members—workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals—to play a full part in shaping, implementing and super-

vising party policy. The party should be closed to careerists and opportunists.

We do not think that the National Union of Popular Forces, as it now exists and functions, accords with these requirements. If it did, we would be able to dissolve our party and join it. It will take time, we believe, for these requirements to mature, and if we want an alliance of the Left as the prelude to a united revolutionary party, then we must bring together all elements working for socialism.

That is why we take this occasion to renew our proposal for the widest possible cooperation between our party and the National Union of Popular Forces as a prerequisite for unity.

It is our opinion that the many problems facing our country cannot be solved without united action by our two parties and the Labor Union.

As noted above, the progressive and national forces have been unable to secure restoration of elementary democratic freedoms, annulled by the emergency proclamation. Consequently, only joint struggle can rescue the country from the emergency. Similarly, return to a genuine parliamentary regime calls for new forms of united action to enable us to utilize all political opportunities and effectively mobilize the masses. Otherwise constitutional rights and parliamentary activity will continue to be threatened, and again we shall be faced with suspension of the constitution and parliament and abolition of all freedoms.

Of course, we envisage a new Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly elected by general and direct suffrage and secret ballot—a Constitution that will make the people the base and the source of power. A provisional government composed of representatives of all the viable forces of the nation would appoint and hold elections to the Constituent Assembly, after which it will give way to a government appointed by the legislative assembly and responsible to it.

Foremost among our pressing problems is agrarian reform. That is so especially now with the peasant poor suffering from the calamitous results of two years of drought, further aggravated by intensified economic and political reaction. In these conditions agrarian reform is the only solution. And since the Left is not associated either with the colons, the feudal beys or the big landed interests, they alone can initiate and carry out far-reaching agrarian

reform, of which the following should be made the immediate aims:

—confiscation of colon land and its transfer to the poor peasants;

—confiscation of feudal and other landed estates in favor of poor and landless peasants, who will be given legal protection, credits, seed and fertilizer.

The employment crisis, another key problem, is the result of capitalist exploitation, notably by foreign capital, which dominates the economy, controls the banks, reaps immense profits, pays minimal taxes and exports colossal sums through legal and illegal channels.

This is the cause of the poverty, further aggravated by the government's capitalist-oriented policy.

The root of the evil should be sought in neo-colonialism, which in our country is developing with the active assistance of the big bourgeoisie and reaction. The only solution is to take over the economy, and only the Left can do that through a resolute struggle for unhampered sovereignty over our national resources.

In fact, that is the only path open to Morocco if her resources are to be used in a way beneficial to the people and for promoting fruitful economic exchange with other countries.

Economic laws are inexorable: rapid development requires overhauling the entire economic structure.

This means that the Left must fight for nationalization of the banks, mines, insurance companies, big industry and foreign trade. There must be no export of capital, all of it must go into making more jobs. But that has to be planned, and new social laws are needed to guarantee employment, higher wages and periodical wage increases to offset higher prices, repeal of the surcharge on sugar and other foods and its replacement by a tax on big incomes and property.

Education is another major problem, and here the Left should vigorously campaign to make it accessible to all children, regardless of social status. Admittance to secondary and higher schools must be based entirely on ability, with scholarships for needy students. Furthermore, an end must be put to the Education Ministry's fraudulent language policy—all tuition must be in Arabic, the national language.

Still another problem confronting the Left is liberation of territories that are rightly part of Morocco. Spain still occupies Rio de Oro, Saquiat al Hamra, Ifni, Sebta, Melilla and the Zaffarin Islands. The gov-

ernment's policy of vacillation and compromises has only led to Spain repeating her 1956 promise, with no intention of ever carrying it out.

No progress has been made towards settlement of other territorial issues. To this day no solution has been found for the problem of our boundary with fraternal Algeria.

The United States is bringing pressure to bear on Morocco to prevent her solidarity with national-liberation movements in the fraternal Arab countries.

The Left must return to the anti-imperialist struggle in order to strengthen the country's independence and assure her advance towards progress and socialism.

Throughout their long history, our people have courageously fought every form of foreign domination, and they cannot afford to be passive now, when progressive mankind has risen to break the last fetters of colonialism and build a society founded on justice.

Such are the immediate tasks facing the Left, and they can be accomplished only if there is agreement to join forces.

We renew our proposal for broad joint action with the National Union of Popular Forces, on the understanding that each retains its independence, as a first and decisive step towards a united revolutionary party.

The struggle for unity is bound to be long and hard and calls for devotion, perseverance, firmness and sacrifice. We are prepared to carry the struggle to a victorious conclusion, for revolutionary unity is our very *raison d'être*, the earnest of our future, the path to the attainment of our immediate and ultimate aims.

* * *

If joint action is to be successful, we must concentrate on strengthening our Party, converting it into an independent vanguard revolutionary party of the most conscious representatives of the working class, the peasant poor and the revolutionary intellectuals.

The question was discussed in 1966 at our Party's Third National Congress which indicated the ways and means of strengthening and renewing the Party to prepare it for its historic mission.

The progress made in carrying out the congress decisions should not lead to complacency.

If we are to become a vanguard intimately linked with the masses and capable of organizing and leading them, there must

be a process of renewal. This does not mean a retreat from Marxism-Leninism. It implies fidelity to its principles, their mastery and creative application in the changing conditions.

Renewal is a struggle in every field—politics, propaganda, organization; a struggle in which we must take into account the Arab-Islamic character of our country and society, the progressive traditions of our people and their national pride. Renewal calls for complete identification with the people.

The Third Congress strongly urged Party members to live among the people, learn to understand their sentiments and concerns, follow popular movements and learn to advance slogans and conduct our propaganda in a way understandable to the people.

Renewal means that we address ourselves primarily to the working class, the peasant poor, students and progressive intellectuals, bring them into the Party, train cadres from their midst, men who know the psychology of the people, share their sentiments, aspirations and demands.

The fact is, however, that so far we have not been able to bring the majority of the members into this work of renewal.

We still suffer from a certain underestimation of the role of the peasantry and the importance of work in rural areas.

That, incidentally, is characteristic of the entire progressive and revolutionary movement, in fact, of the national movement as a whole. The result has been political stagnation among the rural population, and the peasantry, in its majority, follows the lead of the feudal beys and other reactionaries.

We must combat petty-bourgeois deviations, both from Left and Right, which impede our development, at the same time avoiding lifeless sectarianism and dogmatism.

And, last but not least, we must strain every effort for legalization of the party.

Let it be emphasized that these are not merely florid declarations—we really want a party of a new type in the full sense of the term, one that will rapidly develop into a vanguard enjoying the confidence of the masses and capable, in unity with other progressive forces, of overcoming the obstacles erected by the feudal beys and neo-colonialists.

We want a party that will train our youth to be conscious fighters prepared to make sacrifices, men and women of action and devotion, people worthy of our Moroccan Communist Party, which has always been supremely true to its duty and which has fought with courage and vision in complex and trying conditions.

Trends in economic growth of socialism and capitalism

VALENTIN TEREKHOV

The facts corroborate the principal Marxist-Leninist postulate that our time is the time of the transition from capitalism to socialism. But the decline of capitalism should not be conceived as a steep slide downward. It is not submitting meekly, but is battling doggedly for survival. "Modern capitalism," say the Theses of the Soviet Communist Party for the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution, "is primarily state-monopoly capitalism adjusting itself to the struggle of the two world systems."

Adapting itself to the new world, capitalism is casting about for new methods and forms of survival. Shaken by the 1929-32 world economic crisis, it has learned somehow to regulate the economy; now it is seeking stability and new stimuli through a Common Market variety of integration and, expelled from its former colonies and dependencies, is devising

subtler, neo-colonialist methods of expansion.

Though it does not alter the general trend of history, this imperialist policy can bear fruit at times, reducing the range of the cyclical ups and downs, accelerating growth rates, reducing unemployment, and the like.

Yet the new socialist system has a major advantage: a remarkable capacity for, as it were, accelerating time. Peoples delivered from exploitation can cover in some 15 to 20 years a distance capitalism took many decades to traverse. Socialist countries do away with the age-old backwardness in a relatively short time. Economic and cultural advance is rapid and many-sided, and accompanied by a rising standard of living. Agrarian states are transformed into industrial-agrarian. At present, industry accounts for approximately three-quarters of the combined national product.

Table I

AVERAGE ANNUAL INDUSTRIAL GROWTH RATES (%%)

	1951- 1966	1951- 1955	1956- 1960	1961- 1965
World aggregate	7.3	7.9	7.0	6.3
Socialist countries	11.3	13.7	13.6	7.4
CMEA countries	10.5	13.6	10.1	8.3
USSR	10.6	13.2	10.4	8.6
Capitalist countries	5.7	6.3	4.4	6.0
Common Market countries	6.9	8.7	6.8	5.8
USA	4.7	5.2	2.4	5.7
Developing countries	8.4	9.4	7.9	8.0

THE MAIN INDICATORS

Time is the key factor in socialism's competition with capitalism, the guarantee that it will ultimately win. Throughout the history of building socialism, the fraternal countries have been expanding their economy, notably industrial production, at high and stable rates that as a rule surpassed growth rates in the capitalist countries.

Table I shows that through the period under review, and within the specific periods too, average annual industrial rate of growth in the socialist countries was higher than the overall world rate (increasingly affected by that of the socialist countries) and higher than that of the capitalist states, with the figure for the CMEA countries consistently exceeding that of the Common Market group and the USSR rate substantially exceeding that of the United States.

The edge in rates of growth indicates

also a more rapid growth of output. In 1951-66, for example, the industrial production of the socialist world increased 460 per cent, that of the capitalist countries 140 per cent, and the developing countries 260 per cent. Output of the CMEA countries went up nearly five-fold, while that of the EEC countries 190 per cent.

The rapid industrial growth of the socialist countries has altered the correlation in world industrial production. In 1937, the socialist states accounted for less than one-tenth of the world output, in 1950 for about one-fifth, whereas their share now is approaching two-fifths. The CMEA countries, specifically, put out nearly one-third of the world total industrial product.

Per capita output of manufactured goods is higher in the socialist world. True, more than two-thirds of the population of the non-socialist world lives in the developing countries, where industry is still at a fairly low level. The task of outstripping the non-socialist world as a whole in per capita

Table II

PER CAPITA INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF KEY PRODUCTS

	1950	1960	1966
Electric Power, kwh			
World aggregate	395	782	1104
CMEA countries	500	1302	2171
Common Market countries	781	1663	2347
CMEA countries, percentage of Common Market countries	63.2	78.3	92.5
Steel, kg			
World aggregate	76	116	141
CMEA countries	133	277	378
Common Market countries	205	430	470
CMEA countries, percentage of Common Market countries	64.9	64.4	80.4
Plastics and Synthetic Tars, kg			
World aggregate	0.6	2.2	4.5
CMEA countries		1.8	4.7
Common Market countries	1.0	10.3	24.6
CMEA countries, percentage of Common Market countries		17.5	19.1
Mineral Fertilizer, kg			
World aggregate	5.7	9.4	14.2
CMEA countries	11.1	20.6	40.0
Common Market countries	28.3	52.6	64.4
CMEA countries, percentage of Common Market countries	39.2	39.2	62.1
Cement, kg			
World aggregate	53	106	134
CMEA countries	69	219	338
Common Market countries	178	364	495
CMEA countries, percentage of Common Market countries	38.8	60.2	68.3

production has been accomplished. What now has to be done is to outstrip the advanced capitalist states. The socialist countries are closing in, but much ground still has to be covered. Let us look at some of the figures illustrating per capita production of key industrial items in the world, the CMEA countries and the countries of the European Economic Community (see Table II).

The figures in Table II suggest two conclusions: first, per capita output of key industrial items in the CMEA countries exceeds the average world figure considerably, and second, is rapidly approaching the level of those advanced European capitalist countries that have been building industry for hundreds of years.

The socialist countries have made palpable progress in *agriculture*. The peasant's transition to cooperative farming ranks among the greatest of socialism's gains. At present, the socialist sector yields more than 90 per cent of the total farm output. To place these advances in the right perspective, one need only recall what the countryside was like in most of the socialist countries in the recent past: an ocean of benighted poverty, land hunger for the bulk of the peasants, primitive implements, low productivity and, as a consequence, chronic undernourishment often punctuated by famine.

Socialism has put an end to this. Peasants united in cooperatives no longer live in want, and they enjoy the benefits of culture. To be sure, it would be wrong to claim that everywhere, at all times, the

process of peasant cooperation was smooth and painless. But the important point is that in the socialist countries the cooperative system has proved its advantages over individual farming.

Take the following figures. With the annual average farm output for 1952-56 as 100, the 1966 index for the world would be 137 and as much as 163 for the CMEA countries. In other words, agriculture in the CMEA countries during those years grew at a much faster pace than elsewhere in the world, and compares favorably with, say, the 1965 index of 136 for France and 123 for Italy.

It should be borne in mind when analyzing these figures that the population of the CMEA countries comprises but one-tenth of the world population. Their steadily rising share in the world output of staple farm products, therefore, disproves the capitalist claim of a crisis in socialist farming.

Though conscious of their progress, the socialist countries are not content with their achievements so far. In some years some of them have had to buy sizable grain shipments from capitalist states, and, moreover, rising consumption is continually pushing up demand. This is the reason behind the vigorous measures taken of late to boost agriculture.

The ultimate aim of socialist production is to *raise the well-being of the people and their cultural standards*, and the socialist countries have shown the world that their mode of production raises the standard of living in a relatively short time. No other socio-economic system has been able in two or even five decades to improve living conditions, and the level of culture and health, on the scale achieved by socialism. Admittedly, the socialist countries have not yet attained the general level of welfare prevailing in the more advanced capitalist states. That is something they are still working assiduously to attain. That their efforts are bearing fruit is proved by the fact that the gap between the CMEA countries and the advanced capitalist states is narrowing steadily.

Vital to a rising standard of life is growth of national income, and in the CMEA countries it is going up far more rapidly than in the capitalist states: 233 per cent in 1951-65, while that of the capitalist world rose 89 per cent, with that of the Common Market countries rising 133 per cent. At present, the CMEA countries account for approximately one-quarter of the world's total national incomes.

Table III

**CMEA SHARE
IN WORLD FARM OUTPUT (%%)**

	1951-55	1961-65	1966
Grain and leguminous crops	16.8	17.8	21.3
Wheat	27.2	31.5	42.3
Rye	73.9	76.0	77.3
Barley	19.1	26.7	31.9
Corn	9.4	10.9	9.8
Sugar beet	44.0	50.5	54.0
Potatoes	51.1	53.2	54.4
Milk	21.1 ¹	26.2 ²	28.6
Cattle, total herd	10.5 ¹	10.6 ²	11.8
Tractor fleet	11.4 ¹	13.2 ²	16.2
Mineral fertilizer consumption	17.1 ¹	19.5 ²	27.0

¹1950; ²1960.

The CMEA countries are steadily catching up—and some have outstripped — the advanced capitalist states in per capita consumption of basic foods. The progress registered in education, public health and social security is widely known. This adds weight to the advantages of the new social system, which offers broad scope for rapidly elevating the standard of life and the level of culture.

FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC COMPETITION

The present stage in the economic competition of the two world systems is highlighted by a rapid technological advance, which makes a distinct imprint on the approach to, and assessment of, the results and prospects of the economic confrontation and, naturally, on the progress of the competition as well. The *quality* factor, indices characterizing the effectiveness of social production and its capacity for securing swift technological progress, come to the fore. Production in superior quantities is no longer enough. What we need is superior effectiveness and maximum result with minimum of labor outlay, which is the supreme principle of socialist economy.

To achieve the world's highest effectiveness of social production we must make the most of the technological revolution. That is the key to victory in our economic competition with capitalism.

One of the main indicators of the effectiveness of large-scale machine production is its *capital-to-output ratio*, the ratio of the value of the operating production apparatus (under socialism, accumulated social labor, the basic production assets, and the fixed capital under capitalism) to the value of the product. Indeed, if a continuously diminishing amount of resources and implements is expended on producing a unit of value, that is, if the capital-to-output ratio decreases, this, things being equal, indicates rising effectiveness, and *vice versa*.

The experience of the advanced industrial countries, notably the United States, shows that as a rule intensive development tends to reduce the capital-to-output ratio, although it may rise at specific periods, especially during periods of intensive renewal or expansion of basic assets. A vital thing now for the CMEA countries is to reverse the upward trend of the capital-to-output ratio. The transition to intensive development, coupled with the economic

reforms now under way in most socialist countries, are creating the right conditions for first stabilizing and then pushing it down.

Another important criterion of the effectiveness of social production is *productivity of living labor*, the indicator of output per unit of work-time. Until recently, the socialist countries surpassed the capitalist states considerably in the growth rate of productivity in industry, and were visibly narrowing the gap. But in the past few years the socialist edge in the growth rate has diminished somewhat.

Table IV

AVERAGE ANNUAL PRODUCTIVITY GROWTH RATES IN INDUSTRY %%

	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65
Bulgaria	7.4	4.4	7.1
Hungary	3.9	3.7	4.9
Poland	9.6	7.0	5.2
Rumania	8.3	8.0	7.6
USSR	7.6	6.5	4.9
Czechoslovakia	8.4	7.1	3.7
USA	4.2	3.5	4.6
Britain	2.7	2.8	3.9
France	5.7	6.5	3.9
FRG	5.1	4.6	5.2

Table IV shows that in the past five years or so average annual productivity growth rate has dropped in most CMEA countries, while rising somewhat in the advanced capitalist states (except France). For one thing, the Soviet Union failed to reduce the gap to any marked extent in 1959-66. In U.S. industry productivity of labor is still well over 100 per cent higher than in the USSR.

Under socialism, as under capitalism, higher productivity is attained chiefly by equipping the worker with modern tools, by mechanization and automation, by raising the technical and organizational standard of production. Another important factor is intensification of the worker's labor. This latter, though, is applied differently under the two systems. The care shown in socialist industry for optimum working conditions, for the worker's continuous improvement in skill and culture, has nothing in common with the ruthless methods of capitalist intensification, which tend to wear out the worker physically before his time. Our critics in the anti-communist camp prefer to gloss over this point.

The CMEA countries are still behind the

advanced capitalist states in some important indicators of effectiveness. But it should be borne in mind that they began building their modern productive forces a relatively short time ago. At present, the continuously accelerating technological progress is creating good opportunities for them in the economic confrontation of the two systems.

The degree of a country's, or group of countries', participation in the international division of labor, too, has a marked bearing on economic effectiveness. The productive forces have attained a level where their further growth within a restricted national complex becomes less effective and causes an irrational use of national labor. Conversely, active participation in the international division of labor, with the benefit of its various advantages, enhances national effectiveness and economizes on national labor. It is this that lies behind the now intensive integrational processes throughout the world.

The CMEA countries have expanded their external economic relations. Their mutual trade, and trade with outside countries, is growing steadily. The socialist international division of labor is becoming more versatile; so are its progressive forms, such as coordination and specialization of production. But immense potentialities are still untapped.

Effectiveness of production also depends on the nature of growth. The decisive factor is physical expansion of material resources, means of production and the labor force, on the one hand, and the qualitative improvement of factors that make social labor more efficient, on the other, such as technical improvement of means of production, workers' skills, scientific discoveries and their use in technology, etc. Production may grow through mere quantity expansion and, conversely, through quality improvements of the factors of production. The first way is *extensive* and the latter *intensive*. Neither ever occurs in its pure form. They go hand in hand, or to be more precise, they complement each other, but at certain times either one or the other predominates.

Extensive development was more typical for the socialist countries until recently, for production growth was secured from the first chiefly by expanding resources, while technical development was relatively sluggish. Hardly any of the socialist countries had a developed industrial base when they started, while their labor force was

excessive and tended to swell under the effects of collectivization and mechanization of agriculture. To solve the problem, we had to build new production plant, drawing more people into industry and expanding the national working class.

It needs stressing at this point that extensive development and non-effectiveness are not synonymous, no matter what some of our critics may say to the contrary. Rapid extensive growth that draws surplus labor into production is economically effective. Production may grow effectively through quantity expansion even when the productivity of living labor rises more slowly than average, provided the general effectiveness of production (that is, the productivity of both materialized and living labor) is thereby stepped up.

Extensive development is historically justified, even advantageous, so long as it redresses the important social problem of silent unemployment in the countryside and the conversion of the farming population to socialist development, and so long as the expansion of the industrial labor force secures a more rapid growth of social production through expansion of the production assets than through a priority replacement of production plant in industry at a time when agriculture has surplus labor.

However, in most CMEA countries this phase of growth is receding. In some, the sources of extensive growth have become exhausted, while in others expansion of production capacity, even though labor is available, has begun to yield a lower economic effect than that obtainable through modernization and accelerated renewal of available plant. This naturally affects the growth rate of the national income and the indicators of effectiveness.

Better production techniques, better forms and methods of planning and management, are essential if effectiveness is to be enhanced. Until recently, our system of economic regulation over-stressed centralization in planning and management with administrative methods eclipsing economic and with money-commodity relationships and the incentive principle taking a back seat. This system evolved at a definite stage in the socialist countries' development, promoted by various objective conditions that we won't go into here since they transcend the limits of our analysis. It will be sufficient to note that for its day it yielded good results.

It became increasingly evident, however,

as the economies of the socialist countries expanded, that this old system had, on fulfilling its mission, become obsolete and needed to be radically improved. This was what nearly all the CMEA countries set out to do when they tackled their economic reform programs, whose main purpose is to set the stage for intensifying production and enhancing effectiveness.

* * *

The socialist countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid have thus embarked on a new stage of growth. For the Soviet Union it is a stage of building the material and technical basis of communism, and for most of the others one of building an advanced socialist society. The relevant prob-

lems were thoroughly and broadly discussed recently at various fraternal Party congresses.

In this context the new five-year plans for 1966-70 are factors of prime importance. Despite disparities in targets, the new stage in planned development has features common to one extent or another to all the CMEA countries. In effect, all the fraternal countries are seeking a further substantial boost in industry and agriculture and, on this basis, a further, equally substantial boost in the standard of living—a task that they expect to accomplish by exploiting to the full all scientific and technological advances, intensifying social production and enhancing its effectiveness.

