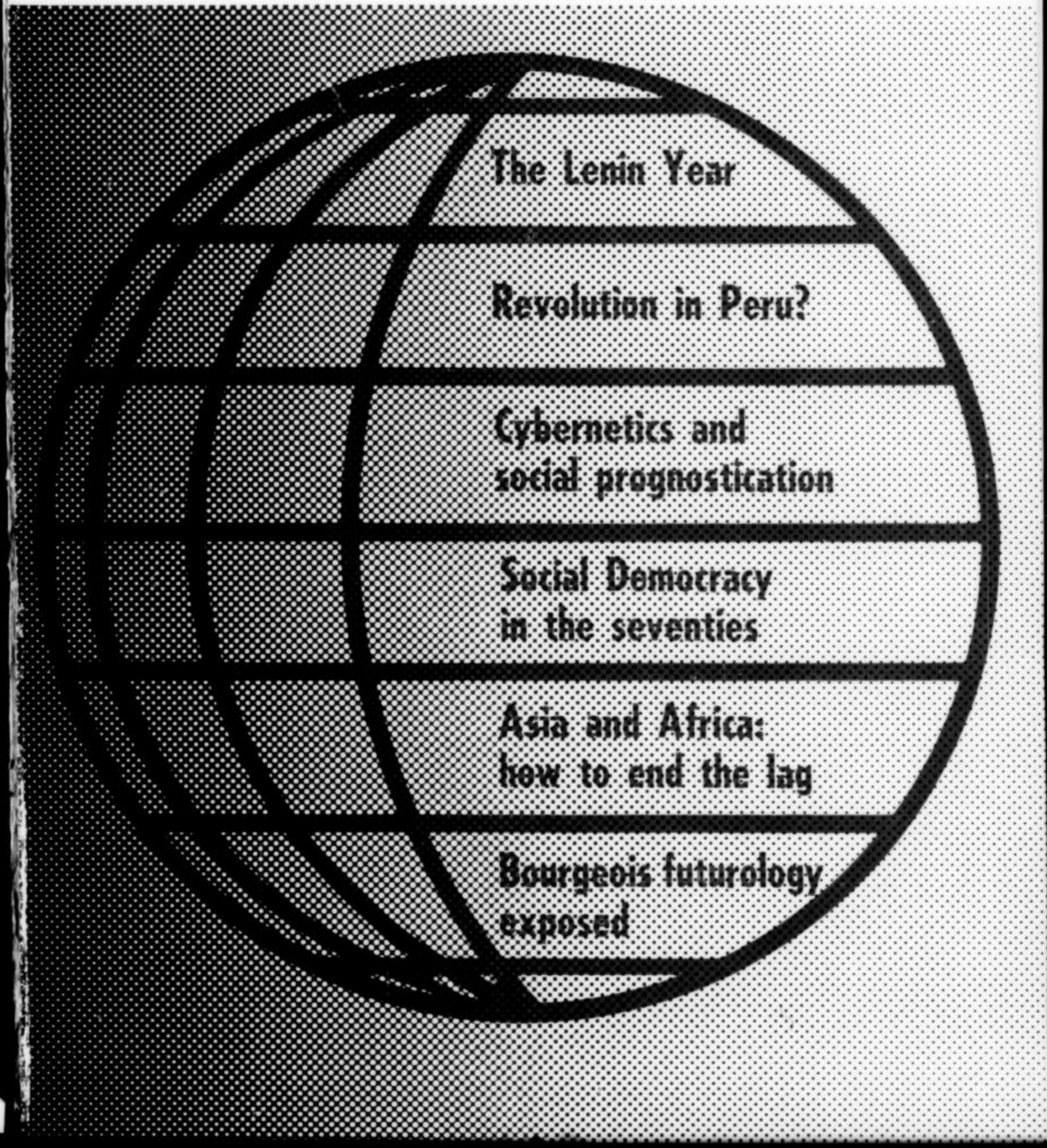
WORLD
Problems of
MARXIST
Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

January 1971,
Vol. 14, No. 1 50c



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Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Second class mail registration number 2352. Printed in Canada.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal Problems of Peace and Socialism published in Prague.

Microfilm edition available through University Microfilms Library Service.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $5.00 a year. Single copies 50 cents.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions to these may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 133.

Or, in USA from
IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS,
1730 West Arcade Place,
Chicago, Ill. 60612

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by
PROGRESS BOOKS, 487 Adelaide Street West, Toronto 133, Ontario, Canada.

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Lessons of the Lenin Centenary Year

R. Palme Dutt

On May 27th, 1970, the *Daily Telegraph*, the leading organ of British Conservatism, published a cartoon depicting the monument of Karl Marx in Highgate Cemetery with a smile on his face while alongside him appeared a newspaper poster "Wall Street Hits Lowest Point for 8 Years."

It is characteristic that in the midst of the Lenin Centenary Year, even while their scribes were dutifully writing their pieces to repeat the threadbare assertions that all the teachings of Marxism-Leninism had been completely "disproved" by modern development, their cartoonist, like a Shakespearian jester at the court, should depict at the very same moment the fulfilment of those teachings in the real world.

Lines of the critics

There has been no lack of literature, books, lectures and press articles on Lenin in all languages and countries during this Lenin Centenary Year.

This fact is a measure of how the historical stature of Lenin grows as the years pass. To the mortification of the diehards the United Nations joined in commemorating Lenin during the Lenin Centenary Year.

Hence the critics of Leninism have had to attempt nowadays a different technique. Having had to admit the historical significance of Lenin, they seek to treat his significance as only belonging to the historcal past, and to deny the validity of his theories, analysis, predictions or strategic and tactical guidance for the present day.

These criticisms follow in general four main lines.

First, that the development of the modern world during the close on half a century since the death of Lenin has disproved his theories and turned out contrary to his analysis and expectations.

Second, that modern capitalism has succeeded in overcoming the contradictions analyzed by Marx and Lenin, and that the scientific and technological revolution of the modern era has brought

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into existence a successful new expanding capitalism which they did not anticipate.

Third, that the development of the class structure and class relations in modern advanced capitalist countries no longer corresponds to the analysis of Marx and Lenin; that class strata have become more complex with technical developments; and the working class in the advanced capitalist countries has become integrated with the "affluent society" so that Lenin's formulas of the class struggle and a proletarian revolution no longer apply.

Fourth, that in the socialist world the contradictions which have arisen in the internal development of some socialist states and in the relations between socialist states have disproved Lenin's theories of the world socialist revolution and the international Communist movement, and indicate a process of increasing disintegration and break-up, or alternatively of "convergence" between capitalism and socialism.

For present purposes it will be more useful to concentrate on the examination of these general lines. At the outset it is worth observing how the events of the Lenin Centenary Year have themselves provided the answer to the critics with a very powerful demonstration in practice of the justice of Lenin's theories.

A revealing year

Lenin's greatness in carrying forward Marxism to analyze all the complications of the modern era of the transformation of capitalism into monopoly capitalism developing to state monopoly capitalism; of the opening of the socialist revolution; of the union of the proletarian socialist revolution and national liberation; of the period of parallel existence of the different social systems and the possibility of peaceful coexistence; and his insight to chart the path forward for mankind through these new uncharted seas and currents: all this has received powerful further demonstration in the living experience of the Lenin Centenary Year.

1970 has seen the deepening of the crisis of capitalism. At the same time as the editorial writers were endeavoring to treat his conceptions as completely outdated by the triumphs of modern capitalism, their colleagues in the financial columns of the same press were groaning over the unsolved problems which were beating upon them: the crisis of currencies; the accelerating inflation; the rising mass unemployment; the slowing-down or stagnation of growth; and the deepening conflict of trade wars and tariff wars.

1970 has seen the parallel economic advance of socialism, with growth rates recognized by the economists of the capitalist countries as exceeding those of the capitalist countries,

1970 has seen new victories of national liberation, as in Sudan and Libya, or developing in Latin America, or the indomitable strength of the Vietnam people in defeating the latest U.S. offensive, even at the same time as the barbarous violence of imperialist

aggression and organizing of counter-revolution has demonstrated the continuing intensity of the struggle.

1970 has seen the increasing intensification of social and national tensions also in the advanced capitalist countries, most notably in the internal situation in the United States, the world center of capitalism, or in Canada with the proclamation of a state of emergency, or in Northern Ireland under the rule of Britain; the rise of the activity of the working class and strike movement in all the advanced capitalist countries; and the emergence of new political trends, as in the replacement of the Christian Democrats by Brandt in the German Federal Republic, or in the outcome of the Swedish elections where the Social-Democratic government, pursuing a progressive foreign policy, now rests in fact on a Socialist-Communist parliamentary majority.

1970 has seen a change in the balance in the world, with the increasing relative weight of socialism receiving significant expression in the international political field. Demonstrations of this have been the journey of Pompidou to Moscow, and the drawing up of the Bonn-Soviet Treaty which has constituted a historical landmark opening the way to the possibility of a new perspective (the battle is still acute; the treaty has still to be finally ratified) for European cooperation to replace the old cold war, NATO and "Atlantic" policies of division.

Thus 1970 has not only been a centenary year stirring and awakening wide masses of people in all the countries in the world to become acquainted with the historical role of Lenin and with the revolution led by Lenin, and to draw from his teachings strengthened political understanding and inspiration to tackle the problems of today. The Centenary Year has at the same time been in the current events of the living world a further powerful demonstration of the continuing validity of the principles of Lenin's analysis, of the Leninist principle of the ceaseless advance into new conditions and problems, thus requiring a further carrying forward of Leninism in our day, just as Lenin carried it forward in his day, to achieve the creative understanding and mastery of the new conditions and chart the path forward at the present day.

Lenin always insisted, as Marx had before him, that the test of theory is practice, and that Marxism is no fixed dogma, as the critics falsely imagine, but a continuously creative theory and practice to meet and master continually changing new conditions.

Whose epoch?

"The God That Finally Failed" was the banner headline of the London *Observer* on February 8, 1970, to describe (with the aid of the writings of Garaudy) the supposed bankruptcy of Marxism-Leninism in the modern world and the disillusionment of its supporters.

Once upon a time the critics of Marxism used to declare that socialism was an impossible dream which could never be fulfilled.

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Now that the socialist revolution has extended over one third of the earth, the critics of Lenin can no longer deny the historical reality, and seek to take refuge in the mythology of "The God That Failed" to hide the reality of the successful achievement and extension of the socialist revolution. For this purpose they make abundant use equally of the serious self-criticisms of Communists and of the outpourings of a handful of renegades to try to turn history upside down and transform the historical reality of the successful advance of the socialist revolution into the record of a failure. The late Isaac Deutscher showed a little more perception when he admitted in his latest essay shortly before his death ("Marxism In Our Time" 1969) that "This is a time of ascendancy for Marxism insofar as this is the age of a revolution which will develop an anti-capitalist, a post-capitalist kind of society. To this extent, this is an age of triumph for Marxism"; but then sought to add the poison of a little antidote to remove the effects of the admission by declaring that this "is also an age of degeneration for Marxist thought." How successful revolutionary practice could be achieved without revolutionary theory he did not attempt to consider.

It would be pertinent to enquire of these disciples of "The God That Failed" theory: Who has succeeded and who has failed in the whole historical epoch since Lenin died? Which social system has proved more successful to advance during this half century, and which has grown weaker in the world scale? There can be no question of the answer. The world socialist system has advanced and become the decisive dynamic factor in the modern world, whatever the incidental difficulties, errors or still unsolved problems in the course of this epic advance. Imperialism has lost its old supremacy in face of the advance of socialism and national liberation, and weakened in the world scale, however violent its efforts throughout the era to retain or regain its old domination of the world.

Lenin always insisted that "the transition from capitalism to socialism occupies an entire historical epoch" (Vol. 28, p. 254), combining the widest range of proletarian revolutions and advance of national liberation; that Communists must be prepared for a "long and difficult path to the full victory of socialism" (Vol. 27, p. 65) with possible sharp turns in history, retreats and leaps back (see also Vols. 24, p. 44; 25, p. 183, 22, p. 310).

Consider this realist flexible approach which Lenin always combined with his firm maintenance of the essential principles of the Marxist analysis of class society, and then set against this approach, which history has so abundantly justified, the judgment of the leaders of imperialism during the same period.

Here is Lord Curzon, Foreign Secretary and ex-Viceroy of India, speaking a week after Armistice Day in the House of Lords on November 18, 1918: "The British flag has never flown over a more powerful or a more united empire . . . never did our voice count for more in the Councils of the Nations; or in determining the

future destinies of mankind." Where is that British Empire today? The Conservatives today are busy breaking down the remains of the links with the old White Dominions of the Commonwealth in order to get into the Common Market, and thrusting away the Afro-Asian states in the Commonwealth in order to maintain their links with the racialists of South Africa outside the Commonwealth.

The wars of intervention led by Churchill against the socialist revolution, organizing the armies of fourteen states together with the White Guards, ended in complete fiasco and defeat at the hands of the Soviet people, backed by the support of the international working class.

The Munich policy of facilitating Nazi aggression as the supreme weapon against the Soviet Union with the calculation that the ensuing conflict would destroy both powers, proved such a deadly boomerang for its originators, resulting in the second world war, that the memory of Munich is today only recalled with shame even by those who were its most ardent supporters at the time.

The criminal dropping of the atom bombs in 1945 led to widespread expressions by the most prominent political leaders and publicists that this new weapon would ensure henceforth Anglo-American world domination and the subordination of the Soviet Union. These dreams of Western nuclear superiority are all today in the dustbin.

The cold war megalomania, proclaiming the aim to "roll back the tide of Communism," have also passed into the dustbin of history, even though the remaining still dangerous embers of the cold war calculations and policies have to be finally stamped out.

The dreams of U.S. omnipotence in the capitalist world have shrivelled up with the changed relation of forces within capitalism and the crisis of U.S. imperialist policy and its internal situation. The corresponding U.S. strategy to calculate on waging wars through dollar-subsidized European or Asian satellites ("It takes a man and a gun to fight: the U.S. is providing the gun, Europe the man." Eisenhower, speech to U.S. senators in Paris, August 1951) has ended in bankruptcy with U.S. troops having been committed to fight in Korea and Vietnam. Alike the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek in China, despite the U.S. $6 billion support, and the outcome of the Korean war and now the war in Vietnam have demonstrated the failure of all the forces and resources of the most formidable world imperialist power to prevent the establishment of the new socialist regimes in Eastern Asia or inflict defeat upon them.

It is evident that the formulation of the critics of Lenin who try to describe the record of the world socialist revolution during the epoch since Lenin died as a failure needs to be revised. "The God That Failed" is the God of Imperialism. The corrected formula should run: "The Revolution That Succeeded."

Myth of the "new capitalism"

Compelled to admit the historical record of the successive fail-

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ures and defeats of imperialism and advance of the socialist revolution and national liberation during the epoch since Lenin died, and the consequent demonstration of the truth of Lenin's analysis, the critics of Lenin seek to fall back on the alternative argument that a "new capitalism" or "people's capitalism" or a "post-capitalist society" has been evolved which no longer suffers from the old contradictions of the world economic crisis or depressions of the 1930's, but has shown its capacity for harmonious productive expansion to record high levels, with relatively less impact of trade cycles, and with extending affluence and a rising standard of living.

This tune is not a new tune. In the era of temporary capitalist stabilization during the later 1920's, the picture of the triumph of a supposed "new capitalism" was acclaimed by all the spokesmen of capitalism. In 1928 President Hoover proclaimed that "Unemployment in the sense of distress is finally disappearing; we in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land." There immediately followed the Wall Street crash of 1929, and the record ravages of the world economic crises and the mass depression in all the capitalist countries until by 1932 Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, could utter the despairing cry: "The difficulties are so vast, the forces are so unlimited, precedents are so lacking, that I approach the whole subject in ignorance and in humility; it is too great for me . . . I will admit that for the moment the way to me is not clear."

This is not to say that the present situation is similar to then. But with this experience in mind the wary will recognize the need to examine the claims of the triumph of a "new capitalism" today, once again supposedly disproving the outdated theories of Marxism-Leninism, with some care.

Andrew Shonfield in his book "Modern Capitalism," published in 1965, analyzed in his Introduction what he described as the "metamorphosis" of capitalism since the 1950's: "Starting most unpromisingly from an especially bestial and destructive war . . . the West embarked on a period of continuous economic growth remarkable alike for its dynamism and its orderliness." And Shonfield goes on to say it would be very hard to argue that the societies in which we live are not vastly superior in human terms to those of a quarter of a century ago—superior specifically in the material conditions of their members. And Shonfield concludes by pointing to "the metamorphosis of the system since the war."

It is significant that in this glowing picture of the triumphant transformation of Western capitalism there is no international context: no cold war; no arms race and nuclear strategy; no war in Korea or Suez or Vietnam; no neo-colonialism or the deepening gulf between the wealthy imperialist powers and the far greater numbers of the population of the countries still exploited by Western imperialism, whether in the still remaining colonial and semi-colonial territories, or in the wide range of ex-colonial states.

Lenin always insisted that the method of Marxism requires the

concrete study of the specific features of a given situation, never to be satisfied with the repetition of general formulas based on previous situations, but always to seek out what is new, and on this basis, while utilizing past experience to evaluate freshly each new situation or phase of development in all its relations.

There is no doubt that the features of capitalism today show marked differences from the period of the nineteen-thirties. During the inter-war years, after the first world war and the October Revolution had opened the general crisis of capitalism, government and monetary authorities sought to restore the lost pre-1914 "stability" by a heavy offensive of deflation. The dangerous experience of the world economic crisis and the mass unemployment of the 1930's with the accompanying rumblings of mass revolt in all capitalist countries, had convinced the rulers of capitalism that any repetition of such an experience could threaten the further existence of their whole social and political structure. Since 1945 the system of continuous inflation on the basis of the state management of credit and currency and the role of the budget–for which Keynes provided the theory–have become the characteristic features of the "miracle" of the "new capitalism," boasting that it has exorcised forever the old large-scale slumps and mass unemployment–until discovery has begun to dawn that one demon has been driven out by another, and in the end both may exorcise their joint harassment.

Continuing inflation, which has been characteristic of the present stage of capitalism, has intensified all the contradictions of capitalism, both in the internal situation in each country and internationally. The intensified fight of the workers for increased wages to counter the rise in prices, which is falsely treated as the cause of inflation, destroys the myth of class peace and a quiescent working class. The high interest rates, with nine to ten per cent becoming a normal minimum "to allow for inflation," heavily increase all costs, and cripple economic development by denying the possibility of new capital except for the biggest monopolies able to finance their programs from their own resources, while nationalized industries like the railways and post office are forced to try to pay for capital projects out of current income by steeply increasing current consumer charges. Internationally the battle of the rival monopolist groupings has intensified with trade wars and tariff wars, while the multi-national giant trusts straddle across the state frontiers and take advantage of national divisions. The fight against inflation becomes the slogan of every government and political leader in every capitalist country; but the means to accomplish this has not yet been found. The more aggressive sections demand an offensive of deflation and mass unemployment, similar to that of the nineteen-thirties, but the main leaders and governments so far have shrunk from the political consequences of such measures. Such is the stage of the crisis of capitalism now reached. As the *Times Business News* wrote already on December 9, 1968: "We can all see the catastrophe coming, but no-one does anything to stop it."

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Capitalism is still capitalism through all the successive forms and changes. Lenin's analysis of the basic contradictions of monopoly capitalism, so far from being disproved, is more than ever demonstrated by the problems of the present stage of Western capitalism, in contrast with the advance of socialism.

Have the class struggle and the working class disappeared?

The counterpart of the myth of the "new capitalism" is the parallel allegation that the modern conditions arising from the scientific and technological revolution of our times have eroded the old sharpness of class divisions, increased the importance of the role of the scientists and technicians, integrated the working class in the new society, and in all these ways rendered the traditional Marxist-Leninist theories of class relations under capitalism, the class struggle and the role of the working class no longer applicable to the modern advanced capitalist countries.

On March 7, 1970 the *Economist*, the leading City organ of conventional economic theory of finance-capitalist interests, could airily dismiss "Marxist concepts–the class struggle, the increasing misery, the reserve army, and periodic crises–and their Leninist extrapolations in the theory of imperialism" as "relatively barren when applied to the problems of late twentieth century capitalism."

The subsequent events of 1970 provided a sharply factual comment on these illusions, with the deepening crisis of capitalism and the strike movement reaching record heights in the most advanced capitalist countries..

The confusion involved in this supposed disproof of Leninism by the conditions of "late twentieth century capitalism" arises once again from mistaking the ceaseless appearance of new features in the successive stages of development of capitalism as equivalent each time to the disappearance of capitalism because the previous familiar features have changed.

Certainly the scientific and technological revolution of the present era has speeded up the whole pace of social change, thrown old established industries into the discard, with wholesale displacement of workers, brought into being new industries, and transformed the structure of the employed population to meet new requirements. But this in no way contradicts the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the laws of capitalist development.

Thus attention is called, for example, to statistics showing the diminishing proportion of the industrial wage workers in the total of the employed population in advanced capitalist society, and the increase of the so-called "middle classes," not in the sense of small proprietors (whose expropriation or absorption by the larger concerns and monopolies has continued), but in the sense of technicians, scientists, managers of state bureaucratic apparatus and a host of new services, including luxury services and personnel. This is presented as a development never foreseen by the alleged

Marxist-Leninist theories which are supposed to have anticipated only a polarization of capital and the proletariat.

But in his "Theories of Surplus Value" Marx, criticizing the error of Ricardo, commented: "What he (Ricardo) forgets to emphasize is the constantly growing number of the middle classes, those who stand between the workman on the one hand and the capitalist and landlord on the other" (Marx, "Theories of Surplus Value," Part II, p. 573).

Lenin paid special attention to the increasing importance of the role of the scientists, engineers and technicians as potential allies of the working class for the aims of socialism. Thus in his letter to the U.S. electrical engineer Steinmetz he wrote on February 16, 1922: "The number of representatives of science, technology and art who are becoming convinced of the need to replace capitalism by a new socio-economic system is growing in all countries–more slowly than is to be desired, but irresistibly and steadily" (Vol. 35, p. 552).

The findings of sociologists and observers far removed from the theories of Marxism-Leninism deal a blow to the illusions of those of their academic colleagues who had sought to argue that the modern development of the advanced capitalist countries had rendered Marxism-Leninism out of date. In recent years the "discovery" of the extreme poverty of the "submerged" sections of the population in even the wealthiest capitalist countries, in the United States or Britain, has been a feature of many official and unofficial reports and studies. After all the claims of the "peaceful social revolution" and "re-distribution of incomes" under the Labor Governments of 1964-70, the younger school of Fabian theorists are now bringing forward conclusions that in fact the inequality of class divisions and the gulf between rich and poor increased under the Labor Government. In 1968 a report of the independent institution Social Research Development found that 1/10th of the British population was sinking into increased poverty, while "great wealth and power is being concentrated in the hands of a few people to an ever-increasing extent." In the United States the Senate Sub-Committee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty reported in 1969 that 25 millions of the U.S. population were living in extreme poverty.

These findings, however, refer only to the conditions in the wealthiest and most advanced capitalist countries, that is, the minority of the capitalist world. Lenin always taught, as Marx had done before him, that the operations of capitalism need to be studied on a world basis, and not merely on the basis of the metropolitan countries of Western Europe and North America. Lenin showed how the wealth of the imperialist countries was built up on a foundation of plunder and exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries then constituting the majority of the world. Lenin showed how opportunism in the labor movement in the imperialist countries had its economic basis through the imperialist exploiters utilizing a portion of the surplus value obtained from

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colonial exploitation to give special material advantages to a minority of the workers or of the leadership of the working class movement.

Today it is claimed that with the general disappearance of the greater part of the old colonial empires this Marxist-Leninist analysis of the effect of imperialism no longer applies. This argument is premature. The majority of former colonial and semi-colonial peoples have now by their struggle for national liberation established themselves as politically independent states. But this does not mean that the economic exploitation by imperialism in their countries has yet come to an end. The strangehold of the U.S. and West European overseas monopolies continues to be maintained over a great part of the key resources of these countries and to exploit the labor of the their peoples. The strategy of neo-colonialism has been used in the modern world to seek to maintain and extend this penetration and stranglehold. In this way the situation has been reached in which the increasing gulf between the wealthy imperialist countries and the so-called "third world" and the increasing exploitation and indebtedness of their hunger-stricken masses has been year after year officially reported by United Nations agencies. All this provides a powerful confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the laws of capitalist development, and is markedly different from the golden picture of modern capitalism depicted as supposedly disproving the theories of Marxism-Leninism.

So much is this impoverishment, hunger, and frustration of development of the exploited majority of the people of the "third world" officially admitted that the critics of Lenin's theories nowadays seek to utilize these facts to present a new special line of argument. They argue that these colonially exploited peoples of the "third world" have become the main regions of poverty and mass struggle, while the working class in the wealthy imperialist countries has become satisfied, quiescent and no longer capable of revolutionary struggle, thus rendering Lenin's theories of the proletarian revolution out of date.

The events of the Lenin Centenary Year have provided abundant experience to expose this false thesis. In the United States the strike of the 375,000 of General Motors has shattered the picture of class peace, while unemployment has soared to an officially recorded number of over 4.25 millions by September, the real figure being undoubtedly higher. In Britain the strike movement has become the center of the political situation, reaching 7.5 million working days for the first three quarters of the year, while the record level of unemployment in September was the highest since 1940. The Conservative Government Minister Carr has declared that 1970 will show the heaviest strike level in Britain since the General Strike of 1926. The Conservative Government's anti-union legislation reflects their fear of the increasing militancy of the working class and points to the prospect of sharpening economic and political class conflicts.

But these theories of the critics of Lenin which seek to counterpose the peoples of the "third world" to the working class in the imperialist countries have a further political significance in that they represent the attempt of the enemies of Leninism to build their strategy on disruption of the alliance of the socialist camp, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

Socialism and internationalism

Lenin was the first to anticipate and elaborate the true character of the world socialist revolution, not as an imaginary sudden millenium of simultaneous transformation of all the leading capitalist countries, but as a whole historical epoch combining a wide range of proletarian revolutions and national liberation battles.

Lenin was the first to anticipate that the socialist revolution could first conquer in a single country, in the country of that imperialist power which was the weakest link in the chain of imperialism, where its strongly organized revolutionary working class, led by the Communist Party, was able to build an alliance with the exploited mass of the peasant majority of the nation, and on this basis to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and advance to the successful construction of socialism.

Lenin was the first to formulate the guiding conception of the alliance of the working class and the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples, and, following 1917 and the opening of the world socialist revolution, the alliance of the socialist revolution, the working class movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples as the indispensable strategy for the victory of the world socialist revolution.

All these key arches in the structure of the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and the modern world are the special objects of attack by the enemies of Lenin's teaching. They seek to deny or denigrate the socialist content of the socialist revolution, to lay the main emphasis on the difficulties encountered on the path to socialism; and to deny and disrupt the unity of the world socialist camp, of socialism and national liberation, and of the international Communist movement.

In the attempt to deny or denigrate the socialist content of the socialist revolution the enemies of Leninism fall into a certain confusion. On the one hand, they present the theory of "convergence," that what has been established in the Soviet Union is a large-scale industrial society more and more similar in character to the large-scale industrial society of advanced capitalism manifested in the United States, so that the two countries are equated as "two super powers" instead of as the representatives of two contrasting social systems. One of the principal exponents of the theory of "convergence" has been Professor J. K. Galbraith who in his Reith Lectures of 1966 declared: "The convergence between the two ostensibly different industrial systems, the one billed as

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socialism and that derived from capitalism, is a fact" (J. K. Galbraith, Reith Lecture, *The Listener*, December 22, 1966.) But three years later he came out with a new theory. Writing on the fortieth anniversary of the New York Stock Market crash of October 1929, which opened the world economic crisis of 1929-32, he boldly predicted that it is "certain" that it will be repeated.

How does the theory of "convergence" fit in with this prediction of a new stock market crash? Did he wish to predict, in accordance with his theory of the "fact" of "convergence" of two systems differing only in the label, that there will also be a stock market crash in the Soviet Union? Perhaps the next time he describes the Soviet Union for the information of non-Soviet readers he would be good enough to guide visitors to Moscow where to find the Stock Exchange.

Alternatively, defeated in the attempt to describe the socialist system as a species of capitalism, the critics of Lenin attempt to hide the historical achievement of socialist construction and the extension of socialism in the world by dwelling on the difficulties or negative aspects encountered in the arduous path of the revolution of our time. They are able to lay hands on abundant material for this purpose, not only by their lavish use of the scurrilous abuse of renegades, but also from the open self-criticism of Communists themselves. In particular, the relentless review by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of the grave abuses which took place in the midst of the ordeals of the historic and heroic era of the building of socialism and the defeat of fascism and the cold war are seen by them, not against the background of the heroic achievements which demonstrated the triumph of Leninism, despite shortcomings in the practice, but in isolation as if the negative aspects which violated the principles of Leninism were the main essence of Leninism. They forget that this merciless review and self-criticism by Communists was not made under the impact of defeat or of external pressures, but in the height of most successful achievement, thereby demonstrating the deep vitality of the Leninist system and its self-corrective capacity.

Similarly in respect of the world socialist system the enemies of Leninism seek to concentrate attention on the difficulties of special situations arising in the course of development of one or another of the post-1945 socialist countries, or on the cases of differences arising in the relations between socialist states, and especially the existing phase of the relations of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, as evidence in their view of the disintegration and impending downfall of the world socialist system.

The social, economic and national background and preceding historical experience of the socialist states which have developed since 1945 are varied and complex, giving rise to many problems in the path of the building of socialism which, as Lenin always warned, is no easy path. But once the domination of the landlords and the capitalists has been ended, and social ownership of the main means of production established through the political power of the work-

ing class leading the majority of the working people, the problems of the construction of socialism are practical problems capable of solution by the united strength of the working people. Dangers could only arise if divisions undermining the unity of the working people, of the working class and its party, could give an opportunity for the dispossessed exploiter elements still linked with the forces of international capitalism to seek to take advantage in the hope of restoring the old conditions. On the continuing of this danger, even after the victory of the working class in a given country, so long as international capitalism continues to function, Lenin gave warning (see Vol. 30, p. 115).

In the relations of socialist states there is no inevitable competition of rival exploiters, as in the relations of capitalist states, but only practical problems arising in the tasks of harmonizing respective spheres in the common aim of maximum production for the highest standard of living. Where political differences have found expression these reflect subjective factors, not objective necessity, and it is in the common interest of all concerned that these differences shall be overcome.

Equally in the relations of socialism and the newly independent ex-colonial states, the enemies of Leninism try in every way to disrupt the alliance; to paint a picture of socialist "imperialism"; and to draw the newly independent states into partnership with the imperialist bloc. The fitting answer to this was presented at the Lusaka Non-Aligned Summit Conference attended by the delegates from 63 countries, by President Nimeiry of the Sudan answering on behalf of the conference Western journalists who asked why all the fourteen resolutions and two declarations of the Lusaka Conference criticized Western imperialism and never criticized the Soviet Union or other socialist countries: "We proceed from the premise that the socialist camp stands together with us in the struggle against imperialism and unselfishly helps the developing countries, while the capitalist bloc exploits these countries and prevents their development."

The enemies of Leninism speak of a "crisis of Marxism-Leninism" today because of the public expression of differences on some issues within the international Communist movement.

Rebuttal of the critics of Lenin is not merely a polemical exercise in debate. The defeat of their attacks requires to be fulfilled in real life by the strength and unity of the world socialist camp, the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Lenin, like Marx before him, always placed in the forefront the principle of internationalism: "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism–these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world" (Vol. 20, p. 26). And elsewhere: "Proletarian internationalism demands that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world scale" (Vol 31, p. 148).

These basic guiding principles of Lenin's teaching have further

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demonstrated their importance in the modern world situation during the Lenin Centenary Year, whose commemoration has helped to strengthen political understanding among the working class and wide sections of the people in all countries, and to equip them for the battle ahead with the tried armory of weapons of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

DEAR READER:

The editors of World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism) extend hearty greetings to you for the New Year. We wish you success in labor and struggle, good health, and personal happiness.

May the coming year bring new achievements in the cause of the further cohesion of the world Communist movement, the strengthening of the unity of action of all the revolutionary forces, new victories in the struggle for peace, democracy, national indendence and socialism!

Is there a revolution in Peru?

Jorge del Prado

More than two years ago we had a new military coup. It was new not in the sense of one more, but because it was different from the previous putsches. In other words, it was a military coup of a new type.

This was not quite obvious at first. On the face of it, the coup differed from the traditional *pronunciamientos,* so profuse in Peru's history, only in form, for it was not a caudillo, a Sanchez Cerro, Benavides or Odria, who had seized power, but the army as a political institution.

The "gorilla" regimes in Argentina, Brazil and Honduras are also "institutional," which does not alter the fact, however, that they are mercenary and pro-fascist, a militarist variety of Yankee neo-colonialism and a materialization of Pentagon strategy devised by U.S. state-monopoly capitalism and the military-industrial complex.

That the coup might be reactionary was suggested by the fact that the Fifth Conference of American army representatives presided over by General Westmoreland, former commander of U.S. armed forces in Vietnam, had closed just a few days before in Rio de Janeiro: the Peruvian army representative at the conference, General Ernesto Montagne, was appointed Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government two days after returning home. Admittedly, no one knew then what he had said at the conference.

The sights are set on change

Soon the facts showed that this was no "gorilla" putsch. We were witnesses to a situation unprecedented in Peru's history giving a start to substantial changes.

To begin with, the new regime differs from the "gorilla" governments for objective reasons, that is, the methods of administration. Apart from the violence involved in overthrowing President Belaunde's government and the arrest and banishment of some of his most corrupt followers, the new regime has so far taken no repressive action of a political nature. The bourgeois parties, includ-

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ing the pro-imperialist APRA and Belaunde's Popular Action, are allowed to operate freely. If any party did cease its existence, as, say, the party of Odria's followers, this was due solely to its own weakness and inability to survive.

The Communist Party, the trade unions and other democratic organizations operate legally, growing stronger and gaining influence, because their programs, their struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy, are in many respects in harmony with the principal government attitudes. For the first time in forty years–with the sole exception of the three-year tenure of the democratic Bustamante Rivero government (1945-48)–the Peruvian authorities do not invoke the notorious anti-Communist emergency legislation.

Nationalization of oil, the agrarian reform and industrial laws, establishment of industrial communities, monetary controls, the freedom of the press decree and the expulsion of U.S. military missions, have had an impact far outside our country. Establishment of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and nearly all the other socialist countries highlighted the changes rung in in the nation's foreign policy. To weigh these measures we need a deep-going analysis of their orientation and dynamics, their relation to the country's past and present, and of their place among other projected changes; what we need, too, is to examine the processes they generate.

Peru is a dependent and backward country, economically and politically dominated by the USA. Two large U.S. companies–the Southern Peru Company (an affiliate of American Smelting and Refining) and the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation–control 80 per cent of our copper output. Besides, Cerro de Pasco controls half the lead, silver and zinc production, while Marcona Mining controls all iron ore. Before the nationalization of the La Brea and Parinas oil deposits and the Talara oil embargo, 80 per cent of extraction and 66 per cent of processing was controlled by International Petroleum, an affiliate of Standard Oil of New Jersey.

In 1967-68 mining yielded half our foreign exchange receipts, obtained, moreover, on extremely unfavorable terms. The gap between the price of exported and imported goods was appalling. Also, we sustained huge losses due to the continuously dropping price of raw materials in the United States. Between 1950 and 1969, for example, we lost $352 million due to the drop in lead, zinc and iron ore prices.

Expropriation of International Petroleum and the embargo on its oil refineries and commercial enterprises ended a 40-year-old controversy, striking powerfully at Rockefeller's oil empire. As a result, the state regained possession of over 80 per cent of the nation's power potential, eliminating one of the main obstacles to versatile industrial growth and agricultural mechanization.

The mining law envisages nationalization of copper production and mineral exports, assuring low semi-processed copper prices at home for our own industry. Also, it will give us a better choice of markets at world prices. Exchange controls and regulation of cur-

rency sales will prevent appropriation of foreign exchange by mining concerns. Furthermore, the decree repealing mining concessions unused by December 31, 1970, and the statutes of the recently formed Peruvian Mining Company pave the way for the development of the natural resources by state-operated enterprises and repossession of those now controlled by large North American monopolies.

In sum, imperialist monopoly has been wiped out in the oil industry and important steps are being taken in mining to block monopoly super-profits.

However, the imperialist monopolies are still pocketing colossal profits in other spheres—direct and indirect investment and dividends from banking operations with national reserves. Until recently, foreign investments in Peru totalled $645 million, of which 75 per cent belonged to U.S. monopolies. The latter also account for 50 per cent of the sugar production assets and 36 per cent of the assets in the fish meal and cod liver oil industry. Besides, they account for 15 per cent of the foreign investments in the manufacturing industry.

Foreign investments have not made our country richer. Neither have they facilitated development. On the contrary, they caused decapitalization. Between 1950 and 1959, for example, foreign companies, principally North American, shipped out as much as $1,700 million as interest on capital, in payment of patents, as incomes from reinvestment, and the like.

Some government measures are designed to reverse this. Take the agrarian reform law. It transferred all "national" and foreign-owned agro-industrial sugar-producing complexes to cooperatives (of farm laborers and refinery workers), ousting the U.S. monopolies and their West German partners from the sugar industry. At the same time the U.S. Anderson and Clayton and Peter Grace concerns have been deprived of the internal cotton and sugar markets, now controlled by the Agrarian Reform Authority.

To stop predatory fishing by the National Fishery Association and prevent a take-over of our fisheries by U.S. capital, the government has set up a Ministry of Fisheries with the objective of establishing a state monopoly of the fish meal and cod liver oil trade. Projects for fishery development are now being drawn up to promote home consumption, chiefly by organizing fishery cooperatives and state companies.

As part of its policy of nationalizing banking, the government has excluded representatives of private commercial banks from the Central Reserve Bank board and enabled the National Bank to compete with the commercial banks in deposits and credits. It has acquired 85 per cent of the shares in the People's Bank, the second-ranking private bank in deposits, reserves, invested capital and in a number of branches. Similar action has been taken in relation to the Continental and the International banks, whose industrial and commercial enterprises have been nationalized. By and large, this brought over 60 per cent of the assets and banking operations under

state control, paving the way for a state monopoly in banking.

The Lima telephone service has been nationalized, though the terms were not particularly good, and a law is in preparation to establish government control over the entire communications system.

In the case of foreign investments and the related drain of capital, monetary controls set indirect limits on the export of dollar profits, securing their controlled reinvestment in Peru.

The most effective of the government measures is the Basic Industrial Law, under which all key industries, including ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and chemicals, are being turned over to the state. Encompassing mining and trade, this is in line with the Velasco Doctrine, that is, the program of the President.

Peru's economic dependence is thus being gradually reduced. However, imperialist domination causes lags and low rates of growth. We must therefore attack two evils at once: dependence and backwardness. And the present government is aware of this.

Private landownership was predominant in our farming until 1968. At one pole 92 per cent of the farms had 10 hectares of land or under (8.6 per cent of all cultivated land) and on the other 0.04 per cent were of 500 hectares or more (75.6 per cent of the cultivated land). Although the sugar-growing estates on the coast were distinctly capitalist enterprises, the land monopoly and land rent tended to preserve semi-feudal survivals in most of the agricultural areas, especially in the Andes. What was worse, semi-slave forms of exploitation still existed in the tropical forest zone. The agrarian reform, designed to end this, has been essentially carried through. A blow has been dealt the most powerful pro-imperialist group, the big estate owners. The reform law, as our Party pointed out, is "progressive, radical, anti-latifundian and largely anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist."

What is the nature of the revolution?

There is scarcely any doubt that the changes in Peru are oriented against imperialism and the oligarchy, although in the teeth of the facts some benighted people prattle about their being "neo-colonialist," "subversive," even "pro-imperialist." It is as much of a mistake, however, to describe the changes, and the government itself, as merely "progressive" or, worse still, merely "reformist."

By virtue of our Marxist-Leninist analysis, we Peruvian Communists hold that the changes now in process affect the socio-economic structure, that is, possess revolutionary content.

Socially, the agrarian reform law eliminates the landowner class and establishes new rural relations of production. Medium-sized farms and cooperatives predominate. The last of Indian communities, appropriated by the big estate holders, has been returned. The main principle is: "The land must belong to its tillers."

Economically, apart from eliminating large estates and encouraging middle-sized peasant farms, the agrarian reform law has encouraged the growth of a strong cooperative sector. The state sector,

too, has grown much stronger, and tends to become predominant in our economy. This is due to the nationalization of oil fields and refineries, state control over processing and export of minerals, production and export of fish meal and cod liver oil, nationalization of the telephone service, consolidation of the National Bank, and monetary controls.

Politically, the oligarchy and the venal bourgeoisie have been ousted from government. Though replaced by the armed forces, rather than the working class, allied with the peasants and other strata, the political role of the proletariat, peasants and impecunious urban strata is growing, whereas the pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchic political parties and forces are losing ground and falling to pieces.

Would it be right to call the process a bourgeois-democratic revolution? If we regarded the agrarian reform as the only radical government measure, we would answer in the affirmative. As it is, however, the developments in Peru, more than those of Bolivia in 1952 and Guatemala in 1953, show that in our time it is impossible to have a bourgeois-democratic revolution in its pure, classical form, i.e., as an exclusively anti-feudal agrarian revolution.

Until recently, Peru was principally a country of farmers and miners. To this day, the larger part of the population is rural. Despite this, dependence on imperialism, and to a lesser extent the low level of capitalist development, acts as a brake on the country's growth. It is easily seen, too, that even the agrarian reform affects the interests mostly of the big American and West German companies, and it will be recalled that the U.S. imperialists reacted to it by threatening to invoke the so-called Holland amendment, invalidating Peru's sugar quota in the U.S. market. Despite this, the government went ahead with the agrarian reform, beginning with the U.S. sugar enterprises, and in so doing acted with as much firmness as it did when expelling U.S. military missions in reply to the cutback in U.S. "military aid" under the Pelly amendment. Like the firmness and dignity with which the government countered Washington's attempt to apply the Hickenlooper* amendment and then refused to receive Nelson Rockefeller, this shows that the process of change in Peru was anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic from the outset, that it is irreversible and far-reaching, and also anti-capitalist in complexion, and that this orientation was accentuated by its very dynamics.

In the past 20 years our manufacturing industry has made considerable headway. In 1969 it accounted for 21 per cent of the gross national product. Before the 1967 crisis, its annual growth rate averaged eight per cent, with agriculture thus relegated to second place. However, this did not mean independent industrial growth or consolidation of the anti-imperialist patriotic middle bourgeoisie. With home and foreign markets expanding, and with free imports, numerous businessmen, including U.S. investors, local estate owners

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*The Hickenlooper amendment envisages a cutback of U.S. aid to countries where U.S. property is nationalized without "timely and appropriate" compensation.—*Ed.*

and bankers became producers of consumer goods and export commodities, and invested in assembly plants. But we had no production facilities to manufacture parts for them, and therefore imports kept growing. Briefly, industrial growth was one-sided, warped and dependent, while the economy as a whole made no headway. In short, dependence on imperialism increased here, too.

That is why Belaunde's bourgeois government and its Rightist followers of the Popular Action and Christian-Democratic parties bowed willingly to imperialism, and came to terms with the Aprists and Odrists. That is why, too, the industrial bourgeoisie, with only few exceptions, drifted gradually to the side of the oligarchy and imperialism, instead of welcoming nationalization of oil. Even the agrarian reform law, which helped enlarge the home market, was accorded a cool reception by the National Industrialists' Society, which pleaded concern for the private property principle and free enterprise.

The government has not turned its back on the middle bourgeoisie, the participation of which it hopes to enlist in the reconstruction, encouraging its patriotism and stimulating its material interest. Addressing the annual industrialists' conference last year, President Alvarado called on the Peruvian capitalists to join forces in combating economic backwardness, and to invest in development. The National Industrialists' Society expressed its readiness to abandon its previous stand. But that proved no more than a political maneuver, designed to force a change in the government's progressive home policy. All the same, the government is determined—no matter what the obstacles—to continue working for genuine independence and socio-economic development.

The structural changes now in progress have the support of the farmers, oilmen and farm laborers. Workers' unity is growing stronger in the framework of the General Confederation of Labor, which firmly backs the revolutionary reconstruction. Cumulatively, this implies a new alignment of class forces.

The "Velasco Doctrine" and its anti-capitalist orientation

This was the setting in which the Velasco doctrine was formulated and the Basic Industrial Law and "industrial community" law, which ushered in a new stage, a qualitative advance in the revolutionary process, were adopted.

The President defined the four basic policy principles as follows: the main riches and natural resources shall belong to the state; economic development shall accord with the national interest and not the profit drive of groups and individuals; foreign investments shall also accord with the national interest; all these measures shall be oriented on consolidating the country's independence and improving the people's living conditions.

The new laws envisage state ownership of industries making means of production; planned industrial development and labor participation in distributing incomes and stocks, and in running the enterprises.

All this does not fit into the usual framework of capitalist relations of production. Private capitalist ownership of the means of production and capitalist appropriation of surplus value are being restricted. Obligatory planning in the nation's interest is to end competition and anarchy in production. Naturally, this applies only if the stipulations are consistently observed.

The imperialists and the local oligarchy have raised a howl that the developments are "camouflaged socialism" and "pro-communism." The government's answer is that this is a new way, neither capitalist nor communist, but one that rules out exploitation, abuse of capitalist self-interest, and the "inhumanity" of socialism. Certainly, we disagree with the latter insinuation, but we do share the government's view that the present changes are gradually taking us away from the capitalist path. President Velasco and his followers reject the capitalist system as inhuman and as being the prime cause behind the country's dependence and backwardness.