Table V
BASIC TARGETS OF FIVE-YEAR PLANS FOR 1966-70
GROWTH IN (%)

	National Income	Aggregate Industrial Output	Aggregate Farm Output	Real per Capita Incomes
Bulgaria	50	70	30	30
Hungary	19-21	32-36	13-15	14-16
German Democratic Republic	28-32	37-40	13-15	28
Mongolia	30-31	70-80	38-40	16-17
Poland	34	44	15.8-17.2	10
Rumania	47	66-73	26-32	25
USSR	39	53	25	30
Czechoslovakia	31-32	37	15	17-18

By and large, Table V shows that rates of growth of national income and of industrial and agricultural production are expected to surpass those of the previous five years.

The key problem is to enhance effectiveness. A relatively stable norm of accumulation is envisaged in most of the CMEA countries. Economic growth will not, generally speaking, stem from a relative growth of accumulation, but from its more rational use. The relation of sub-division I to sub-division II (output of means of production to consumer output) will be made more favorable through accelerated agricultural growth and a more rapid growth of the consumer industries, for the level now attained by the CMEA countries enables them to narrow the gap considerably between the group A industries (producing means of production) and group B (producing consumer goods). In the Soviet Union, for example, the growth rate for

group B in 1968 is set at 8.6 per cent, and that for group A at 7.9 per cent.

Far-reaching structural changes are envisaged in heavy industry. Industries contributing most to technical progress and improving the structure of all social production, such as power, engineering and chemicals, will expand at a priority rate surpassing that of industry as a whole.

The envisaged structural changes, coupled with improved technical standards—broad mechanization and automation, progressive production techniques, more chemicalization and electrification of work processes, employment of highly-efficient types of power and raw materials, etc.—are certain to push up some of the more important indicators of economic effectiveness. The growth rates of industrial labor productivity, for example, are sure to rise in most CMEA countries, and the increasing role of this indicator in their economic development is obvious (See Table VI).

Table VI
INCREMENT OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT
THROUGH HIGHER LABOR
PRODUCTIVITY (%%)

	1961-65	1966-70
Bulgaria	68	76
Hungary	70	80
German Democratic Republic	100	100
Poland	68	76
Rumania	62	74
Czechoslovakia	69	90

The external economic relations of the socialist countries are expanding, and it is estimated that foreign trade in the five years 1966-70 will increase by at least 50 per cent.

Most CMEA countries are now in the act of converting to a new system of planning and management. Despite disparities from country to country, the reforms are essentially the same, representing a transition to economic methods of planned regulation through a heavier accent on incentives and economic accountability. Commodity-money relations are being used more extensively, and centralized planning is blended more flexibly with initiative at factory and shop level. This is gradually producing a more pliable system of economic guidance, helping to resolve some of the vital problems of socialist and communist upbuilding.

The current five-year plans, once fulfilled, will represent a fresh advance in the economic competition with capitalism, for tentative estimates show that the industrial output of the CMEA community will increase at least by 50 per cent.

The indicators show that they have got off to a good start. In 1966 they boosted industrial output by 8.3 per cent, and by about 9.5 per cent in 1967. In most of them industry exceeded plan targets. Soviet output, for example, increased 10 per cent instead of the planned 7.3, that of Hungary 9 per cent instead of 4.6, etc. As a result of growth in 1966 and 1967, Czechoslovakia revised her original five-year targets, with

the national income booked to rise 31-32 per cent in the five years instead of the original 22-24, and industrial output 37 per cent instead of 23-24.

In the capitalist world the favorable economic climate of the preceding five years has now deteriorated perceptibly. In 1966, industrial output in the advanced capitalist countries climbed seven per cent, this high average being attained chiefly by virtue of the nine per cent rise recorded in the United States. Growth in the Common Market countries was 4.8 per cent, and 1.1 per cent in Britain. But in 1967 economic snags hit not only the West European countries, but the United States as well. Estimates show that industrial output in the USA climbed a mere one per cent in 1967, affecting the dynamics of growth throughout the capitalist world: the increment of industrial output in the developed states is considerably less than the year before. Assuming that the capitalist countries maintain the industrial growth rate of 1961-65—and this is doubtful—their increment towards the end of 1970 against 1965 will amount to a mere 30 per cent. Hence, industry in the CMEA countries will grow at a higher rate in these five years as well. The five-year targets and the results of the first two years are a clear indication that in 1966-70 the socialist countries will move ahead in terms of world output and register fresh gains in the economic competition with capitalism.

* * *

Now well advanced beyond the formative period, socialism has gained new strength and is brimming with energy. It is poised for fresh achievements and intrinsically ripe for steady and rapid progress towards communism. This progress is irreversible, revealing more and more fully the advantages of the new social system and ultimately winning the decisive victory over capitalism in the economic competition. That is the writing on the wall, the objective historical trend, the will of the peoples of the socialist countries.

Polish agriculture: its achievements and problems

JOSEF TEJCHMA

Polish agriculture is developing under the strong influence of industrialization. Although its contribution to the national income and share of the labor force are steadily diminishing, its economic importance should not be underestimated. Agriculture remains the source of income for almost 34 per cent of the population. Industry based on agriculture accounts for about 20 per cent of total industrial output. A growing role is played by agriculture in implementing one of the most important tasks of the national economy — steady improvement of the daily diet. The growing demand for foodstuffs resulting from the rapid increase of non-agricultural employment and the rising incomes of the population calls for a corresponding growth in agricultural output. This is an important element of the policy of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Laying the guidelines of agrarian policy in 1964, the 4th Congress of our Party formulated the principle of combining agricultural development with the gradual formation of socialist relationships in the countryside.

One of the practical tasks is to bring up grain production to a level capable of ensuring constant improvement of the diet and the eventual discontinuance of the importation of grain. Accordingly, the following measures have been taken to improve conditions in agriculture:

- greater supply of manufactured goods, especially mineral fertilizers, concentrated fodder and quality seeds;

- considerable increase in capital con-

struction in agriculture and modernization of its production base;

- extension and improvement of production and trade services;

- encouragement for the simple forms of cooperation in the individual sector to promote growth of the productive forces;

- provision of skilled personnel and a higher level of specialized knowledge of all those engaged in agriculture.

Thanks to increased allocations for agriculture, between 1965 and 1967 the value of gross agricultural output grew by 14 per cent compared with the 1962-64 period, and yields of the four main grain crops increased from an annual average of 1.65 tons per hectare in 1962-64 to 1.9 tons in 1966 and 1.95 tons in 1967. By 1970 per-hectare yield should be in excess of two tons.

The same applies to potatoes, sugar-beet, hay, vegetables and fruit. Application of fertilizers and modern methods of selection has resulted in relatively high yields of potatoes (1.69 tons per hectare in 1966 and 1.76 tons in 1967). This is an important achievement, considering the large area under potatoes (18 per cent of the total crop area), which, together with grain, constitute the chief fodder base for pork production.

We have achieved a relative abundance of industrial crops enabling us to concentrate on improving quality and increasing output on the same sown areas.

Output of livestock products has also grown considerably. The current five-year plan (1966-70) envisages major changes in

the structure of animal husbandry. In view of the short supply of grain, we plan for a slower rate of growth of the hog production, all the more so since it reached an impressive 14.2 million in 1967. Emphasis will be on qualitative changes (quicker herd rotation with intensified fattening) to make pork production grow faster than the herd—a feasible task, considering the rapid increase in output of high-quality mixed fodder.

Measures have been taken to accelerate the growth of the cattle herd. The first two years of the five-year plan period saw an 8.2 per cent growth, reaching 10.8 million. Planned increase in milk production, which in 1970 should be 13 per cent greater than in 1965, will be achieved mostly through raising milk yields.

Thus two trends are coming into their own in our animal husbandry. The first and principal one is reliance on home fodder resources and more effective utilization of the large non-grain fodder reserve to increase the head of cattle. The second is to raise livestock productivity, mostly through intensified pig fattening and higher milk yields.

The changes in agriculture can be summed up as a trend for market production and procurements to grow faster than total agricultural output. This applies especially to meat, milk, vegetables and fruit. As a result, the past three years witnessed a considerable increase in the consumption of processed farm products: meat by 12.2 per cent, fats 5.6 per cent, milk and dairy products 7.5 per cent and sugar by 10.2 per cent. Adequate supply of home-produced agricultural raw materials for industry has accelerated growth of industrial production and helped narrow the gap between growth rates in the producer and consumer goods industries. Incomes in all sectors of agriculture have also risen which, among other things, makes for a considerable increase in capital investments.

* * *

Despite these achievements, our chief economic problem—shortage of grain and fodder—remains unsolved. The increase in yields of grain and fodder crops and the productivity of pastures has not been high enough to ensure a sufficiently rapid growth of livestock production. Nor is the demand for meat and meat products fully satisfied yet. We import grain to make up somewhat for the shortage of fodder, but this is a temporary measure. The main

thing is to intensify the production of basic fodder crops, especially grain, which necessitates improving the supply to agriculture of machinery.

Intensive agriculture is predicated at present on mineral fertilizers, and more of them are being supplied. In 1967 the application of mineral fertilizer per hectare of farmland averaged 79.8 kg (in conventional units), and by 1970 is expected to reach 136 kg.

The supply of pesticides is likewise increasing. By 1970 it will be 50 per cent greater than in 1965. Mixed fodder, produced in increasing amounts, is gradually, and with good results, replacing grain fodder. Last year three million tons of mixed fodder were supplied, half as much again as in 1960.

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The rapid growth of machinery and other production assets assumes increasing importance in view of the diminishing reserves of labor power in the countryside. A large part of the planned investments in agriculture is designed for modernization, specifically for replacement of obsolete basic means of production in the individual sector with modern ones, such as powerful tractors and other machines.

Up till now the shortage of machinery has been compensated by the availability of manpower. But manpower reserves in agriculture are now shrinking and must be replaced by machines. Therefore investments planned for agriculture in 1966-70 are 65.5 per cent greater than in the previous five years and account for about 18 per cent of all allocations for the national economy, as against 13.3 per cent in 1961-65. Fifty per cent of the allocations will be contributed by the state and the remainder by the producer cooperatives, farmers' societies and individual peasants.

Big investments will be made in land amelioration, including draining about 900,000 hectares of arable, meadows and pastures.

Migration of the rural population to the towns necessitates bigger outlays on machinery, which will claim more than 30 per cent of total planned investments. In terms of value, the supply of tractors and other machines and implements will be 65 per cent greater than in the previous five-year plan period. More than 200,000 tractors will be delivered, which will reduce the average area per tractor from 137 hectares in 1965 to 64 in 1970. There will be

a considerable increase in allocations for the construction of houses, agricultural schools, repair shops and warehouses. Accordingly, steps are being taken to eliminate the shortage of building materials.

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A word about the structure of our agriculture.

In 1966 individual farms accounted for about 85 per cent of all the farmland, 87.7 per cent of total agricultural output and 81.6 per cent of the market output. Big changes are taking place both in the peasant economy and in its relationship to the national economy as a whole. Although the process of building socialism has not yet brought about a radical reconstruction of peasant farming, it has considerably modified its character. The peasant farm, closely linked up with the entire national economy, is in the macro-economic scheme of things subordinated to the objectives of the state which are conditioned by the present stage of socialist construction. The rates and proportions of agricultural growth as a whole are to a large degree determined by the state plan. Among the many instruments used by the state to influence the individual sector in agriculture a very important role is played by capital investments (of which state and public investments make up more than 70 per cent), by the socialized agricultural market, price policy and by the state sector in agriculture.

An extensive and fairly effective system of economic levers has been created to promote the integration of the individual and socialist sectors. Special mention should be made of the contract system and the agricultural market.

The socialized trade network and the processing industry purchase about 80 per cent of all the market output (about 45 per cent of it through contracts). The contract system includes elements of production services, credits, consultations and the introduction of advanced farming practices which make it possible to influence the structure, volume and quality of agricultural output and to zone it rationally depending on local manpower resources, production tradition and natural conditions. The share of contract crops in the total sown area is steadily growing.

A big role in the contacts between the individual and socialist sectors is played by the peasant cooperatives. For instance, dairy cooperatives influence production of milk and growth of productivity not only

through purchasing milk for processing, but also by providing credits, fodder and expert advice. Consumer cooperatives, too, not only conclude contracts with individual peasants, but offer services such as soil chalking, pesticide spraying, transportation of farm products, etc.

The state also uses instruments of an administrative and legal order. One of the purposes of administrative interference is to ensure effective utilization of the means allocated for agriculture. Thus, the state makes it obligatory for peasants to change, once in every three or four years, the seed of grain crops and potatoes, to combat weeds and pests, make proper use of ameliorated land, and so on. Besides, it takes measures for prevention and treatment of cattle diseases.

Although the basic means of production remain the private property of individual peasants and the distribution of incomes for purposes of reproduction and consumption depends largely on the peasants themselves, the state can influence accumulation in the private sector, primarily through prices and taxes. In 1959 the state established a development fund for agriculture, built up from the means which constitute the difference between the market price and the lower price paid for the planned part of the grain, meat and potatoes purchased by the state. As the collective property of the villages, the fund is used, for the most part, to finance the purchase of tractors and other machines used collectively.

The development fund helps maintain reproduction in the individual sector and augment the collective property of the villagers. Into this fund also go depreciation deductions from the value of the collectively-used machines.

Then there are farmers' societies, the predominant form of cooperation in the private sector. They exist in 90 per cent of the villages and unite 38 per cent of all peasants. Farmers' societies engage mostly in farm mechanization, which is conducted with the help of experts and technical facilities provided by the state and collectively-owned machinery purchased through the development fund. In 1966 there were 25,000 farmers' societies with 53,000 tractors and an appropriate number of sets of machines and implements.

The farmers' societies are highly instrumental in introducing the latest achievements of science and raising the skill of the peasants. Like the cooperatives, they give

scope to the production and social initiative of the peasants, channelling it into the realization of the Party's agrarian policy.

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A role of growing importance belongs to the socialized sector, in which state farms predominate.

The state farms, of which there are over 6,000, cultivate about 2.7 million hectares, or 13.4 per cent of all the farmland. Sixty per cent of them farm about 500 hectares each. By way of comparison, the 1,220 producers' cooperatives cultivate a total of about 240,000 hectares (an average of 180 hectares per cooperative). The state farms, then, are the principal form of large-scale socialized farming in the Polish countryside. Their production facilities are being constantly modernized. They are headed by experts who have, within the framework of established conditions and tasks, a large measure of independence in deciding production questions.

The state farms are distinguished by a relatively high concentration of machinery and the highest degree of mechanization of the production processes. They have 35 hectares of farmland per tractor. This, however, does not yet ensure timely and agro-technically faultless performance of all the jobs. By 1970 the state farms will have been equipped with sufficient mechanical traction capacities and other modern machines. Special attention will be paid to modernization of livestock-breeding.

So far the state farms have successfully coped with their tasks. Average annual increase in the yields of grain crops and potatoes achieved by them is twice as high as elsewhere in our agriculture. In recent years they have raised the number of cattle per 100 hectares of farmland from 32 to 50. They never fail to supply individual farmers with seed and pedigree cattle. The state farms have a high marketability of their produce. In 1961-65 their market output grew by 62 per cent as compared with 30 per cent for agriculture as a whole. The state farms account for about 17 per cent of total market agricultural produce, and nearly 21 per cent in market field crops. More than one-third of all grain procured in the country is delivered by the state farms, which also sell considerable quantities of seed to the individual peasants. Turning out the biggest amount of market farm products per hectare, the state farms orient themselves primarily on the output of basic products, which adds

to their importance as suppliers of food-stuffs to the urban population.

A growing role is played by the state farms in raising the scientific level of our agriculture. In addition to setting examples and introducing new agro- and zootechnical methods, they possess the material levers that help them in this, such as high-quality seed and pedigree cattle with which they supply agriculture.

The socialized sector is both a factor of steady progress in agriculture and a base for planning development of its technology and organizing its production on a collective basis.

It should be noted also that the state farms have accumulated much experience in the area of remuneration, introducing elements of incentives (bonuses). This system has greatly helped to enhance the initiative and sense of responsibility of the organs of workers' self-management and has created conditions for decentralizing management in the socialized sector and delegating the right to decide production matters to the farms themselves in the person of their managers and experts.

A new and important task of the state farms is to reclaim land not properly utilized or abandoned—a phenomenon explained by the decline of some farms, the precariousness of those farms whose owners have reached old age and have no successors, and the insufficient utilization of the production possibilities in many regions owing to the shortage of manpower and equipment and the agrotechnical backwardness of peasants.

One of the aims of our agricultural policy is to reduce such phenomena to the minimum. If, for instance, it is impossible to remove the causes of the decline of some farms, measures can be taken to prevent wastage of their basic assets and especially the land falling into disuse. No time should be lost in transferring these farms into other hands to ensure their effective reclamation. Such land will accrue to the state, specifically on the strength of the law concerning compulsory purchase of ineffectively tilled farms and also as a result of measures to eliminate strip farming and to combine small plots into tracts to be cultivated by the state farms. Those peasants whose land will be taken over by the state will receive pensions adequate to provide for old age.

These measures will accelerate expansion of the socialized sector, in particular state farms. This process has been going on for

many years. Between 1960 and 1965, for instance, the state farms increased their holdings by 235,000 hectares, from 2,425,000 to 2,660,000. In the current five-year period another 300,000 hectares will be added. This process is economically necessary, for there is no other way of reclaiming the land which for one reason or another is not used in the private sector. The process leads to concentration of the land, growth of the socialized sector and, consequently, to the ultimate objective of the socialist reconstruction of the countryside.

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Of very great importance for the development and reconstruction of agriculture is the application of modern methods of farming. Extension of the network of agricultural schools at all levels is our constant concern. At present we have seven agricultural higher schools with 26,430 students. In addition, a certain number of polytechnical college students specialize in farm mechanization. Between 1945 and 1966 the agricultural higher schools graduated about 40,000 experts. The training of junior specialists is also conducted on a large scale. In the 1966-67 academic year the 285 agricultural secondary schools had about 49,000 students. But the trained specialists are not used effectively enough yet. Too many of them work in administrative bodies. Measures are now being taken to change this state of affairs. This includes extension of the Agricultural Service network directly in the villages and the institution of offices of agronomists, zootechnicians and other specialists in the rural people's councils, with the task of providing expert advice and generally helping peasants.

A very important factor is, and will remain, agricultural training for young people staying on in the villages. This is taken care of by one- and two-year agricul-

tural schools. The experience shows that both the parents and the young people show considerable interest in this form of study. This is a gratifying fact, indicative of the intention of a considerable part of the rural youth to work in agriculture and, what is more important, to acquire the corresponding training. At present the two-year agricultural schools have an attendance of over 120,000.

On the whole, however, our peasants in their mass are not yet prepared theoretically and practically for the effective application of modern means of production. Hence we are launching a big campaign for the dissemination of agricultural knowledge. An important role in this is played by various agricultural institutions and especially the Agricultural Service, which organizes courses and individual consultations, arranges experimental plots and distributes agricultural literature. Radio and television, too, help in popularizing modern methods of farming. At present our chief concern is to expedite the practical application of the specialized knowledge.

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Thus, in its agricultural policy our Party employs a wide range of means to increase production and eventually reconstruct agriculture along socialist lines: greater supply of means of production, bigger investments, training specialists, instructing peasants in modern methods, improving the work of the institutions catering to agriculture and stimulating the initiative of all farmers and state farm workers. Coupled with the favorable economic conditions created in agriculture, these measures should ensure its further development. We believe that in the coming years we will achieve even more impressive results. To do so is one of the tasks our Party sets before itself.

A weapon in our struggle

B. LADYGIN, M. LEBEDEV

Published half a century ago, *The State and Revolution* helped Communists define their attitude to the bourgeois machinery of government and better to appreciate the basic slogans of the October Revolution. In this book Lenin upholds the viewpoint of Marx and Engels against opportunistic distortion and, drawing on proletarian revolutionary experience between 1848 and 1917, develops and concretizes the Marxist theory on the relation of revolution to the state.

The present stage of the world revolutionary process demands continued study of that theory, for the rise and development of such forms of statehood as the socialist state pose new theoretical and practical problems. Besides, the bourgeois state has acquired a number of new characteristics, particularly with the development of state-monopoly capitalism. And there is another factor, the advance of the national-liberation struggle, which in a number of ex-colonial countries has given rise to specific forms of statehood.

The State and Revolution is being read and re-read by progressives in every part of the world. In it they find a creative approach to all the previous achievements of Marxist research on the subject. For Lenin regarded the works of his predecessors, Marx and Engels, not as a collection of set formulas, dogmas and ready solutions, but as a guide to action which needs to be constantly developed on the basis of accumulated revolutionary experience.

The book's permanent value also lies in the fact that it sets an example of how theoretical problems should be treated in the context of the concrete questions of revolutionary struggle at every given stage. Lenin displayed a remarkable ability to combine immediate tasks with the ultimate

aims of the struggle, combating both the opportunist maxim that "the movement is everything, the ultimate aim nothing," and the Leftist tendency to disregard and bypass immediate tasks and concentrate on ultimate aims.

In carrying forward the theory of Marx and Engels on the state organization of future society, Lenin gave us a precise prognosis of the principal features of this state organization without, however, indulging in useless speculation and hasty generalization.

We propose to deal only with some of the questions discussed by Lenin. We certainly lay no claim to a comprehensive survey of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and revolution.

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One of the basic theses advanced in *State and Revolution* is the need for revolutionary violence to overthrow the exploiting classes. This at once became, and remains, the subject of fierce ideological and political struggle.

There is a tendency to regard the concept of violence, or coercion, only in its more severe forms. Lenin, however, was concerned not with forms but with substance.