We also agree with the government that the revolution is not socialist and consequently far removed from communism. With all due respect, we have no faith in any third way either for Peru or any other country. Despite the reasonable wish of the more progressive members of the Revolutionary Government to create "social harmony" and our own wish to effect the revolutionary reconstruction without violence, no lasting peaceful coexistence is possible between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (or between imperialism and the national liberation movement) by reason of the objective laws of social development. Nor is it possible for any length of time to combine private and collective ownership of the means of production within one enterprise. We cannot hope to secure lasting growth of the productive forces in the interest of all society, unless all means of production are socialized. That is why the "industrial community" is but a transitional stage that will lead to socialism in due course, if, as we hope, the government's aspiration to economic and social progress survive the pressures of imperialism and the oligarchy. In the meantime, however, employers stubbornly refuse to hand over 10 per cent of their income to the workers, 15 per cent to the "industrial community" and 2 per cent for scientific-technical research, as envisaged in the pertinent legislation. Also, they resist worker participation in running enterprises. The working people, for their part, are fighting staunchly for the materialization of these gains.

Why the military?

How are we to explain the fact that the military began and led the revolution?

The Peru events show how people's consciousness is influenced by the success of socialism and the national liberation movements, and the changed relation of world strength. Certain domestic factors, too, of which mention was made at the Fifth Congress of our Party, are highly relevant.

First, the country's dependent and warped economy aggravated the main contradiction in our society, with the majority of the people realizing the compulsive need for structural change. Anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy sentiment ran high. The Cuban revolution impelled a powerful solidarity movement, sparking a struggle against imperialist domination. An Oil Defense Front came into being, followed by a National Liberation Front and, finally, a United Left bloc. The latter won 14 per cent of the votes in the 1967 interim parliamentary election and was almost the broadest and most representatives coalition shortly before Belaunde's overthrow.

The people's anti-imperialist struggle could not but influence the attitude of the armed forces. Some army people even joined in. Suffice it to recall that General Cesar Pando Egusquiza was the first Oil Defense Front chairman, then co-chairman of the National Liberation Front and a member of the United Left. Other facts, too, of which no mention was made until recently, testify to the anti-imperialist sentiment in the army: in 1962, for example, the joint command objected to the La Brea and Parinas oil concessions of International Petroleum, and in September 1968 General Velasco Alvarado protested on behalf of the army against the renewal of the concessions in Talara. Not surprisingly, one of the first things the new government did was to banish International Petroleum, responding thereby to the public mood.

Second, the projected modernization of the armed forces revealed the absence in our backward country of the necessary facilities for equipping the army with modern arms. This accentuated the army's dependence on U.S. supplies, on the Pentagon and the U.S. military-industrial complex.

Third, the various "anti-subversion" and "ideological frontiers"* doctrines imposed on the armed forces of the Latin American countries, and their orientation on suppressing the liberation movement on our continent by fire and sword, tended to immerse the officers' corps in politics and encouraged serious study of the national reality. Sociology, Marxist philosophy and political economy were included in the curriculum of the military academies. A center of higher military studies was founded, bringing home the fact that neither workers, peasants and students, nor we Communists, but imperialism and the oligarchy, were the enemies of the country.

Fourth, the political consciousness of the officers was awakened not only by theoretical learning, but also by their participation in the so-called "civil action" program (building roads, schools, medical centers, and the like) and the anti-partisan operations in 1965, which gave them a clearer picture of rural poverty and oppression.

Fifth, the falling military prestige of the U.S. imperialists follow-

*The "ideological frontiers" doctrine formulated by reactionary U.S. and Latin American militarists justifies military intervention in any country of the continent on the pretext of combating "communist penetration." As its makers see it, the stress is on "ideological" rather than national frontiers.—*Ed.*

ing the failure of their intervention in Cuba and their setbacks in Vietnam, also stimulated a change of heart among our officers.

Not the least important, too, was the changing social background of the officers. The majority come from a petty-bourgeois milieu, some even from the peasant class, as, for example, President Velasco Alvarado. None of the above-mentioned factors would have acted so positively if the officers' corps had consisted of members of the oligarchy.

It is also proper to note that in September-October 1968 Peru was afflicted by a profound economic and political crisis. The bourgeois Belaunde government proved impotent in face of the difficulties and was inclined to betray the national interests. At that time, the civilian revolutionary forces were still insufficiently united to take the initiative, and as a result it was the army that took over.

It will be recalled that Marx and Engels spoke of a certain balance of forces, produced at a time of profound political crisis, when the prestige of the ruling classes declines and revolutionary sentiments grow. It is at this juncture that the army, one of the most potent weapons of power, can stand above the classes it formerly served, and at times even act contrary to their interests.

As we see it, the government's present class positions express the interests of the radical petty bourgeoisie. Its political creed is to build a society somewhere half-way between capitalism and socialism. But since this conception (let us call it "petty-bourgeois" or "semi-socialist") is unrealistic, the course of events compels it to gravitate closer and closer to the proletariat and the masses in town and countryside. In the circumstances, the petty bourgeoisie is gradually ceasing to be its main socio-political support.

The masses and the Party

Would it be right to say that the masses had no hand in the developments? Or that the working class and the Communist Party played no role at all, that the further unfolding of the revolution depends solely on the armed forces?

The 1960's saw a numerical growth of the proletariat; it grew more solid organizationally and politically, and was able to step up its struggle; the revolutionary consciousness of the people grew in town and countryside. The General Confederation of Labor is firming up its forces, and the peasants' fight for land is expanding.

Our Party is firmly opposed to reactionary regimes and the cruel repressions of the pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchic forces. It keeps its ranks pure, getting rid of all splitters and opportunists. It is reviewing its organizational structure and hammering out a new political course. All this is part of a drive to build up strength, reflected in the founding of the Oil Defense Front, the National Liberation Front and the election success of the United Left.

At present, with the Revolutionary Government of the armed forces at the country's helm, the Party line is clear, firm and

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conclusive, and backed by the masses. Not only have we worked out and elucidated our political standpoint; we are also carrying forward our line in practice. We have promoted conscious and active involvement of the organized working class in defending and advancing progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic reconstruction. And we are doing our best to secure organized and militant participation of the students, farmers and non-proletarian urban strata, of the whole nation.

The Communists see the way ahead clearly. We support the government, which launched the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic revolution that we have worked for so unremittingly. But we do not forget the role of our Party and the hegemony of the proletariat. The revolution is still in its first stage. We remember our historic mission and are doing our best to accomplish it.

The revolutionary process and the counter-revolutionary conspiracy

Is it right to expect the anti-imperialist and anti-latifundian revolution to continue successfully? Is it right to think that no perils beset it any longer and its road ahead is clear?

Weighing the situation at home and abroad, we may say with almost complete assurance that the gains achieved are irreversible. This does not mean, however, that the revolution is entering a period of calm and is not beset by any dangers. Imperialism has not been crushed, although the blows it has suffered are painful. Addressing a meeting in Lima on October 3, 1970, President Velasco Alvarado pinpointed some of the challenges facing the country.

Many difficult problems are left over from the past; we still have to nationalize several imperialist enterprises, effect the educational reform, and the like.

The government apparatus and some of the important institutions, such as the political police and the local administrations, are still pervaded by conservatism, bureaucracy, conciliation, reaction and corruption. That is where, we think, the greatest danger of sabotage and of oligarchic and imperialist plotting emanates from.

The economic crisis has not been defeated, and the serious problems it entails are still unresolved. Take this paradoxical fact: as a result of the nationalization of oil, and of mining products, of monetary controls and various other measures, we have wiped out the deficit in our trade and payments balance for the first time in six years. Foreign currency reserves total $400 million. On the other hand, however, as many as 500,000 are either fully or partially unemployed and the real wages index has dropped 25.5 points between January 1967 and November 1969. This is due to depositors withdrawing their deposits from the banks and employers dismissing personnel and taking other steps that depress the standard of living.

The students, intellectuals and some other segments are still suspicious of the military regime. Their distrust has historical reasons and is whetted by information and propaganda media controlled by enemies of the people.

As we see it, there is also danger in the search for a "third way." To substantiate it in theory, its exponents go to the length of condoning anti-communism and treat with suspicion the sincere and strong support of the government and its radical reconstruction policy by the working class, the rural masses and many non-proletarian strata.

A new stage in the revolutionary process

The promulgation of the Basic Industrial and the "industrial community" laws started a new, higher stage in the revolutionary process, highlighted by the fact that current measures not only impinge on the interests of imperialists and landowners, but are also oriented against the most pernicious aspects of capitalist production relations. Working-class participation in reconstruction has become active, organized, conscious and decisive. A united popular front has emerged and an alliance is crystallizing between its various trends and the revolutionary-minded army officers. The core of this mass movement now consists of seven organizations: The General Confederation of Labor, the General Trade Union Center of New Towns, the Association of Sergeants, Soldiers and Sailors, the Tupac Amaru Peasant Federation*, the National Association of Cooperatives, the National Volunteer Brigade for Agrarian Reform and the Press and People Cooperative. Proper coordination of their activity will win over all Peruvians dedicated to the lofty aims of the revolution.

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On May 31, 1970, seventy thousand perished in a disastrous earthquake and the resultant floods. Several towns were totally destroyed and terrible damage was done to our economy. All nations, especially the socialist countries, came to our aid. Cuba helped generously by sending blood plasma, medicines and doctors. The Soviet Union supplied equipment for hospitals and child-care facilities, pre-fabricated houses, hundreds of tons of medicine and food, etc. Some 200 Soviet doctors and nurses provided invaluable help, working with great devotion. This was socialist humanism in action, and we know that we can always rely on the aid of the socialist countries.

This adds to our confidence that the revolution in Peru will develop successfully.

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*Tupac Amaru–a national hero, leader of an Indian uprising against the Spanish colonial regime at the end of the 18th century.–*Ed.*

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The future and the contest of ideas

Miraculous prophecy is a fairy tale.
But scientific prophecy is a fact.
Lenin

The twentieth century is rightly called one of rapid change. The greatest social revolution in man's history, a revolution that has paved the way to socialism and communism, is in our day attended by a scientific and technological revolution leading to an immense growth of the productive forces and man's power over nature. No earlier period afforded comparable opportunities for so thorough a remaking of social relations and people's living conditions, but then none of them was marked by so sharp a contest between opposed economic, political and ideological principles. The fortunes of the world today are shaped by the relation of forces between socialism and capitalism, between progress and reaction, and the two opposed social systems represent the alternative futures of mankind. Anyone who wants to look ahead must anticipate the social and technological development of socialism and capitalism. Conceptions of the future reflect problems and preoccupations of today.

The classes interested in historic progress, in the abolition of outdated social relations and the establishment of new ones, are also interested in visualizing the future they speak for. In its early days, when it cast off the shackles of the feudal system, the bourgeoisie proclaimed an optimistic faith in the unending progress of science and education. Its ideologists promised a society in which reason would reign supreme and a civilization that would bring happiness to all. Reality proved entirely different, and was condemned by Saint-Simon, Owen, Fourier and other Utopian Socialists. A critical view of capitalism and awareness of its historically transient nature constituted the positive quality of their concepts and enabled them to formulate "the embryos of brilliant ideas and brilliant thoughts" (Engels) in speaking of the future. In their writings, exploration of the future translates itself into criticism of the prevail-

ing order and is aimed at replacing it by a better society. Everyone knows, however, that the methods by which they expected their plans to be carried out, and the plans themselves, were largely unrealistic.

Ever since the mid-nineteenth century the proletariat has been the standard-bearer of social progress, and its revolutionary ideology, Marxism, has furnished a scientific basis for predicting the future.

When Marxist theory was in the making capitalism was still developing and its spokesmen believed it to be everlasting. The laws of history discovered by Marx and Engels, and investigation of the contradictions of capitalism on their basis made it possible to foretell with scientific accuracy the inevitable replacement of bourgeois society by a higher social system, socialism and communism. Set against the chaos and arbitrariness which had dominated the views on the motive forces of history was an integral and harmonious theory of objectively determined social development based on the mode of production of material wealth. It was from this standpoint that the living dialectics of history could be grasped for the first time and past, present and future history linked together.

The profoundly optimistic Marxist conception of history is projected into the future. It registers both the law-governed succession of socio-economic formations and the upward trend of this process which forces its way against all adversities, against all social and class antagonisms. However, the founders of Marxism never looked to the "god of history" as their present-day bourgeois critics will have it. They were aware that history is made by people and that it depends on people's conscious activity whether or not an objective possibility will become a reality. What makes the Marxist theory of communism a science is that it was the first to denote the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist party, as the social force capable of realizing the age-long aspirations of mankind.

The founders of Marxism were scholars and not prophets. This is why they did not try to forecast the future course of history in every detail, to draw up an exact time-table of the future or predict what would happen on our planet in a million years. They created a theory and methodology of scientific prognostication that helped to ascertain the main directions and trends of history and to outline the more important characteristics of the society to come. "There is no trace of an attempt on Marx's part," Lenin wrote, "to make up a utopia, to indulge in idle guess-work about what cannot be known. Marx treated the question of communism in the same way as a naturalist would treat the question of the development of, say, a new biological variety, once he knew that it had originated in such and such a way and was changing in such and such a definite direction" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 458).

Lenin made an outstanding contribution to the Marxist theory of scientific prognostication. To begin with, he comprehensively

specified the principal Marxist forecast that the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism is inevitable. In a new historical context Lenin, who investigated the economic nature of imperialism and its political and ideological superstructure, predicted that socialism could win first in one or several countries.

Practice, that infallible criterion of the validity of any theory, has proved Marxist-Leninist forecasts to be scientific and correct. The October Revolution and the adoption of socialism by one-third of mankind made possible what Engels called the leap from "the kingdom of necessity to the kindom of freedom." Socialism, now a reality, is the embodiment of Marx's vision of a society in which people would control the forces that had once opposed them as alien and hostile, would make them serve their objectives, and set about building their future in an entirely conscious manner.

The Soviet Union is the first state in history to have introduced planning and forecasting throughout society in intimate connection with scientific progress. The experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries shows that integral forecasting and planning of social processes in the interest of the whole people is a fundamental law of socialism and a key factor for its progress. Led by Marxist-Leninist parties, the socialist countries are working to devise new ideas and methods in forecasting social processes, and are conducting long-range investigations of optimal ways of fulfilling their plans.

The correctness of the Marxist-Leninist prediction that mankind would advance to socialism and communism became more obvious than ever with the rise of the world socialist system. The economic, socio-political and intellectual progress of this system brought about a radical change in the alignment of world forces, quickened the pace of history and opened a new perspective in the fight against imperialism. In the socialist countries, the challenging problems posed by the technological revolution are solved without antagonistic conflicts, by improving social relations, extending socialist democracy and promoting a scientific approach to the guidance of every aspect of the life of socialist society. A flourishing, truly humane civilization is the outlook offered by socialism, an outlook of tremendous importance to the struggle of all progressive forces for a better future.

Such is the optimistic forecast of Marxism-Leninism, one that follows from its conception of social prediction and progress.

The issue of mankind's destiny has come to the fore in today's ideological struggle, social forecasts and theories of the future serving more and more often as the main arguments in social controversies. Bourgeois ideologists oppose their futurological concepts to Marxism-Leninism, whose scientific character they deny, describing it as "utopian" thinking. The alternatives they put forward lay claim to objectivity and impartiality. Yet bourgeois concepts of the future have the very definite object of proving that the antiquated system of state-monopoly capitalism will live on. The ideological function of bourgeois futurology is to divert the masses from the

real conflicts and problems and impose on them an idea of the future that suits the interests of the bourgeoisie and affects mass actions and decisions that shape the future.

Why has social forecasting become a social battlefield?

The main reason is that socialism has grown into a world system that is making effective progress. Progressives in the developing countries see in socialism the only realistic road to social progress. More and more members of the so-called middle class, young people and the victims of national and racial oppression are coming to regard it as the alternative to the society of consumption, technocracy and manipulation. The material and spiritual progress of world socialism has called the future of capitalism into question and forced the advocates of the capitalist system to present their whitewashing of it as a forecast of the future.

Another reason is the technological revolution plus the fact that production in the developed capitalist countries has reached a level at which it cannot function any more without long-term forecasts of demand, markets, natural and manpower resources, scientific and technological discoveries and their likely economic and social effects, and so on. The technological revolution has aggravated the contradictions of capitalist society, adding new ones that arise from such extra-technological problems as education, social security and the all-round development of man. Ideologically monopoly capital's effort to adjust itself to the new situation expresses itself in theories arguing that it can determine its future by means of the technological revolution.

Problems of the future have gained prominence in today's ideological battles due in large measure to the deep changes produced by the technological revolution in the military sphere, above all the creation of nuclear missilery which in the event of world war would cause enormous destruction of life and wealth.

These, then, are the main reasons why bourgeois ideologists are out to place social forecasting—a science born of the objective requirements of modern social development—in the service of the class interests of the bourgeoisie by using it as an ideological weapon against the Marxist-Leninist theory of social forecasting and the theory and practice of socialism.

The essence of bourgeois futurology is most pronounced in concepts and theories reflecting the interests of state-monopoly capitalism. The ideological strike force of this trend is made up of such theories as those of "convergence" or the "industrial" and "post-industrial" society, which are subtle forms of whitewashing the capitalist system. While they appear in numerous versions expressing the ideological and political views and evolution of various social groups, their common feature is that they prophesy a "neo-capitalist" future, reject the theory of scientific communism overtly or covertly and adhere to technological determinism.

The bourgeoisie's dread of the socialist revolution has generated extremely pessimistic notions of the future and outright negation of social progress. The writings of those who propound the idea of

the social cycle depict history as fatal movement in a closed circle, a cyclical development of isolated civilizations, which are said to arise, develop and decline, hardly leaving anything to subsequent generations. The refusal, against all evidence, to so much as consider the question of progress in world history is generally coupled with fierce attacks on communism and the proletariat, and as regards forecasting the future, it is reduced to recipies of how to "save" Western civilization under the aegis of the USA.

The disease of social pessimism shows clearly in the West's science fiction, that peculiar form of prognostication. The main themes of "anti-Utopias" are the physical or spiritual death of mankind, the suppression of personality as a result of progress in science and technology, a hopelessly tragic human existence, supposed to have "spent itself," nuclear war or an invasion from outer space. Their authors look for a social ideal in an idealized bucolic past rather than in the future. Truly, "bourgeois society is dominated by the unknowable like a gambling house," to quote Paul Lafargue.

Bourgeois futurological concepts of today invariably deny socialism as the future of mankind and Marxism-Leninism as the methodological basis of social anticipation and forecastng. But a future of mankind divorced from socialism and communism is not its future, but its past.

To be sure, it would be wrong to ignore the fact that bourgeois futurologists differ considerably among themselves. Some of them have no faith in the stability of capitalism in its present form nor in its ability to cope with the problems arising from the technological revolution. They often criticize its ailments accurately and in a progressive spirit. Nevertheless, their conclusion that capitalism can be "merged" with socialism through gradual reforms amounts to denying the necessity for the socialist revolution, and their ideas about the new society are inconsistent and contradictory.

It is essential to discern among the people behind the numerous concepts formed in the capitalist world those who in exploring the future come close, if gropingly, inconsistently and timidly, to realizing that capitalism is doomed, and who pin no hopes on it for the future. While their views may outwardly coincide on some points and at certain moments with pro-capitalist futurologists, their objective political role is different.

The refusal to examine society in the light of science logically leads to the rejection of scientific prediction. By denying the possibility of forecasting, bourgeois and revisionist ideologists try to distract the attention of the working class and other working people from the struggle for progress and radical social change. Some of them go so far as to attack social forecasting, which they identify with the negation of history making. Actually the forecasting of history is part of the history-making process. For social progress is unthinkable without initiative and struggle, without consciously building a new society based on the cognized laws of history.

While objective historical necessity determines the general trend of the process of history at a given period, the revolutionary practice of the masses conditions the degree to which potentialities become realities, the degree to which the tasks set by the epoch are accomplished. In evolving its strategy, the Communist movement puts it on a scientific foundation "not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a bold forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement" (Lenin, Vol. 21, p. 72). This is why the debate on the future in store for mankind is not an object of idle curiosity but a practical issue. The future is being shaped today, it is a result of the initiative and revolutionary struggle of millions. Only a scientific conception of the prospects and trends of history makes it possible to evolve a correct strategy, to set realistic tasks and thereby give the struggle of the masses a purpose and a conscious and effective character.

Social forecasting is a component of the theoretical activity of the Communist parties. International meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties greatly contribute to the scientific analysis of world processes and to the ascertainment of the opportunities and prospects these processes provide for the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement. The documents of International Communist meetings and the speeches of participants generalize the vast experience of the Communist movement and the world development of today, reveal the main laws of the epoch and the main direction of the historical process, the trends determining the nature of the epoch. Communists stress that the main line of world development is determined by the forces of revolution and socialism, of peace and the national liberation movement. Accordingly, they indicate the ways and means of raising the fight against imperialism to a new level, of organizing united action by the masses throughout the world.

To use the possibilities of the fight against imperialism and carry the world revolutionary process deeper in our time objectively necessitates more extensive social forecasting. It is a most important instrument of making the revolutionary struggle more effective in the conditions of the still closer interaction of the technological and social revolutions that will undoubtedly be a characteristic of the last three decades of the twentieth century. The application of Marxism-Leninism, the genuinely scientific methodology of historical anticipation and forecasting, enables the Communist parties to choose the right direction of their practical activity and, moreover, to inspire the masses following them with confidence in the triumph of communist ideals.

In view of the readers' interest in the future, we devote the first issue of this journal for 1971 to scientific forecasts of human progress. The theme is so vast and many-sided that there is no encompassing all its important aspects in one issue. This has prompted us to examine the following key problems: first, methodological and general theoretical questions of social forecasting; second, the

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outlook for the contest between the two opposed social systems and for the development of international relations; third, trends of the world revolutionary process.

Communism is for us not a stable state which is to be established, an ideal to which reality will have to adjust itself. We call communism the real movement which abolishes the present state of things.

Marx and Engels, "The German Ideology"

Since the appearance of Marxism, each of the three great periods of world history has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the coming period of history.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 585

The events of the past decade bear out that the Marxist-Leninist assesment of the character, content and chief trends of the present epoch is correct. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969

Marxism-Leninism as a methodological basis for scientific prognostication

Jan Szczepanski

The present development of science and technology, economics and international relations necessitates long-range planning; this, in turn, has aroused an unprecedented interest in the future and attempts to forecast it.

Prognostication as a form of human activity is as old as civilization itself. It is necessary, however, to emphasize the difference, in principle, between common, so to say everyday, prognostication (after all, any intelligent person is capable of relying on his knowledge, experience and degree of intuition to predict the possible consequences of certain events or actions) and scientific prognostication, which represents a sphere of scientific knowledge with its principles, methods and means. Such scientific prognostication of the future, whether it relates to society as a whole or to its various spheres, economics, for example, is inseparable from social practice and the interests of specific classes. Their position and aspirations will always influence the methods and content of prognostication.

This article deals with scientific investigation of the future. We shall attempt to show the importance of the general methodogical principles of Marxism-Leninism for special methods of prognostication.

The purpose of scientific prognostication is to visualize the more probable state of affairs in the future. This is not soothsaying depending on intuitive "vision" "divining" the future without any basis in logical argumentation and regardless of material facts. It represents the construction of hypothetical assertions stemming from an analysis of the present and the trends in its development.