Marxism understands revolutionary violence, as employed by the working people, as measures directed against the will and interests of the exploiters. In other words, measures that express the will and interests of the majority of the working people and designed to ensure the transfer to them of state power and ownership of the basic means of production. Of course, there would be no need for coercion if the exploiting minority (in our day, the imperialist monopolies and their agents in govern-

ment) were voluntarily to cede power and their accumulated wealth. In other words, there would be no need for coercion if, on this supreme issue of the forms of ownership and the essentials of state power, the interests of the workers and the capitalists coincided. Consequently, it is the resistance of the exploiting classes to objectively necessary changes that compels the revolutionary forces to resort to coercion. Moreover, in time of revolution the measure and form of coercion depend entirely on the measure and form of resistance by the big bourgeoisie and its officialdom. For it is clear that socialism cannot be built without replacing the exploitive pattern of capitalist society by a socialist pattern. And it is equally clear that the institutions designed to safeguard the capitalist state are bound to resist the will and resolve of the masses. The task of the socialist revolution, therefore, is to overcome this resistance, abolish these institutions and replace them with institutions that accord with the requirements of the new socialist way. Naturally, armed resistance by the exploiters, that is, armed counter-revolution, will compel the revolutionary forces to have recourse to arms too.

The changes wrought by the socialist revolution find expression in varying forms of expropriation of the expropriators (confiscation, nationalization, compensated nationalization, etc.). This entails such actions as disarming the armed forces serving the ruling class (notably the secret police), dismissal of officials who sabotage the measures of the new, revolutionary government and cling to the old bureaucratic system. All this is part of the revolutionary coercion needed to bring the economic, social and political organization of society into conformity with the wishes of the majority of its members, the requirements of social development and the advance to socialism. There is the testimony of history to show that no revolution has ever taken place without violence.

It stands to reason that the degree and the forms of coercion will vary, depending on the relationship of class forces (and this includes the attitude of the armed forces), the numerical strength and organization of the forces supporting the revolution, the way the revolutionary situation takes shape, the extent and form of resistance of the exploiting classes. The strength and unity of the socialist countries, their political support, and worldwide labor solidarity, are weighty factors too.

The borderline between peaceful and non-peaceful methods, always relative, is determined primarily by the kind of violence the reactionary forces employ in their attempt to impose their will on the people.

Any sharp contrast between armed and peaceful forms of the revolution, making an absolute of either, is bound to be artificial.

It should be stressed in this context that Lenin did not regard revolution only as an armed uprising or only as a peaceful action. Marxism-Leninism teaches us to be prepared to use the most diverse forms of revolutionary struggle and always be guided by the need to achieve decisive superiority at the crucial moment and crucial place as an essential condition of victory. Though he attached great importance to the armed struggle, Lenin never subscribed to the view that "power comes out of the barrel of the gun." An armed rising not based on the revolutionary will and vital interests of the majority of the working people, their enthusiasm and militant energy, stands no chance of success. Revolutionary power derives from the superiority of class forces, from active and purposeful participation of the masses. Support by the progressive forces of the world is of immense importance too.

The experience of many countries has demonstrated that close ties with organizations of the oppressed classes capable of marshalling the forces of revolution is an essential condition for a successful socialist revolution and for the transfer of power to the working class and its allies. These organizations can play a decisive part in the conquest of state power and later serve as the political foundation of the socialist state. In Russia that was accomplished by the Soviets. Lenin emphasized: "If the creative enthusiasm of the revolutionary classes had not given rise to the Soviets, the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a hopeless cause, for the proletariat could certainly not retain power with the old state apparatus, and it is impossible to create a new apparatus immediately." (*Coll. Works, Eng. ed., Vol. 26, p. 104.*)

In the People's Democracies an essential role in the socialist revolution was played by the National Committees or organs of the Fatherland (Popular, National) Front.

The experience of some countries suggests that, in specific conditions and at specific stages of the civil war, insurgent committees, organs of the People's Army

led by the proletarian vanguard, can become the embryo of revolutionary power.

Future practice will very probably reveal other organizations capable of carrying out these revolutionary tasks. The Spanish Communists, for instance, regard the workers' commissions, now steadily gaining influence, as the embryo of such a revolutionary organization.

In some developed capitalist countries the Communist parties believe that, given a changed alignment of social forces, traditional democratic institutions can carry out socialist reforms. All these diverse views, however, are based on the principles enunciated by Lenin.

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Another point to which Lenin attached great importance concerns the smashing of the bourgeois machinery of government in the course of the socialist revolution. *The State and Revolution* was written at a time when imperialism was just entering into its state-monopoly phase (towards the end of World War I state-monopoly methods of government were more or less developed only in Germany). In Lenin's time state-monopoly capitalism was a development trend; now it is a reality. Lenin very clearly formulated the proposition that the old machinery of government, created by the ruling class to serve its purposes, must be destroyed in the course of the revolution. Does that apply in the present stage?

In speaking of the bourgeois machinery of government, Lenin had in mind chiefly the military-bureaucratic apparatus — the standing army, police and top officialdom, which are intimately linked with the ruling class and serve it to the best of their ability. And this government machine sees in every democratic move an encroachment on its power monopoly. It might be recalled in this context that after World War II, in 1947, Communists were ousted from the constitutionally formed governments of France and Italy, for the reactionaries knew that Communist participation in government would powerfully influence peaceful development towards social progress and democracy.

The military and police apparatus, and the militarist forces generally, play an ever-growing role in the present-day capitalist state. In Lenin's day the USA, for instance, did not have the Pentagon with its ramified military machine, nor such secret police organizations as the FBI and the CIA.

There is also the continued strengthen-

ing, in most bourgeois countries, of the executive branch and of the bureaucratic apparatus, with resultant restriction of parliamentary rights and democratic guarantees. The French Communists, for example, point to the more pronounced tendency for personal power to rule by fiat rather than by parliamentary legislation.

The fact that the link between the military-bureaucratic apparatus and the monopolies has become stronger rather than weaker and has, in a certain sense, become international, confirms the validity in our day, too, of Lenin's proposition that the machine must be destroyed as a preliminary condition for the victory of any real people's revolution. Obviously, there will be no Pentagon and no "cloak-and-dagger" agencies in the United States if the progressive forces come to power—these elements of the government machine are doomed to destruction. Wherever the military machine has become a component part of the Atlantic Alliance it is important to press the demand for withdrawal from NATO. In present conditions this would be a blow at imperialism's military-bureaucratic structure.

But it should be emphasized that Lenin never advocated total destruction of the bourgeois machinery of government. In it, and in the economic apparatus of the monopolies, he saw many elements which could be effectively used by the victorious revolution in building socialism. This applies specifically to such branches as accounting, control and economic planning, and to such areas as science, education, welfare and public health. The existence of these elements of government and their functions foster the illusions—which the reformists are quick to exploit—that the bourgeois state stands above classes and performs a socially useful function. In reality, this aspect merely shows that there are additional objective prerequisites for socialism; it certainly does not suggest that the bourgeois state is casting off its exploitive substance.

The documents of the 1957 and 1960 conferences of Communist and Workers' parties note that in a number of capitalist countries the working class can, under definite conditions, "secure a firm majority in parliament and transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people." Wide use of traditional parliamentary forms is envisaged in the program of the Communist

parties of Britain, France and a number of other capitalist countries. Does this contradict the Leninist attitude towards bourgeois parliamentarism?

In his *State and Revolution* Lenin, while urging full use of bourgeois parliaments to advance the revolution, warns against infatuation with parliamentary methods. He notes that parliamentary institutions do not play a decisive part in the political organization of bourgeois society, that they often become mere talking shops.

The experience of Communist and Workers' parties over the past half century shows that they have been guided by Lenin in combining parliamentary and non-parliamentary struggle. This has to a certain extent influenced the appearance of new features in bourgeois parliamentarism. They are the result of sustained and hard-fought struggle by the progressive forces, which have injected a new element—more active parliamentary intervention in political life and in "the real work of the state." Naturally, this has not made the forces that speak for state-monopoly capitalism relax their efforts to bypass parliament, to curtail its rights and extend those of the executive branch, or to change electoral laws to suit their purpose. Now as in the past, the big bourgeoisie is seeking to reduce parliament to an empty formality.

The way out of bourgeois parliamentarism, Lenin emphasizes, is not abolition of representative institutions and of the elective principle, but the conversion of these institutions into "working" bodies. In Lenin's time the opportunists used parliament to divert the masses from revolutionary struggle, indeed, to combat revolution. Now, however, in many capitalist countries the revolutionary forces have learned to use parliament against reaction. Should they abandon that gain? Does it run counter to Lenin's attitude? Certainly not. The experience of a number of Communist and Workers' parties suggests that use of parliament by the progressive forces and the struggle to modify it is, in effect a struggle for democracy and, ultimately, for socialism.

Democratic traditions and accumulated experience enable the revolutionary forces to make more active use of parliamentary institutions and to convert parliament from a talking shop into a viable and working institution. To this might be added that the experience of the People's Democracies in Europe shows that both the revolutionary

overcoming of bourgeois parliamentarism and parliamentary traditions and institutions can contribute to the victory of national-democratic and socialist revolutions. It can be assumed that in future parliamentary traditions and institutions will, at any rate in a number of cases, be used even more effectively to promote the fight for socialism.

With the oppressed classes organized to fight for power "from below," the development of mass extra-parliamentary struggle will make it possible, given favorable conditions, effectively to use parliament for action "from above," gradually transforming it from a talking shop into a working institution. The combination of both could become the basis for a comprehensive system of socialist representative bodies.

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In *State and Revolution* and in other works, Lenin lays stress on the guiding role of the working class in preparing and carrying out the socialist revolution and in the subsequent building of socialism. This and the supporting arguments have come to be known as the doctrine of proletarian dictatorship.

In our time, proletarian dictatorship is often associated with its more clearly expressed coercive aspects and methods. These are contrasted to bourgeois democracy, disregarding the fact that the latter, too, represents the power of one class over another, and that Lenin described bourgeois democracy as dictatorship, both in its moderate and rigid varieties. But he also emphasized that proletarian dictatorship cannot be equated with violence, which is not its chief feature, though under definite conditions at certain periods of the revolutionary process violence can dominate. The chief feature is participation of all the working people in the administration of state and public affairs and, in the economic sphere, the achievement of a higher productivity than under capitalism.

Proletarian dictatorship, Lenin writes, is "a scientific, historico-philosophical term which means the following:

"Only a definite class, namely, the urban workers and the factory, industrial workers in general, is able to lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people in the struggle to throw off the yoke of capital, in actually carrying it out, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating the new, socialist

social system and in the entire struggle for the complete abolition of classes." (*Coll. Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 29, p. 420) Proletarian dictatorship is the state form through which the proletariat achieves its hegemony and carries out its historic mission.

The experience of the socialist countries shows that working class direction of socialist construction is decisive for success. Socialism will not benefit from attempts to dispense with the political leadership of the working class.

In the leading capitalist countries the working class has undergone far-reaching structural changes. For one thing, there is a higher percentage of skilled workers, necessitated by the technological revolution, and higher general and technical standards. This makes for more effective working-class leadership. The number of white-collar workers, both in the production and non-production spheres, has increased many times over. Most of them, in trend of development, represent a new section of the working class. And the latter has become more organized, as witnessed by the growth of trade union and other organizations and the higher demands in relation to wages and conditions.

All these quantitative and qualitative changes, however, do not detract from the vanguard role of the working class. In the capitalist countries it remains the chief producer of material values, the chief antagonist of the ruling bourgeoisie and the chief target of exploitation. Its historic mission is to end not only its own exploitation, but exploitation in general; not only to deprive the exploiting classes of their power, but to assure the transition to a classless society. Its basic aims conform with the fundamental interests of all working people, of the whole of society. There is no justification whatsoever for the contention that social development has changed to such an extent as to vitiate the leading role of the working class in preparing and carrying out the socialist revolution and in building socialism. Nor is it contradicted by the enhanced role of the professionals: their only progressive path is to fight exploitation, that is, join forces with the working class. And the bourgeoisie is powerless to prevent that, for the interests of both are being more closely harmonized.

Does the principle of working-class leadership hold good for the newly-independent countries? One school of thought maintains that it does not apply to them, inasmuch as in some of them the working class has

not yet taken shape, or is still weak. But it might be asked: would these independent Third World countries, which reject capitalism as the trend of their development, have emerged if there were no international working-class and its creation, the socialist world system? Common aims in the anti-imperialist struggle are bringing the progressive forces of these countries into closer relations with the international working class. Mutual support makes for closer understanding and closer cooperation between these natural allies. Support by the socialist countries is a major factor, too. Lenin's proposition that underdeveloped countries can advance to socialism without having to go through the capitalist stage presupposes precisely such harmony of interests of the international working class and the non-proletarian strata of the working people in former colonies and dependencies. Furthermore, Marxist ideas are rapidly gaining influence in their revolutionary-democratic parties, and in some places groups or parties of the Marxist-Leninist type are being formed. The efforts of the revolutionary-democratic parties and national-democratic states are directed towards building up an industrial structure served by a national working class, repelling imperialist encroachment, suppressing imperialist agents within the country, and forming an alliance with the socialist states. Needless to say, if the international working class had not carried out such sweeping worldwide social changes, and had not created the socialist system, this would have been impossible.

The forms of working class leadership in the revolution vary. We have examples of one-party and multi-party systems after the socialist revolution. One example (though of short duration) was the multi-party socialist government, the Council of People's Commissars, set up immediately after the October Revolution.

Given favorable conditions, we should not preclude the existence, parallel with the Communist Party and parties allied with it, of opposition parties in the transition to socialism. At any rate, the British, French, Italian, and Finnish Communists and those of several other developed capitalist countries envisage such an eventuality.

Consequently, Lenin's proposition on the leading role of the working class in the battle for socialist revolution and socialist victory on a worldwide scale retains all its

validity, is enriched and creatively applied in the new conditions.

* * *

It is sometimes asked: to what extent does *State and Revolution* retain its relevance for the socialist countries? The Preface is dated August 1917, that is, two months before the October Revolution. We read it now, 50 years after October and 20 years after the triumph of the socialist revolution in a number of other countries.

Socialism, Lenin pointed out, is not the end goal, not the full ideal, but an inevitable stage on the road to Communism. And in outlining its fundamental advantages over capitalism, Lenin drew attention to the fact that certain vestiges of the old system, from which the new one emerges, are retained under socialism. He writes in *State and Revolution*: "The first phase of Communism cannot yet provide justice and equality: differences, and unjust differences, in wealth will still persist, but the exploitation of man by man will have become impossible because it will be impossible to seize the *means of production*—the factories, machines; land, etc.—and make them private property. . . . In the first phase of Communist society (usually called socialism), 'bourgeois right' is not abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production." (*Coll. Works*, Eng. ed. Vol. 25, pp. 466-67.)

This does not, of course, imply that the superstructure remains bourgeois in character. It implies only that certain elements of the old society are carried over to the new, and this is both inevitable and in keeping with the laws of development. As socialist society develops these elements will be transformed or eliminated and replaced by new ones.

The bourgeois state cannot undertake the protection of public, socialist property. Its mission is to protect private property, the interests of capital. As for the function of the socialist state, it is carried out by applying the norms of socialist rights (prohibition of private ownership of the means of production, abolition of exploitation, measures against pilfering of socialist property, etc.) Another function, too, centralized economic planning, is socialist both in form and content. Some object that planning is present under state-monopoly capitalism, too. Lenin foresaw that and described the elements of planning introduced by the capitalist monopolies. He

considered planning under capitalism a harbinger of the advance of socialism, but stressed that it was necessarily restricted. In fact, the very idea of state planning under capitalism owes its origin largely to the success of socialist planning. On the other hand, it is evidence that the contradictions of capitalism cannot be resolved by "classical" bourgeois methods — evidence, in short, of the accumulation of the material prerequisites of socialism.

The extension of state economic management is evidence that, as socialism comes into its own, recourse to coercion progressively diminishes.

Mention should be made in this connection of the emergence, both in the USSR and in most European socialist countries, of qualitatively new phenomena. Reference is to the new system of economic management and planning. And though this concerns mainly the economic functions of the state, it also signifies the further development and enrichment of socialist democracy and its underlying principles.

Opponents of socialism and Left phrasemongers maintain that the present economic reforms are not a further extension of socialism, but a turn towards capitalism. What they fail to notice is that the reforms do not in any way abolish or impair the functions of the socialist state described by Lenin half a century ago. On the contrary, these functions are undergoing further development. This can best be shown if we take such a function of the state as the protection of socialist property.

The new management and planning system, like its predecessor, rules out the very possibility of a return to private ownership of the means of production. True, factories and industrial amalgamations now bear greater responsibility for socialist accumulation and expansion of the material and technical basis. True also, that the capital required for accumulation is formed and realized not only through the state budget, but also directly at factory level. But these facts only prove that we have devised more effective forms of socialist accumulation. They certainly do not prove that we are in any way going beyond the framework of socialist property. For all factories, no matter what degree of independence they now enjoy, are the property of the state, socialist property.

"The expropriation of the capitalists will inevitably result in an enormous development of the productive forces of human society," Lenin remarks in *State and Revo-*

lution, and accelerated development of the productive forces, he adds, is one of the key tasks of the socialist state. The Communist and Workers' parties are guided by that in implementing the present economic reforms.

This calls for more efficient accounting and control, and Lenin emphasizes that until Communism arrives, "the socialists demand the *strictest* control by society and by the state over the measure of consumption."

Is this being carried out in the socialist countries? Yes, and to a much fuller extent than before. We know that Lenin worked out a whole system of concrete forms of socialist accounting and control: centralized planning, centralized statistics, socialist emulation, use of the market mechanism, cost accounting.

The present economic reforms aim at perfecting both the economic and administrative agencies of accounting and control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption. And control of factory operation is increasingly becoming self-control, that is, exercised by the factory collective. This is done through the introduction of full cost-accounting and planning based on cost-accounting. This gives everyone an incentive to make the most rational use of labor and materials. The economic reforms help towards fuller realization of the socialist principle of "an equal amount of products for an equal amount of labor," or in other words, make the worker's earnings directly dependent on results, and not only of his own work, but of that of the entire collective. In this way the interests of the individual worker are more closely identified with those of the factory and the state.

The battle against bureaucratic distortions of centralism, the extension and deepening of socialist democracy, wider enlistment of workers to share in the management of industry, encouragement of their initiative and higher material and moral incentives do not cancel out centralized state administration of the economy. To quote *State and Revolution* again: "Engels did not at all mean democratic centralism in the bureaucratic sense in which this term is used by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists, the anarchists among the latter. His idea of centralism did not in the least preclude such broad local self-government as would combine the voluntary defense of the unity of the state by the 'communes' and districts, and the complete elimination

of all bureaucratic practices and all 'ordering' from above." (Vol. 25, p. 447). The present economic reforms are a further extension of democratic centralism. They perfect the methods of centralized economic management and allow production units greater independence. But they are also directed against bureaucracy, against this "ordering." They signify further evolution of the functions of the socialist state described by Lenin, an evolution which will lead the peoples of the socialist countries to communism. The principles of the socialist state formulated by Lenin on the eve of the proletarian revolution retain all their significance today, half a century after that revolution.

Lenin's appeal to bring all the workers to share in the administration of the state and to develop socialist democracy as an essential condition for the triumph of socialism has found confirmation in the practical work of socialist construction.

Lenin saw the socialist state as an expression of genuine rule by the people guaranteed by democratic institutions and stringent observance of socialist laws. He was uncompromising in rejecting Trotsky's "tighten the screws" slogan, his idea to renounce national self-determination, form so-called labor armies, with their military discipline, etc. And he castigated as a distortion of the very concept of socialist statehood advocacy of "barracks socialism" based on "leadership dictation" and leveling out of consumption, and denounced armed export of revolution. At the same time Lenin was implacable in condemning bureaucratic trends. This did not in any way signify support for the anarchistic ideas of "accelerating" the withering away of the state.

Faithful adherence to these Leninist principles, their creative development by interpretative generalization of the democratic experience of the masses will assure the continued advance of socialism.

The socialist countries furnish convincing examples of the Leninist solution of the problems involved in building the new state. In the Soviet Union and many other socialist countries there has been created a ramified system of institutions and organizations that enable the overwhelming majority of the people to share in the affairs of society and the state and in the solution of the many problems pertaining thereto.

The more comprehensive this system, the greater economic, political, legal and other guarantees are provided for such

mass democratic participation in the affairs of society. The deeper and stronger will democracy become and the greater will be the progress in building socialism. What we will have, consequently, is participation of the masses, on a permanent basis, in solving the key problems of the state and society. That is the trend today.

Much valuable experience has been accumulated in settling the national problem in a way that assures genuine equality to

all nations and peoples within the framework of a single state and within the socialist world system as a whole.

And the vanguard of socialist society, the Communist and Workers' parties, are working with greater energy to broaden and perfect democracy in their own ranks. That is one of the paramount conditions for the flourishing of socialist democracy in general.

War and politics:

U.S. discomfiture in Vietnam

A year and a half ago President Johnson set a deadline, the beginning of 1968, for "final victory" in Vietnam. It was to be achieved through escalated escalation. The South Vietnam Liberation forces upset that plan, and in the opening weeks of 1968 mounted their biggest offensive against the U.S. aggressor, his satellites and Saigon puppets.

Actively supported by the population, the Liberation Army and guerrilla units staged synchronized surprise attacks on 43 towns and hundreds of smaller communities, 11 major U.S. bases and about 20 airfields. There has been fierce street fighting in Saigon, Hue, Danang and in other towns. In Saigon, the patriots attacked General Westmoreland's headquarters, the U.S. Embassy, Saigon Army and Police headquarters, the Palace of the puppet President, and other objectives, and encircled a 6,000 strong U.S. force at Khe Sanh in the North.

The operation added up to a major defeat for Washington's policy of aggression, and to a big success for the South Vietnam patriotic forces, which have the firm backing of the people and the powerful support of the forces of peace and progress in every part of the world.

Western news analysts admit that Washington's escalation policy is at a dead end. That is putting it mildly, for what we have is complete bankruptcy of the whole imperialist concept of force as a means of resolving international issues. And Washington's escalation is based entirely on that fallacious concept, a fact no amount of propaganda can conceal or obscure. The "force concept" has been boosted by many high-ranking Americans. Eisenhower at one time declared that the United States had the right to do anything it wanted to do even if only because it was strong.

The February battles in Vietnam have made it perfectly clear that armed force is no solution for world issues. The Paris *Monde* editorialized: "It required less than 48 hours to dispel all the myths about U.S. policy in Vietnam." Walter Lippman is even more outspoken: "What is crumbling is the notion that the United States can by military force determine the order of things on the continent of Asia . . . The Johnson-Rusk policy in Asia is based on the assumption that 200 million Americans, because they have a superior technology, can lead and direct the two-thirds of the human race which inhabits the continent of Asia. It cannot be done."

There is also this important aspect of the Vietnam situation: the U.S. intervention army is virtually alone in facing the Liberation forces. The only resistance the patriots encountered in the towns came from U.S. and some Saigon army units; 169 Saigon strong points joined the Liberation forces. This is added evidence that one of the key objectives of the U.S. war effort, political stabilization of the Saigon regime and "pacification" of the population, has fallen very much short of achievement. Says the *London Times*: "Pacification is back at its starting point . . . the National Liberation Front with one blow has shattered the political rationale for the allied war effort." This, of course, is tantamount to an admission that there is no political basis for America's military plans, and all that remains is brute force, unmitigated violence. Who, then, is the advocate of violence? Who are the fanatical adherents of this cult of the mailed fist? The answer is plain enough and no amount of anti-Communist propaganda will make any one believe that the progressive forces, with their implicit faith in the people and its

future, are guilty of the charges levelled against them by reaction.

Another Paris paper, *Le Figaro*, drew attention to the political implications of the recent events: "The Vietcong has won a resounding victory . . . which has made a laughing stock of the Saigon regime and its army. The modest results Saigon achieved in pacification have been erased in a matter of hours."

The world can now see that in Vietnam the American policy of aggression and force is being countered by the conscious and steadily growing strength of an embattled people rallying ever more closely around the National Liberation Front. The NLF is growing in strength; its military arm is a component of the political forces of a consolidating society. For from the very start of the offensive there were active anti-American demonstrations by all sections of the population. In Saigon, Hue, Quangtri and in other towns National Peace Alliances were set up of representatives of mass organizations, business, religious and cultural groups.

The Executive Committee of the Union of National Peace Forces has published a four-point statement of aims:

- overthrow of the Thieu-Ky puppet government; establishment of new government bodies representative of all sections of the people;

- re-establishment of national independence and sovereignty, an end to America's unjust war and the withdrawal from South Vietnam of all U.S. and U.S. satellite forces;

- peace and an independent, democratic, peaceable and neutral South Vietnam;

- agreement with the South Vietnam National Liberation Front on joint implementation of these aspirations of the people.

Former servicemen of the puppet army who have turned against the aggressor have begun to set up their own combat organizations, Patriotic Soldiers' Unions.

These facts testify to the extension of the National Liberation Front, which includes all democratic and national organizations that want a free and genuinely independent South Vietnam. The people's struggle has thus grown into nationwide resistance to the aggressor. Even President Johnson told his news conference that the present offensive was a "general uprising." The Vietnamese people and the American aggressor are separated by a gap which, a *Washington Post* writer said, can never be bridged by American armed force.

No one, Senator Robert Kennedy told a Chicago audience, can foresee the outcome of the present fighting in Saigon and Khe Sanh, but whatever the outcome, the developments of the past two weeks should prompt us to take a new look at the Vietnam situation, analyze its grim realities, shed all wishful thinking, fond hopes and sentimental dreams, and abandon the illusions that landed us in the Vietnam morass, which threatens to engulf us. The realization is gaining ground in some U.S. capitalist circles that all attempts to find military solutions for the world's problems are, whatever the militarists may say, bound to meet with formidable resistance. The Pentagon's "local war" doctrine has fallen very much short of expectation.

Washington's initial reaction was to play down the implication of its defeat. When this proved impossible, the White House and the Pentagon cooked up arguments to justify the failure of their policy. Top Pentagon brass went on television but had nothing consoling to tell the public. In fact, one TV commentator remarked: "This was a big day in Washington for counting the dead and the wounded, but there has been no count of what the Pentagon has lost in terms of prestige."

And not only a loss of U.S. prestige. The NLF offensive has dealt a telling blow at militarism throughout the world, at the policy of aggression and armed intervention, of which the Pentagon has become the epitome. Latterly, the U.S. imperialists have banked chiefly on armed might as a universal solution. Now we have yet another demonstration of their miscalculation, a demonstration that in trying to force a military victory the Pentagon is following a hopeless course. It is going against all the political realities of the present-day world, for embattled Vietnam is not alone; it has the support of the USSR and the other socialist countries, of all the forces of peace and progress.

Judging by all the signs, the recent events in Vietnam have not made Washington any the wiser. It has stepped up the bombing of South Vietnamese cities.

James Reston says in his *New York Times* column: "There is still no evidence that the Johnson administration sees the futile brutality of these recent days . . . We are stuck with our concept of a military victory, and the main question goes unanswered: What is the end that justifies this slaughter?" Even in carrying out "purely military" operations, the political aims of the war cannot be overlooked or

relegated to the background. For it is the political aims that determine the reality or unreality of victory. That maxim was well known to past military theoreticians; their successors in the Pentagon apparently choose to remain oblivious to it. For Washington is sending more troops to Vietnam, in total disregard of the increasingly ob-

vious fact that armed force has failed to divide the people of South Vietnam, failed to win anything like a firm position for the interventionists, let alone defeat a people fighting for its country and enjoying the all-round support of the socialist world and of all progressive forces.

Jan PRAZSKY

French people's aid to embattled Vietnam

On January 16 the French Communist Party formed a National Action Committee in Support of Vietnam and for Its Victory, ushering in a new phase in the French people's fight against the Vietnam war. The body is headed by the Party's General Secretary, with Benoit Franchon, Chairman of the General Confederation of Labor, and Louis Aragon, writer, as Vice-Chairmen.

The Committee held its first big rally, attended by Parisians from all walks of life, on January 30; a feature of the gathering was the presence and enthusiasm of many young people. It was a rallying call from the people of Paris to the rest of the country, expressive of the thoughts of millions of Frenchmen.

Action committees are being formed in all Departments. In the meantime, thousands of committees, based chiefly on CP branches and sections, have been established in industrial enterprises, in neighborhoods and in country villages.

Five million copies of a newspaper put out under the auspices of the National Committee were distributed at the beginning of February.

The political platform of the National Committee ranges itself behind the aims enunciated by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam:

a) immediate and unconditional halt to the bombing and to other military action against the DRV;

b) recognition of the National Liberation

Front as the sole representative of the people of South Vietnam;

c) withdrawal of U.S. troops and closure of U.S. bases in South Vietnam;

d) all-out support for the people of Vietnam in their fight for victory and the right to run their country without foreign interference, in freedom, independence and peace.

All who approve of these aims, irrespective of political views and religious beliefs, are eligible to join the action committees. However, the National Committee, as well as the Department and local groups, are not conceived as amalgams of different organizations, because the Party holds that these would paralyze more than they would promote mass activity. "Consequently," Waldeck Rochet observed, "we need a National Action Committee established on the initiative of the Communist Party to enlist support for Vietnam of millions of men and women, notably the five million who expressed their trust in our Party."

As it embarks on this new phase, the Party relies on experience accumulated in recent years, when it contributed decisively to successful demonstrations in Paris and throughout France, notably the demonstrations of respectively 50,000 and 70,000 people under the auspices of the Peace Movement on June 17 and October 21, 1967.

The youth rally in November 1967 and the Ship for Vietnam campaign are prominent among the more recent acts of solidarity.

The youth rally, held under the auspices of the Communist Youth Movement, was attended by 70 thousand young people; it culminated in a march across Paris from Place du Colonel Fabien to Place de la Republique on November 26.

The rally was preceded by a countrywide preparatory campaign, with hundreds of meetings, conferences and film shows attended in all by some 250,000. The Communist Youth Movement, which won 6,912 new members during the campaign, distributed some two million leaflets. Besides, it issued 300,000 copies of a mimeographed newspaper calling on young people to take the following pledge:

"I demand a halt to the criminal U.S. imperialist aggression, acclaim the courage and heroism of the Vietnamese people and their unconquerable cause, and pledge all my strength to the fight for freedom, the independence of peoples and for peace."

On November 3, 1967, our Political Bureau called on all political and trade union bodies, and on solidarity organizations, to launch a joint national Ship for Vietnam campaign. A statement to the same effect, published in *l'Humanité* on November 28, above the signatures of 23 organizations (including the Communist Party, the United Socialist Party, the Party of the Young Republic, the General Confederation of Labor, the Témoignage Chrétien Movement, the People's Aid organization, the Union of French Women) announced that they were pooling efforts under the Ship for Vietnam slogan initiated by the Communist Party. They were soon joined by more groups, such as the National Union of Secondary School Teachers, the Human Rights League, Jews for Mutual Aid and Resistance Union, etc.

The statement said that a ship would be sent to Vietnam at the beginning of February with "essential supplies," such as diesel engines, power generators, laboratory instruments, medical supplies, bicycles, teaching aids, etc.

The campaign visibly enlivened the solidarity movement. Campaigners collected donations at factory gates, house-to-house and in market places. The People's Aid organization donated to the Vietnamese Red Cross 12 Renault mobile hospitals, seen by millions of Frenchmen in a TV report on Vietnam, and announced the purchase of another three in the near future. The General Confederation of Labor urged factory branches to initiate collections of their own, while the Peace Move-

ment called on its members on December 18 to join the campaign under the motto, "Frenchmen with Vietnam," and to enliven activities at the end of January and in early February, during the Vietnamese Tet (Lunar new year) holiday.

Hundreds of thousands of copies of a poem by a Vietnamese poet were distributed, saying:

When they tortured her brothers,
She told them nothing.
When they tortured her,
She told them nothing.
When they tortured her mother
She thought of the thousands of others . . .

Headed "For Future Unity," the poem was distributed by the Peace Movement at meetings, street corners, in villages, factories and schools; it was read, reproduced, and pasted on walls.

In Sète, a Mediterranean port visited by U.S. warships at the beginning of December, the Peace Movement organized a demonstration and distributed leaflets in English to the crews.

The Union of French Women sent numerous delegations to the U.S. Embassy and U.S. consulates throughout France denouncing the U.S. aggression and demanding a halt to the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The inter-union University Organization for Peace in Vietnam, backed by 13 French and other Nobel Prize holders, collected a library of 4,000 volumes for Vietnam intellectuals.

Although the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left Forces did not join either the Ship for Vietnam campaign or the national and departmental campaign committees many of its activists sent in considerable donations. Understandably so, because a recent opinion poll showed that 72 per cent of the French nation condemned the Vietnam aggression. The Ship for Vietnam idea, which evoked an enthusiastic response, gave Frenchmen an opportunity to do something tangible and real for peace. Catholics, too, gave it generous support. At the Hellemmes railway workshops, for example, the Christian group affiliated with the Democratic Confederation of Labor joined the Communist Party, the General Confederation of Labor and the Peace Movement in appealing for funds.

The over-all target was considerable: 1,200,000 francs for diesel engines, 500,000 for 3,000 sets of surgical instruments and

another 500,000 for 3,000 bicycles. To set the ball rolling, the Communist Party contributed half a million francs.

Needless to say, for the Communist Party the collection is at once a token of political support. The National Action Committee is actually an effort to bring home to the nation the true meaning of the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia and the implications of escalation.

Addressing a meeting of immigrants (of whom more than 3,000,000 reside in France), in Paris on December 19, Party General Secretary Waldeck Rochet said:

"The Communist Party, which sided with the people of Vietnam from the first day of their struggle for freedom and independence, is determined to support them without reservations until victory . . . The destiny of all nations depends ultimately on the outcome of the worldwide battle between the forces of progress, who represent the future and the imperialist forces representing the past."

At a Central Committee meeting on January 16 Waldeck Rochet said Communists must "do still more, especially in

the political field."

"The members of our Central Committee," he said, "know . . . that the U.S. aggression in Vietnam is no ordinary colonial expedition; it is a total war, part of a plan envisaging world power for U.S. imperialism . . . The victory of the Vietnamese people will be a victory for all peoples fighting for national independence, freedom, peace and socialism."

"The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are rendering the Vietnamese ever expanding support, supplying them with arms and ammunition, food, clothing, vehicles and various other equipment."

"It is absolutely essential that all people, those in capitalist countries like France, render aid in various ways. Everything should be done to complete the isolation of the U.S. imperialists and compel them to retreat and halt their criminal war."

These were the motives behind our Central Committee decision to establish the National Action Committee, which gives added impulse to the fight against the U.S. war in Vietnam.

Pierre HENTGES

Chile: economic development and the class struggle

ORLANDO MILLAS

The U.S. imperialist policy of intervention is in sharp conflict with Chile's national interests, engendering a clash of two tendencies: one towards a *coup d'etat* and tyranny, the other towards progress, social freedom and further democratization through deep-going structural change.

The collision of the two trends takes different forms and affects different areas, including the economy.

THE FORCES OPPOSING PROGRESS

There is ample evidence that some of the specific ways in which economic laws operate in Chile interweave with the general growth of modern capitalism, by which they are indeed conditioned. The experience of the past few years has revealed many obstacles in the way of further economic expansion. Foremost among them is the economic domination and the political and social influence exerted by the U.S. monopolies, positing class struggle more acutely than ever to meet the compulsive need for economic growth.

The program adopted by the Tenth Congress of our Party in 1956 defined the factors impeding Chile's economic growth as imperialist interference, dominance of the land-holder aristocracy in the countryside and, last but not least, the monopoly-finance oligarchy. The program described the latter as "*a group of big capitalists with strong positions in finance and banking, industry, transport and trade,*" and added:

"They control the Central Bank, the State Bank, the private banks and insurance com-

panies, the wholesale firms and newspaper concerns, radio broadcasting, the paper and wood pulp industry, coal, iron, copper, cement, timber, cotton textiles, artificial fabrics, beer brewing, soft drinks, shipping, etc."

The oligarchy has grown stronger in the past ten years. It has tightened its grip on the economy, notably engineering, chemicals, metallurgy, fishing and building. Parasitic by nature, it is inhibiting the growth of some industries and generally exercising an undesirable influence.

One of the salient features of this oligarchic domination is that important economic branches like copper mining, saltpeter and distribution of electric power in the more densely populated and industrially developed areas are controlled by U.S. interests. Indirectly, U.S. control extends also to the iron and steel industry in Hauchipato and to much of the foreign trade. But most striking is the subtle way of the U.S. imperialist interference: regulation of the monetary system, granting loans and subsequent withdrawal of funds from the country, draining our economy, export of profits to the tune of \$862 million in the past 12 years, and imposts, tariffs and various other duties. The same purpose is served by the mixed automobile, chemical and copper-mining companies.

The effect on the economy has been so devastating that rates of growth have slowed down. With an annual population growth of 2.7 per cent, growth of the aggregate national product was only 6.2 per cent in 1961, 4.7 per cent in 1962, 4.9 per cent in

1963, 4 per cent in 1964, 4.6 per cent in 1965 and 5.9 per cent in 1966.

What is worse, these absolutely inadequate rates of growth are still dipping. In 1960-64, average annual growth in industry as a whole was 7.6 per cent, in electric power and water supply 8 per cent, transport, storage and communications 13.9 per cent. And in 1964-66 growth was slower still—7 per cent in industry, 4.4 per cent in mining, 2.5 per cent in farming, hunting, and fishing, 6.4 per cent in electric power and water supply, and 8.8 per cent in transport, storage and communications.

Far from promoting growth, the Alliance for Progress and the *diktat* of the International Monetary Fund, coupled with imperialist investments and the mounting debt, operate as negative factors which, combining with the dominance of the financial oligarchy and the privileges of the landed gentry, are all too obviously inhibiting economic development.

That is the dramatic situation of today.

EFFORTS TO STIMULATE GROWTH

The state sector founded under the governments that issued from the People's Front victory in 1938, is fairly prominent in our economy. Distinct progress was made by it during the presidencies of Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1938-41) and Juan Antonio Rios and, especially, when the Communist Party had ministers in the cabinet at the end of 1946 and beginning of 1947. Oil extraction, sugar refining, the National Power Enterprise (with its large hydro-power plants), the railways, the national air line and some other enterprises, are wholly state-owned and operated. The State Bank is the biggest in the country, apart from the bank of issue, the discount bank and the insurance company. Besides, the state has interests in various mixed companies, notably in the iron and steel industry and copper mining. The mixed enterprises, it may be proper to note, however, are inconsistent with the national interest, being a consequence of imperialist pressure.

In the circumstances, the class struggle has assumed various forms, gearing democratic aims to the ultimate task of revolutionary reconstruction. We Communists hold that the processes in our country cannot be properly understood if viewed through the prism of other historical phenomena or from the standpoint of other times. Nor will they be comprehended if

isolated from the international scene. Our country is in the sphere of U.S. imperialist domination; its development is therefore affected by the sharpening of all the contradictions and differences bred by the ever deepening general crisis of capitalism.

In the past century, Chile's working class increased much more in numbers than it should according to the classical concept of capitalist development; this was due to the fact that the mid-nineteenth century growth of trade was followed by a rapid growth of our ore-mining industry, creating a big labor market. Investments in the then prevailing manufactory mode of production were relatively low, the national bourgeoisie amassing great wealth.

However, during the civil war of 1891 the national bourgeoisie was crushed by the coalition of British imperialists, the landed gentry and the Chilean bankers. The workers came to the fore as the main anti-imperialist force, exerting a strong influence on industrial growth through the People's Front of a quarter of a century ago. Now, hand in hand with the peasants, they have managed to get the agrarian reform off the ground, and their weight in economic, public, political and ideological affairs places them in the van of the fight for social freedoms, for immediate demands and for further democratization.

The powerful labor movement, the influential Communist Party and the strong anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses prompted the founding of a state sector, vastly important for economic growth. It was the People's Front that established the Industrial Development Corporation in 1939, without which the power, iron, oil and copper industries would never have made much headway. Incontestably, too, the state monopoly of the country's oil resources is anti-imperialist. Yet this makes the class struggle more complicated, more acute and more varied.

"The financial oligarchy," says our Program, *"controls the government apparatus and fashions the monetary, credit, customs and tax policies to suit its interests in order to tighten its grip on the country."*

The anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle assumes specific forms in relation to the various aspects of administration by government bodies which, being immediate factors in the reproduction process and involved in regulating the economy, are exposed to daily pressures from all classes and social strata.

The masses want democratic anti-mono-

poly reforms. The People's Action Front, of which the Communist and Socialist parties are the backbone, has put forward a structural reconstruction program. The two parties of the national bourgeoisie—the Radical Party, in opposition to the government and a member of the Second International, and the ruling Christian Democratic Party—were thus compelled, for their part, though prompted by differing aims and despite everlasting rivalries, to range themselves behind these projects and proclaim what the Demochristians call “the non-capitalist path of development.” We Communists are backing these reforms, though, as we see it, they cannot by themselves lead us to the non-capitalist way, because the latter depends first and foremost on the degree of democratization, the growth of the power of the working class and all its allies in the course of the reconstruction. It depends, thus, on the extent to which the working class gains control and establishes a genuinely people's government.

STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

Chile is not the only country where economic growth and class struggle proceed under state-monopoly capitalism, for in our time state-monopoly capitalism prevails not only in metropolitan imperialist countries. Besides, the world market is no longer exclusively capitalist: the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, are claiming an ever bigger share of it. However, the study made of the world market by Marx in his *Capital* is still valid, though the class struggle is now worldwide.

Being internationalists, we are aware of the organic link between our fight and the general conditions of our times. The specifics of Chile, stemming from a number of inter-related factors comprising our socio-economic structure, are not only connected with, but, in the final analysis, also dependent on the worldwide process of transition from capitalism to communism.

A petty-bourgeois trend with its accompanying nationalism has emerged within the framework of the present-day anti-imperialist movement, espousing some of the ideas aimed at breaking up both capitalism and the revolutionary process into independent and isolated areas and movements. Some of the continents, or “storm zones,” are separated from other regions of the world. Countries, and whole regions, are mechanistically fitted into certain rigid

formulas. Inferences purporting to be generalizations of the situation in definite continents are applied to individual countries, and no analysis is made of the specifics, which Marx and Lenin never omitted, and hence no generalizations based on the existing reality. Yet these specifics—and this should never be overlooked—are part of the worldwide, by no means abstract, process.

Marx warned in his Afterword to the second German edition of *Capital* that any truly dialectical study should be based on a corresponding method of investigation. “The inquiry,” he said, “has to appropriate the material in detail, to analyze its different forms of development, to trace out their inner connection.” No science, no Marxism is conceivable without this. Improvisations that generalize subjective reflections or apply the implications of some distinct phenomenon outside its sphere of operation, impair rather than assist the struggle for the revolutionary reconstruction of society.

We Communists declare once again that there is a connection—a connection borne out by the facts—between the fight waged in the various capitalist countries, both industrial and less developed, the national-liberation movement and the socialist world system. The October Revolution rang in a new era. Its influence is reflected in the concrete conditions of the social struggle in each of our countries.

The building of communism in the Soviet Union exerts a distinct influence on the international situation, adding immensely to the impact of communist ideas, which is in itself highly significant. Besides, the economic competition of the two systems, like all the other forms of class struggle on the international scene, is a determinative factor in world events. Who could argue against the fact, for instance, that the outcome of the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people and of all the peoples for peace will reflect on the general international situation?

Chile is part of Latin America, a continent shaken with social convulsions whose intensity reached a peak precisely under the influence of the October Revolution. The 1920s were highlighted by large-scale class battles in Latin American countries with a developed working class. In the '30s Mexico nationalized her oil industry; the Prestes Column was in action then in Brazil, a National Liberation Alliance was

formed, while the People's Front emerged victorious in Chile. The '40s saw a powerful surge from which issued nationalist governments in Argentina, Brazil and other countries, with Guatemala making democratic headway under Arevale and Arbenz. The uprising in Bolivia was victorious in the '50s, and in 1959 the Cuban revolution triumphed, moving ahead to socialism. Backed by the world socialist camp, Cuba went from strength to strength and dissipated the so-called geographical fatalism deriving from proximity to the United States which, the conjecture was, would nip in the bud any struggle for liberation on the continent. True, in the '60s the anti-imperialist movement suffered a series of setbacks, with "gorilla" dictatorships installed in some of our countries. However, that is transient and numerous indications show that history is running its true course.