Accordingly, when we speak of the "methodological basis of prognostication," we mean the totality of ontological principles treating reality in its change and development, as well as the system of methods of analysis of that reality, the totality of logical methods employed to construct a hypothetical image of the future.

Thus, proceeding from the general teaching of the development of biological organisms (man, animals or plants), it is possible to forecast with a considerable degree of reliability how they will

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change in the foreseeable future. Similarly, proceeding from a scientific theory of social development, from a knowledge of the present state of social institutions and processes, one can predict the most probable changes that will take place in 10 or 20 years.

From this it is apparent what a tremendous role is played in prognostication by ontological principles, the general theory of development, the very philosophy by which the investigator is guided. The most up-to-date and sophisticated methods and the use of modern computer techniques are incapable of ensuring any more or less reliable results if the initial premises are wrong. That is why we claim with full justification that genuine scientific prognostication of the future is possible only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the only consistently scientific theory of social development the truth of which has been confirmed by social practice.

A few words about the term "future." It is not one-dimensional, and it is frequently used in the sense that the future is understood as something formed, only within another time interval (like trees standing beyond a road turn which will come to sight at some specific moment). Such a view is, of course, false, yet many bourgeois futurologists accept it, consciously or subconsciously, as a premise.

The term "future" in our understanding is a short designation of the probability of processes and phenomena the potentialities of which are rooted in present-day reality. From the point of view of Marxist dialectics, social reality is not an ossified, immobile structure, it is a totality of changing and developing, disappearing and emerging processes and phenomena. The future state of society is determined by the dialectics of development immanent in it, which not only gives rise to previously unknown combinations of existing elements but also destroys some of these elements and creates entirely new ones.

* * *

The methodological basis of scientific prognostication is Marxism-Leninism as a whole, as an integral science the component parts of which (dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, the theory of scientific communism) exist in inseparable unity. With this in mind it is appropriate to single out the fundamental ideas, theses and principles of the Marxist-Leninist teaching which constitute, so to say, the foundation of the methodology of prognostication.

This is, firstly, *a view of social reality as an objective reality.* Changes in it are determined not by any external factors but are inherent in it, in the nature of the institutions comprising it and the processes taking place within it. To be scientific, prognostica-tive research must proceed from the present state of society whose potentialities develop into the future and form it.

In this connection it is of fundamental importance to determine *which elements of society should be regarded as essential and*

which as secondary. An example of non-scientific prognostication based on false principles is to be found in the constructions of idealistic social psychology. Its protagonists claim that the most constant, "essential" element of society (both present and future) is the mental state of men. Hence future social changes are made directly dependent on this factor and in effect the truth is ignored that in the final anlysis social and individual psychology are formed under the influence of the conditions of the material life of society and that in changing these conditions man changes himself.

While recognizing the great importance of social consciousness, Marxism-Leninism requires prognostication to be based primarily on an analysis of the state and prospects of development of the material factors comprising the foundation of all the life of society: the productive forces and relations of production, as well as the superstructures corresponding to them, the political, in the first place.

Inseparably linked with this is the requirement to proceed from *the theory of the class structure of society*. The Marxist-Leninist theory of classes and class struggle is extremely important for the methodolgy of prognostication. It requires that, in the course of prognostication operations, the interests of social classes and social groups be considered as fundamental factors determining their future behavior. Evaluation of the correlation of forces in the class struggle, its evolution and outcome is of determining importance for prognostication, not only of social relations themselves, but also in the sphere of economics, political structures, etc.

This theory also helps reveal the influence of class interests on the very content of the forecasts. This refers, in the first place, to forecasts of economic growth and international relations, the future of social groups, etc. Every formulated and publicized forecast becomes a factor affecting the consciousness and behavior of individuals and collectives, a means of shaping certain positions and convictions, in other words, a weapon in the political struggle. Accordingly, the class point of view is of great importance in analyzing and verifying various types of forecasts.

The next consideration is connected with the need to base prognostications on *the Marxist theory of social development*. Its primary methodological importance consists in the dialectical exposition of social reality as a complex system of interconnections and interrelationships. This principle is especially important in employing methods of projection and extrapolation as it makes it possible and necessary to avoid simplifications. Simplified social models have repeatedly been a source of serious errors in demographic forecasts, for instance. Similar mistakes may appear in other cases.

Dialectical understanding of the nature of social reality is a prerequisite of the objective truth of forecasts. "The whole theory of Marx," Lenin wrote, "is the application of the theory of development–in its most consistent, complete, considered and pithy form –to modern capitalism. Naturally, Marx was faced with the problem of applying this theory both to the *forthcoming* collapse of

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capitalism and to the *future* development of *future* communism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 457-58). Every forecast has at its root the recognition–overt or hidden–of a certain conception of social development or social change. Contemporary bourgeois sociology lacks a general theory of social development. Various variants of the theory of "social change" (engaged in quests of stable factors contributing to changes in individual social or cultural systems) can usually be reduced to so-called theories of averages or empirical conceptions evolved to explain a restricted domain of facts.

As a general theory of development, historical materialism is at the same time the only reliable basis both for elaborating the theory of averages and for organizing, summarizing and evaluating the results of concrete social studies.

Prognostication of social processes can be trustworthy only if it rests on the principles of the materialist conception of history. Of special importance in this are, in our view, the following points:

The Historicity of Social Processes. The principle of historicity is advanced here as the antithesis of a formal conception of social processes, which is particularly important in constructing models reproducing these processes, as well as in using the methods of analogy and extrapolation. Recognition of the historicity of social phenomena and processes binds one to investigate them within the *given* historical reality. To quote Lenin: "The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within *definite* historical limits . . ." (Vol. 20, p. 400). Disregard of this requirement leads to oversimplification and an underestimation of new phenomena arising within the system under investigation.

Historicity connotes that a reappraisal of social systems takes place in people's minds and that people's perception of them changes. Formalism and an unhistorical approach inevitably result in schematic and false forecasts.

Constancy and Variability of the Elements of Social Systems. An understanding of what is constant in a social system and what variable and transitory is essential to prognostication. Indeed, the important thing in forecasting is to ascertain which elements of a given state of affairs will persist, which will change or die off and what new elements will arise. The rise of new elements is particularly difficult to predict, especially in this age of rapid scientific and technological progress. It is the Marxist theory of the historical process that provides the methodological basis for anticipating these elements, by supplying criteria for singling out the stable elements of social systems—forms of class and production relations, the interdependence of productive forces and relations of production, etc.

The Role of Conflicts in Social Development. It is chiefly a question of class conflicts, of course. But we also have in mind the general dialectical theory of conflicts. Numerous bourgeois forecasts proceed from the assumption that the solution of social, political and economic problems shows a "levelling" trend. They claim

that it is not conflicts but rather a mutual adaptation of the two systems (within wider structures) that will constitute the main aspect of relations between states and nations.

To be sure, conflicts do not always culminate in antagonistic collisions, and syntheses of trends towards conflict may produce unexpected solutions. It would be wrong, therefore, to regard these trends as something absolute, above all in forecasting international relations. However, conflicts and their solution will continue to play a tremendous role irrespective of the methods of settling conflict situations that may be devised in various spheres of practice. The class struggle and the clash of economic, political, state and other interests still constitute the motive forces of social processes, and this Marxist thesis is of fundamental importance to prognostication.

Lastly, I wish to emphasize the highly important methodological principle of Marxism which demands taking account of both the historicity and *concreteness* of structures and processes. The requirement of concreteness means that the elements of the system under investigation must be examined objectively, in all their complexity, without the distortions arising from a false consciousness or from prejudice. This demand is hard to meet in forecasts pursuing practical aims and influenced by existing stereotypes of social reality.

Marxism-Leninism, the scientific world outlook of the working class, to which the future belongs, enables us to analyze present-day reality and forecast the future specifically and objectively. Marxists do not need to oversimplify the future, let alone to dress it up. They strive to visualize it in all its complexity so as to be able to concentrate on solving the most urgent problems and advance to their goals all the more confidently.

* * *

The foregoing methodological principles of Marxism should be applied in every sphere of prognostication, whatever the method used.

Every forecast is a set of four groups of elements making up the future state of the object of investigation: existing permanent components; existing elements that are, however, dying off; rising and developing elements; new elements, which do not exist as yet. The latter are mostly a result of human activity in science, technology, the arts, public life and other fields. We have said that they are the greatest challenge in scientific forecasting. Fashion may serve as a simple example. Similar difficulties crop up in any field, above all when it comes to anticipating scientific and technological advance.

That is why doubts are often voiced about the possibility of anticipating anything. Those who express them hold that new elements are brought into being by irrational, intuitive factors and that the

results of creative effort cannot be rationally foretold. They ignore the simple fact that forecasts of scientific and technological progress take as a starting point problems that, while unsolved, have already been posed, and requirements that, while unsatisfied, are there already. Most new elements arising in economic or social life are a reaction to existing needs or problems. Accordingly, their prognosticion should be based on investigation of these needs and problems.

In conclusion I would like to repeat that the future state of things, processes or phenomena is the realization of the potentialities of today's reality. The new elements–which will impart individuality and uniqueness to the days to come, and which will therefore differ from the present day as much as it differs from yesterday–are combinations of existing or nascent elements. All forecasting or investigation is based, in the final analysis, on a set of opinions about the nature of reality and the principles of its evolution. Marxism-Leninism provides a solid theoretical and methodological basis for scientific prognostication precisely by singling out the elements of human activity that are most essential in forecasting, and also the most essential–and hence the most decisive–social structures and mechanisms. The critical and revolutionary dialectical method helps grasp the deep-going processes of today that shape the future.

Prognostication and socialist planning

Scientifically based anticipation of the future is important for the work of Marxist-Leninist parties. Forecasting social development is an important instrument of the Communist party and socialist state in framing economic and social policies and in working out solutions to social problems.

Prognostication in the socialist countries is closely coordinated with planning. It is becoming an increasingly important factor in planning, to which it imparts new qualities at this stage of development. In view of the growing significance of future studies in today's socialist planning, the editorial board of this journal has asked scholars in socialist countries to answer the following questions:

1. What do you think of the place and role of forecasts in socialist planning? What is the difference between socialist and capitalist forecasting?

2. What types of forecast are employed in socialist planning?

3. How far ahead can scientific forecasts be made? The answers follow:

Dr. Istvan Hetenyi
Vice-Chairman, State Planning Office of the Hungarian People's Republic

1. In the socialist countries meaningful centralized direction of socio-economic processes necessitates a system of planning based on scientific findings and methods. Proceeding from what has been achieved, this system should put forward realistic social and economic development tasks and indicate judicious and advisable lines of further progress.

A harmonious system of plans for diverse terms develops in the course of continuous planning. At the initial stage of their work planners should have detailed analyses of all important socio-economic processes–both general and particular–taking into account the characteristics of past development, and well-documented conclusions as to the likely and desirable trends of future development. This calls, first of all, for forecasts.

Forecasting enables the central leadership to draw conclusions regarding urgent problems of economic policy as it goes from stage to stage. It helps to evolve well-founded conceptions and programs of development for the decisive economic spheres and to decide on optimal solutions to the problems of socio-economic progress.

It follows that forecasts are not intended as substitutes for even long-term national economic plans. Their function is to help in drafting plans on the solid foundation of scientific research, which makes it possible by scientific anticipation to set realistic objectives within the framework of economic planning and to specify preferable ways and means of attaining them.

Furthermore, forecasts provide a starting point, not only for planning in the narrow sense of the term, but for economic policy-making and for the entire process of building socialist society.

Forecasts are particularly essential in the era of the scientific and technological revolution, when the pattern of the national economy is changing at a quickened pace and when flexibility in selecting and using ways and means of further development is gaining in importance. The need to extend and improve forecasting is also greater than ever in view of the exigencies of economic integration of the socialist countries.

I think the main distinction between socialist and capitalist forecasting is both the nature of the forecasts and the use made of them. Under capitalism the state is interested in forecasts for only some fields, it does not integrate forecasts into a system of meaningful economic planning.

The socialist state, however, is interested in forecasts covering every economic and social sphere, in coordinating them and putting them to effective use. It systematically takes account of prepared and specified forecasts to shape its economic policy, to exercise centralized management and to draft economic plans.

2. In Hungary forecasts are concerned with the following fields.

–social progress and the standard of life;

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–progress in science and technology;
–the dynamics of economic development, population growth and the country's resources;
–the development of material production branches;
–the development of individual areas;
–world politics and economy and foreign trade.

3. We in Hungary draw up forecasts for the most diverse terms depending on the nature of the phenomenon concerned, the length of time required for this or that process to make itself felt, and on the nature of the agency which intends to use a forecast. Among short-term forecasts I would like to mention estimates of the anticipated market demand or the expected growth of agricultural production.

Long-range planning is based, of course, on medium- and long-term forecasts. Our experience confirms the advisability of a forecast generally covering a longer period than the plan for the drafting of which it is used, for the effect of plan measures carries beyond the plan period. This is why in long-range plans we generally use forecasts five to twenty years ahead. Forecasts for longer periods are prepared only as an exception, for practical purposes. The point is that the longer the period covered by scientific anticipation, the less the accuracy of the latter, a shortcoming only partly eliminated by the great variety of the methods used and the fact that diverse organizations carry out parallel projects correcting one another. For all that, we believe that there is no need in the course of planning to prepare long-term forecasts from which no practical conclusions can be drawn regarding the present or the near future. I think they belong to futurology.

Academician Anatoly Yefimov

Director, Economic Research Institute, USSR State Planning Commission

1. Scientific, technological, social and economic prognostication under socialism is a component of national economic planning. Its methodological principles were first set out in Lenin's GOELRO plan (State Plan for the Electrification of Russia).

Forecasts cover the early stages of planning. Their purpose is to ascertain development trends and to supply scientific evidence in support of the economic and political conception of plans ensuring the promotion of economic growth.

The fundamental distinction between socialist and capitalist predictions of the future is that in socialist society a forecast does not merely record likely trends but is also aimed at finding constructive solutions that guarantee optimal development. Under socialism forecasting is followed up by the drafting of a pilot plan and by meaningful planned management encompassing the whole country.

The main functions of economic forecasting may be listed as follows:

–making scientific analyses of economic, scientific, technological

and social processes and trends; estimating a given situation and pinpointing the key problems of economic development;

–ascertaining the factors that play a decisive part in changing a trend, and estimating how long they are likely to operate;

–selecting, comparing and verifying various objectives and alternative courses of economic development; estimating the possibilities of adopting realistic solutions and specifying the fields in which they can be applied.

2. The experience of our country warrants the conclusion that economic planning rests on the following set of forecasts:

(a) demographic and labor-resources forecasts for the whole country, by social group and by area;

(b) forecasts of natural resources by basic group plus their inclusion in the economic cycle;

(c) scientific and technological forecasts and estimates of the effects of scientific and technological progress on the development of social production and its various branches;

(d) socio-economic forecasts;

(e) forecasts of international relations;

(g) economic forecasts proper, based on the forecasts listed above and considering the prospects of the reproduction of labor power, production assets and capital investments, a higher standard of living, the dynamics of development of the economy as a whole and of particular industries or groups of industries, structural changes, the prospects of distribution of the productive forces, financial relations, foreign economic relations, and so on.

A number of research institutions of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, ministries and central departments are working on prob'ems of economic forecasting. The leading organization studying these problems is the Economic Research Institute of the State Planning Commission of the USSR, which devises the methodology of medium- and long-term forecasting and prepares specific economic forecasts for 10 to 15 years. This Institute has devised and tested a macro-economic, multi-factor model of the economy, an enlarged inter-branch balance, reproduction models of fixed assets and investments, and consumption patterns.

Studies of the outlook for the development of a number of key lines of science are going on under the direction of the Presidium of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Prospects of the general and inter-branch lines of applied science and technology are the concern of researchers working under the direction of the State Committee for Science and Technology. Lastly, the research and designing institutes of various ministries and central departments study the prospects of raising standards in particular industries.

3. The period covered by a forecast depends on how long revealed trends operate. Account is taken of diverse aspects of social reproduction. The main reproduction cycles varying in duration are the scientific and technological cycle, which involves the introduction of scientific discoveries and ideas into the production sphere (15 to 20 years); the demographic cycle, which covers reproduction in

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the lifetime of one generation with due regard to sex and age (20 to 25 years); the capital cycle, corresponding to the life span of the fixed assets now being introduced (20 to 25 years); the cycle of bringing natural resources into production (15 to 20 years); the economic cycle, which covers current expenditures of funds and materials (one to three years).

These cycles form the basis on which economic forecasts are divided into short-, medium- and long-term ones (one to three, five to seven and 15 to 20 years, respectively). Scientific forecasting ends where future development cannot be soundly predicted on the strength of discovered laws.

Dr. Kvetoslav Roubal

Vice-Director, Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CP of Czechoslovakia

1. I will try to answer the first question in general philosophical terms by examining the interrelation of prevision, forecasting and planning.

During the past quarter of a century forecasting has assumed a large scale in the socialist and capitalist world alike. This is due to the current scientific and technological revolution, which substantially changes the concept of the evolution of human society, of the pace, ways and means and interconnection of the material and intellectual spheres of life.

Marxist-Leninist scientific prevision, which is based on knowledge of the objective laws of social history, enables us to make an accurate projection of the future, determine the main lines and the ways and means of building the new society with due regard to the latest achievements of the natural and social sciences.

The effort to achieve this general goal covers a whole period of history during which qualitative changes will occur in the nature of the productive forces, in the consumption sphere, in social relations, education, culture, etc.

Socialist forecasting specifies the process of advancing to the general goal. It helps to evolve the strategy of socio-economic policies and to choose optimum ways and variants of concentrating, meaningfully, effectively and in good time, the forces of society and of bringing about qualitative changes in the process of achieving the communist ideal.

Forecasts are peculiar temporal models of intricate structural systems. Two models of this kind–short- and medium-term–are known at this stage of progress in forecasting techniques. It is also possible to evolve long-term forecasts, which would, in fact, border on futurology.

Planning sets itself objectives that are closer in time and puts forward guidelines for one year, five years, and so on, proceeding from the level attained by the productive forces.

Progress in Marxist futurology leads to better socialist planning,

the principal method of centralized and meaningful management of the nationnal economy and the social reproduction process.

Planning is the instrument with which socialist society mobilizes its resources and effectively uses them for building communism. Forecasting makes planning more scientific by treating consecutive plans as stages of the continuous process of meaningful historical development.

Socialist forecasting differs from capitalist forecasting in character and in the role it plays in economic development. Capitalist forecasting is based chiefly on the idea that social development is a purely quantitative, evolutionary process involving no qualitative changes. Even when speaking of a "revolution" in production management, in incomes, property form, and so on, capitalist forecasts do not go beyond extrapolation.

2. The following types of forecast may be listed: general, branch, detail and problem forecasts, on the one hand, and integral ones, on the other.

I regard as general forecasts those of scientific and technological advance in the conditions of international socialist division of labor and inter-state specialization, predictions of the development of the social sphere, etc.

Among problem forecasts are those tracing the perspective of development of a definite industry but actually reaching beyond it. Thus, Lenin's GOELRO plan provided not only for building a series of large power plants, but also for solving numerous key problems of creating the material and technical base of socialism. It stands as a classic example and principle of socialist forecasting and planning.

Integral forecasts are a fusion of particular forecasts. Only through such fusion do the latter become effective, growing into model projections of social development.

3. Modern forecasting techniques make it possible to predict a quarter century ahead. The length of this period does not affect the soundness of such forecasts but, on the other hand, it marks their limit, especially in the field of science and technology and hence of industry, for qualitative changes cannot be foreseen accurately and specifically enough beyond this period. In addition to more or less long-range forecasts there are short-term ones of up to one decade. These contain relatively more trustworthy and accurate estimates of the likely process of development.

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Prognosis, plan, economic policy

Kazimierz Secomski

Socio-economic development has become an increasingly dynamic and complex process. Everything we do has an important bearing on the future, immediate and distant. Every fundamental decision has to be based on a forecast and an appraisal of its future relevance. And it is now generally accepted that the validity of any such decision or program depends to a large extent on how correctly we have gauged its present and future implications.

Prognostic research is widely used in both socialist and capitalist countries. In the latter, however, it is usually one-dimensional. Achievements in prognostication techniques are largely nullified by fallacious methodology. As a rule, forecasts are based on projections of the existing world strength-balance and on the assumption of the non-conflict development of capitalism. Its inherent contradictions, the factors that make for mounting tension, are left out of account.

Attempts to evolve a "consumer" model of social development corresponding to the "post-industrial" society concept are characteristic of capitalist prognostication. Accordingly, it sets out to devise a specific way of life, with its deformed and highly individualized consumption structures. This type of prognostication has come under sharp criticism even in capitalist countries.

The socialist countries offer much more favorable conditions for comprehensive prognostic research and its effective use. This is due primarily to the advantages of the socialist economy—prognostication can be related to economic planning, especially long-range plans. Prognostication is coming to play a much bigger role also in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The goals a socialist society sets differ fundamentally from those of capitalist countries, as does also the character and range of the people's future requirements and conditions. Hence, the difference in the ways and methods of elaborating models of economic and social development. And, hence, too, different principles, based on scientific Marxist-Leninis. prognostication and aimed at full use of socialism's latent reserves.

Prognoses as a planning element

Management of the economy and social guidance are now impossible without a carefully worked out socio-economic policy backed by scientific research. The aim here is to reveal the causal

link between socio-economic phenomena of the past and present, disclose and appraise development trends as factors of future progress. An all-round analysis of the present is the first step in the prognostication process, the essential requisite for accurate and reliable forecasts.

The socialist countries, and primarily the Soviet Union, the first land of socialism, have a rich fund of experience in socio-economic prognostication and planning.

Socialist planning, now conducted on a very wide scale, employs scientific methods, is universal in scope, brings plans into an integrated system, coordinates national and international plans. Such, in brief, are the chief characteristics of modern socialist planning.

And planning is paralleled by prognostic research, likewise conducted on a wide scale, and now with international cooperation. We now have expert personnel and a reliable methodology, and work is in progress to improve the quality of prognostication by giving it more scientific substantiaton to achieve a higher degree of accuracy.

There is also much room for improvement in planning techniques, again on a scientific basis and with the use of more prognostication elements to analyze possible directions of socio-economic progress and, with this as a firm basis, select optimal plan variants.

We can speak of prognostication becoming an organic element of the planning process. Prognostication is increasingly acquiring the character of purposive research for a conceptual framework of economic growth within which concrete growth plans are drawn up. In other words, prognostication is becoming the prime element of planning, one that provides the material for formulating an overall economic and social development concept.

Prognostication should provide a wide foundation for the economic master plan and for concretizing its overall targets and means of their attainment. The effect of prognostic research can thus be measured by how much of its findings are incorporated in the plan.

Another purpose of prognostication is to furnish data for devising possible variants of social, economic, scientific and technological processes with due account to the conditions of future social progress. The factors governing these processes can change, necessitating modification of the original hypotheses. Accordingly, we must always have several variants of the future picture of society. Forecasts over long, and more particularly very long, periods can only be effective if based on multi-variant prognostications. By analyzing these we can pinpoint the most likely course of socio-economic development and alter economic plans accordingly.