Comrade Luis Corvalan, our General Secretary, wrote in a recent article in this journal, entitled *Alliance of the Anti-Imperialist Forces in America*:

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

In the environment of state-monopoly capitalism and, more particularly, in view of the aggressive U.S. global strategy, the solidarity of the peoples of each continent, of each region, is of the utmost importance. The seminar on *Africa, National and Social Revolution*, held about a year ago in Cairo under the joint auspices of this journal and *At-Talia*, should be commended for establishing a connection between the specifics of the African continent and the world process, pinpointing the common tasks facing the African peoples and avoiding any attempt at producing a single formula for the continent as a whole.

Imperialism, the common enemy of the Latin American peoples, is embarked on aggression; it is blockading Socialist Cuba, exporting counter-revolution, trying to subject our peoples to the brutal repressions

witnessed in Indonesia and during the fascist putsch in Greece, supporting the violence and abetting the crimes against the peoples of South and Central America and the Caribbean basin, organizing provocations and coups d'etat, and setting up "gorilla" dictatorships. We, therefore, attach the utmost importance to anti-imperialist solidarity and advocate united action by the principal revolutionary and anti-imperialist trends in Latin America. As we see it, it is essential for the labor movement and the Communists to work out guidelines for concerted action with the petty-bourgeois movement.

THE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

The class struggle in Chile is sharpest in the collision of the fascist trend backed by U.S. imperialism, on the one hand, and the democratic trend of the progressive forces, on the other.

Our formal democratic guarantees are the fruit of social battles that exacted a heavy blood toll from our people. Yet they are in constant danger and nothing will make them secure save our own ability to rally forces strong enough to block the anti-democratic trend. Besides, we do not believe in a static democracy. The process of democratization is dynamic, entailing daily struggle. The fight has expanded of late, what with the strengthening of the trade unions, the spread of peasant unions and the establishment in most villages and town districts of "neighborhood juntas" and "mother centers." The masses are fighting for their rights. The student campaign for radical democratization, successful also in Catholic universities, has galvanized the country.

This is true also of the economy. We have dwelt earlier on the impact of the class struggle on economic growth, especially after the victory of the People's Front. But there is more to it than that. The economic programming instituted in our country is also a result of the social struggle. The ten-year plan drawn up seven years ago by the Industrial Development Corporation was a limited one. But progressive pressure generated certain new trends. Despite the class character of the bourgeois government, its various bodies were compelled to heed the workers' demands, demands not purely economic. Almost all of them focus on Chile's invest-

ment policy. Take the following example. The politically powerful miners union has, in effect, exercised a decisive influence in the matter of investments in the coal industry. As a result, the government took action. Though the financial oligarchy retained possession of the mining companies, its share in them is smaller than that of the state, with nationalization looming large.

If it stagnates, capitalism will collapse. The technological revolution is affecting capitalist countries which, like Chile, are somewhat behind in degree of development: the gap tends to become wider. In view of the new and bigger scale of production, no headway can be made within the limits of the narrow home market. But how to overcome this obstacle? The bourgeois reformists pin their hopes on regional integration in a Latin American common market. But as this common market takes shape, imperialist monopolies are imposing their presence on it through their Latin American branches. Our Party was the first to warn of this and other dangers emanating from the reactionary aspects of the common market project, and has mounted an offensive against the specific aims set by the U.S. monopolies. But we do not confine ourselves to just exposing the facts. The common market is now on the agenda, creating a new important area of the class struggle, for the working class wants to be heard in the various state and interstate organizations.

The main contradiction created by the common market policy is that, while opening up the Latin American market, it will isolate its member-countries from the world market. Yet, to avoid being strangled by the U.S. trade monopoly, a country like Chile must expand its contacts with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The other important question related to the common market idea is that the investments essential to make the economy competitive will, in the case of a country like Chile, either require a tie-up with the imperialist monopolies or greater state control increasing the state's direct involvement in the sphere of production. Frei's government is gravitating to the former alternative in the case of chemicals and automobiles and in expanding the metallurgical industry. The ruling Demochristian Party, on the other hand, unlike the government, is leaning towards a nationalist solution. Though our state is capitalist, it has nevertheless to be reinforced and its sphere

of activity has to be extended if it is to follow an anti-imperialist course. That is no paradox, for it accords with the trend toward democratization and firms up the position of the workers and all other anti-imperialist forces.

The nature of the contradictions generated by the common market project makes economic programming uncertain, and doubly so because Chile is dependent on the successive cycles of the capitalist world market, which, as we know, are not amenable to influence, let alone regulation. Prominent on Chile's list of exports are copper, iron, saltpetre, cellulose, paper and steel. Yet copper and iron prices and exports depend on the state of the North American and West European markets. As concerns other commodities, their prices depend largely on the Latin American market, but that, too, is extremely sensitive to fluctuations in the U.S. economy. Sound economic growth requires versatile exports, broader markets and extensive trade with the socialist countries, whose economies are not exposed to crises.

Chile's economic problems have been thoroughly examined from various angles by experts of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, which has its headquarters in our capital. These experts, who belong to the critical school of the small and medium national bourgeoisie, have studied such problems as deteriorating trade, the need for an agrarian reform and the impossibility of independent industrial growth unless access is found to new, broader markets.

But because of their bourgeois outlook their conclusions are lame. Most of them favor the common market idea. They disregard economic laws and do not dig down to the roots of the prevailing processes. For them the fundamental contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation is a kind of taboo; they shy away from it and as a rule are reluctant to criticize U.S. imperialism.

One has to be a Marxist to comprehend the true state of our economy, and since Chile is a capitalist country the analysis should be based mostly on Marx's *Capital*. It is therefore essential to equip the workers with a knowledge of that model of scientific thinking, especially in relation to the new forms of exploitation and super-exploitation to understand which we have to proceed from the objective laws discovered by Marx. Failing this, we are

liable to parrot the petty-bourgeois critical school and the theories of the national bourgeoisie, to drift into reformist ways and sink into voluntarist despair, albeit dissembled by radical verbiage.

At the beginning of the century, when a working class party was crystallizing in our country, its founder, Comrade Luis Emilio Recabarren, made a deep study of *Capital*, Volume I. It was the only volume in Spanish available in Chile. But it was not until the October Revolution in Russia, through Leninism, that the advanced contingent of our workers, who later formed the Communist Party, properly adopted scientific communism, of which only casual information had reached our country. Yet now, too, the *Communist Manifesto* is the only Marxist work with a mass circulation and owned by most of our Communist rank-and-file. Now, on the centenary of *Capital* we are founding an Institute of Marxist Studies, for it is clear that Party workers must examine all three volumes of that eminent work in order to understand the specifics of present-day capitalism. Also, it is essential to study Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, which, in a way, is a new volume of *Capital* for our epoch, helping us to grasp the laws governing the present revolutionary process, its special features and its relation to the common laws governing the passage from capitalism to socialism and communism. Lenin's *Development of Capitalism in Russia* is for us another work of special interest.

As we see it, our analysis must on all accounts conform with what *Capital* postulates concerning the world market, doubly important now because of the extensive growth of production, though processes have become more complex in our age.

With imperialism dominating the scene, the development of various Latin American countries is uneven, and countries like Chile are at a great disadvantage. The implications of the Alliance for Progress and of U.S. monopoly investments are such that our economic growth and all the headway we made do not result in even relative progress with regard to world standards. This aggravates social antagonisms, and by virtue of our growing influence it is up to us to expose the contradictions of present-day capitalism and its specifics in our country, to concern ourselves with all the urgent problems and vital demands of the masses, to examine the concrete operation of the laws of our society, and at the

same time never lose sight of the revolutionary perspective, the international nature of our movement, and its class content. It would be unforgivable to rest on our oars; our adversary may catch us unawares if we stick blindly to outdated formulas, if we stop learning and fighting.

THE FAILURE OF PRO-AMERICAN REFORMISM

It was three years on November 3, 1967, since the Demochristian government came to power. Half of President Frei's term in office has run out, and a mood of despondency obtains among his followers. In 1967 the pace of our economic growth slowed down, our economy began to stagnate.

What happened was that the government's reformist plans came into conflict with its submission to U.S. domination. Reforms infallibly prejudice imperialist interests. Yet the sphere in which U.S. concerns operate is the main source of accumulation. The vast profits they pocket in, say, copper mining rob the country of resources essential for growth. On the other hand, the United States exercises its economic diktat through the International Monetary Fund, which is continuously pressuring us to devalue the escudo, whose worth in relation to the dollar has declined to less than half in the three years since Frei's government took over. The consequences are disastrous: U.S. investors are shipping out more profits, for they need fewer dollars to finance operations. In the meantime, inflation has reduced the home market, for the consumer's purchasing capacity and the incomes of the middle strata have shrunk. Renewal of factory equipment is impeded by rising prices of imported raw materials and costlier machinery.

In sum, the Demochristian government has been an economic failure. Trapped in the vicious circle of its own policy of submission to U.S. imperialism, it now recommends restriction of the purchasing power of the masses by banning strikes for one year and compelling wage-earners to turn in a percentage of their income as an obligatory saving. The bill to this effect evoked angry protests. The trade union center organized a 24-hour general strike on November 23, one of the biggest in Chile's history. The government sent out troops to break it and six people were killed in the outskirts of Santiago when soldiers fired on the strikers. But this did not weaken the

center; it is stronger than ever and has the backing of most wage-earners. The working class is determined to fight until its demands are honored. The next national congress of the trade union center, scheduled this summer, will elect to its governing bodies representatives from all the forces active in our unions.

The struggle is being waged in many areas. In by-elections for the Senate in the most politically backward and consequently most unfavorable region for the Left—the provinces of Cautin, Bio-Bio and Malleco—on December 17, 1967, the support of the Communist and Social Democratic parties assured the election of Alberto Baltra Cortes, a Left member of the Radical Party. This was evidence, observers held, that in most regions the Demochristian Party had a smaller following than the Left. Campaigning in Alberto Baltra's support, the Communist Party pointed out that the government's pro-Americanism hindered the country's growth and consigned industrially backward areas such as Cautin, Bio-Bio and Malleco to eternal backwardness. Considerable segments of the people, previously ignorant of the Communist platform, accepted this as a convincing enough reason for joining in the social struggle.

The reactionaries thought they would cash in on the fact that the Socialist and People's Socialist parties were not contesting the election. It is only too true that many complicated problems are still hampering the anti-imperialist forces. There have even been claims that the People's Action Front (FRAP) has fallen apart. But that is so much wishful thinking. FRAP did, indeed, declare that it could nominate no candidate, urging its member-parties to work out the most acceptable positions

underscoring their will for unity. The Communist Party is working for mutual understanding based on the unity of Communists and Socialists, of all the Left forces, rallying the working class and promoting the People's Action Front.

The present course of events is generating tension in the Christian Democratic Party. The Demochristian group advocating anti-imperialist reformism, which it outlined in a platform of non-capitalist development, that is, a platform of anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly independence, is under attack from the President's conservative wing. Losing the support of his followers, Frei is desperately trying to impose his will and bring them into line again, which may cause a split.

Economic growth is tied up with the social scene. It is slower or quicker, depending on the intensity of the class struggle, and is affected directly or indirectly by the people's fight for their economic demands and, equally, by the polarization of the political forces.

The factors behind this state of affairs are: the competition between socialism and capitalism on a world scale; the peoples' struggle for peace against imperialist war and fascism; the national-liberation movement, and the growth of international working-class influence.

The Communist Party is producing ample evidence for the people to see that in the present conditions economic growth depends on anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy measures, accompanied by an extension of democracy. The people are conscious now of the compulsive need for solving our many economic problems, and it is on this decisive issue that the class struggle is centered at the present time.

The Dominican Republic: two years after

JOSE CUELLO, ASDRUBEL DOMINGUEZ

What has happened to the powerful revolutionary movement that in April 1965 destroyed the reactionary structure of the Dominican state and compelled the U.S. government to resort to open armed intervention? Considering the profound changes in the popular movement, changes that can be interpreted as signs of its ebb, and considering that the guns have been silent for two years now, the question is not altogether unfounded . . .

As was pointed out in the article printed in the December 1965 issue of this journal, the initial aim of the 1965 democratic movement was to instal Juan Bosch as President and restore the Constitution promulgated during his short tenure in 1963. This character of the movement predetermined the scale of the front of struggle, which included politically conscious workers, radical petty bourgeoisie, students and intellectuals and even some of the national bourgeoisie.

Within a few days the movement spilled over into a revolutionary struggle which broke the backbone of the reactionary machinery of state controlled by the U.S. Embassy. The military were defeated and police stations in the capital destroyed. The revolution called into being *comandos* — military-political organs which included constitutionalists from among the military, as well as workers, students and the urban poor and which became the base of the new, revolutionary democratic power.

At that moment 42,000 U.S. Marines were rushed to the country. The correlation of forces changed, the revolutionaries were forced onto the defensive and the struggle assumed the character of a *national resistance*.

By the summer negotiations had become a necessity for both sides: for the imperialists because of the revolutionaries' determination to defend the capital to the last man, because of the moral support extended to them by the population, and because of international solidarity with the Dominican revolution; for the revolutionary movement the negotiations were necessitated by the impossibility of getting mass action on the scale of the whole country without which the offensive could not be resumed.

RETREAT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AND THE 1966 "ELECTIONS"

After the cessation of hostilities the United States, whose prestige had been gravely impaired by the intervention, imposed "elections" upon a people who had already demonstrated their will during the uprising. The aim of this subterfuge was to cover the blood that had been spilled with the threadbare cloth of representative democracy and to ensure counter-revolutionary stability.

Only two candidates contested the presidency—Bosch, supported by the armed people, and Balaguer, an agent of imperialism brought in from New York for the express purpose of contesting the election, the only man of the Dominican Right who had not brought upon himself the wrath of the people, and this solely because he hadn't happened to be in the country when the U.S. Marines landed.

The dilemma that now faced our Party was either to boycott the election, held under the pressure and control of the in-

vader, or to support the candidate who personified the nationalist and democratic sentiments of the people, and at the same time to explain our own program and tactics. We opted for the latter, but not because we believed that the ballot-papers would help us impose upon imperialism the democratic and nationalist solution which a year earlier the invader had opposed with guns. We were guided by Lenin's attitude to elections, which though a weapon of bourgeois domination, can nevertheless be used to exert the influence of the democratic and patriotic forces and demonstrate both the tremendous power latent in the masses and the uselessness of elections in a situation when the vital interests of the bourgeoisie and imperialism are directly threatened.

However, not all the forces that had fought against the invaders appreciated the point of using the electoral process to strengthen the mass movement; for example, the ultra-left Revolutionary Movement of June 14 declared: "Since Bosch's victory is assured, vote for our candidates." This call was indicative of not only illusory hopes for an electoral victory over imperialism, but also of utter sectarianism, of failure to understand the need for the unity of all patriotic forces in the struggle for a common objective — withdrawal of the Marines.

Despite this attitude of the "Left" and some anti-communist pronouncements by Bosch, mass action in favor of the candidate of the nationalist and democratic forces did take place. Towards the beginning of June, a few days after the voting, came the surprising announcement of Balaguer's victory.

The moment the first proofs of a fraud became apparent, our Party organized a powerful protest campaign. But the Social-Christians and later Bosch himself, having expressed reservations about the conduct and official results of the election, gave up the fight for recognition of the victory of the democratic candidate.

The electoral farce showed that the striving of the masses for a particular solution is not enough; needed are the means with which to secure it . . .

THE POLICY OF THE BALAGUER GOVERNMENT

The Balaguer government came to power with a program for strengthening the reactionary state and the classes supporting

it, making it even more dependent on imperialism, a program aimed at disorganizing and destroying the revolutionary forces. This is reason enough to regard this government as bourgeois-landlord, pro-imperialist and counter-revolutionary.

In the *economic sphere*, its chief aim is to abolish the public sector, which accounts for 45 per cent of all invested capital and which emerged as a result of the confiscation of the Trujillo family's property.

The April revolution showed that the numerically and economically weak bourgeoisie (its investments do not exceed seven per cent of the total) is incapable of ensuring the stability of the political regime. The considerable weight of the public sector makes it easier for our Party and other progressive organizations to carry on revolutionary education of the large numbers of working people employed in the public sector and whose economic struggles invariably assume a political character. Their defense of public property and their demand for co-management strengthen the socialist trends in our revolutionary movement.

The government has abolished the Dominican Sugar Corporation, which means that the national sugar refineries are up for sale, and announced the sale of state trading establishments. The State Bank is also likely to go into private hands.

Since the home bourgeoisie lack the means with which to buy the property coming under the hammer, foreign investments seem likely to grow to an extent that will signify a qualitative change in the character of our country's dependence on imperialism. Moreover, the government grants conditions and guarantees to foreign investors that are tantamount to betrayal of the national interest.

In agriculture the government pursues a policy aimed at strengthening some of the rural strata—not by dividing up the semi-feudal latifundia, however, but by abolishing the state-owned farms run in a capitalist way. The existence of these farms, well-equipped and efficient, is a pre-condition for revolutionary economic development in our country along socialist lines. Hence, for Balaguer, abolition of the state farms is as important as the abolition of the state sector in industry and trade. At the same time Balaguer hopes to create a stratum of well-to-do peasants attached to their newly-acquired property and thus to prevent growth of democratic consciousness in the countryside.

Politically the Balaguer government is directed and controlled by U.S. officials.

U.S. Ambassador Crimmins attends all meetings of the cabinet. Hundreds of American officers are advisers in the armed forces. Colonel Van Jeslin, head of the Military Assistance Advisory Group, has ordered that advisers be attached to Dominican army troops for an instruction program identical to that begun in South Vietnam in 1960.

Seeking to suppress democratic sentiment in the armed forces, the government is expelling all officers, NCOs and privates suspected of implication in the April 1965 fight for democracy and national sovereignty. Intensive anti-communist brainwashing is conducted in the army and the police. Special shock units are being formed against the guerrillas and the democrats in the towns.

As a result of systematic searching the government has found some of the arms hidden away after the events in 1965. Hundreds of participants in the revolutionary movement have been murdered or have disappeared without trace in the police stations and in army barracks.

As far as foreign policy is concerned, the government has declared that the actions of the "inter-American Peace Forces" in Santo Domingo were correct and that it is in agreement with converting these forces into a permanent institution. Like Brazil, it has refused to sign the Latin American nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Public indignation alone prevented it from shipping cement to Saigon.

DISAGREEMENTS IN THE REACTIONARY CAMP

Despite all its efforts, the government has not succeeded in beheading the revolutionary movement. As the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation admitted in June 1967 in a circular letter addressed to its branches in Latin American countries, the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic has gravely damaged American prestige on the continent without, however, eliminating the danger of communism; on the contrary, the FBI stated, the Communists are now stronger than they were before April 1965 . . . It is necessary therefore to apply the Indonesian method.

Following the publication of this circular, a coup d'etat atmosphere began to develop. Disagreements around the methods to be used by the counter-revolution led to

a split in the Balaguer Reformist Party, and later to intensive ultra-Right conspiratorial activities. General Wessin, together with a group of epauletted assassins who made common cause with the U.S. soldiery, now heads the wilder anti-communists.

There are two power groups in the government: that of Balaguer and some top military (Seigas, Alvares, Tejada), and that of Wessin, with their own party.

To thwart the imperialists' design to depict Balaguer as a cushion between two "extremes," i.e., Wessin and the Communists, our Party, in addition to denouncing the Balaguer regime is combating it; it is alerting the people to the danger of a violent Indonesian-type coup by Wessin. Calling for the downfall of Balaguer, we tell the people that the issue is not one of choosing between Balaguer's pseudo-constitutional pose and the "Messiah of Democracy" as Wessin calls himself—they are two sides of one and the same medal. The Party insists on an independent, national, democratic, revolutionary solution.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND REGROUPMENT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY CAMP

Big changes have taken place in the national-democratic forces. The revolutionary convulsion affected not only the bourgeois institutions, where a crisis set in, but the revolutionary parties too. Everything obsolete and acting as an impediment to the realization of the tasks set by history had to be discarded.

At the time of the armed struggle it became clear that the correlation of forces in the revolutionary camp had to be changed in order to canalize a process which, if allowed to develop spontaneously, could have led to a split.

In the organizational sphere, it was necessary to strengthen unity with the groups and parties destined by history to accomplish the task of national liberation. The task of our Party, the Party of the class conscious workers responsible for the consistent development of a united revolutionary process with socialist objectives, was to win as rapidly as possible more people to its ranks and to extend its influence.

In the ideological sphere, it was necessary to analyze the character of the forces which in April 1965, motivated by democratic or nationalist convictions, while they resisted the American intervention were

not aware of the need for consistent struggle against imperialism.

To carry out these tasks, to hold out in conditions of the oncoming ebb, we had first of all to strengthen our own ranks.

This, in brief, is the situation that had taken shape by the autumn of 1965: the Dominican Revolutionary Party founded by Bosch wielded a definite influence, but its program did not go beyond the bourgeois democracy bestowed upon the people from on high. The Communist Party, organizationally weak and lacking a nationwide following, launched a self-critical analysis of basic aspects of its policy—programmatic, tactical, organizational and international. (This process culminated in removal from the leadership of those responsible for the wrong policies of the past, and in rallying of the Party on the basis of its new line.) Between these two parties stood the Revolutionary Movement of June 14 (M-14), which recruited supporters from among the petty bourgeoisie and the students and was influenced somewhat by the Chinese Communist Party, and the Popular Movement, in which anarchist trends prevailed. Then there was the Social-Christian Party whose leadership represented the petty-bourgeois Right and practised conservative opportunism.

In September 1965 Juan Bosch returned to the country. Shortly afterwards the revolutionary front which had been set up during the uprising lost its character of a consultative organ and became an amorphous broad union sympathizing with the general democratic movement of which Bosch was the leader. Our Party stood both for preserving the mechanism of inter-party consultations and for the creation, everywhere, of an organizational structure for the Front. But the conservative, anti-for the split in the Front is shared also by for the split in Front is shared also by other forces, above all by the Popular Movement and that part of the M-14 under its influence.

Subsequently those political organizations in which the influence of the petty bourgeoisie (or lumpen-proletariat) predominated split up into various splinter factions.

Today only the Revolutionary Movement of June 14 remains a force to be reckoned with, and this only on the condition that it rids itself in good time of its sectarianism.

The disintegration of the sectarian groups is explained not so much by their political

impotence and the crisis of Dominican society, as by their competing for the right to represent the interests of what was at that time the monolithic Communist Party of China. On the other hand, the decline in the influence of the ultra-left is due to the work of our Party, which systematically exposed their pseudo-revolutionism, their splittism, and their hostility to the socialist countries, in the first place the Soviet Union and Cuba.

This resounding defeat for the petty-bourgeois sectarian, ultra-left policy does not at all signify a "break-up of revolutionary ranks" or a "split among Marxists" as is sometimes claimed.

Thanks to our independent international policy, we have been able to resist the anti-unity trends which at one time seemed on the way to gaining ascendancy in the entire Dominican revolutionary movement. This policy has enabled our Party to make clear the essence of proletarian internationalism. We maintained that the independence of each party furthers the success of the international working class to the extent that it increases the effectiveness of revolutionary struggle. The duty of our Party, to accomplish revolution in our country, obliges us to pursue national tactics not dependent on the foreign or domestic policy of other fraternal parties. Acting in accordance with these principles, which reject the tactics of tailing in the wake of events, we defeated the pro-Chinese and "ultra-left" trends.

This policy has revitalized and strengthened our Party. Its numerical strength and its influence have grown considerably.

Our Party, to which armed struggle and self-criticism imparted new strength, successfully withstood the reprisals and prevented the appearance of cracks in its ranks which could be exploited by the enemy.

At the same time changes of potentially great significance for the future of the Dominican revolution have taken place in the Revolutionary Party, the principal mass force of the democratic front. On the one hand, some individuals and groups have parted ways with it. Some of its leaders entered Balaguer's cabinet while others chose resignation. On the other hand, there emerged and gained strength in it a revolutionary democratic trend sharply opposed to the bourgeois nationalists. And if today the anti-imperialist trend has assumed leadership in the Revolutionary Party, we think that this is partly due to the prin-

ciplined stand taken by our Party and to its insistence on unity.

FROM OPPOSITION TO THE "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PEOPLE"

The tactical problem that caused the greatest controversy in the revolutionary camp was this: what kind of opposition should be counterposed to the counter-revolutionary regime? We declared that it should be radical and revolutionary, and that it should work to overthrow the regime.

To be sure, merely to proclaim the need for a "revolutionary opposition" would not be enough. A political solution acceptable to the masses had to be found.

At a meeting in October 1966 the Central Committee of our Party called for the overthrow of the Balaguer government and its replacement by a government based on the unity of the people, on a program of democratic and anti-imperialist change.

In March 1967 the Revolutionary Party issued a call for a broad movement of resistance to the dictatorship. This call was favorably received by all the forces working for unity and revolution, but the U.S. Embassy, acting through its agents in the RP leadership, prevented any practical steps in this direction.

Later, the Revolutionary Party took a step backwards by declaring for a coalition of all anti-Trujillo people. This signified an invitation also to reactionary pro-imperialist elements like Antonio Imbert Barreras who headed the puppet military junta in 1965. The Right conspirators, acting behind anti-Trujillo slogans, succeeded in winning over to their side a considerable part of potentially revolutionary forces, and the Left in the Revolutionary Party lost the revolutionary perspective.

On May 21, 1967, in an effort to change the situation, our Party sent "An Open Letter to the Revolutionary Party" pointing to the need to fight both Balaguer and imperialism. At the same time we stressed the historical responsibility and anti-national character of those bourgeois circles not represented in the government who, using anti-Trujillo slogans as a cover, were preparing a new coup. The way out of the crisis, we said, should be of a revolutionary character. Our timely exposure of the Rights' designs evoked a response in all political parties and helped foil the conspiracy.

The experience of the 1965 revolution,

the U.S. intervention and the fight against it, the collapse of representative democracy, the way in which the Balaguer government came to power, and the ideological struggle in the revolutionary movement resulted in a change in the sentiment of the masses, a change which became apparent when the revolutionary-nationalist trend in the Revolutionary Party, reversing the traditional slogans of the Party, advanced the concept of a "dictatorship of the people." This slogan, which shows the need of force in relation to the oligarchic minority, is a powerful mobilizing factor. Bosch, its author, maintains that the classical "representative democracy" is incompatible with the present socio-economic structure of the Latin American countries dependent on imperialism. On the other hand Bosch points out, the imperialist forces will almost inevitably come to the aid of the old order, with the result that armed struggle against the intervention will become a necessity.

"The dictatorship of the people," Bosch points out, will affirm itself in spite of the counter-revolutionary aggressors, assuming an openly anti-imperialist character.

We believe that a revolution thus defined is, objectively, the "prologue" to, the threshold of the socialist revolution.

Bosch's "dictatorship of the people" concept is, we think, an event of continental significance. It is actually spearheaded against the positions of the continent-wide pseudo-democratic and pro-imperialist trend of which Haya de la Torre, Figueres, Betancourt, and earlier Bosch himself, were leaders. Its origins should be sought in the present revolutionary phase epitomized by the socialist revolution in Cuba. The rise of socialism is so vigorous and the convulsions of moribund imperialism are so obviously dangerous to the very existence of the peoples that those who pride themselves on their intellectual integrity, who stand by their people and who are devoted to the ideals of democracy, national independence and humanism shed their illusions and, in one way or another, side with the masses fighting for liberation and, ultimately, for socialism. Bosch's words, "Better die a Communist than a pro-American," may become the creed of those new political forces which are joining the Latin American revolutionary movement in the second half of the sixties.

The October Revolution affected practically all the socio-political processes of the century. Now all revolutions against exploitation and oppression contain ele-

ments determined by the socialist content of the times, although their immediate aspects, the objective and subjective motivations of the class forces engaged in the revolution, the program, the stages and the forms of struggle and of the state structures born of revolution differ widely and are not always of a directly socialist character. The revolutionary ways to socialism, as Lenin predicted, are becoming ever more varied.

One aspect of this process is the growing participation of non-proletarian strata and groups in the revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle. These highly diverse strata and groups, at present our allies in the world proletarian revolution, have already contributed—and will contribute in still greater degree—their own features to the socialist revolution and the building of socialism both in economically undeveloped regions and developed capitalist countries. At the same time this process is, at the moment, generating certain difficulties in the fight for the unity of the Communist movement and the revolutionary forces on a world scale.

Ever since the Cuban revolution the entry of new social strata and groups into the revolutionary movement has assumed a mass and dynamic character in the Latin American countries.

The role played by forward-looking intellectuals and students in the revolutionary struggles of the past decade is generally known. We think that the features of the given stage of the struggle in Latin America demand of us close attention to the processes now observed among army officers, the clergy, etc.

The example of the Venezuelan military men who participated in the Carupano and Puerto Cabella rebellions; of Turcios Lima, Yon Sosa and the November 13 Movement in Guatemala; of Francisco Caamano, Ramon Manuel Montes Arache, Hector Lachapelle Diaz and hundreds of other participants in the April 1965 events in the Dominican Republic shows that when a revolutionary crisis breaks out many officers and men will join in the fight for genuine independence, for national dignity.

We see from the example of Camilo Torres and his followers that among the Latin American clergy, too, revolutionary, anti-imperialist sentiment is on the rise. Christian humanism is its subjective basis and form.

We think that these processes, eminently positive, have not always been correctly

interpreted by Marxists on our continent. True the radical petty bourgeoisie and in the first place its intellectual elite tries at times to play the leading role in the revolutionary process which in the other continents is played by the working class; at times, it is true, this bourgeoisie tries to oust the Marxist parties, and it does so where the organized working class becomes captive to erroneous tactics, sectarianism or dogmatism. But, while combating the "vanguardism" of these sections of the petty bourgeoisie, which can be an objective danger to the revolution, we always bear in mind Lenin's words, so topical today for the Communist movement in the continent: "It is not enough to call ourselves 'the vanguard,' the advanced contingent; we must act in such a way that all the other contingents recognize and are obliged to admit that we are marching in the vanguard."

Differing political and social groups some of which gravitate towards Marxism, while others do not, are and will be taking part in the continental revolutionary process. In order really to lead this conglomerate of forces, some of which lay claim to the leading role in the movement, we must assimilate Marxism creatively, apply flexible and bold tactics, and display capacity for struggle and work greater than that of the other revolutionary contingents. Only the dialectical combination of revolutionary unity and ideological struggle within the framework of this unity can lead to the genuine hegemony of the party of the working class in the anti-imperialist front especially at those times when the growing sharpness and rapidity of the objective process greatly exceed the level of the organized consciousness of the working class.

Where Communists are in the minority in the united front, ideological struggle helps ensure a correct orientation of the movement as a whole, helps to win the majority; if we are the principal force of the front, ideological struggle leads to unity through persuasion and not through mechanical imposition of our will upon others.

THERE IS NO ANTAGONISM BETWEEN DIFFERENT FORMS OF STRUGGLE

The policy of joint action by the different social and political forces against a common enemy requires a very serious approach to, and theoretical clarity in, the

methodology of the struggle. Further proof of this is the debate on this question now already under way in the Latin American revolutionary movement, a debate which at times assumes sharpness impermissible from the standpoint of the revolution, pre-saging a split in the movement.

Our approach to this is based on categorical rejection of concepts which presuppose antagonism between "armed struggle" and "mass struggle"; we regard this posing of the issue as senseless, unwarranted and utterly contrary to the realities of our country (and, we think, of the entire continent).

If *methods* are understood as the totality of means enabling the working class and its allies to win power, then the problem of methods is, as we said, transferred to the realm of strategy, with the result that the polemic becomes mixed up with the debate on the *nature of the transition* from capitalism to socialism.

Our Party knows from the bitter experience of April 1965 that we cannot regard ourselves as the vanguard if we do not prepare for the eventuality of the revolution taking the way of armed struggle. If at the moment the bourgeoisie and imperialism set in motion the machinery of armed counter-revolution the Communist Party fails to adapt its policy to the concrete demands of revolutionary war, the masses will turn away from it. And leadership of the movement, by virtue of the very dynamics of the revolutionary process, might be seized by non-proletarian groups (in this case the alternative is the immediate defeat of the revolution or of the national-liberation struggle).

In the continental discussion on the methods, forms and ways of revolutionary struggle few deny the need for propaganda and agitation, for strikes and peasant actions, for tireless work to organize the working class. What in our view is really debatable, is whether the bourgeoisie will reconcile itself to expropriation, and imperialism, to the loss of a territory it regards as vitally important, or whether internal and external reaction will at the decisive moment offer "total" resistance, utilizing *all* the possibilities of the machinery of state, *all* the technical means at its disposal, including the entire arsenal of modern weapons.

It is not enough, in our view, to proclaim "the need to master all methods of struggle," for this extremely loose formula does not orient the revolutionaries of the particu-

lar country on a consistent policy aimed at winning power, and at times prevents them from concentrating attention and forces on *real* mastery of those forms of struggle that are *really necessary*, i.e., those in keeping with the long-term trends of development.

As Engels pointed out, the ruling classes, by perfecting their weapons and training their armies in new methods of warfare, determine the level of armed violence which the revolutionary parties must overcome if they want victory.

In the phase of street demonstrations, meetings and strikes, the oligarchy, the bourgeoisie and imperialism can defend the existing socio-economic system with the help of police and riot squads, water cannon and truncheons. But the moment the revolutionary masses overrun this "first trench" of the reactionaries' defense, they will be met by the army with its guns and tanks . . . And when the tanks burst into flames and the guns captured by the people are turned against the last bastions of reaction, there will appear on the horizon the warships and troop-carrying planes of the United States—the last and most powerful line of defense of the exploiting classes in any country of the hemisphere.

That, at any rate, is what we experienced three years ago . . .

And so Dominican Communists, holding that the revolution remains on the order of the day, are actively preparing for armed struggle at all levels. For the same reason, we consider it important to conduct systematic preparation of the masses, because the Party's readiness for armed struggle does not signify yet that the masses will go over to it at the decisive moment. Lenin regarded psychological preparation of the masses for revolutionary violence as a duty of the Communist Party. History has yet to prove him wrong.

We think that the barbaric actions of counter-revolution in Vietnam, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America confront us, the revolutionaries in these regions, with an alternative; either paralysis from fear and from realization of one's own impotence, or a redoubling of the energy of the revolution, which will win only if the working class and its party do not allow themselves to be caught unawares and study well the methods of the enemy. It would be a crime against the working class if its organized political detachment were paralyzed because it was unprepared for armed struggle and came belatedly and hesitantly

to the barricades spontaneously erected by the revolutionary masses.

Should the situation so change that the working class and its party do not need to take up arms, so much the better; but all round preparation for the struggle is never superfluous.

ON GUERRILLA STRUGGLE

Now for another issue in the current debate. In principle, an armed revolutionary movement can start wherever the class struggle reaches the level of armed violence. However, in view of imperialism's interference in the internal affairs of our countries, it becomes necessary for Communists not only to lead the struggle born of a spontaneous aggravation of the social and political contradictions, but also to organize this struggle on their own initiative where, given proper preparation, a military organization of the masses can be created. Therefore systematic preparation for irregular struggle in rural areas is so important for the Communists of our country and for the majority of countries on our continent.

The connection between the threat of intervention and the imperative guerrilla struggle is, to us, self-evident. More often than not, irregular wars in rural areas have been waged by the people against the technically superior forces of a foreign invader, against his occupation forces. Such was the war waged by the North Americans for independence from Britain; the nations of Europe fought against fascism; the Communist Party of the Soviet Union directed the guerrilla war in the rear of the Hitler invaders; a guerrilla war was waged in China against the Japanese. Its role and effectiveness have been tested in Vietnam, the Philippines, Algeria and in many other parts of the world.

The thing is not only that rural terrain is most favorable for irregular war (specifically, against an invader), but also that a war of this kind makes it possible to draw into active revolutionary struggle the peasants, rural semi-proletarians and agricultural laborers suffering from inhuman exploitation and misery.

Those who hope to accomplish the revolution in our countries without the rural masses will never secure its victory. But after a large-scale penetration by the "green berets" into the mountains of America it would be irresponsible, in our view, to try to win the masses for revolution

solely through trade union or craft union methods of organization and education. (The effectiveness of other methods of revolutionary organization and education of the peasantry is evident in the experience of the Colombian Communists). The U.S. military presence in our mountains is an admission of the danger (to the enemy) and of the possibilities (for the revolution) inherent in the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry. But it also reminds of a serious weakness of the liberation movement — slow progress in drawing the exploited rural masses into the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle.

The need to involve the masses in this protracted action becomes increasingly clear, the action that can have the character of resistance to the invader (or putschists) until conditions are created for a military-political offensive along the entire front of the revolution.

FOR THE UNITY OF ALL THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF THE WORLD

Although we regard the working people of our country and our Party as the base of the Dominican revolutionary process, we realize that it will be difficult to achieve victory in decisive battles against imperialism without militant international solidarity. The revolutionaries fighting against imperialist domination need the aid of the working class in power in the socialist countries, of the working-class and democratic movement in the developed capitalist countries, and the national-liberation and revolutionary movement in Africa, Asia and our Latin America.

Within the context of this general policy our Party is giving special attention to building a combat alliance with the Communists and people of Haiti fighting against the Duvalier dictatorship. This alliance makes much more feasible the defeat of the reactionary and imperialist forces in the two countries. We are united with our brothers in Haiti not only by the community of the territory of our island but also by the tyranny of the regimes, by the evils of dependence and backwardness. And our combat unity with the Haitian revolutionaries is an integral part of the struggle against common enemies on the continental scale.

We believe that there is a definite eve-of-the revolution situation on the whole of

the continent. Its material base is the development of a structural crisis of the same type for almost all Latin American countries. We agree with Comrade Arismendi that after the Cuban revolution the ruling classes and imperialism are no longer able to rule as before, while the masses refuse to put up with oppression any longer. From this, it seems to us, follows the need to intensify the work of the Party in order to expedite solution of the tasks which the development of the revolutionary process poses now and will pose in the near future.

Our Party lowers its banner in memory of the tens of thousands of Latin American revolutionaries who have given their lives for this goal. Their example and appeal, incarnated most fully and forcefully, with the utmost fusion of word, thought and action, in the heroic life of the great revolutionary Che Guevara, remind Communists of the measure of their responsibility to

the past, present and future of their peoples, call upon us to fight on until victory.

The Dominican Communists are preparing for a new upsurge of revolution. They are elaborating the strategy and tactics of struggle against imperialism and its local allies in the new conditions; organizationally and technically preparing for this struggle; strengthening unity by isolating the professional splitters, and building a solid, durable alliance with all genuinely revolutionary forces, including the "new" forces; co-ordinating their actions with the struggles of the Communists and the people of Haiti and the revolutionaries of the continent. They are consolidating their party to play a bigger part in the revolution.

Today, in this hour of decision for our continent, Marx's words that we must change, not merely interpret, the world have a very special relevance for every genuine Latin American revolutionary.

Communist Party of Paraguay: after the national conference

Many important events have taken place in the country and in the Party since April 1967, when we held our National Conference in preparation for the Third Party Congress.

Though the conditions in which the Conference was held were anything but favorable, the support of the rank-and-file and of the Party functionaries enabled us to cope with the difficulties created by two anti-Party groups—that of Oscar Creydt and the so-called Communist Leninist Party (PCL).

There surfaced liberal and anarchist trends, assailing the principles of collective leadership and democratic centralism, and impairing Party discipline. Some Party functionaries quit their posts. The conduct of some leaders who thought they were indispensable and could put themselves above the Party, above Party discipline, smacked distinctly of a personality cult.

A considerable ideological effort was

made to put the Party on a firm Marxist-Leninist foundation.

We can say now that the Party has made substantial headway in the organizational field and in re-enlisting comrades who for a time were separated from the Party.

We are regaining positions in the labor movement, where our influence had slumped. The same holds true for the peasants, students and other groups. The collective leadership principle has been revived and inner-Party democracy has been buttressed to the extent practicable in underground conditions.

In the time since the Conference large-scale mass actions have taken place in the country for economic and democratic demands. These were highlighted by increasing unity. Another highlight of the period, alongside the workers' actions (for a 25 per cent wage increase at the meat-packing plants in San Antonio and Liebig and the railway workshops in Sapucaí, Puerto Pinasco, etc.), was the rebirth of

the student, peasant and other mass movements and of the campaign for the release of political prisoners.

The past year witnessed the revival of many of our organizations, our ranks increasing visibly. The practical task now is to promote mass actions, to participate in them heart and soul and make them a stepping-stone to a broad national anti-dictatorial front.

The fight is gathering momentum as the economic crisis becomes more acute. In the more than twenty years of dictatorial government in Paraguay no crisis has been as sharp, and the strident propaganda for Stroessner's "second national reconstruction" program cannot hide this fact.

The situation is best illustrated by the following main factors:

a) the problem of socio-economic structures;

b) the consequences of the economic and financial policy pursued by the anti-national dictatorial governments for more than 20 years;

c) the total subjugation to imperialist monopolies, notably the North American, and surrender to them of our national wealth.

Space is wanting in this article for a detailed study of these factors and we shall concentrate on just the basic points in order to outline the general situation and the guidelines of our policy.

The main structural problem is that of the strong feudal elements in our agriculture. The most negative are the big estates of a handful of landowners and a few foreign companies. At the other pole is the land-hunger of thousands of peasants, large tracts of idle land, the general backwardness of our farming and its low output, which, moreover, is tending to decrease. This holds back growth of the home market, precluding industrial growth.

The inevitable result is a low national income—a good excuse for the ruling classes to condone penetration by imperialist monopolies, which strip us of our wealth and expose us to the resulting adversities.

Our economic and political life is shaped by the alliance of the big importer bourgeoisie, the estate owners and the cattle breeders, who comprise the ruling castes. It is due to their misrule that our society languishes in abject poverty, that our industry is stagnant and our farming backward, and that our workers are cruelly exploited and the people live in want.

Not only do the imperialist monopolies

and their menials, the local oligarchy, intensify the exploitation of workers; they also plunder the peasants and the small and national bourgeoisie. Acting through the government, which they hold in the palm of their hand, they have many methods for achieving their ends — miserly wages, monopoly prices, exorbitant interest rates, high taxes, direct economic interference, and so on.

For years our Party was the only one to expose this policy of plunder and enslavement, showing the damage it did to our national interests.

Some 2,000 industrial and commercial enterprises, predominantly small-scale, have gone out of business in recent times, with some 25,000 workers losing their jobs. For a small country like ours that is an extremely high figure. It is a national calamity, too, that from Paraguay with its two million population people emigrate *en masse* to neighbor countries due to the shortage of jobs and the absence of civic guarantees. More than 600,000 of our compatriots have settled in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and other Latin-American states.

Stroessner's dictatorship is eroding. It seems inconceivable that a regime in so advanced a stage of decay still survives. The main reason is traceable to the policy of the bourgeois-landowner parties, methodically blocking mass struggle, whatever form it assumes. Their exertions are aimed at subverting the people's unity and maligning the Communist Party. This policy of heading off and splitting the mass movement is, indeed, the succor and support that maintains the Stroessner clique in power against the will of the vast majority of the nation.

The bourgeois-landowner "opposition bloc" negotiates with Stroessner one day and with the proponents of a *coup d'état* the next. Evidently, the two poles are not too far apart, because the *coup d'état* party is also anxious to negotiate with the dictatorial regime, aspiring to a mere change of cabinets.

It is dread of a people's revolution rather than of the power of the dictatorship that lies behind this "opposition" policy. The main burden of fighting the dictator falls on the working class, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, the most active segment of which is represented by the student movement.

That, indeed, is the class distribution on which our Party bases its policy. The draft

of our program, adopted by the National Conference, defines our revolution at this stage as a "democratic national-liberation revolution" to be carried out by the democratic national-liberation front encompassing the nation, from the working class to various groups of the national bourgeoisie. This is the strategic line.

Our Program is radically anti-imperialist and agrarian. However, it contains provisions aimed at neutralizing a section of the landowners and capitalists. In the present specific circumstances, our tactical task is to build a broader alignment, an anti-dictator national front, for to overthrow the Stroessner dictatorship we need joint action by all opposition groups, at least on concrete issues, after which it will be up to the working class and the people as a whole to extend the democratic process farther than envisaged by the bourgeois-landowner opposition.