Another thing that has to be stressed is the importance of continuity in prognostication and verification of its results in accordance wth planning requirements. The means and methods of plan fulfilment are constantly being perfected. This and changing conditions have to be closely studied. Planning must be flexible, with continuous analyses of assignments and periodical review of operative plans, especially long-term.

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With the steady improvement of prognostication techniques, we are in a better position correctly to assess development conditions. This enables us periodically, or operatively, to verify and modify our forecasts. These corrections of the future picture of the economy and of society are sometimes far-reaching, involving alteration of operative plans.

The economic plans of each socialist country form an integral system. For instance, the twenty-year long-range plan is the basis for the five-year plan, which sets out concrete targets for every branch of socio-economic activity. The five-year plan is the basis for yearly plans which, in turn, are the starting point for shorter-period programs. We thus have a definite system of inter-dependent plans differing in time-span, scale, detailization and means of fulfilment.

Much the same patterns is followed in prognostic research for economic planning. It is geared, on the one hand, to short, medium and long-range plans, differing not only in scope and degree of detailization, but also in methodology and analysis. On the other hand, integration of prognostic research in the planning process presupposes subordination of prognostic studies to the requirements of the one-year, five-year or long-range plans.

The present trend is towards optimization of prognostication made possible by advances in information techniques, closer statistical analyses and improved research methods. We learn to form a more accurate and concrete picture of the development process and of probable changes in the near and more distant future, so that planners can directly use research results in readjusting plan assignments.

The principles of prognostication and planning coordination are now being modified.

Coordination of economic planning and concrete coordination methods are meant to achieve optimal integration of plan assignments to assure balanced and comprehensive development. Such coordination, often repeated and conducted at different levels, is important not only to bring plan targets into line with the means of their realization, but also correctly to relate short-term plans to long-range objectives and their means of realization. This necessitates a reordering of priorities–short-term plans are geared to long-range objectives.

All these difficult and complicated problems of plan coordination are reflected also in coordinating prognostic research. Here the aim is to harmonize detailed forecasts for individual branches of the economy and bring them into a single complex with due account to the planning requirements of individual sectors.

This is important not only for separate branches of the economy. For instance, specialists studying demographic processes, or the development of science and technology, or the dynamics of some concrete branch, might not reckon with the influence of other spheres of social life. Only by uniting prognoses of these various categories can we bring out the interconnection and reacting influ-

ence of social, economic and other phenomena. Hence, what we need is not only overall, but primarily current and periodical forecast coordination.

But it should be emphasized that even the best prognosis cannot be a substitute for planning. More, detailed prognoses cannot serve as directives for practical planning. For the purpose of prognostication is to provide the material needed for working out the general plan concept, selecting optimal ways of economic and social development. Only the concrete plan is the embodiment of a program of action setting out definite tasks and the means of their accomplishment.

Prognostication plays an increasingly important part at the present stage of the socialist countries' development, for balanced growth of their economies and expansion in other spheres of social life call for comprehensive prognoses, that essential requisite for coordinating short-term, medium and long-range planning.

Main types of prognoses

At present, prognoses are concentrated on population, science and technology, socio-cultural development, economic growth, the latter including general economic and technico-economic, and territorial-structural (national, regional and local) studies.

Demographic prognostication is widely used, and it is here that we have made the most progress. We have substantiated methods of research and are devising ways of making fuller use of its results. Prognostic studies of the growth and structure of population, both world and national, have a very practical value. They reveal a trend towards a progressively lower growth rate with eventual stabilization of the population of highly-developed countries, followed by a similar process in countries of medium development. That is the prospect up to the year 2000. Continued reduction of the death-rate coupled with an increase in average life-span substantially change the age structure, with a considerably bigger share of the senior age-group.

Population studies are the starting point for shaping demographic policy. They are the basis for regulating demographic planning and the economic and social measures needed to secure the desired population growth and an optimal age structure.

Equally important are forecasts of growth in the different age groups. For instance, prognoses of the share of the under-able-bodied group gives up a clue to such problems as improvement of mother and child care, modernization and expansion of education facilities, more effective health services, etc. Of especial significance in this context are prognoses of the able-bodied population in order to form a correct picture of manpower resources, nationwide or regional, over definite periods. And here we must always take into account the dynamics of economic growth, structural changes and ensuing labor-power requirements. This can serve as a guide for our full employment policy and for more rational use of available labor power.

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One of the more complicated questions is determining the scale and direction of migration. This has a direct bearing on regional labor-power studies, geographical allocation of productive forces and the rise of future industrial centers and their urban communities. Last but not least, population studies of senior-age groups disclose the intensity of the aging process and the problems this poses for the social services.

Scientific and technological prognoses are considered the most complicated and their methodology has still to be adequately developed.

In the socialist countries, forecasts in science and technology are the basis for perfecting medium-term and long-range plans, principally from the standpoint of modernizing the economic structure through optimal selection of priority-growth sectors, but, of course, with due account to the international division of labor and specialization of CMEA member countries. Besides, such prognostications effectively help each socialist country in framing current and long-range scientific and technical policy.

CMEA countries have now begun joint research in this field, which has a direct bearing on accelerating utilization of all the advantages of the technological revolution. It also contributes to the solution of the problems involved in the socialist division of labor, economic specialization and foreign-trade expansion. Consistent progress in cooperation in this field makes for quicker exchange of scientific and technological know-how and shortens the research cycle. This applies to a wide range of experience, training of specialist personnel and mutual assistance in the practical use of scientific and technological achievements.

Prognostication in the social and cultural field is likewise making good headway. Here we must always take into account the close link between economic growth and social development, the interaction and interconnection of qualitative and structural change in the economy and in society as a whole.

It is relatively easier to forecast the nature of such changes over periods of less than 15 years than to form a reliable picture of what society will be like 30 years hence, in the year 2000. Personal and collective consumption lend themselves to prognostication much better than their structural changes. To overcome that difficulty we usually draw up several variants of probable social and cultural development over a long or very long period.

This applies primarily to consumption. For here we can rely on comparisons and joint CMEA economic-statistical and prognostic studies. They allow for a comparison of living standards in the base year and for joint discussion and perfection of intermediate and final models of social development. Intermediate models, usually covering a five-year period, make for a higher degree of prognostic accuracy.

Similarly, detailed prognoses for different social spheres are drawn up for specific periods. Some of these are crucial in setting economic and social development assignments. One example is

prognosticating the multiform results of technical progress. So far this has been based chieflly on obsolescence of plant consequential on the technological revolution. Up till recently no provision was made for a similar process in skill standards and occupational training. Now every prognostic study must carefully examine not only requirements for new personnel and for an appropriate training system, but also the need to re-train existing personnel to meet the new technological requirements.

This is typical of how social prognosis is coming to play a bigger part both in economic planning and in formulating social policy over shorter or longer periods. Detailed forecasts are in this respect a valuable instrument of social policy in such fields as education, public health, culture, etc.

Sociological prognistication holds a place all its own. Here the prognosticator's aim is to anticipate changes in such units as the family, the factory community, residential area, public organizations and institutions. The researcher starts with a series of hypotheses covering possible motivated changes in behavior patterns conditioned by the changing socio-economic background.

Research on the effect of the shorter work-week resulting from technical progress is still another interesting field for the prognosticator. And here he has to operate with different tentative variants of possible use of free time in a situation of expanding recreational facilities.

In the socialist countries the main accent is still on economic prognostication, which can be divided into general economic and technico-economic studies. The former cover the entire economy, while the latter furnish a detailed picture of probable development in one or another economic area.

General economic prognostication concentrates on the dynamics of the national economy, formation and growth of national income, its structure and distribution, and tempo of economic modernization. The latter involves international research of the experience of socialist countries and of the trend of their economic and technological cooperation.

Mention should also be made of prognosis of the world economy and the world market, including such questions as foreign trade expansion, fluctuating business situations, changing prices and marketing conditions, and economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries.

General economic prognoses are a component of integrated planning and a major factor in shaping current and long-term economic policy. Technico-economic prognoses help to mould policy in separate branches of the economy–industry, agriculture, trade, transport, etc.

The object of territorial-structural studies is to predict future changes in the allocation of productive forces, regional development, especially resulting from socialist industrialization and its attendant process of urbanization. In the socialist countries this type of prognostication has assumed wide dimensions. One of its

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noteworthy achievements is its new method of analyzing optimal utilization of territory for economic and social development.

Prognostic studies also cover such things as future urban and rural communities, detailed research in the growth of large, medium and small towns and rural communities. These are complemented by special studies to produce a picture of the urban and rural population in the year 2000.

Equally, if not more important, are international prognoses, particularly in such fields as economic cooperation, plan coordination and economic integration of CMEA member states. It is now perfectly clear that we must measure national forecasts against international in order to use the valuable experience of other countries. Comparative analyses are also valuable in this respect.

International prognostication has given us some very interesting ideas about the development of the world economy and national economies, disclosing the depth and scope of probable changes in socio-economic conditions of the socialist countries.

Prognostic research in these countries takes into account capitalist contradictions and tensions and uneven socio-economic development of capitalist and third-world countries. Accordingly, our overall prognoses provide for measures designed to strengthen the socialist world system and the defense capacity of its member-countries and of the socialist community as a whole.

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Prognostication has a dual purpose: it serves the practical requirements of planning and, on the other hand, makes for a higher level of scientific research and perfects its own method and theory.

The Communist and Workers' parties in socialist countries attach much importance to the expansion of prognostic research in close association with economic planning.

In present-day conditions, with social processes steadily becoming more complex and dynamic, prognostication gives us a better idea of overall development goals in major spheres of social endeavor. This means that we can concentrate on central objectives and thus ensure effective solution of major economic problems.

At its Fourth plenum (November 1969), the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party discussed ways and means of raising the effectiveness of scientific research and of technical progress in the economy. The plenum stressed the importance of expanding prognostic research to produce a long-term concept of socio-cultural, scientific-technical and economic development, drawing special attention to prognostic studies in these fields.

In September 1970, the Polish government adopted a special decision defining the basic principles and procedures of prognostic research as part of the effort to extend and intensify long-term planning. Scientific-technological prognostication will be supervised by the government Committee on Science and Technology, socio-cultural by the Polish Academy of Sciences, and economic by the

State Planning Commission, which besides will be responsible for integrating these studies.

Prognostication has become a component of the socialist world's integration programs. And many of our studies, notably on scientific and technological progress, are being jointly undertaken by CMEA members. The decision on closer planning cooperation adopted by the 24th CMEA session in Warsaw (May 1970), provides for broader exchange of experience and cooperation in prognosticating major developments in the economy, science and technology. This and the growing practical value of prognostication will doubtlessly help towards closer international economic cooperation of the socialist countries and, hence, their economic and social progress.

As we begin socialist reforms we must have a clear conception of the goal towards which these reforms are in the final analysis directed, that is, the creation of a Communist society.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 27, p. 127

Economic plans must be carried out in accordance with a definite program, and the increasing fulfilment of this program must be noted and encouraged.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 31, p. 511

Especially great importance now attaches to improving long-term planning, within the framework of which the available resources and foreseeable requirements are taken into account. Our long-term plans, designed for the fulfilment of fundamental economic and social tasks, must also include our targets and outline the best ways of attaining them, by comparing different variants. That is the basis on which it is also possible correctly to determine the concrete tasks which are to be tackled the following year and over the five-year period ahead.

L. I. Brezhnev, *Lenin's Cause Lives on and Triumphs*

Prognostication of social development is a continuous creative process, a dialectical polemics over the problems of the future. It is an important basis for the strategy and tactics of our party, a guide to action.

Walter Ulbricht, Report to the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, 1967

The state plan must become a single socio-economic and political document outlining the development of society as a whole in a given period not only by means of figures, indicators and quotas, but also concepts and programs.

Todor Zhivkov, Report to the July (1968) Plenum of the Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party

Cybernetics and social prognostication

Viktor Glushkov

The steep acceleration of technical progress spurred by the scientific-technical evolution engenders many contradictory tendencies in the modern economy. The development programs are becoming more complex and expensive, and much more interdependent, requiring meticulous long-term planning and coordinating, on the one hand, while technical advance provides more room for new discoveries and inventions, invalidating adopted and functioning programs. Yet that is only one of the aspects of the modern dynamism, expressed, among other things, in a complementary prolifieration of factors affecting the accuracy of assessment and planning.

This collision of tendencies necessitates overall prognoses of economic and social development.

Prognostication is particularly beneficial under socialism, where it is designed to assure a fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of society as a whole and of individual citizens. The objectives of rapidly growing production and flourishing science and culture prompt the use of cybernetics and electronic computer techniques.

The importance of estimating forecast accuracy

The approaches in prognostication are two. The first is processual and consists in forecasting parametric values in time series: population forecasts for, say, the year 2000, forecasts of top airliner velocities in 1980, and the like. The second approach, the eventual, consists in predicting the time of an event: the date of the first manned flight to Mars, etc.

Either approach is based on some model of the object (process or event), i.e., on the aggregate of notions and laws regulating its properties and behavior. No model can reflect all the properties of the object; it encompasses but a portion. Hence, no prognosis can be absolutely accurate, though the model of a mechanical process, such, say, as the motion of the planets in the solar system, can cover all the basic factors and achieve a high degree of accuracy: as we know, solar and lunar eclipses are predictable, to within a second, tens and hundreds of years ahead. In contrast, social processes depend on so large a number of factors that it is practically impossible to cover all the ground. Naturally, therefore, the accuracy of social processual forecasts is substantially lower

than of mechanical systems. However, the composite models now in use, encompassing the maximum possible set of factors, make social prognostication an effective enough instrument in specific areas of social development.

To rule out misinterpretation, scientific prognostication must be estimated as to its validity and qualified as to the conditions in which its various values and inferences are fully relevant. For example, predicting the world population in 2000, we may obtain marginal figures–say, 5.8-6.2 billion–on the specified condition that present birth and death rates remain more or less stable.

Estimates of the accuracy of prognoses should be most vigorously emphasized, by the way, because the world press has of late indulged in some categorical forecasts, with reference to computer techniques, which may mislead the public and eventually breed scepticism as to the value of prognostication in general.

The limitations of extrapolation

Among the most widespread in prognostication is the method of extrapolation. Suppose we have data testifying to changes in some value, e.g., the world total of electronic computers, over a period of time; these terms are easily put down on paper in the form of a curve. Projecting the curve beyond the given time series, we may then infer changes in the computer total for subsequent years.

The extrapolation method rests on the assumption that the factors determining a process are immutable. However, as a rule, the assumption does not apply for a more or less long period. The possibility of errors arising therefrom in long-term prognostication is therefore very great. For example, suppose we extrapolate a 50-year world population curve and that of science workers; the two curves will cross somewhere at a point a hundred years hence, leading to the inference that all world inhabitants (including infants) will be science workers a century from now. To avoid this ludicrous result, we must invoke other factors, primarily the automation of science research and other means raising the scientists' productivity of labor, relatively inconspicuous in the past.

In its pure form, the extrapolation method predicts changes in each parameter separately, though the more complex models encompass some of the correlations between different parameters. Typical in this regard are economic prognoses.

What basically defines the state of an economy is the volume of production and the magnitude of accumulation in its different sectors. Taking present terms, we may try to forecast the growth of each sector. However, the sectors are closely connected: we cannot develop engineering without the necessary metal, and, conversely, engineering influences the development of metallurgy, etc. This may be expressed in equations representing the model of the dynamics of the inter-sector balance, which yield a more accurate forecast of the dynamics in various sectors and the economy

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as a whole. The distinctive feature here is that the assumption of immutability applies to only a part of the factors that determine economic development, rather than to all the predicted parameters. The other parameters, e.g., the relative growth rates of all the economic sectors in the years ahead, are obtained from the equations by calculation.

The same applies to the demographic prognoses, which assess population growth, but also age, sex, occupational, educational and other characteristics, usually involving a wider range of factors than ordinary extrapolation. Operating with economic and social factors we can, for example, build a model differentiating between the dynamics of urban and rural population growth, occupational distribution, and the like. Although demographic forecasts rest on established regularities, marginal factors are liable to intervene. For one thing, changes in legislation or taxation, rising educational standards and various social calamities (especially war) substantially affect growth of population.

Expert opinion

To estimate the effects of these factors, more qualitative in nature than they are quantitative, we employ methods based on expert opinion, complementing models based on objective regularities. For one thing, expert opinion is used extensively in predicting technico-scientific progress, international developments and in various purely sociological areas.

Among the simplest is the so-called Delphi method used in the United States to forecast scientific and technological growth, which invokes expert opinion to estimate dates of events: the development of a computer performing 100 billion operations per second, mass production of synthetic foods, and the like.

The method is this: a panel of experts is selected, each of whom is asked to predict the time of an event in a specially worked-out chart. For example, for the two above-mentioned events the chart would probably contain six terms: before 1975, 1975 to 1980, 1980 to 1985, 1985 to 1990, 1990 to 2000 and, never. The time intervals could be shorter. Independently of his colleagues, the expert indicates the time he thinks most realistic. The estimates of the various experts are then aggregated, yielding a mean; the experts whose estimates are farthest removed from the mean are offered the opportunity (if they so wish) to modify their forecast. Then the new mean is calculated, coupled with the processing of the characteristics of the dispersal of estimates.

The so-called median is picked as the average values, representing the year in relation to which as many experts estimate that the event will occur before it as there are those who think it will occur later. For example, if out of 20 experts five predict the event to occur before 1975, ten between 1975 and 1980, three between 1980 and 1990 and two between 1990 and 2000, the median is 1977, because each of the five years between 1975 and 1979

inclusive was estimated by two experts (out of the ten for the entire five-year period).

The dispersal of estimates, a measure of accuracy, is the so-called quartile. In our example, the lower quartile is the year in which the number of experts predicting the event prior to that year comprise a quarter of the total, and the upper quartile is the year exceeded by the estimates of another quarter of the experts, that is respectively 1975 and 1980.

The numerous modifications of this method can establish not only the expected time of an event, but also the main trends leading to its consummation. There is the method of experts working out so-called scenarios of events, uesd extensively in predicting the development of conflict situations, say, in international relations, etc. Here the experts infer the possible actions and responses of the parties concerned. Then the most probable variants are picked out and used to describe possible situations at a specified time.

Each method has its advantages, though by and large its accuracy is necessarily limited. The degree of accuracy may be raised by replacing single forecasts with permanently operating systems of prognistication based on a combination of several methods.

Eventual system of prognostication

The eventual system is designed to forecast the time of specific events (new discoveries or inventions, changes in the international situation, and the like). However, in contrast to the Delphi method, different groups of experts are summoned to estimate each term. The special feature of the system is that the expert may make the date of the event conditional on a plurality of other events.

The events predicating the main event (the object of the prognosis) are treated in exactly the same manner, so that there appear predicated events of the second order, etc. Carrying this process further, we get a set of interconnected events (thought to be so by the experts), representing the basis for the mathematical model of the prognosis in the given system, a description of which is charged for processing into a computer. This is followed by a finalization and orientation of the constructed set. As in the Delphi method, estimates differing substantially from the rest are returned for re-estimation. Complementary references to experts eliminate disparities in the interpretation of the events. However, the process cannot be endless. To make the required calculation, all events are at some level given absolute (unconditional) time estimates.

This prognosis set is reminiscent of serial graphs used in designing, building, assembling and overhauling. However, unlike the usual serial graphs, our set usually yields many competing ways of achieving the ultimate aims. For example, if the objective is the first manned flight to Mars, one expert may make the flight conditional on the development of an atomic-powered rocket, while another predicates it on the orbiting of a permanent space station

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with a stockpile of ordinary fuel sufficient for a Mars shot. The technico-scientific conditions assuring the development of an atomic-powered rocket, too, may be differently conceived by different experts. So the serial graph is a concrete plan of works to be accomplished, while the prognosis set is the sum-total of different plans of achieving the same aims. It may therefore contain so-called alternatives. Fulfilment of one (on the way to achieving a given aim) precludes fulfilment of all the others. And once the final choice is made out of all the available alternatives, the prognosis becomes a plan.

Unintermittence is an essential feature. After correcting and finalizing the prognosis set, special computer techniques are used to calculate the most probable dates of the events involved and their dispersal characteristics (distribution laws). The results are forwarded to the respective experts, who are also supplied all the pertinent information: the circumstantial events stipulated by the other experts, the results of the processing of various mathematical models, etc. In addition, they are supplied the pertinent publications, patent applications, and the like.

This information may cause the expert to modify his earlier estimates, introduce new terms or exclude the previous ones. The computer charged with the prognosis set recalculates the forecasts continuously as new material flows in, and in so doing the influence of some expert estimates may be either accentuated, reduced or even ignored When forecasting economic, scientific or technical development, coupled with time predictions, experts also estimate the material and financial resources required to attain the objectives. This enables them to reject some of the alternatives, converting the desired part of the prognosis into a concrete plan.

The good thing about this system is that it facilitates assessment of each of the intermediate objectives in relation to the end goal. To do so, we need only to summarize the change in the most probable aspects of the process of achieving the end goal as the schedule for each of the intermediate tasks is extended by some fixed value (e.g., one year). Though still lacking sufficient grounds for selecting a definite way to the end goal, we can then pick out and tackle the intermediate tasks essential whatever alternative is ultimately selected.

That the expertise is collective and that, moreover, it combines with a selection of the most competent and responsible judgments, is another virtue. Since the experts employed to evaluate each event are relatively few, we are able to single out the opinion of the genuine specialists and avoid adulterating it with the notions of people insufficiently conversant with the subject. The number of terms in the prognosis set is usually extensive (in a national prognosis of technico-scientific progress it may run into hundreds of thousands, even as many as a few million terms), even though the end objectives are relatively few. A vast number of people are employed in prognostication, with the individuality of each given full play; the ideal is to obtain the expertise of all competent

persons, which, in the final analysis, democratizes the process of planning.

Processual prognostication system

The processual system deals not with events, but with processes of change in the parameters of the object. The main difficulty is that, as a rule, objects of social prognostication cannot be conceptualized by means of the usual numerical parameters. In most cases the objects themselves, and the regularities or laws behind them, are identified by their quality, rather than quantity. Therefore, alongside the usual numerical parameters (steel output figures, annual population growth, and the like), we must deal with quality parameters expressed in but finite values (e.g., relations between specified countries may be evaluated by a five-point or, if necessary, ten-point count).

In the first stage of the system, we pick out a number of parameters inherent in the object. In social prognostication these may be very numerous, usually running into many thousands. In the second stage, we pinpoint various reservations and interconnections between the parameters: in the case of some we know beforehand that they can neither decrease nor increase and in other cases that they may not transcend some set limit. Part of the numerical parameters may be connected by a system of equations or made to conform with some system of inequalities. For the quality parameters, interdependencies are defined by experts. For example, suppose parameter A changes its value from "good" to "satisfactory," while parameter B remains constant, then six months after the change in parameter A, parameter C loses two points in the ten-point count (with two and unity reduceable to one).

All pinpointed regularities and associations are charged into the computer together with the description (parameter values) of the object. Programmed in a special way, the computer produces possible development variants. Each yields a description of the state of the object at fixed times. The usual statistical processing of the states of the object in the different variants then helps determine the most probable parameter values and their dispersal characteristics. Although the variants may lead to different states, some of the parameters vary insignificantly from variant to variant, enabling us to draw sufficiently definite inferences.

Like the first system, the processual also involves continuous collaboration of experts. On the basis of an analysis of the obtained variants we formulate the stipulations in the search for the regularities which considerably reduce the indefiniteness of the prognosis. Observation is greatly extended of factors which–by virtue of regularities in the system–exercise the greatest influence on the prognosis of the values of the most important parameters (which may turn out to be less important than originally thought).

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Both systems give evidence of the new element introduced into forecasting by computerization and cybernetics.

First of all, we are now able to obtain a bird's-eye-view of highly complex objects. Studying these we cannot help resorting to specialization, with different specialists (often different sciences) gaining a deeper and deeper knowledge of separate aspects of the object. Yet the over-all picture is sometimes blurred. This is where the cybernetic models, like the systems we have described, come to the rescue. They yield a general idea of the object by correlating a large number of particles of specific knowledge obtained by different specialists and different sciences. Figuratively speaking, the computer acts as the chairman in a conference of many thousands of specialists, though it does not substitute for them, merely organizing, collating and summing up their opinions and ideas.

Secondly, unlike conference resolutions or collective papers, the computerized cybernetic model has the advantage of being dynamic: it is alive, it keeps developing, and lends itself to various experiments. No matter how excellent an ordinary collective paper or prognosis may be, it must of necessity overlook the influence of factors coming to hand after the document has been drawn up. On the other hand, the cybernetic model impregnated in the computer's memory is not, in effect, simply a ready document, but material for the swift compilation of new, increasingly accurate documents. Fed new primary date, the computer produces a new, corrected variant of the prognosis.

Furthermore, to prepare even one variant by the above methods is so laborious a job, that it becomes practically impossible without a computer. And for an unintermittent system of prognostication reacting flexibly to changes in the situation and to new knowledge, the computer is determinative and absolutely essential.

This applies, first and foremost, to the system of composite or complex prognoses required by socialist society to determine and finalize development objectives for a fixed period of time.

What main elements are compounded in the system? To begin with, there is the demographic prognosis, which estimates population growth and distribution by age, sex, education, occupation, etc. The second important element is the science, technology and productivity forecast for various areas of activity (chiefly economic) The third component is the prognosis of the alignment of world forces and developments in the world economy. Besides, we need continuous forecasting for the use of natural resources defining industrial and agricultural growth possibilities, and many aspects of life and leisure. Another important object is the development of the personality, of man's interests, requirements, and concepts of happiness.

The difficulty is that all the elements of these forecasts are intimately connected. The growth of man's interests and requirements,

for example, influences the growth of science and technology, though it is largely a product of the latter. Similarly, growth of technology and economy is largely determined by the supply of natural resources, yet also helps discover and press into use new resources (e.g., access to off-shore deposits, and even to deposits on other planets).

Compound prognostication encompasses the interconnection of the separate elements, with the end result of concretizing the objectives of society for a more or less long term. The length of the term should not be less than the time required to fulfil complex economic and technico-scientific programs (e.g., programs of converting power plants to nuclear fuel), nor too long, because this prejudices the accuracy of the forecast. It is therefore accepted practice to limit the long-term prognosis to 15-20 years. That is the term set for the concrete aim of economic and social development, assuring the members of society the maximum material and psychological comfort, given the expected degree of technical growth and the desired international setting.

It is proper to note that the concept of comfort does not here connote ordinary material comfort. No less (perhaps more) important is psychological comfort, deriving from a wide range of social factors, including the sense of satisfaction from effectuating social and personal ideals and from the effort to achieve them, a sense of security and confidence, the opportunity to satisfy one's natural thirst for knowledge and aesthetic sense by virtue of the expanding science, culture and information media, a harmony of the public and individual interests, and the like. The concept of material comfort, too, should not be reduced to mere personal affluence, for, to a large extent, it also depends on such factors as efficiency of public transport and communications, the education system and the health services, the opportunities to enjoy the pleasures of nature, and the like.

The aims of social development

The long-term aims of socialist society encompass the following essential elements: consumption per citizen, growth of housing, growth of community services, outer appearance of towns and villages, public transport, development of information media, the system of general education, the health service, the spread of physical culture and sports, vacation opportunities in sanatoria and rest homes, the level of culture and the fundamental sciences, growth of the army, navy, air force and other arms guaranteeing the country's security, resources for aiding the developing countries, efficiency of government and of the law enforcement agencies.

The definition of the aims of social development in socialist society has some distinctive features.

Firstly, everything servicing society directly is defined as an aim. Not included under this head are, say, tractors and other agricultural machinery, because they are not the end, but the

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means (essential, of course) to this end (here production of grain), serving the interests of society and its members. Proliferation of these means should be projected from an object of prognostication into an object of long-term planning, designed to assure a rapid attainment of the set goals. That is why we earlier listed dwellings rather than industrial buildings, etc.

Secondly, the aims should be as concrete as possible. It is not enough to state the number of square metres of housing required per citizen. This should be accompanied by a brief description of the main types of dwellings and the necessary number of each type. The other aims listed here are concretized in a similar way.

Thirdly, unintermittence–and hence unintermittence of aim-setting–is another specific feature of the process of forecasting. A prognosis projected to 1990 in 1970 is extended to 1991 in the following year and to 1995 in 1975, etc. The list of long-term development aims is likewise continuously corrected, extended and shifted in time (according to the set, say 20-year, term).

Fourthly, it is important to anticipate the dynamics in the achievement of aims. In other words, we should indicate to what extent and which part of the aims set for the end year of the selected term (e.g., 1990), will be achieved in the intervening years or, at least, in the intervening five-year periods. This dynamics depends primarily on the predicted dynamics of technological progress and the assumed development of international relations. For example, if the expected rate of technological progress is higher in building than in, say, agriculture, attainment of most of the housing target may be fixed for the first half of the term, with consumption of some specific agricultural product (e.g., meat or fruit) set at a higher level in the latter half of the term, while unfavorable international forecasts may require more rapid fulfilment in the realm of defense.

Although only the direct requirements of society and its members are set as the end goals of development, this system of prognostication encompasses all the other tasks of economic development and technological progress, presenting them as intermediate aims (events). Proposals for concrete ways of solving an economic, scientific or technical problem are gauged by one criterion only: whether or not they reduce the term of achieving the set end goals, and if so, by how much?

The possibility of a prognosis directly becoming a plan enables us to engage in continuous, purposeful, long-term planning, taking into account all the ideas and solutions that facilitate the rapid attainment of set aims.

Cybernetics and computer techniques help resolve the main contradictions bred by the increasing complexity of the modern economy and social processes, and, firstly, the contradiction between centralizing and decentralizing economic control. Centralization is necessitated by the close interconnection of all the areas of the economy, with the most acceptable solution of one, not even a major, problem often affecting a vast number of other problems. Yet

it is obvious, on the other hand, that decentralization alone can assure the fullest possible play of all the ideas of how to improve management. Cybernetics and computerization are the instrument whereby new opportunities are forged for still more effective operation of democratic centralism, the key principle of socialist planning.

The other contradiction resolved by the system is that between the constantly increasing specialization of science and technology and the need for a complex (systemic) approach to the control of technico-scientific progress.

The facts show that only socialist society is able to use the new possibilities of resolving the complex tasks of social prognostication, planning and control of social development offered by cybernetics and computer techniques. In the capitalist world the antagonistic classes and groups, and the competition among firms, which gives rise to industrial secrets, rule out complex systems of control on a national scale.

Extensive use of modern science, cybernetics and computer techniques in the further improvement of the system of control in socialist society is the key to its successful advancement and adds ultimately to the power of attraction of socialist ideas and to the vigor of the socialist world system.

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world development trends

Two world systems today and tomorrow

Philip Bart

Among conflicts and contradictions of the present era the basic one is the contradiction between the declining capitalist social and economic system and the communist system. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the two worlds clashed on the international arena. Their coexistence and struggle are the pivot of modern history.

The confrontation between capitalism and socialism is developing in all spheres of life–economic, political, social, cultural and ideological. The great scope and variety of the spheres of competition between the two systems limit the possibilities of comparing them from the point of view of traditional economic and statistical indices. It is far more inadequate to rely only on statistics while assessing the prospects of their development. To get an idea of the prospects of their internal development and its impact on the destiny of our planet, it is necessary to study the entire combination of all factors.

The two worlds' positions and reserves

Capitalist and socialist countries have travelled different historical paths, and the results of their development are equally different. Many centuries separate the mature and old capitalism from the period of the initial accumulation of capital–first the bourgeois revolutions and the industrial revolution. While at the same time socialism is only several decades old and the formation of the socialist world system is the result of a little over two decades' history.

What are the main features of the two opposing systems today? The advanced capitalist countries and their colonies occupy nine per cent of the globe with a population of 540 million people. The socialist countries cover 26 per cent of the globe's territory with a total population of 1,210 million people. The capitalist countries produce about 54 per cent of the total industrial production in the world and the socialist countries account for about 39 per cent.

There is still a gap between capitalism and socialism in the levels of material production. The major imperialist powers still have an advantage in the level of development of the productive forces and the productivity of labor. Certainly these advantages are historically transitional. They are not inherent in the nature of imperialism but result from the path followed by the socialist revolution stemming from certain historical factors. The transient nature of the economic advantages of capitalism is more than convincingly proved by facts.

Only two decades ago the socialist countries produced one-fifth of the world output, now this share has risen to two-fifths. According to the "UN Statistical Yearbook," the world industrial output as a whole has grown three-fold and in the socialist countries by 5.8 times. The socialist countries surpass capitalism in the rate of growth of labor productivity.

Of course the capitalist countries have had periods of relatively high rates of growth. These periods were immediately extolled as a "miracle" (in Japan, Germany, Italy, etc.). But during the last century there was a year of decline or recession for every two years of growth of production. Furthermore the "economic miracle" is not enjoyed by the predominant section of the people–among workers as well as the permanent category of poor in all capitalist countries. Consequently while Japan holds third place for gross national production, she shares with Sicily 23rd place for per capita income of population.

On the other hand, stable high rates of growth have become a regular feature of the socialist economy. Due to this high rate of growth, the socialist world system, within a historically short period of time, has become one of the main industrial areas in the world. The socialist countries now occupy advanced positions in a number of the most decisive areas of scientific and technological progress.

It is not only in the economic sphere that the advantages of socialism over capitalism manifest themselves. Generally acknowledged in the world is also the tremendous contribution of the socialist countries, and particularly the Soviet Union, to the solution of the greatest scientific and technological problems of our time. It is sufficient to say that socialism plays a magnificent role in peaceful use of atomic energy, and that it is socialism that blazed the trail to outer space for mankind.

The world closely followed the remarkable penetration of man into the depths of the universe. We are proud that an American was the first to set foot on the moon. But we cannot ignore the fact that the scientific and technological achievements of the U.S. are the result of almost a century-old industrial development, in the course of which it exploited the abilities and talents of specialists and scientists from many countries of the world. We also cannot ignore the purposeful "brain drain" which was to the advantage of the U.S. during the entire postwar period.

Against all this the "Lunokhod-1" as the symbol of the success of the socialist system is ever more remarkable and convincing.

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There are still some people in the West who are seeking to question these achievements, alleging that there is no connection between the achievements of socialism in outer space and the development of its "earth" economy. But such arguments do not hold water in the age of scientific and technological revolution. The results of space exploration and the development of rocket and space technology are increasingly affecting the scientific and technological progress in the socialist countries, making it possible to solve major problems of their national economy. Thus, man-made satellites contribute to perfecting remote TV and wireless and telephone communication systems, and improving weather forecasts. Further work at creating orbital stations will open up new possibilities for exploring the earth's natural resources, geological survey, hydrological research and oceanography, the development of astronomy, etc.

The major achievements in many fields of science and technology have made it possible to create means of reliable defense of the countries of the socialist camp. Despite the advocates of the "safeguard" system and the use of the Polaris and Poseidon missiles, there are few people in the world who doubt the military might of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp. This very fact is of the greatest political importance for the entire world. The failure of imperialism to gain military and technological superiority over the socialist countries will continue to exert a sobering influence on the strategists of "massive revenge."

Capitalism, due to its nature, is incapable of opposing to the socialist system anything in the social field. Here the advantages of socialism are indisputable: they are based on conditions of genuine equality of all people which guarantees, for the first time in history, freedom from exploitation for all working people. Such social achievements of the socialist countries as the complete elimination of unemployment and national and racial oppression, the full equality of women, free education and medical service, a system of children's, cultural and sports institutions, old age pensions, and the tremendous scale of public housing construction demonstrate the superiority of socialism in the social field.

In the realm of the equality of races and of all minority peoples, capitalism demonstrates its most cruel and reactionary features. In the United States inequality affects over 25 million Blacks and an additional 15 million Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, etc. A total of 40 million live in the pale of American society. The practice of genocide is a reality. Denied the right to live in all areas of a city, they are confined to ghettos. Denied adequate health and welfare, they have the highest rate of infant mortality as well as a general decline in health. It is here that the achievements of the socialist world shine most brightly.

The signs of a general social crisis are becoming ever more evident in the capitalist world. There are ever wider strata expressing their dissatisfaction over the state of education and the health services, the inadequacy of housing and social welfare. The mass actions of workers, farmers, intellectuals, women, youth and stu-

dents against the imperialist policy of war, monopoly domination, national and racial oppression, violation of elementary human rights are reaching ever higher levels of protest against the very pillars of the existing society.

The "Crisis in the Cities" attests to the critical problems facing the people in a number of "Western developed" countries. This situation is most pronounced in the United States. Large cities have been turned from organized communities into capitalist jungles. The most elementary needs are ignored. The police forces are the only body whose annual increased appropriations are met. All else is cut.

The housing situation steadily grows more acute. By 1968, there were six million grossly substandard dwellings, mainly in the cities and this figure has grown since. The decline in mass housing construction has been a sharp indicator of the deterioration of social conditions under capitalism. The "affluent" Western nations have been unable to meet the needs of their people for adequate shelter. This condition stands out in bold contrast to the mass construction program of the Soviet Union. A report by Allan Bates, an associate of the U.S. Department of Commerce and a specialist on housing construction, confirms this dramatically. In a report in April, 1969 he stated that "the Soviet Union is the first and only nation which has solved the problem of providing low-cost housing for its mass of citizens."

Health services, local transportation and welfare are deteriorating. Care for children, a test of society's concern for its future, demonstrates the total disregard which capitalism has for its people. The Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Dr. Philip R. Lee, announced that "only 15 years ago this nation ranked fifth in the world in infant mortality. The latest figures from the Harvard School of Preventive Medicine show America now ranks 25th. Even worse, we have virtually stood still while other nations have steadily improved their survival rates." The highest rate is in Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, etc., communities.

Every year brings new evidence that there is no place for social and class stability in the capitalist world. The antagonism between labor and capital, far from disappearing, is growing sharper. The working class movement in the capitalist countries is becoming an ever more formidable force, with the recent great class battles reflecting the growing resistance to exploitation and oppression.

Resistance to the capitalist offensive on the living standards of the working class has been on the rise. The number of strikes in the U.S. for the past five-year period has doubled in comparison to the previous five years. The number of man-days lost has gone up from 23 million in 1965 to 43 million in 1969. In England the Tory government is seeking to shackle the trade union movement with anti-labor repressive laws. In all these struggles the Left and the Communist parties have been playing an increasing role.

The social achievements of socialism are a tool in the revolution-

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ary struggle of the working people against the monopolies and the bourgeois state which must reckon with the effects of socialism on the masses. It is not accidental that the world of capital brings forth the false concepts of "affluent society," "great society" and "war on poverty" which are elevated to the rank of official doctrines. This is nothing but an attempt to patch up the system torn by social antagonisms, while creating illusions that the capitalist class is taking care of the workers' interests, and is striving to "overtake" socialism in the social sphere.

Few people are surprised today that it is the Soviet Union, the leading socialist power, and not the U.S. or England or any other country of the "civilized West" that occupies the first place in the world in the number of college students and research workers, in the circulation of books and newspapers, in the number of doctors per 1,000 inhabitants, etc. And this is not merely dull statistics. The vistas provided by socialism for the development of general culture determine such elements of economic development as production techniques and qualitative economic indices. In the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution the factor of cultural development will play an ever increasing role in the solution of the problems of economic competition.

The struggle of the bourgeois and proletarian ideologies stemming from the nature of the social and class structure of present-day society is the major sphere of confrontation of the two world systems. Contrary to the fashionable capitalist concepts of the "withering away" of all ideologies and "de-ideologization," the intensity of the ideological struggle is growing and its borders are expanding. It is quite evident that from the social and historical point of view imperialist ideology is suffering defeats and is struggling to hold its insecure defensive positions. This does not mean, however, that its efforts aimed at winning people to its side, and its ideological subversion against socialist countries, against the working class and the national liberation movements are no longer effective and dangerous. Anti-Communism is a major weapon in this struggle. It is also significant to add that revisionists and Right and "Left" opportunists are consciously or unconsciously siding with imperialism in the ideological struggle.

Contrary to imperialist ideology, which is by nature conservative and reactionary and is on the decline, the scientific proletarian outlook–that is, Marxist-Leninist ideology–is on the upgrade. The sphere of influence of Marxism is far from being limited by the geographical boundaries of socialism. As an attracting force it is growing from day to day. Marxism is the main weapon of the advanced sections of the working class, and contributes to the development and strengthening of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. Proletarian ideology opens up new vistas for developing countries and it is not fortuitous that many of them have a socialist orientation. The growing weight of Marxist ideology in the world is associated with the fact that socialism takes the initiative in settling the most urgent problems of our time. The

socialist system is a reliable safeguard against aggression and imperialist ventures, against the threat of world war.

The confrontation now going on and the outlook of the competing systems are largely determined by the external reserves of capitalism and socialism, to the extent to which these reserves can be effectively used in the interests of the further developmnt of each system.

The countries constituting a special zone and popularly referred to as the "third world" play an ever growing role in present-day political life. Without exaggeration, the destinies of the world more and more depend and will continue to depend on the nature and road of their economic and social development–on the shaping of their attitudes towards the cardinal problems of our times. An illustration of this is the evolution of anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist positions in the United Nations in the last 10 or 15 years. It is the strengthening of these positions in the 1960s as a result of the powerful upsurge of the national liberation struggle on other continents that made it possible for the UN to adopt a number of progressive resolutions in the interests of the greater part of mankind.

The greatest advantage of socialism over capitalism is determined by the fact that the interests of the proletariat which has won in socialist countries, coincide objectively with the aspirations of the working people and the oppressed masses throughout the world. The peoples of the "third world" countries that have recently liberated themselves from colonial domination remember only too well and still feel the effects of imperialist domination. The aims of neo-colonialism, which through its national collaborators seeks to keep these countries within the sphere of capitalist exploitation cannot but evoke opposition among the masses. Their minds inevitably turn to socialist countries, to the experience of socialist construction, to socialist principles, including freedom from social and national oppression. Their sympathies are on the side of the socialist world system which is engaged in a consistent struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism–for the victory of the newly liberated countries in their struggle for national independence.

The newly liberated peoples witness the true facts of our times: on the one hand, they see imperialist wars in the Middle East and Indochina, interventions in the countries of Latin America and Africa, connivance with the military cliques and juntas everywhere where there are chances to keep them in power. On the other hand, they have witnessed the peaceful initiatives of the socialist countries at the time of the two Israeli aggressions; selfless aid to the fighting peoples of Algeria and Vietnam, Yemen and Sudan; support of all progressive anti-imperialist regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

U.S. imperialist intervention in Vietnam and in all of Indochina represents the most brutal aggression since the days of Hitler nazism. Millions of Asians have been the victims of napalm, defoliation and the destruction of their towns and villages. Large numbers

of Americans are revolted by these atrocities and have charged the Nixon administration with the practice of genocide. The hypocrisy of U.S. foreign policy is seen in its pious pronouncements for peace at the Paris conference while accelerating its bombings in Vietnam.

The developing countries have on more than one occasion seen the advantages of the financial and economic aid provided by the socialist countries, in contrast to the imperialist "aid" largely prompted by private capital interests even when provided through state channels. These advantages are revealed in terms of credits; methods of construction of enterprises with the use of the local personnel and methods of training technicians; methods of contributing to industrialization and development of the state sector, in mutually advantageous terms of trade, etc.

The imperialist powers that have exploited the less developed countries will not now come to their aid. The future projected for these countries by imperialist prognosticators is a bleak one. Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense and current president of the World Bank, speaking in Montreal in May, 1967, gave the following perspective:

"Annual per capita income in roughly half of the 80 underdeveloped nations that are members of the World Bank is rising by a paltry one per cent a year or less. By the end of the century, these nations–at their present rates of growth–will reach a per capita income of barely $170 a year. The United States, by the same criteria, will attain a per capita income of $4,500." A bright future for the year 2000!

The all-round aid program of the socialist world system has eliminated the domination of imperialist "development" diplomacy over the third-world countries. To preserve its positions imperialism is compelled to look for more sophisticated methods of economic diplomacy and to take into greater account the national demands of the developing countries.

These are the general features characterizing each of the existing systems and determining their future possibilities of competition.

Prospects of confrontation

The general outcome of the struggle of the two social systems is clear: social development in the last centuries has given ample proof that mankind's advance to communism is firm and irreversible; imperialism has lost its historical initiative; the course of world history is increasingly determined by the forces struggling for socialism and social progress. Although the transition to communism is guaranteed in the world historic sense, still a question arises: how will mankind achieve this victory?

Let us try to imagine in which way and in what form the struggle and the competition of the two social systems will go on in the future.

First of all, there are reasons to believe that mankind will find ways of going over to socialism without a nuclear war. The possi-

bility of averting such a war is based on the struggle for the peaceful coexistence of the two systems. And this is a realistic policy since it takes into account the material guarantees of peace provided, first of all, by the defensive power of the socialist countries.

Gone are the times when socialism was either ignored or looked upon as an indefinitely remote potential rival of capitalism. There are few people among those engaged in forecasts in capitalist countries who can take the liberty of having a sceptical attitude toward the economic position of the Soviet Union in its competition with the United States in all fields. As far back as a decade ago Chester Bowles, a U.S. statesman, declared:

"The balance of political and economic forces has not changed in our favor. . . . The Soviet economy is developing at a faster rate than ours. For those wishful thinkers in the U.S. and other countries who several years ago regarded contemptuously the Soviet scientific and industrial potential, time has come for bitter awakening."

Among the authors of forecasts in the West we find many who tend to pessimism as regards the possibilities of long-term development of capitalism. Thus, F. Sternberg, a West German bourgeois scientist, impressed by the achievements of the socialist countries in the economic field, came to the conclusion several years ago that "capitalism will hardly survive by the year 2000."

We are not going to imitate Western futurologists and guess the time-table of the inevtiable collapse of capitalism. Neither do we want, in this article, to make all-round statistical comparisons of the numerous indices of the competition or to extrapolate them into future decades. This work is carried on by whole armies of economists and statisticians on both sides of the social and political borders in the world.

Our figures show only the extent to which some significant tendencies are observed in economic competition and also throw light on its prospects.