To draw the masses into joint actions, our Party exposes the defeatist, anti-unity and anti-communist policy of the latifundia and bourgeois parties, preparing the people for all forms of struggle: guerrilla warfare and legal and semi-legal activities. Those are the accents we lay in preparing for a general popular uprising.

The balance of forces has changed visibly in the past few years. To the extent to which the crisis of the dictatorship—which is growing—has affected all our social institutions, the opposition forces have gained added strength. This is due not only to objective causes stemming from Stroessner's policy, but also to the fight waged by the workers, peasants, students and other strata. The masses, more awake to the political exigencies, are conscious of the need to fight imperialism and the dictatorship. That is the force which is tilting the balance.

To counter the impatience of some people at home and abroad, the Conference pointed out that it will be mass struggle that determines the orientation in the country and that our main task is to promote, organize and develop this struggle. No action, the Conference stressed, is too limited and insignificant to merit our attention, because, cumulatively, all action paves the way to the imminent large-scale battle. It was by this token that the Conference pointed to the importance of combining legal possibilities with underground work.

The Communists are, in effect, the only Party pursuing a clear-cut constructive policy in contrast to the policy of deals

and dodges pursued by the leaders of the latifundia and bourgeois parties. We oppose the dictatorship not with the communist alternative, but with a national solution concordant with the prevailing state of our society. Cooperation of all opposition groups in massive joint actions against the dictatorship, a minimum program acceptable to all, a provisional democratic government supported by all with the capability for effecting the minimum program and restoring social freedoms without discrimination — that, in brief, is the solution we Communists recommend, for it is the only one at this time providing guarantees to all socio-political opposition forces.

That united action against the dictatorship is an urgent imperative is gradually sinking in. The masses want unity, they are aware of its importance and know that the men impeding unity are delaying the day of liberation. That is why more people are turning their backs on the foes of unity and throwing their support behind its champions.

Unity is action in which the masses are cast in the principal role. Therefore, while working for contacts at top level and striving for agreement with leaders of the opposition, we attach special importance to the struggle waged by the workers and the people in general, to unity and good organization below. This was forcefully emphasized at our Conference.

It would be a good thing if leaders negotiating with the dictatorship and framing various plans behind the nation's back, finally see the gravity of the situation and recognize that it is high time to join hands, because all the forces we can muster are essential to topple the dictatorship and rehabilitate the economy.

If the people fight in unity, they will be strong enough to alter the situation and lead Paraguay to genuine progress.

Unity is also essential in obtaining the release of all political prisoners and a genuine and sweeping amnesty for our exiles.

Our Party is doing its utmost to promote these actions and to enlist the other anti-dictator forces and political parties in this highly important effort.

The National Conference was the culmination of a difficult chapter in the history of our Party. It ushered in a new period of consolidating and normalizing Party affairs on a sound Marxist-Leninist basis. The Party is a force to be reckoned with in the nation's political life. We Commu-

nists have our roots in the working class, in the people. The Party has gone through the civil war of 1947, it survived the devastating blows struck against it in the guerrilla war of 1960, it suffered persecution for over 35 years and could never emerge from underground. Despite these trials, the Party prevails. Consequently, it has every reason to trust its powers.

However, some quarters are disgruntled by the fact that we are growing and performing our revolutionary mission. This allusion is not to the Stroessner clique, which naturally is bitterly hostile, but to some of the leaders and groups of the bourgeois-landowner opposition. They want us to stay underground, and the less reactionary want our strength kept down to the minimum. They would be overjoyed to see us reduced to a handful of agitators, for, obviously, they are less concerned with fighting the dictatorship than with the future, in which freedom will at last be gained. They dread the thought that the workers may have a big Party, strong enough to safeguard their interests and secure democratic growth.

We Communists are seeing to it that the masses, particularly the workers, play the principal role in all actions not merely as a striking force but as the vanguard of the democratic movement, that they should one day be the dominant power. That is the concept we Marxist-Leninists follow in our long-term planning.

The Conference proved that the Party is viable, that it has retained its vitality,

that we are taking due account of the experience of our veterans. Our success in this short span of time is incontestable. We mention this to show that we are on the correct course. But it would be folly to rest on our oars. We must be realists and see clearly that much remains to be done, that much can be done now and, most important, that much needs to be done to secure favorable conditions for a decisive assault against the dictatorship. There will be time to speak of incontestable success when our Party numbers thousands of members closely linked with the masses and capable of leading large-scale manifestations, when we have an organized anti-dictator front and overthrow the dictatorship. In the meantime, the main task we face — of this we are deeply aware — is to overcome the weakness of our organization and mass movement. That will win us the trust of the people and greater prestige.

Recapitulating past chapters of our glorious struggle, we are conscious of our responsibilities as Communists, the successors to the Party's revolutionary tradition willed by our heroes, Perfecto Ibarra, Emiliano Paiva Palacios, Wilfredo Alvarez, Antonio Alonso and hundreds of others.

We celebrated the 40th anniversary of our Party on February 19, 1968. New members and veterans alike are holding aloft the Party banner and advancing firmly to democracy and socialism.

Gustavo COLMAN

The Christian-Marxist dialogue in Britain

JAMES KLUGMANN

It should be said at once that in a sense "the dialogue" is not new to Britain. Since Chartist days there has always been in one form or another an active, if small, Christian-Socialist movement. In the 1930's there was much common discussion and action not only between Christians and the Labor movement in general, but specifically between Christians and Marxists. Christians of most Protestant denominations (but very few Catholics) worked together with Marxists in many of the struggles against war and fascism, including the campaign of solidarity with republican Spain, and on many social issues like unemployment.

Over the last half a century, but deepening profoundly in the last few years, there has been a growing ferment and discussion taking place within most protestant sections of the Church in Britain. This has involved an ever greater turn away from "other-worldliness," a growing demand that man's duties to man should be accepted in *this* world here and now, that man's faith should be tested in his actions *now*, a spreading doubt in the morality of capitalist society, a movement of rebellion against ritualism and often against what could be called the "religious establishment."

Moreover, and this is very new, the same questioning, rebellion against other-worldliness, growing acceptance of social responsibility in *this* world, along with spreading doubts of the morality of capitalism, is, in the last few years, extending amongst British Catholics.

This profound crisis of ideas within the Church, rebellion against acceptance of the Church as part of the political establish-

ment, acceptance too of responsibility to man in this world, and—amongst many—an acceptance that involves direct participation in struggle now for peace, against poverty, against racialism, and—for some—struggle against colonialism and against capitalism, clearly enough provides fertile ground for a renewed, qualitatively stronger, much wider and deeper dialogue between Christianity and Marxism.

Certainly this renewal of dialogue has been considerably helped and inspired, too, by the reports and influence of the dialogue taking place in countries like Italy, France and Spain, by the reports of various international confrontations and by the publications in English of articles on the dialogue including those in *World Marxist Review*.

DISCUSSION IN "MARXISM TODAY"

In March 1966 a discussion article on "Dialogue between Christianity and Marxism" was published in *Marxism Today*, the theoretical and discussion organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain, by Doctor John Lewis, the Marxist philosopher. It analyzed new trends in the Church and called for an extended dialogue.

Doctor Lewis, calling for this extended dialogue, argued that it could lead to "a widening of the sphere of common action and the breakdown of entirely baseless prejudices and illusions—these being important immediate objectives."

More than this, he argued, the discussion would inevitably involve problems of ethics, it would come to discuss both Christian and Marxist views of the individual, the

state, freedom and materialism, and, in the course of it, we should be able to show "that the practice of an accepted moral code can only lead to hypocrisy or futility unless a radical reconstruction of the system of social relations makes it feasible..."

On the publication of Doctor Lewis's article, the Editorial Board of *Marxism Today* invited a number of Christians of different denominations to discuss in its columns their views of the need and possibility of a Christian-Marxist dialogue.

The response was immediate and warm, and rather representative of different Christian approaches.

Whilst, as would be expected, the Christian participants in the discussion held a wide diversity of theological (and probably political) views, what was most interesting was that they shared many approaches to the Christian-Marxist dialogue.

All, without exception, welcomed the dialogue.

MAN — THE MAIN SUBJECT OF DIALOGUE

Nearly all stressed what they considered to be the deep responsibilities of Christians to life in *this* world. We should all, they felt, be concerned with the improvement of man's life in this world. Here they saw the main basis of dialogue.

"The only proper and possible subject of the dialogue," wrote Rev. Paul Oestreicher, Associate Secretary of the International Department of the British Council of Churches, "is man, the double question: what do men need and how are they to get it." Theologico-ideological discussion should not be ruled out, but "the necessary philosophic wrestling must remain rooted in human reality. And all the while we need to remember that most people are neither Christians nor Marxists, they are hungry."

Our dialogue should *begin with man*, wrote Rev. Alan Ecclestone, Vicar of Darrell, Sheffield, and a member of the Communist Party, — "Man offers possibilities of common ground, God does not... unless and until we discover such ground, the talk about changing the world is likely to be left quite unrelated to political and social actions and programs and plans..."

What common ground can exist, asked Father Corbishley S.J. between Catholic and Marxist? And himself replied that the answer is surely "a common concern for human well-being."

Above all the significance of the dialogue will be tested by cooperation in the practical work of solving the urgent problems — peace, disarmament, and the alleviation of world hunger.

RESIGNATION OR RESISTANCE?

The revolt against ideas of "acceptance," "resignation," "passivity" in this world, ideas that in one or another form have so often accompanied the teaching of the established Christian Church, was well expressed by Professor D. M. McKinnon, an eminent Christian lecturer in the philosophy of religion: "I have heard it suggested by one distinguished contemporary Scottish interpreter of Bultmann's thoughts that it is from Christianity that 'men and women must learn how to suffer aright'. Not, you will notice, how to eliminate the causes of human suffering, how in a measure to make ourselves masters of our destiny, but simply how to accept what it is subtly suggested it would be almost impious to seek to change!"

"In 1961," he continues, "in a report on the ethical problems raised by the development and use of nuclear weapons, a committee set up by the British Council of Churches, urged Christians to 'learn to live with the bomb'. Again, what they counselled was not an effort at radical understanding, aimed at eliminating the appalling distortion of human achievement, seemingly built into the fabric of our world, but an acceptance of what it was alleged could not be changed. Christians often accuse Marxists of determinism: but when the student of the history of our age contrasts the attitude of mind advocated in this deplorable document, with the extraordinary resolution displayed by Lenin in his hour of opportunity in the autumn of 1917, he must surely begin to wonder whether the boot should not be on the other foot."

In the course of the *Marxism Today* discussion Marxists and Christians seemed agreed that the dialogue could not be of value unless it led to practical cooperation now on such immediate issues as struggle against war, against racialism, and against poverty. But, whilst there were differences on what could be achieved by more theoretical, ideologico-philosophical discussion and on the most fruitful subjects of such discussion, there was general agreement that it must be pursued. In the first place, clarity on each other's long term aims and deeper approaches, even when there was

no agreement, would make immediate co-operation easier, not more difficult, and in the second place it was felt, that much common ground could be found at least between Marxists and some Christians on many long term approaches.

William Barton, who participated in the discussion as a Quaker, and who had travelled considerably in socialist countries, called particularly for joint discussion on ethics: "Christians, following the dialogue, should recall the strong ethical content in Marx's attack on capitalism and his vision of the ideal society." And they should study too, he added the moral approaches of the existing socialist countries noting their interest in ethics such as exemplified in the emphasis put by the Soviet Union on the "New Man" and the "Moral Code of the Builders of Communism."

Two other points should perhaps be drawn from the *Marxism Today* dialogue. One is the mutual insistence on the need for self-criticism on both sides in the course of discussion. The Rev. Paul Oestreicher not only emphasized this, but proceeded to apply it in his view of the history of Christian approaches: "The institutional Church has for centuries managed to deny the essential humanity of its mission. Where that mission has been effectively lived, then it has generally been done in spite of and not because of established religion. I speak, in this context, unhesitatingly of the apostasy of the Church.... It is therefore my contention that the Marxist analysis of religion (mainly Christian) based on observed history, is, broadly speaking, right."

The other, and this was accepted by both Marxists and Christians, was that for the dialogue to succeed and be fruitful there must be the utmost frankness on both sides. It was of the greatest importance *not* to attempt to conceal differences which would on some issues be profound. What was being sought for was not some impossible "synthesis" of Marxism and religion but the breaking down of hostility between Marxists and Christians, the seeking for common ground and common action.

THE DISCUSSION SPREADS

The *Marxism Today* discussion lasted eighteen months. (The contributions will be published in book form.) It made a modest contribution to the development of the dialogue which during that period has widened considerably.

In February 1967 the Marx Memorial Library was filled to the brim with Marxists and Christians for an open discussion on Marxism and Religion introduced by the Editor of *Marxism Today*.

The next month a discussion Conference on "How to Change the World" was held at Coventry, jointly organized by the Young Communist League and the Christian Group for East-West Contact, and in May a most successful discussion on "Marxism and Christianity" was held in the course of the International Youth Festival organized at Skegness by the Young Communist League.

Early in June, under the joint auspices of *Marxism Today* and a group of Quaker Peace and International Relations Committee, a friendly ten-a-side week-end discussion was held on the subject of "Man, Society and Moral Responsibility." In October a follow-up Conference was held on "Problems of Power, Force and Social Change." At both conferences there was extremely interesting discussion on conceptions of revolution and political power.

Locally, in all sorts of forms—lectures, seminars, debates—the dialogue has developed in the most diverse places ranging from Theological Colleges to Communist Party branches, from University Unions to Methodist organizations, from school sixth forms to Roman Catholic Teacher's Training Colleges. The dialogue is spreading to all sorts of areas of Britain—Birmingham and Coventry, Bristol and Leeds, Plymouth and Edinburgh. In November two Communists were invited to participate along with other speakers of different outlooks in an "Encounter Week" at Manchester University which was concerned with the problem of different beliefs (including of course Marxism), the external, internal factors that govern the development of man, the nature of commitment and the future of Britain. And during this week the two Marxist speakers spoke at a dozen or so meetings with well over 2,000 attending, and in all the various discussions Christian-Marxist dialogue played a central role.

Under the title of "The Sacred and the Secular" the Provost and Chapter of Southwark Cathedral in London are presenting, instead of evening services, a year's program of Sunday evening discussions, which opened last October. It is interesting that the prospectus for these "Sunday Nights in Southwark" opens with these words: "A recent Marxist writer has made this criticism of the churches: 'All over the

world the religions are languishing and seem quite incapable of self renewal . . . Today all the churches see as their end their own preservation, in other words, their end is no longer man but themselves.' This criticism has much validity, we should be grateful for it." To try to remedy this, subjects of every sort are being introduced at the evening discussions—from alcoholism to immigration, education to art.

It would, of course, be wrong to exaggerate or to claim that what is taking place is more than a beginning, but the extent of the dialogue and the fact that what is being discussed is Marxism and not some vague "socialism," and that it is taking place between really representative Christians and Marxists, indicates that it is already quantitatively and qualitatively greater than ever experienced before.

MARXISTS AND CATHOLICS

Certainly what is most new is the extent of fraternal discussion now developing between Marxists and Roman Catholics, something that even two or three years ago would have seemed unthinkable. It is not only that the Catholic press was for long a regular center of anti-Communism but in the Trade Union movement for example, various Catholic organizations continuously organized against the left and militant trade unionists and shop stewards, and in particular against Communist Trade Unionists. Catholics tended to look upon Communists as by definition enemies, and it should be added (though not to the same extent) this was often reciprocated.

One interesting development that has helped to foster the dialogue has been the evolution in the last few years of a left-Catholic group around the journal *Slant*, who draw much of their inspiration from the writings of Marx.

About three-four years ago, a group of Cambridge University Catholic students, with the help of some priests, decided to launch a journal committed to a radical examination of the Roman Catholic Church and its ideas. The group was at first confined to students but later broadened and developed on a national footing. Then the publication of *Slant* was taken over by the well-known Catholic publishing firm of Sheed & Ward. Four years before the emergence of *Slant*, another group of people, mainly professional workers, university teachers and some priests, started an annual Conference with similar social aims.

Meeting in December they became known as the *December Group*. Now the two groups have merged with a membership that is mainly but not uniquely Roman Catholic and unite around the journal *Slant*, the aims of which (as summed up in January 1966) are that, "roughly speaking, the periodical—and the group which supports it—is engaged in the exploration of the idea that Christian commitment at the moment carries with it an obligation to be Socialist."

In September 1966 the group published "The *Slant* Manifesto: Catholics and the Left" and since that date have published a considerable literature.*

They are intensely committed to social change and their inspiration is in general terms Marxist. They have come to the conclusion in the words of two of the founder members of the group writing in the *Slant* Manifesto: "That Christians can never be conservatives, or liberals or even right-wing socialist; they must fight capitalism as evil; they must align themselves perhaps with all those traditional enemies of the Church, left-wing socialists and atheistic Marxists."

There have been several informal and friendly discussions between *Marxism Today* and members of the *Slant* Group.

But discussions between Marxists and Catholics have not been restricted to the Catholic left or to Catholic intellectual circles. There is the beginning of a discussion on a far wider basis, and, what is of special interest, the discussion has begun to develop in working class areas, including areas where there has been in the past a deep Catholic opposition to Marxism and militant trade unionism.

THE MEETING AT LIVERPOOL

Perhaps the most interesting event in the recent Communist-Catholic discussion was the public meeting held in the Liverpool University chaplaincy in June 1967. The discussion was jointly organized by Communists and Catholics in the Liverpool area. Speakers from the Catholic side included Frank Hendry, a teacher and journalist, John Jennings, director of the Simon Community (a voluntary organization concerned particularly with problems of the homeless) and Doctor Markus, a lecturer

*See Terence Eagleton "The New Left Church," Sheed & Ward; L. Bright O.P. (Editor) "Christians and World Freedom," Sheed & Ward; L. Bright & Simon Clements (editors) "The Committed Church," Darton, Longman & Todd.

in Medieval History at Liverpool University, and from the Communist side Roger O'Hara, an engineering worker and Communist municipal candidate, Sheila Kay, a lecturer in Sociology at Liverpool University and Gerry Cohen, Secretary of the Mersey Area of the Communist Party.

The audience of over 300 was probably equally divided between Catholics and Communists. It included priests, nuns, trade union officials, shop stewards from factories and building sites, workers straight from the job, housewives and students. The atmosphere was, in the words of the Communist area organizer, "really electric and very enthusiastic; what emerged above all was the tremendous desire all round to seek common ground." This is all the more significant in that in Liverpool, not so long ago, Communists were received by Catholics at best with considerable hostility and sometimes even with violence.

BRITISH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Naturally in Britain, where Roman Catholics form a relatively small minority of religious people, the main dialogue has developed with various Protestant denominations.

An important step in the dialogue was the holding in October 1967 of a fifteen-a-side discussion conference on "What Sort of Revolution?" jointly organized by *Marxism Today* and a Committee of the International Department of the British Council of Churches.

The discussion was held in the apt setting of the Royal Foundation of St. Katherine in the dock area of East London. The Christian delegation which actually exceeded fifteen contained Protestants and Roman Catholics. Three sessions discussed "Man and His Place in Society" followed by a series of practical discussions on "Change in British Society," "Peace," "Poverty and Justice" and "The Future of the Dialogue." Discussion was intense, polemical, friendly and constructive ranging over many problems of philosophy, theology, politics and practice. It was agreed that a continuation committee should be formed to carry the dialogue further. The meeting was widely reported in the press and gave rise to a considerable extension of the dialogue including a series of late night television discussions between the organizers of the meeting, the Rev. Paul Oestreicher of the British Council of Churches and James

Klugmann, Editor of *Marxism Today*, which were held on five consecutive nights under the title of "Communist and Christianity" and treated such subjects as the nature of religion, human nature, revolution, man and society and "Kingdom Come" or the future of society.

THE ILFORD MEETING

One of the dangers of such dialogue is that it should be formal, with both sides making as it were prepared parallel speeches but hardly listening or replying to each other, that it should be confined to "specialists" who almost know their speeches by heart (and those of their opposite numbers) and that there should arise a new ritual of professional "dialoguers" in meeting.

And one of the most important perspectives if the dialogue is to be significant is that it should become more and more informal, popular and mass.

Perhaps the most important and certainly the most moving event in the dialogue to date was the *public* Christian-Marxist dialogue held in the Ilford area of Essex (a County in South-East England) at the end of May 1967.

The meeting was jointly organized by the South-Essex Communists and local Church of England and Catholic priests following a number of informal encounters in the area. In the Chair was the (Anglican) Bishop of Barking, Dr. William Chadwick. On the platform two Marxists (the South Essex District Secretary of the Communist Party and the Editor of *Marxism Today*), the Reverend Paul Oestreicher of the British Council of Churches and Father Lowe, a Roman Catholic parish priest from East London.

The audience of about 200 included about 80 Marxists and 120 Protestants and Catholics, many from Fords and other local engineering works. The atmosphere was excited, expectant, almost intense, many of the audience finding themselves in the same meeting in a friendly capacity for the first time in their lives. More important than the speeches from the platform (and I think all the platform would agree on this), was the prolonged discussion from the floor. This was critical; many hard questions were asked on both sides; but throughout it all, throughout all questions and criticisms, there was an overwhelming feeling for the need and possibility of common action against war, against poverty,

against racialism. The meeting ended with a considerable collection, not only to cover expenses but for Medical Aid in Vietnam.

DOUBTS AND PROBLEMS

The great interest aroused in these early stages of the dialogue must not lead us to exaggerate the achievements to date nor to cover up problems and difficulties, and, on both sides, doubts.

It is clear that only a beginning has been made, that those who know of and have participated in the dialogue are a small minority. What has happened is, or at least could be, the prelude to a much wider and popular dialogue.

Moreover there is a certain resistance to the dialogue—I would say both amongst some Marxists and some Christians. In a discussion on the dialogue that continued over many weeks in the *Morning Star*, the daily paper of the Communist Party, the Rev. Charles observed that on the Christian side “Fundamentalist objections to dialogue recur in the modern Church.” It is said “Communists intend to destroy religion and we should oppose them in every way. If we sit down and talk with them, they will use us for their own wicked purposes.”