The dialectical development of the present day world, taking into consideration the general balance of forces on an international scale–that is, economic, social, political and military–leads to the weakening of imperialism in contrast to the growth of the socialist world. Its power, however, as compared with previous stages continues to grow. But it would be unrealistic to expect that imperialist decline can be gauged from year to year. Its position is a result of its vast scientific and technological capacities which create for it the opportunity for further maneuvering.

Taking this tendency into account, we can predict that in the foreseeable future imperialism will remain a serious enemy. We should not close our eyes to the fact that it will have a number of advantages on its side for a period of time. We mean, first of all, a higher level of productive capacity and labor productivity in the citadel of imperialism. The proportion between the industrial outputs of socialist and economically advanced capitalist countries is now 7: 10. Capitalism is likely to preserve a certain dynamism into the future.

But it is the growing economic might of socialism that remains the decisive factor in the competition between the two systems. Much has been said, especially in American literature, of the slowing down of the rate of economic advance in the socialist countries as they approach "economic maturity." But here are some estimates that expose the falsehood of such claims.

In the period between the two world wars industrial output in the socialist world had increased almost eightfold; since 1938 it has increased more than 22 times. The growing economic strength of socialism is seen in its share in world industrial output, which was three per cent in 1917, 10 per cent in 1937, and 39 per cent in 1969.

This significant change in the balance of economic forces is the result of two main tendencies characteristic of our time: the expansion of socialism in breadth and depth. By expansion in breadth is meant the pushing back of the geographical frontiers of socialism, a factor which has accounted for a doubling of socialism's industrial potential between 1938 and 1968. By expansion in depth is meant the higher rate of economic development of socialism as compared with capitalism, which has accounted for an elevenfold expansion of the economic potential of socialism in the same thirty years. These two tendencies can be expected to continue in the future.

Today the task of ensuring socialism's superiority in the balance of economic forces is inseparable from the scientific and technological revolution and the utilization of its achievements. Here lies the main center of the struggle and competition between the two social systems.

In this connection one may ask whether in their scientific and technological development the socialist states should mechanically copy the capitalist economic structure, with its proportions and disproportions, or set itself top world records in all indices as its goal. Consumer demand and, hence, economic structure differ in different countries. They are derivatives of the social system and of historical, national and natural conditions. It is especially important to bear this in mind when such average indices as per capita production are cited. Incidentally, most of the "records" in per capita production are held not by the most advanced capitalist power, the United States, but by countries with relatively lopsided economies (for example, Kuwait and Iraq lead in oil, Belgium and Luxembourg in steel, Norway and Canada in power).

Socialism, with the advantages stemming from a planned economy, has no need to copy capitalist experience; it can manage its economy on the basis of the most rational and expedient proportions and balances forming between the branches and sub-divisions of industry within the framework of a socialist division of labor. By utilizing these advantages the socialist states can in the future make use of the best achievements of world science and technology without repeating the chaotic and unessential duplication of commodities (by advertising methods, etc.) and forms of consumption

by the waste of the manufacturing of the same product by numerous companies.

The details considered may seem of secondary importance, but as they derive from the very nature of the social systems of the competing sides they must be taken into account. Even more important is that the structural differences will become more manifest on the subsequent stages in the competition between the two systems, for it is precisely in these differences that the advantages of socialism will display themselves to the fullest.

Our forecast also proceeds from the consideration that state-monopoly forms of industrial organization will in future continue to act as a brake preventing the fullest development of the scientific management of the economic system as a whole, the planning of its development on an international, as well as national scale. Nowadays the resources of any country, especially the smaller ones, are insufficient to ensure a comprehensive, that is, not selective or lopsided, advance of the scientific and technological revolution. This is especially beyond the scope of monopolies, however large. Only socialist organization of the productive forces creates the true prerequisites for carrying forward the scientific and technological revolution and utilizing its fruits for the benefit of human labor.

The socialist system is entering the initial stage of economic integration, which is pregnant with enormous potentialities for accelerating the expansion of production and productivity of social labor and raising the living standards of the working people. Socialism thus possesses great potentialities of both a national and international character for accelerating economic growth. In the coming years these potentialities will be placed on the scales of competition between the two systems. This competition is entering a qualitatively new stage, with socialism today a relatively formed system with sufficiently mature economic and political institutions.

The struggle and competition between fully developed capitalism and the newly forming socialist society brought socialism world-historic victories. Obviously, at a time when the struggle and competition is between fully developed socialism and declining capitalism, socialism can look forward confidently to new successes.

The competition between the two systems will in future be greatly affected by the ideological struggle. Let us take but one aspect of this struggle, its influence on the younger generation. The future belongs to the youth, who are destined to make many a futurologist's dream come true. The destinies of the two systems will inevitably be affected by such factors as the present and future plans of youth in society, the ideals and aspirations of young people, their attitudes towards politics and social institutions. The "youth rebellion" which has acquired such great proportions in many Western countries is an integral part of the general social crisis which has been enveloping the capitalist world in recent years.

Our generation is witnessing a renaissance of its youth. There is

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a growing attraction to revolutionary ideas among young people. This is observed among the unemployed, deprived of an opportunity to work, as well as the swelling student movements on the campuses. The Blacks and other minorities have, in many instances, been in the van of these movements.

Young people have shown themselves to be highly susceptible to Marxist ideas, a fact deplored by many bourgeois sociologists. To be sure their attraction is often on the most elementary level and frequently takes on distorted or "Leftist" forms. The appeal, irrespective of its specific form and content, is indicative of their rejection of the fundamentals of the existing system.

In industry the intense speed-up makes it mandatory for monopolists to hire young workers. This is essential to keep up the pace on the assembly line. In the United States, for example, the mass production automobile industry has, to a large extent, become an industry of young people. This is true also in many other industries. The growing resistance of young workers to the intense exploitation lays the basis for growing class consciousness. They are members of trade unions and through experience and training will make a vital force for the working class.

The rapid growth of youth in higher schools has been a chief feature of the world today. Qualifications for scientific and technological knowledge in employment have been a factor. Improvement in living standards of workers has helped their children attend universities. In a number of capitalist countries the population rise on campuses has increased many times.

But there is a sharp contradiction between the desire for education–and entering a profession–and the realities of life on the campus. Education is geared largely to war needs. The student is surrounded by a monopoly-dominated atmosphere. Whether the school is public or private the control rests in the hands of monopoly warmakers. Cynicism pervades these institutions which deny the noble aspirations of youth.

Consequently campuses have been turned into arenas of struggle. Students are opposing an established power which rejects everything which has led to their entry into schools of learning. The united efforts of students and faculties is beginning to align itself with the labor movement in some capitalist countries.

Thousands of young people in the U.S. are in jail for refusing to be drafted, many have become political refugees, while millions continue to oppose the war in Vietnam. A future of aggressive war and a denial of utilizing the vast resources of modern science is not a future for youth.

Undoubtedly, the youth in socialist countries are also faced with problems of finding their place in society, reviewing the traditions of their fathers and understanding the modern world in all its complexities. However, the many examples of how these problems were solved in the course of building socialist society make it possible for Communists to take a hopeful view for the rising generation. Suffice it to recall the heroic part played by Soviet

youth in the Civil War and World War II; in carrying out the stupendous projects of the Five-Year plans; in developing the virgin lands in the Soviet Union's Eastern regions, to see that this is an active, creative force contributing to the upbuilding of the new society. The young people swelling the ranks of engineers and technicians in all branches of industry and taking the place of older scientists and managers represent a mighty reserve of further growth of a mature socialist system on which it can safely rely.

* * *

The future opening up before us is highly dynamic. Its overall direction is the growing strength of socialism and progress to the detriment of imperialism and reaction. This, however, is not a smooth process. Upsurges in the revolutionary tide are inevitable, but periods of counter-revolution and gradual development can also occur.

The early part of this century saw the breaking of the chain of imperialism in Russia. Socialism triumphed on one-sixth of the globe.

By the middle of the century the front of socialist forces had expanded into a world socialist system which is steadily gaining in strength.

Only people utterly blind to reality can doubt that the final third of the 20th century will bring great new successes to socialism in its worldwide struggle with the historically doomed capitalist system.

We must . . . exercise our communist counter-influence at every step. That too is a kind of war, a duel between two methods, two political and economic systems—the communist and the capitalist. We shall prove that we are the stronger.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 456

The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction. Socialism has made unprecedented constructive progress in production, science and technology and in the establishment of a new, free community of people, in which their material and spiritual requirements are increasingly satisfied. The time is not far off when socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavor, the sphere of material production.

Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1960

Mankind has entered the last third of our century in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism.

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This clash is worldwide and embraces all the basic spheres of social life: economy, politics, ideology and culture.

Relying on its steadily growing economic and defense potential, the world socialist system fetters imperialism, reduces its possibilities of exporting counter-revolution.

International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969

Problems of war and peace

First, is prognostication applicable to examination of these problems? For war, we are often told, breaks out suddenly, like an elemental disaster. But let us recall: immediately after the Franco-Prussian war Engels warned that Europe was heading towards a major conflict. Lenin's warning of World War I came long before the fateful shot in Sarajevo. Also: the very real danger of World War II was spelled out in the resolutions of the 18th CPSU and 7th Communist International Congress. Even the time of its outbreak was accurately prognosticated, to within a month of the actual date.

On the other hand, it will be recalled that at the height of the cold war, in a situation charged with hysteria and rabid anti-communism, all the capitalist oracles were predicting an inevitable and early nuclear conflict and people–those who could afford it–began building deep shelters. Apocalyptical forecasts of nuclear war figured prominently in the daily press, the cinema, the radio, and were the subject of many books. Even the time of World War III was scheduled–the late fifties, with postponement to the early sixties. All these predictions notwithstanding, and though tension is still at a high pitch, mankind has enjoyed more than 25 years without world war.

Nor is that fortuitous; it is the logical outcome of the course of history and the changed alignment of class forces. This must always be taken into account as we look into the future.

Achievable aim

In our age, the issue of war and peace is resolved primarily by the course of the struggle between socialism and imperialism, the forces of peace and of aggression. A profound analysis of the world we live in and of its dominant trends has led the Communist movement to conclude that a missile-nuclear war can be averted. That conclusion, of the utmost importance for the present and future of humanity, is fully substantiated in statements of the

CPSU and fraternal parties. Its importance is stressed in the decisions of the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and was forcefully reaffirmed by their 1969 Meeting.

None of these decisions is even remotely related to complacent pacifism, or to the blind and naive belief that everything "will be right in the end." No, now as always, the Communists emphasize that imperialism remains a strong and dangerous adversary, one that presents a constant menace to peace and social progress. Its aggressive nature has not changed; there should be no illusions on that score.

U.S. imperialism, that world gendarme, has a considerable economic and military potential, a massive stockpile of missiles and nuclear weapons, a network of war bases and an aggressive-bloc structure in Europe and on other continents. More, monopoly support has enabled neo-fascist and ultra-Right groups to consolidate their positions in several capitalist countries. In Federal Germany and Japan they are advocating revenge and demanding revision of post-war boundaries. All this adds tension to an already tense situation.

But the forces propelling the world towards war are now opposed by forces much more powerful than ever before. First and foremost there is the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement. The military might of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries is the main barrier to a thermonuclear war, which the aggressive imperialist faction has been plotting for years.

And the main factor for international peace is the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. By its very nature, the imperialist bourgeoisie is aggressive, but there are also influential elements that reject nuclear war as a means of resolving the capitalism-socialism confrontation. Lenin stressed the possibility and need for isolating the militarists even among the bourgeoisie, of separating them from those "who are inclined towards pacifism, even the worst kind of pacifism, which from the communist viewpoint will not stand the slightest criticism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 264).

It is useful to recall that in warning against the danger of an armed clash between capitalism and socialism, Lenin did not regard that danger as intrinsic in the confrontation of the two world systems, but as part of imperialism's aggressive anti-Soviet proclivity. In the late thirties and early forties the peace forces were not yet in a position to curb that proclivity; today that possibility exists, and will doubtless become greater still. Everything will depend on the strength of the trend towards peace, on whether or not it prevails over the opposite trend.

Let us examine that opposite trend. The biggest danger, undoubtedly, emanates from the nuclear arms drive. And here we are dealing with two aspects: continued stockpiling, perfection and spread of nuclear weapons. True, membership in the "nuclear club" has been somewhat limited by the non-proliferation treaty,

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the result of energetic efforts by the socialist and other peaceable countries, and now signed by most governments. But given certain conditions (for instance, heightened tension in one or another area) some reactionary regime might well try (with the assistance of the more aggressive imperialist forces) to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons, all the more so that their technology is being simplified from year to year. It is no secret that countries like Israel or South Africa already have the technology and plant to produce their own nuclear warheads.

Assuming that the non-proliferation treaty is not violated, there is still the fact that continued stockpiling of increasingly destructive thermonuclear weapons by the imperialist powers is fraught with grave consequences indeed. It will require the utmost vigilance to expose imperialist aggressive designs in good time. For it should not be forgotten that imperialism has more than once engineered international crises that brought the world to the brink of thermonuclear war.

America's military-industrial complex has steadily been gaining in strength and influence. It represents a special, militarist element of state-monopoly capitalism and, naturally, benefits from Pentagon largesse. It has a vital stake in boosting military spending and militarism itself and, consequently, in keeping world tension at a high point. All this facilitates the seizure of state power by ultra-reactionary extremist forces capable of plunging into a war gamble. The vast stockpiles of missile and nuclear weapons, land and naval forces, some of them stationed at foreign military bases, might, in some especially tense situation, tempt this desperado minority to try to resolve the world confrontation by armed force.

However, not all proponents of aggressive policy are prepared to take that risk. Most of them hope that with time the risk will be reduced to minimal proportions. Their idea is to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries. They are responsible for NATO's "new" nuclear strategy, for the ambitious American arms programs such as MIRV (multiple warhead rockets) and ABM (anti-ballistic missile system), the 5-10-year plans to re-equip the U.S. Air Force and Navy.

In short, there is ample evidence that the imperialists might at some future time decide to resort to force to reverse the course of history. This can only add to world strain and exacerbate international relations. Communists and progressives everywhere have repeatedly warned that in an imperialist-created volatile situation war might break out by tragic error.

For we know that on many occasions the U.S. kept its nuclear-delivery planes and intercontinental missile launchers in a state of operational readiness, with U.S. radars giving wrong recordings. True, so far these errors have been corrected before any damage was done, but what guarantee is there that the correcting mechanism will always react promptly? We have also to reckon with the "patrol flights" of American bombers with nuclear weapons on board. Twice there were incidents, in Spain and Greenland, where the U.S.

has war bases. Fortunately, the bombs did not explode, but they could have, and it would have been very hard immediately to pinpoint the cause . . .

These are all things Marxist-Leninists, and all supporters of democracy and progress have to take into account in their efforts for a better future. And these are the things that have obliged the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to strengthen and perfect their defenses. As Lenin pointed out, "any army which does not train to use all the weapons, all the means and methods of warfare that the enemy possesses, or may possess, is behaving in an unwise or even criminal manner" (Vol. 31, p. 96). It should be stressed that the Soviet Union's maximum defense capacity accords not only with the fundamental interests of the socialist world system, but also with the interests of all the peoples, for Soviet military strength was and remains the chief bulwark of peace, the main barrier to imperialism unleashing another world war.

An objective examination of the intricate international situation in the early seventies will show that time is nevertheless working for peace, not war.

The growing might of the socialist world system, that decisive element in the peoples' anti-imperialist and anti-militarist struggle, is a key factor in strengthening universal peace.

Fulfilment of economic development plans, fuller use of the new technology, and economic integration of the socialist countries will further strengthen their position in the world economy and their defense potential. And as long as NATO and other aggressive imperialist blocs remain, the Warsaw Treaty organization has a big part to play in safeguarding the socialist gains of its peoples. The Communist parties of the Warsaw Treaty countries consider it their bounden duty to take all necessary measures to build up the strength of their organization as a major factor of European and world security.

The mounting revolutionary liberation movement adds to the strength of the anti-imperialist and anti-war front. The developments in Chile, Libya, Peru, Bolivia and other countries are indicative of the growing urge to consolidate hard-won independence and radically refashion the socio-economic structure. Conditions are much more favorable for the victory of progressive regimes and for re-directing emergent countries onto the non-capitalist path, and it is only natural that such countries should dedicate all their efforts to peace. It is by no means accidental that one of the first steps of Libya's revolutionary government was to insist on the dismantling of the big U.S. air base.

The resistance to militarism and its aggressive policies is gaining momentum in the imperialist countries too, with workers, progressive intellectuals, students and war veterans playing an active part. Contradictions within NATO are becoming sharper. Despite the assiduously cultivated myth of a "menace from the East," the movement for cooperation with socialist countries is steadily gaining support in Western Europe. In fact, Soviet-French cooperation in

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science and technology has gone beyond the bounds of our planet: reference, of course, is to the French laser reflector on the Soviet Lunokhod.

Preparation of missile-nuclear war is meeting with more opposition in the United States itself. Clashes between hawks and doves are nowadays no rarity in both houses of Congress. This should be seen in the context of the growing public resentment at, and active opposition to, policies based on aggression. In fact, it was world public opinion that compelled the U.S. ruling element to negotiate some of the more pressing issues. One example is the present third round of the SALT negotiations in Helsinki. Naturally, no one will venture to predict their outcome, but past experience suggests that there is a realistic chance of agreement that would benefit all the peoples. Other examples are the treaties on the cessation of nuclear tests in the three environments, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the peaceful use of outer space. The United Nations has before it a draft treaty prohibiting mass-destruction weapons on the seabed. The conditions are ripe for a convention banning the stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

There is every reason to believe that realistic steps towards disarmament are possible in the foreseeable future.

Theories and realities

One popular theory is the "balance of terror." Essentially, it advocates maintaining world peace by stepping up the nuclear arms drive. This is the argument: for a quarter of a century the threat of reciprocal nuclear destruction has spared the world thermonuclear catastrophe. The argument is fallacious. The world has been spared the horror of war thanks to the growing economic and military strength of the USSR, the superiority and resolute actions of the forces of socialism and peace, the operation of powerful political factors in the United States and other capitalist countries. As for the "balance" theory, it does not in any way help to prevent war, for it does not preclude "war-by-accident," or malfunctioning of the radar system, or precipitate action by the "lunatic fringe." Besides, the continuing arms drive might produce hitherto unknown and more destructive weapons.

Another equally fallacious theory is that peace can be assured by setting up a "world government." In this day and age, with many young states playing their part in world politics and desirous of strengthening their national independence, the very idea of a "world government" is reactionary. In a world divided into two mutually-opposed systems, the socialist and the capitalist, the "world government" concept is akin to the convergence theory, which advocates the "merger" of these two systems and the "abatement" of class struggle.

"Either war will lead to revolution, or revolution will prevent war"—that catchy slogan of some ultra-Left groups can only play into the hands of the militarists. That the world socialist revolution

will banish war from the life of mankind is axiomatic for all Marxist-Leninists. But the fight for that revolution may last many long years and meanwhile the peoples will be faced by the overriding issue of war and peace. To base policy and action on the belief that "war will lead to revolution" is to try to abolish capitalism in a way that is bound to exact colossal sacrifices and to plunge mankind into catastrophe.

There is a realistic and effective road to stable peace, set out and substantiated by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. It lies through pooling the efforts of all socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all peace-seeking states, public organizations and mass movements to rule out the very possibility of war. To safeguard peace, we must impose coexistence on the imperialists, secure the prohibition of nuclear weapons, the formation of atom-free zones, the dismantling of foreign military bases and an effective system of collective security in areas most likely to be the starting point of another world war or of armed conflict.

Acceptance of the socialist countries' proposal for a European security system would go a long way towards ensuring peace. The statement of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Consultative Committee, which met in Berlin last month, points to the growing trend towards detente and good-neighbor relations in Europe and emphasizes that the situation is ripe for an all-European conference on security and cooperation.

Local conflicts, revolutionary wars

Imperialism does not risk a showdown with socialism. Its tactic now is to impede socialist renewal of the world by flank attacks on the anti-imperialist front. Hence, the armed conflicts in various areas, and there is every indication that imperialism will continue this tactic.

In the United States, for instance, the militarists are boosting plans for large mobile air and naval forces that could be quickly dispatched to "hot spots" in any part of the world. That is part of the Pentagon's new strategy of preparedness to wage "major" and "minor" wars.

The stranglehold of monopoly capital in Asia, Africa and Latin America is generating public resentment and a movement to restrict foreign capital domination and the export of the tremendous profits made from brutal exploitation of the population and the plunder of national resources. This can lead to sharp conflicts. Experience shows that the imperialists might revert to their traditional gunboat tactics in retaliation to the developing countries' efforts to consolidate their political and economic independence.

But experience also shows that the imperialists are encountering steadily increasing resistance and that peoples determined to uphold their independence, sovereignty and freedom can successfully oppose, even defeat, imperialist attacks.

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For more than ten years now, the United States has been trying to bring the Vietnamese to their knees, but has staggered from defeat to defeat. Relying on the broad military and economic assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries and on the international solidarity of the revolutionary workers' and national liberation movements, the Vietnamese people are heroically fighting for the victory of their just cause. U.S. imperialism engineered the Israeli militarists' attack in an attempt to topple progressive Arab governments; it failed and these governments are strengthening their positions.

The neo-colonialists have no intention of abandoning aggression. They want to achieve their aim with the help of the Nixon Doctrine, through Vietnamization in South Vietnam, through setting Arab countries against each other, even through bringing some of them into a secret compact with the Israeli militarists.

Imperialist propaganda is seeking to "legalize" minor wars on the plea that conventional-weapon wars are fundamentally different from nuclear. But these so-called minor wars—and this has been clearly demonstrated in Vietnam—lead to "legalization" of outright aggression and all it means in terms of destruction and loss of life. In a definite set of circumstances a "minor" conflict can escalate into full-scale war. The U.S. aggression in Vietnam has already spread to the whole of Indochina. The danger of a "minor" developing into a "major" war is becoming increasingly obvious even to those who oppose nuclear war but are prepared to reconcile themselves to "local" aggression.

The imperialist bourgeoisie has always been an inveterate foe of freedom and independence. But latterly more and more of its elements are coming to realize that the risk of "major" war does not pay off, even in the temporary advantages of successful neo-colonialist intervention or show of force. Attempts by the hawks to further escalate the war in Vietnam are heightening antagonism in U.S. ruling circles.

The pressing problems of social development in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are the cause of sharp clashes with neo-colonialism, but are also intensifying the social struggle within these countries. And those that are following the capitalist path find that it provides no answer to their vital problems. This, naturally, powers the people's discontent and the reactionary forces are retaliating by an imperialist-supported onslaught on democratic freedoms and the institution of tyrannical regimes. This type of conflict can easily prove explosive and lead to revolutionary war.

On the other hand, more and more developing countries are choosing the non-capitalist road, implementing radical socio-economic reforms in the interests of the people, restricting the operation of foreign capital, building up the public sector in the economy, etc. All this calls forth increased resistance by the exploiting classes which might develop into armed action by the reactionary forces.