Similar objections were made in the *Morning Star* by some who consider that for real revolutionaries, no dialogue with Christians is under any circumstances possible. A correspondent, for instance, wrote: “It is absolute hypocrisy to attempt any dialogue whatsoever . . . the real aims of Communists are known, so also are the real aims of Christians. The one is the pillar and bulwark of the proletarian masses, and the other upholds the absolute rights of the hierarchy and privileged classes of bourgeois society.”

DOUBTS ANSWERED

It would seem to me that an important aspect of the dialogue is that these genuine doubts in its possibility or justifiability be answered.

In the first place it is essential that the dialogue be throughout sincere and open with no differences, however profound, concealed. If differences are hidden, dialogue becomes something of a trick, or expedient, subject to abuse. Marxists should at no stage conceal in any way their materialist approaches in philosophy nor their conception of revolutionary

change in society and the need for socialist revolution. This is, I am convinced, not only what Marxists want, but what Christians who join in the dialogue want also. There is no contradiction at all between explaining differences and, at the same time, seeking for common ground.

Those who are Marxists, and I would hope Christians also, need to study what Marx and Engels wrote on religion — all of it. There are some 400 pages in the English edition of “Marx and Engels on Religion,” not just one short phrase—“The opium of the people.”

Conversely, Marxists, insofar as Christians put their faith in forces outside man, in supernatural forces, consider that this “impoverishes them,” limits to an extent their capacity as human beings to appreciate and exercise their own capacities to change the world and themselves.

But this does not mean that the whole phenomenon of religion can be reduced to opium nor that the task of the revolutionary who has a materialist approach to religion is one of simple “militant atheist” propaganda. “Religious distress,” writes Marx, “is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world . . . it is the opium of the people,” and he continues: “The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness. The demand to give up the illusions about its conditions is the demand to give up a condition which needs illusions.”

In other words, when man is oppressed, exploited, deprived, and feels powerless to control his environment and society, he projects his lost humanity into a world beyond, into a God or gods, into religion. And for Marxists, the essential way of combating religion is helping man by science to understand nature and to master it, and by knowledge of society and social struggle so to change society that there is no need for him to escape from it.

Marx and Engels who well understood how often established religion had preached acceptance and resignation and had indeed become an integral part of cruel and exploiting ruling classes, equally understood how often men and women expressed their progressive and even revolutionary aims in religious terms, how peasants in the peasants wars, revolutionaries in the English Revolution in the 1640's fought out the class war in religious

terms. Nothing could make this more dramatically clear than Engels' essay "On the History of Early Christianity."

It would be foolhardy not to understand today how thousands and thousands of sincere Christians in their desire to return to what they see as the human essence of early Christianity are reflecting a genuine desire to improve conditions and often, indeed, radically to change society.

Marxists should not for a moment give up their materialist outlook including their materialist understanding of the origin and nature of religion, but they do need to get rid of a narrow and non-Marxist dogmatic view of religion which is very far from what Marx taught.

Nor does the dialogue with Christians involve in any way the renunciation of *revolutionary* aims, nor the openly expressed determination to struggle in whatever way the situation demands in a particular country for a revolutionary change in the social order.

Indeed it is the Marxist understanding of the outdating of capitalism, of its spiritual as well as economic crisis, of its, if you like, inbuilt immorality, which might frighten off a few Christians and Christian organizations who have embedded themselves in the Establishment, but which for so many Christians constitutes a challenge and a deep force of attraction. In the course of the dialogue there will be much discussion on the nature of revolution, the forms that it must take, questions of violence, its necessity and its abuse, and this will help, not hinder, mutual understanding. It was precisely this for example that underlay many of the discussions that took place between Marxists and Quakers last June and which will be continued in more detail at our next meeting. It is significant that it was a *Quaker* proposal that further discussion should be held on "Power, Force and Change," and that by mutual agreement the nature and need of revolutionary change will be considered at the coming dialogue with the British Council of Churches.

The argument that the dialogue is a great Jesuit trick is no more worthy than the contention that it is a crafty Communist plot. Marxists are not magicians and

should not attempt to be so. They do not believe in instantaneous conversion. They know that people in struggle and through experience as well as through education and debate come to change their outlook and change themselves.

Therefore when people begin to change we should welcome it not fear it. When people are ready to work with us for causes we believe progressive we should welcome it not fear it. When people are ready sincerely to discuss with us our views and their views and to look for common ground, we should welcome it and not fear it. There are many deep reasons for the great crisis of faith and outlook within Christianity today. One is the growth and spread of science and technique. Another is the fear that this same technique and science can be used in the total destruction of society. Another is the growth and achievements of the socialist sector of the world. Another is the example that Communists have given of courage and sacrifice in struggle against imperialism, oppression and war, which has made many Christians ask what is the force that thus impels them, motivates them, moves them. Yet another is the achievements of the colonial peoples in their struggle for liberation. And another is the challenge, despite many mistakes and setbacks, of the socialist way of life to the capitalist way of life, of the socialist to the capitalist morality.

Why should we be sad when people find themselves nearer to us and ready to cooperate with us? Should we not rather, paraphrasing *Togliatti's* words, welcome, understand and assist it?

It is true that there will always be some who endeavor to stem progressive development by "going along with it," in order to stop it or to divert it, but the fact that they are forced to do so is in itself evidence of advance.

Above all, the conditions in the world virtually shout aloud for the closest and most active cooperation of people of every outlook, religious and non-religious, Marxists and Christians, to fight now to combat war, colonialism, militarism, racialism, poverty and hunger.

Political prisoners in Indonesia

The Indonesian press has carried reports of the brutal treatment of political detainees in Greece and certain other countries. But it has little or nothing to say about political prisoners in Indonesia; on this subject Indonesians and the world public are kept in the dark.

And yet thousands of Indonesians are still behind prison bars or in concentration camps. They are the survivors of the wholesale arrests and of the terror that followed suppression of the September 30 movement. Thousands were arrested and secretly executed late in 1965 and in the early months of 1966—Communists, members of youth, student, women's, peasant, workers', cultural and other organizations suspected of association with the Communists. Most of the arrests were in Achin, Northern Sumatra, Central and East Java, and the Lesser Sunda Islands (Bali, Flores, Timor).

There was no trial, no proper investigation. Various methods were used to "dispose" of the arrested. Some would be released at night, ostensibly bailed out by unknown persons. A few days later their bodies would be found in a river. In Central Java the practice was to dump the bodies of the executed in the Solo River or in deep pits. In Malang members of the autonomous Teachers' Union were released "on bail," then beheaded and their bodies laid out on the roadside.

The method employed in the southern coastal districts of East Java was to bring truckloads of prisoners to a cliff overlooking the Indian Ocean and throw them into the water. In Solo and south Jogjakarta prisoners were thrown into "death craters" whence underground rivers would carry the bodies to the sea.

Thousands of families in Central and East Java have no news of their relatives,

most of whom have been done to death by one of the methods described above.

Thousands are still held in prisons built by the Dutch and lacking elementary amenities. Cells are overcrowded, there is no lighting, no chairs, tables or beds. Prisoners sleep on the floor on mats provided by relatives.

In Djakarta prisoners are allowed 90 grams of rice a day, more often than not mixed with sand. One can well imagine what the position is like in the provinces, which are inaccessible to foreign visitors. No wonder there is a high mortality rate among prisoners.

There is practically no medical aid. True, some prisons have doctors, but the medicine has to be bought and is very expensive, and, what is more, is not always delivered to the prisoner.

The following is characteristic of what these men have to go through. When anyone dies in one of the West Sumatra camps, fellow prisoners volunteer to bury him. That is not only an expression of compassion—it is a rare opportunity to leave the camp for a few hours to gather edible herbs and leaves. But getting them past the guards is another problem.

The prisoners are virtually cut off from the outside world. Visits by families are brief and far between and, besides, visitors are expected to pay the guard an "entrance fee."

Conditions are somewhat different in Central Java. Prisoners are sometimes allowed to leave the camp until evening and procure whatever food they can. Some are used for unpaid work.

Torture is the rule everywhere. Besides psychological coercion—of which intimidation and provocation are the most common varieties—physical coercion is used during

interrogation, and many of the methods are borrowed from the Middle Ages. Prisoners are kept in cold water, forced to eat pages of Marxist books. Violation of women prisoners is common.

Indonesian papers make a point of describing the "good" treatment of prisoners. But that applies only to ex-Ministers and high-ranking officials of the former gov-

ernment awaiting trial or sentence.

All these facts must be made known to the world public, along with the facts about the treatment of prisoners in other countries. In this respect the position in Indonesia is a throwback to the Middle Ages.

SUDONO

Djakarta, January, 1968.

BOOKS AND JOURNALS

The Middle East Crisis and its solution

Small but weighty, is what can rightfully be said of this pamphlet* by a leading member of the British Communist Party. It is packed with factual and analytical data on the Palestine problem, discusses many of its historical and political aspects and gives a scientific definition of Zionism, its history and its aims.

British Communists have made a significant contribution to a better understanding of this problem, concerning which they can well be regarded as foremost experts.

This pamphlet is valuable for two reasons. First, it counters the contention of the Zionist and imperialist propaganda that the Middle East crisis is entirely the result of a racial clash between Arab and Jew. Second, it appears at a time when there is a clear threat to peace, and not only in the Middle East but throughout the world, as a result of Israel's refusal to comply with the UN resolution and withdraw its forces from occupied Arab territory.

Ramelson says in his introduction: "Israel's continued occupation of Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian territories, her annexation of Old Jerusalem in defiance of a United Nations decision, and refusal to permit the return of the overwhelming

majority of refugees who have applied to do so to their homes on the west bank of the Jordan, are creating conditions for a renewal of hostilities with the danger of triggering off a world war."

Analyzing the background of the aggression, the author singles out some of the Middle East's key problems. Foremost among these is the area's vital strategic value to the imperialists both as a vantage ground for domination in Asia and as a rich source of oil. "The five major U.S. oil companies," he writes, "made net profits in 1966 of over \$3,000 million."

He describes the methods of imperialist domination and exploitation and the part played by the Jewish question. Zionism, he writes, "is essentially a philosophy of despair . . . it is a philosophy rooted in mysticism; anti-Semitism is seen as an organic and therefore incurable characteristic of Gentiles."

And Zionism plays a disruptive role in the labor movement in different countries: it isolates the Jew from the general stream of life in his native land, and contributes to the reactionary belief that he is a foreigner with different loyalties.

After a brief analysis of the origins and nature of the state of Israel, Ramelson discusses the national-liberation movement which, he emphasizes, is now not only

*Bert Ramelson, *The Middle East: Crisis, Causes, Solution*. London, Communist Party, 1967, 42 pp.

anti-imperialist but also anti-capitalist. For the Arab national-liberation movement is oriented on the non-capitalist way of development and, on the whole, is progressive.

Comparing the causes of the earlier Suez war with the recent aggression, the author finds a large margin of identity. In both cases the aim was to weaken the Arab national-liberation movement which had become a menace to imperialism. And Ramelson points out that the miscalculations of 1956 were taken into account by the aggressor in planning the June 1967 attack: "The strategic objective was the same, the overthrow of Nasser. But now the Syrian government, instead of Algeria, was the other target. . . . The main differences between 1956 and 1967 were that imperialist help was hidden instead of open."

And taking a further look at Israel's

reckless policy, he remarks that "the road chosen by Israel is suicidal and contrary to the basic interests and desires of the Israeli people, a stable, secure, peaceful future."

The alternative suggested by Ramelson is a break with the expansionist aims of Zionism, withdrawal from the alliance with imperialism and rapprochement with the united anti-imperialist forces. But the first step, the author emphasizes, towards an atmosphere congenial to a settlement of the conflict, which imperialism is exploiting in furtherance of its aims, is withdrawal of Israeli troops to the positions held prior to June 5, 1967.

Both the author's analysis and solutions—and this has to be emphasized—are imbued with genuine internationalism.

Ameen SALEM

Brief notices

Lenins Ruf: An alle! 50 Jahre Dekret ueber den Frieden. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1967. 298 S.

Lenin's Appeal: 50 years of the Decree on Peace, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1967. 298 pp.

This collection of articles by prominent military and political leaders, scientists and Party functionaries in the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union was put out on the 50th anniversary of the Decree on Peace. Drafted by Lenin, this famous Decree has become a charter document of Soviet foreign policy.

The collection opens with Lenin's speech on peace. Other articles deal with such issues as imperialist military policy and the fight for peace, imperialism and war, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the German working-class action for a democratic peace (October 1917-March 1918), the German Communist Party's efforts for peace (1935-39), criticism of imperialist and opportunist concepts on war and peace, the significance of the Soviet victory in World War II, the role of the

GDR as a bastion of socialism and peace on German soil, and the epochal significance of the Decree on Peace.

R.S.

Deyan Pavlov and Nikola Trendafilov. The Bankruptcy of Anti-Communism, Sofia, BCP. 1967. 582 pp.

This philosophical and sociological study by two Bulgarian Marxists should be seen as a weapon in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and propaganda.

It ably dissects the basic concepts and theories of modern anti-Communism and presents the Marxist-Leninist view and positive solutions for the problems central to the struggle, now especially sharp, between the two mutually-opposed ideologies.

The authors analyze the essence, forms and evolution of anti-Communism and, in particular, its new tactics. And their analysis proves that the objective, socio-economic basis of modern anti-Communism is state-monopoly capitalism, of which it is the chief ideological weapon.

Anti-Communism has, of course, gone through a definite evolution, both in theory and practice. It always adapts itself to the concrete conditions and to the alignment of class and political forces in the particular country and internationally. But—and this is convincingly demonstrated—the old reactionary theories remain the hard core of all its modern variations.

The second part of the book, "Dialectical Materialism and Modern Anti-Communism," examines specific manifestations of anti-Communism in the realm of philosophy. It deals in detail with the problem of alienation and the place of the individual in capitalist and socialist society, and exposes anti-Communist distortion of the facts relating to these problems. The authors emphasize that only Marxism provides a scientific approach to this complex of problems, which have always been a subject of Marxist research.

Part III deals with anti-Communist treatment of social development and politics, and here, too, there is a critical analysis of new-fangled anti-Communist theories.

By exposing the reactionary substance of anti-Communist theories and tactics, Pavlov and Trendafilov have made a notable contribution to the fight against anti-Communism.

Pyotr POPOV, Dr. of Law

Emile Burns. Money and Inflation. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1968. 64 pp.

This latest economic study by an outstanding British Marxist deals with inflationary processes in the capitalist world and their impact on living standards.

Burns examines the various factors that go into price rises. He shows the capitalist mechanism of continuous price rises—the steady increase in the circulation of paper money, the differential between domestic prices fixed in paper pounds and the exchange rate of the pound, which is related to gold, through the dollar.

These are latent factors and they become operative through policies geared to the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The author describes the chief elements of this policy and concludes that "the origin and continuation of the price rises have been due to two principal causes—the influence of the monopolies striving to increase their profits, and the actions of governments in raising the cost of living through increasing indirect taxation and other measures."

G.S.

Leif Johansen. U-landsproblemet — kan det løses? Oslo, Ny dag, 1967. 61 pp.

Leif Johansen. The Problem of Developing Countries. Can It Be Solved? Oslo, Ny dag, 1967. 61 pp.

A noted Norwegian economist discusses the fundamental economic problems of the Third World. The record shows, he says, that their per capita growth rate and their share in world production are declining. Mobilization of internal resources to overcome economic backwardness inevitably leads to sharp social conflicts. Economic and social development, therefore, requires a strong state and a comprehensive, socialist-type social structure.

Johansen is highly sceptical about the aid from capitalist countries. For if Norway, say, is to help these countries, she will have to modify many aspects of her foreign policy and use all her influence to induce other countries to do the same.

L.A.

Księga Polaków—uczestników Rewolucji Październikowej. 1917-1920. Biografie. Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza. 992 pp.

Poles Who Participated in the October Revolution, 1917-1920. Warsaw, 1967. 992 pp.

Compiled by a group of researchers of the Polish United Workers' Party Institute of Party History, this volume gives briefly the biographies of about 7,700 Poles who took part in the October Revolution and the Civil War in Russia in 1917-20. It took three years of painstaking research in Polish and Soviet archives to collect the necessary information. It is not always complete—sometimes all that could be found was mere mention of the fact that the person had taken part in the revolution, but there are also full biographies.

Many of the people mentioned in the book had an active share in combating counter-revolution in the early years of Soviet power and in the economic upbuilding and political life of the young republic. In October 1917, several of them had a leading role in the uprisings in Petrograd and Moscow, were delegates to the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets at which Soviet power was proclaimed. Polish internationalists helped establish and consolidate Soviet rule in Central Russia, the Ukraine, Crimea, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Siberia, Azerbaijan and Turkestan. Many won fame as Red Army commanders, held important posts in the Party and in econ-

omic organizations and were among the first Soviet diplomats.

Along with names that have gone down in history there are thousands that are little known or forgotten, names of soldiers of the revolution.

Some of the biographies contain detailed background information and trace the careers of these men before and after the revolution.

The institute is continuing its research in this field and has compiled a file of more than 10,000 Poles who took part in the

October Revolution. Further research will doubtlessly reveal more names.

This is the third volume on Polish participants in the revolution. The two previous ones, likewise compiled by the Institute, are devoted to reminiscences. One, "Between Two Epochs," contains contributions by 103 participants in the October Revolution, both prominent and rank-and-file, and the other, "Poles in the 1917 Revolution," is a detailed survey by Professor Walentina Neidus.

A.K.

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Buergerliche Oekonomie im modernen Kapitalismus. Ideologische und praktische Bedeutung der Westdeutschen Wirtschaftstheorie. Herausgegeben von Herbert Meissner (Bourgeois Economy under Modern Capitalism. The Ideological and Practical Meaning of West-German Economic Theory. Edited by Herbert Meissner). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1967. 746 pp.

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ZAND, H., ZYCHOWSKI, M. *Wielki Pazdziernik 1917* (The October Revolution of 1917). Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1967, 242 pp.

Istoricheskoye znacheniye Velikoi Oktyabrskoi sotsialisticheskoi revolutsii (The Historical Significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution). Materials of the international theoretical conference held under the auspices of World Marxist Review in Prague, June 22-24, 1967. Moscow, Politizdat, 1967, 535 pp.

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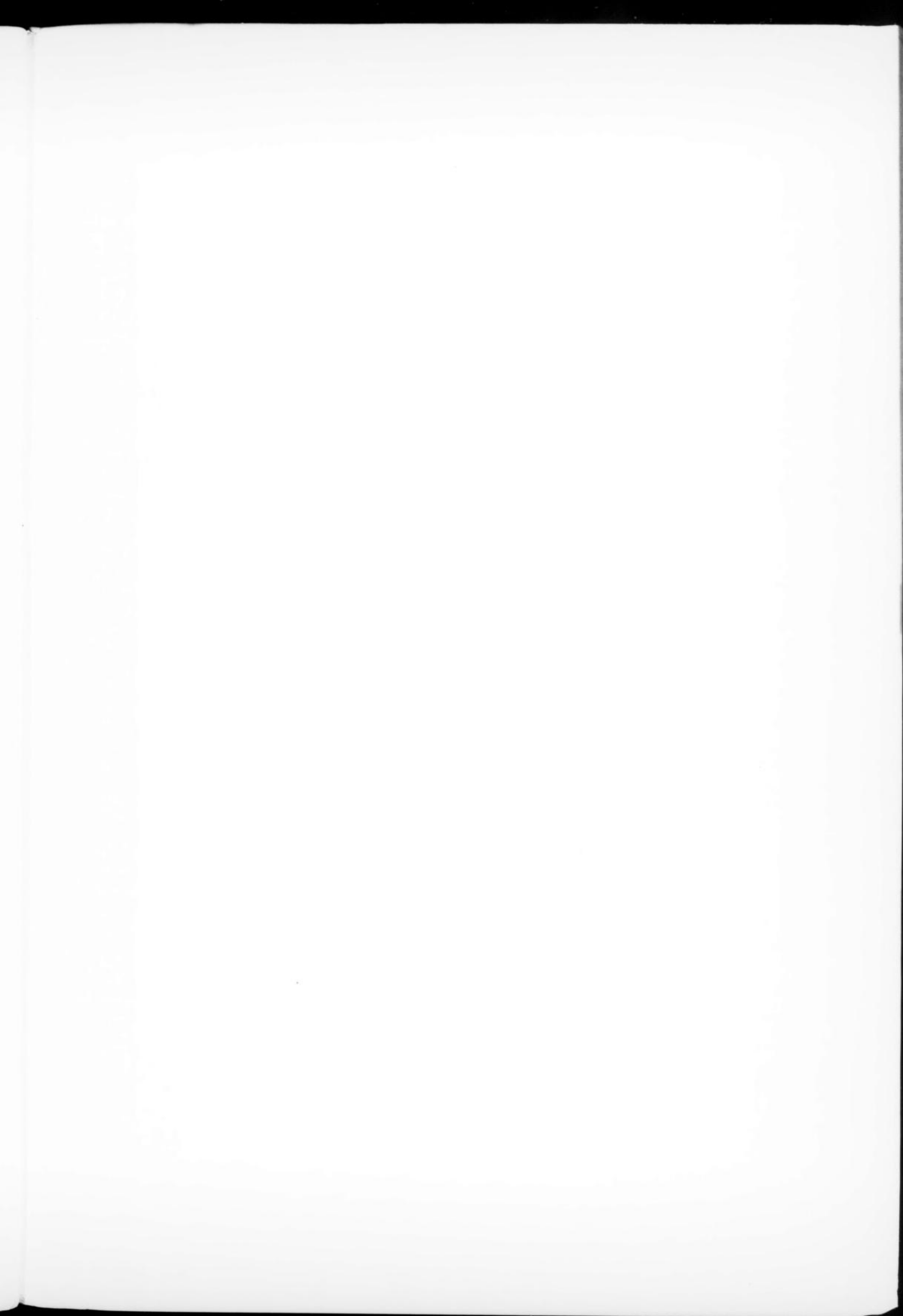
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