With the world-wide battle between socialism and capitalism, the

forces of reaction and of progress becoming more tense, there is reason to predict more revolutionary wars in the future. The attitude of Marxist-Leninists to such wars is known: Marxist-Leninists firmly uphold the right of each people to choose its own social system, side with the revolutionary forces fighting for democracy and socialism. Marxist-Leninists maintain that united action of all the anti-imperialist forces against an aggressor is the best way of bridling the imperialist adventurers, preventing the unleashing of "local" conflicts and their escalation into a menace to the whole of mankind.

The road to enduring peace is not a bed of roses. But enduring peace can be achieved, for the forces capable of preventing another war are growing in strength from day to day. Analysis of all the factors involved enables us to predict that the present trend towards peace will manifest itself with increasing force as the socialist world system becomes stronger still, as the anti-imperialist forces become more active and closely united, and as the peoples step up their opposition to the menace of war.

Always true to Lenin's ideas of peace and friendship among the nations, the Communists are determined to continue the fight for these noble aims together with everyone opposed to militarism, aggression and war. As the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized in its Peace Appeal: "The unity of all progressive, peace-loving forces is the demand of the day. United we shall ensure the triumph of the sacred cause of world peace."

B. André

I maintain: disarmament and, consequently, guaranteed peace are possible.

Engels, "Can Europe Disarm?"

An end to wars, peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence—such is our ideal.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 293

Today lasting peace is no longer a utopia—it is a fully feasible aim. Mighty social and political forces exist in the world today which oppose war and work for a relaxation of tension and broad international cooperation.

Imperialism is no longer able arbitrarily to decide the destinies of the world.

The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means it considers necessary—armed or peaceful. This policy in no way signifies support for reactionary regimes.

It is equally indisputable that every people has the inalienable right to take up arms in defense against encroachments by imperialist aggressors and to avail itself of the help of other peoples in its just cause.

The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war, for world peace, against the menace of a thermonuclear world war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind.

Documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969

Some economic trends in capitalism

Anatoly Shapiro

Capitalism's economic prospects are an ever-topical subject of Marxist-Leninist research. Industrial capitalist countries account for about 54 per cent, and the six leading ones—USA, Japan, Federal Germany, Britain, France and Italy—for about 47 per cent, of world industrial output. And it is only natural that the conditions of the world class struggle, the strategy and tactics employed by its various contingents, and the direction of the main attack on imperialism, should largely depend on the course the capitalist economy follows.

Marxist prognostication of that course largely conditions the choice of forms and methods of the struggle waged by the working class and its Communist vanguard for a democratic alternative to state-monopoly regulation and programming, wresting state control of the economy from the financial oligarchy and nationalizing key monopoly positions. The changing economic situation in the leading capitalist countries will significantly influence the concrete steps towards the revolutionary refashioning of society.

It is not the purpose of this article to examine the entire complex of political, social and ideological factors that determine imperialism's place in the modern world and its prospects for the future. What this article does set out to do is trace some of the characteristic economic trends in imperialist countries that have a direct bearing on their development.

Leaving aside operational prognoses that are never made public, bourgeois prognosticators as a rule embellish capitalism's realities and prospects. They are not capable of an in-depth analysis of new phenomena, or of providing a more or less satisfactory explanation of the leap-like post-war production rise. Their only explanation is that it is a "miracle" (West German, Japanese, etc.) and we can envisage more such "miracles" (British, Canadian, and so on).

Marxism-Leninism does not regard capitalism in the era of its

general crisis as a system of stagnant productive forces. There is nothing extraordinary in the faster post-war pace of capitalist economic development. Capitalist world industrial output is now running at about 4.6 times the pre-war level, and the annual growth rate has risen from 3.9 per cent in 1920-37 to 5.6 in 1950-69. These are the respective figures for the various countries: U.S. 2.5 and 4.3 per cent, Western Europe 3.7 and 5.9, Japan 6.2 and 15.1. As Lenin foresaw, in the imperialist era, capitalism as a whole advances much more quickly than before, and its decay does not preclude periods of growth.

In determining the most likely course of capitalism's economic development in the coming period, Marxists proceed from the real process and post-war specifics of the reproduction of social capital, from a realistic analysis of the factors responsible for the acceleration of capitalist production, how they are likely to change in future and the possible rise of new factors which in one or another way will influence economic growth.

In the post-war period, and especially since completion of the rehabilitation process in Western Europe and Japan in the mid-fifties, the capitalist economy has undergone very substantial changes, though retaining its unstable, uneven and cyclical pattern. The changes have affected the mechanism of cyclical reproduction and the production cycle itself: its upward phase is now of longer duration and more intensive, while over-production crises are shorter and less intensive than, for instance, the 1929-32 crisis. There have also been far-reaching structural changes, with a larger share of the gross national product going to the non-productive sphere (in the USA and France the service sphere contributes more than industry to GNP and almost an equal share in Federal Germany and Britain). To this should be added the appearance of new industries and production lines, new products and energy sources. Agriculture is advancing from the manufacture to the machine stage, and from importers of food, many developed countries have become exporters.

This qualitative leap in the expansion of the productive forces has generated a fresh wave of "rehabilitation" of capitalism. Its ideologists have coined all sorts of theories purporting to show that capitalism has been "transformed," "rejuvenated" to form the "post-industrial society." All this fosters the illusion among working people that capitalism has entered a new era of crisis-free development, "universal prosperity," the "consumer society," class peace" and, in general, has all but ceased to be capitalist.

But if capitalism is in any way being transformed, it is certainly not in the sense of having shed its private-property and exploitive nature. Rather, its entire structure has developed into state-monopoly capitalism, the background of the world's greatest scientific and technological revolution.

To all intents and purposes, the underlying economic and political factors of market expansion and production growth, the post-war structural changes and modified cyclical mechanism, can be reduced, in terms of production relations, to the continued spread

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of state-monopoly capitalism and its enhanced militarist function and, in terms of productive forces, to the scientific and technological revolution. And it is the impact of these overall factors that has given the capitalist economy the new features which, in many ways, distinguish it from earlier stages of imperialism.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that these factors are transient or short-term. No, scientific and technological progress and state-monopoly economic regulation, with many of their concomitants, have become imminent features of modern capitalism, its built-in levers. And their wide use in the very foundation of imperialism's economic strategy against the USSR, the socialist world system and the entire world revolutionary process. These factors will continue to exert a determining influence on the nature and course of capitalist reproduction.

Unlike evolutionary technical progress–that inevitable concomitant of social progress–the present scientific and technological revolution affects the very principles of material production and its technology. It penetrates all aspects of the economic process and acts as an additional expansion stimulator. The result is more rapid concentration and centralization of production and capital in the main capitalist countries, accompanied by expanded mass production, accelerated moral depreciation of basic assets, their renewal and enlargement on the basis of the new technics. The result has been huge scientific and production complexes, higher productivity and higher investment returns. The passage from mainly extensive to mainly intensive reproduction implies a shift from boosting production resources and resultant productivity to better quality, more economical use of labor power, plant, investments, and current production expenditure.

Scientific research, now conducted on an increasing scale, is becoming a crucial factor in perfecting technology and raising productivity and, consequently, a major source of monopoly profits. U.S. expenditure on science now amounts to nearly four per cent of national income, and there is reason to foresee twice the present figure, about $60 billion, in 1980. Twenty years ago U.S. expenditure on science and education was substantially less than one-third of capital investments; now it is about two-thirds, and estimates suggest that in 15 or 20 years it will be increasing at a rate approximating that of capital accumulation.

Scientific and technical progress is also contributing to output of new types of goods and to a larger market for hitherto unknown products and services. Again the figures: in the mid sixties, 40 per cent of all industrial goods placed on the U.S. market were of a type not manufactured 10 years earlier; experts believe that the respective share in 1980 will be 60 per cent.

It can safely be foreseen that in the near future capitalist countries will be introducing, on a more or less appreciable scale, technological innovations that have proved their practical value and will revolutionize the manufacturing and service industries. Uppermost in this list are nuclear power, electronics, chemicals, ultra-

sound and other processing techniques, jet and space technology, lasers, plasma for power production, desalination and depollution techniques, etc.

Scientific and technological progress opens the way for further structural changes in the economies of leading capitalist countries. The long-term prospect, doubtlessly, is for more major changes in economic proportions, a process begun in the post-war years. In particular, this refers to a lower relative share of agriculture in GNP, though absolute production will increase, parallel expansion in consumer and producer goods, priority growth of industries producing more progressive machines, industrialization of building and a number of other branches. It is also safe to predict that West Europe and Japan, in their effort to narrow the technical and economic gap with the USA, will continue to "Americanize" their economic structure and management system; this will concern not so much technology as organization of production and greater emphasis on science and education.

Under capitalism, scientific and technical progress is contradictory. On the one hand, it raises the effectiveness of social production and use of basic capital and reduces production costs. This, however, tends to restrict employment of basic capital and narrows the potential boundaries of capitalist production. On the other hand, technical innovation produces a much greater demand for renewal of plant. The first tendency works to decrease the rate of accumulation, whereas the second works in the opposite direction, towards a higher rate. Capital investment and its yield acquire a wave-like cyclical pattern and this, naturally, reacts on the rate of growth, making for more economic instability.

Monopoly capital is responsible for other serious impediments to the scientific and technological revolution. The rate of technical progress and the increase in productivity, inevitably come up against the shortage of skilled workers, scientists and engineers, especially in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. The problem is beyond the solution of either the state or monopoly retraining programs adopted in a number of countries under working-class pressure.

Employment and joblessness can become a much more acute problem in the near future. So far, at the initial stage of automation, unemployment has not reached disastrous proportions in many capitalist countries. In high business periods it is usually kept to an average of from two to five per cent of the gainfully employed population, though in some countries and areas and in some trades the figure is considerably higher—as much as 25 per cent among Negro teenagers in the United States. The process of replacing live labor by machines will be felt much more keenly as industry enters a higher stage of automation. In fact, official U.S. statistics indicate that automation destroys 35,000 jobs a week or 1,800,000 a year. Employment will grow relatively slowly and in some periods will actually decrease. Capitalism's inability to make full use of its

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powerful productive forces will manifest itself more and more forcefully. Experience is furnishing added proof that capitalist relations do not allow adequate scope for the scientific and technological revolution. Mature capitalism has a vast potential, but the profit drive, the underlying motivation of production, output for war as the economically most "profitable" business, preclude the very possibility of employing this potential in the interests of science.

The capitalist state has now become an active partner in the reproduction process. For with the scientific and technical revolution and economic competition of the two systems, the monopolies cannot handle the process unaided. And merging monopoly capital and the power of the state to form a single mechanism is objectively necessary if the capitalist economy is to function effectively.

State-monopoly regulation will continue strongly to influence capitalist development. There should be no doubt that its forms and methods will become more effective and comprehensive. In this context note should be made of the stepped-up attempts to combine anti-crisis and anti-cyclical readjustment measures with a long-range policy of economic growth. The chief elements here are increasing state programming, more reliable statistics and information, computer analysis of economic processes, more government appropriations for research, which now account for one-half to three-quarters of all expenditure on science.

State regulation is exercised chiefly through indirect influence on the economy. Its objective boundaries are set by private ownership of the principal means of production and capitalism's inability to evolve a structure of distribution and consumption benefiting the whole of society. Lastly, capitalism cannot expand its market in proportion to the expansion of its productive forces. Modern capitalism, for all its state-monopoly regulation and certain planning elements, remains, by and large, an anarchic market economy.

This finds its most salient expression in the inability to assure rapid and non-inflationary economic advance and full and effective employment of labor power and capital. Growth stimulation inevitably "overheats" the economy, produces excessive tension in the credit and finance system and makes for soaring prices. Capitalist governments therefore find themselves obliged to alternate inflationary and deflationary measures, which further aggravates economic instability and leads to convulsive fluctuations. Latterly this has laid a definite imprint on production in Italy, France, Britain and Japan. But it is more painfully felt in the United States, where runaway inflation is the price the country is paying for the five-year (1962-66) boom and the inflationary measures that powered it. The deflationary policy of the present Republican administration, far from moderating price rises, has actually precipitated an industrial recession (with output down by nearly five per cent from July 1969 to September 1970) and substantial unemployment.

Anti-inflationary measures, among which incomes policy is the most frequently used, a heavier taxation burden on the working

people, dearer credit and other means of cutting into consumer demand combine to hold back production growth. Any intelligent prognosis must reckon with the fact that, in combating inflation, the government can artificially create deflationary situations–a new, post-war phenomenon in capitalist economics. But this is fraught with inevitable difficulties arising out of higher prices. It also tends to undermine the position of individual countries and can ignite fresh flareups of monetary crisis.

Socialist progress, the growing authority of the Communist parties and the powerful upsurge of the proletarian class struggle in developed capitalist countries, are compelling the ruling class to resort to social maneuvering and to agree to certain wage and welfare concessions. The main trends in personal consumption will very likely continue, but so will the attempts of the monopolies and their state to shift the burden of inflation and deflation on to the working people. And unless the state-monopoly onslaught on wages and general conditions meets with a determined rebuff from the working class and all other sections of the working people, it might markedly retard personal consumption. However, there is the proof of experience to show that the active working-class struggle can effectively counter the incomes policy and similar monopoly measures.

Like the technological revolution, state-monopoly capitalism, by its very nature, cannot be confined to national boundaries; it inevitably transcends them and becomes an international phenomenon. This means wider international division of labor, more specialization and cooperation in production and scientific and technological research. Capitalist integration, the new international cartels and patent arrangements, joint monetary, financial and credit measures, lowering of customs barriers, all help promote world trade and the flow of capital. In fact, the foreign trade of the leading capitalist countries has been rising at a faster rate than their industrial production; their exports (in volume) increased 138 per cent between 1957 and 1969, as against a 91 per cent rise in industrial output. And judging from recent trade and technical contacts, socialist markets will apparently play a progressively bigger role for the capitalist economy. All these trends will operate in the future, and with international trade continuing as a major production growth factor.

Such, in brief, are some of the features of the capitalist economy which, in the opinion of this author, could be taken as the basis for medium and longer-range quantitative prognoses. And the object of such prognoses is realistically to assess dominant trends, and the growth rate, volume and structure of basic macro-economic indicators. Such studies, conducted in the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations, are based on expert assessment and statistical projection of stable dynamic series, where necessary corrected by prognosticated changes of market conditions. Economic models reflecting essential links in the

USA, Western Europe and Japan, are based on a Marxist theoretical analytical model of probable overall development. One variant of such prognostication is given in the following table.

PERCENTAGE ESTIMATE OF ANNUAL ECONOMIC GROWTH RATES IN CHIEF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

	Gross National Product			Industrial Output	
	1957-1969	Estimate for 1969-1975	1948-1957	1957-1969	Estimate for 1969-1975
Capitalist world			5.9	5.8	5.0-6.3
USA	4.0	3.7-4.5	4.4	4.7	4.0-5.0
FRG	5.6	3.6-4.2	15.3	6.0	4.0-5.0
Britain	2.9	3.0-4.0	3.5	2.9	3.5-5.0
France	5.2	4.0-4.6	6.5	5.4	4.5-6.0
Italy	5.7	3.8-5.0	9.1	8.0	5.5-6.5
Japan	10.6	8.0-9.0	18.2	13.8	11.0-13.0

Needless to say, these estimates are to a certain extent tentative. Nonetheless, this prognosis, we think, shows up the main course of capitalist economic development, and its tempo will probably not decline in the near future.

This should not be taken to mean that the coming period will be one of uninterrupted, even and stable ascendancy. Quite the contrary, there will be considerable oscillations and fluctuating growth rates, in some years stagnation, even recession. The capitalist reproduction cycle, as it has taken shape since the war, is not likely to undergo appreciable change in the foreseeable future.

But capitalist economic development will be more uneven, with Japan advancing more rapidly than the others. It has already overtaken all of them, with the exception of the USA, in gross national product and is now advancing to second place also in volume of industrial output. Japan's advance to capitalism's second industrial power, and the contraction of the economic-potential gap with the United States, will represent a highly significant shift in the imperialist line-up. As for the economic-strength relation between the U.S. and Western Europe, there is little likelihood of change in the near future. In the fifties, Western Europe, notably the Common Market Six, were way ahead of the United States in production growth, but the picture changed markedly in the first half of the sixties: growth rates became more even, and it is reasonable to expect the present ratio to hold for the near future–the U.S. accounting for about 43 and Western Europe for about 38 per cent of capitalist world industrial output. Any change in this pattern will further aggravate imperialist contradictions and market rivalry.

The economic future of leading capitalist countries will in many ways be determined by the effectiveness of the workers' struggle against monopoly and government policy. For the working class and

other anti-monopoly forces play a much bigger role in economics and politics, indeed in every area of public life. The tight group of monopolists is opposed by the overwhelming majority of the people –wage and salary earners, who in the chief capitalist countries make up from 70 to 80 per cent. The relation of class forces is changing in favor of the working class and its allies, creating the preconditions for succesful struggle for a higher standard of living, restriction of monopoly omnipotence, fundamental democratic reform, and revolutionary paths to socialism.

The new phenomena to be observed in the capitalist economy are not only the result of the inherent laws of imperialism, its antagonisms and the objective requirements of the modern productive forces. Capitalism is no longer a self-sufficient system. It is subject to the increasing impact of the laws of world development and of the central contradiction of our age, that between socialism and imperialism. The socialist system, by the very fact of its existence, by its achievements in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields and growing prosperity standards, is exerting a progressively stronger influence on the process of capitalist reproduction and its prospects.

The instability of world capitalism is steadily increasing. The scientific and technological revolution stimulates a certain acceleration of economic growth in conditions of state-monopoly capitalism. But the dialectics of this process are such that instead of consolidating capitalism–on which the financial oligarchy stakes its hopes –it only deepens imperialism's antagonisms, forcing it to retreat and yield one economic position after another in the competition with socialism.

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Bourgeois futurology versus a humane nature

Oscar Neumann

In the Federal Republic of Germany (and elsewhere, too) the entry into the seventies was accompanied by a forecasting wave unmatched in any of the preçeding decades. Futurological institutes vied wtih astrologists: the catchword, "Seventies," highlighted the election campaigns of the CDU and SPD much like it did the advertisements of detergents and photo cameras. FRG citizens are told they will live much better lives before the decade is out, because Siemens will attain an annual turnover of DM30 billion and the cash value of the West German annual chemicals output will climb to DM100 billion, to say nothing of the 20 million motor cars to be precipitated into the already hopelessly congested streets. The youth is told its wishes will come true, even as regards "revolutionary" solutions—they are promised as " revolution" in men's clothing and in car-driving.

Barely 600 works of a futurological type existed in the capitalist world before 1963; these days they fill whole libraries. Surprisingly so, because the young science failed to evoke anything even remotely resembling a rousing welcome from the master classes, to which it offered its services. They seemed inclined to reject the problems of the future sparked by the scientific-technical revolution. Herr Balke, former Bonn atomic energy minister (and subsequently president of the Federal Alliance of the German Employers' association) described the discussion of revolutionary changes in the basis of civilization as a figment of French and British ideologists. But this was in 1962, when the CDU, then the ruling party, preferred to ignore automation and its consequences and bandied about the slogan of "no experiments!"

However, in 1969 a conference of the Bundesverband of West German industry underscored the "need for a redefinition of attitudes." That same year, after 20 years of uninterrupted rule, the CDU moved to the opposition benches, for it had ignored the writing on the wall and disappointed a large section of electors, neglecting "reforms" in state finance, the economy, education, science, planning, transport, etc., required in the interest of the state-monopoly system. Neither did it adapt its foreign policy to the changed conditions.

These omissions probably suffice to explain why the futurological wave of the present has swelled out of all proportion and why the

task futurology was required to perform as a science serving the state-monopoly system and comprising a vital part of the prevailing ideology, was so varied.

First, the objective of bourgeois futurology is to stabilize the capitalist system, to prevent the working masses, apprehensive of the social consequences of the scientific-technical revolution and its perils in the monopoly capitalist setting, from assuming their rightful role as the subject of history and coming to grips with imperialism in driving for peace, democracy and socialism.

Second, bourgeois futurology is designed to promote the maximum growth of profits: to prognosticate for state-monopoly programming the main trends of scientific and technical development assuring the giant concerns optimum profit nationally and internationally.

Third, it is expected to contribute to imperialism's global strategy, the purpose of which is to "soften up" socialism, to erode it from within by economic influences and ideological subversion.

Are we being unfair to the capitalist world's "explorers of the future" by describing the objectives of their science from so narrow a class standpoint, that of power and business? It stands to reason that we should not identify the class role assigned by the capitalist power to futurology–or any other science, for that matter–with the consent of the individual researcher. Certainly, the most eminent scientists of our time did not accept this role. Take Albert Einstein or Max Born: they rebelled against the imperialist misuse of atomic energy. Today, too, many leading sociologists protest the "increasing occupation of futurology by industry," its subjugation to the self-seeking inhumanity of monopoly capital.

Futurology as part of the state-monopoly system

Neither the theoretical exercises nor the practices of imperialism leave any doubt as to this "increasing occupation," or, more precisely, the adaptation of futurology to the state-monopoly system.

The paper on futurological planning compiled for a CDU working session in October 1968, in which the research institute of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation participated, accentuates "class neutrality," at least in its early chapters. Futurology is presented as highly abstract and mathematical: figures, facts, tables and computations. It is strictly scientific in appearance. But once you've turned the first few pages, you are told candidly that futurology is "the field of future political battles that must not be abandoned to the Socialists." The West German Industrial Institute holds forth in similar vein, only somewhat more outspokenly: "Human activity estimating the future cannot avoid appraisals: yet the question of evaluation is here not merely a philosophical problem, but also a question of power." The picture is more complete when aligned with the utterances of Claudius Dornier, head of the aviation concern, before an international congress in Munich on the shape of things to come, attended by 750 top captains of industry. Asking if it was right to

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plan the future by democratic methods, Dornier said: "I see the implicit danger of a 'reciprocal democracy.' We are still so far removed from a state of stability that we should seek an optimization of productivity, not of personal requirements."

That, precisely, was the purpose of founding the Institute of Technological Growth Trends, the leading FRG forecasting center. Before its founding, Kurt Lotz, president of the Volkswagenwerke board, declared: "The Institute must serve industry." It was founded under the auspices of the 50 biggest monopoly firms in cooperation with government agencies. Its president represents Siemens and subsidies come from the big automobile firms, oil companies and other industrial concerns (contributions of some DM100,000 annually by each, which, moreover, are untaxable).

The state-monopoly institutionalization of investigating and planning the future is not a special West German feature. The Rand Corporation, though resting formally on an entirely different principle, functions completely in the interests of the dominant U.S. military-industrial complex, as the evidence of the Kahn group on the theory and practice of military escalation amply bears out. The same, but with a few formal distinctions, applies to prognostication and planning in France. It is at a government level, forecasting the main economic trends. Industrialists and statesmen predominate in the various special commissions. It is plain, therefore, who explores and plans the future, and for whose benefit.

Technocracy and "cultural pessimism"–the two sides of one medal

We may be told our presentation of bourgeois futurology is simplistic, for critical, even pessimistic, conceptions, including that of the "demonization of technology," balance off the tendentiously optimistic variants. But before going any further, it may be proper to point out that the criticism of certain aspects of the state-monopoly system is not directed against its foundations. A leading state-monopoly ideologist and practician, Peter F. Drucker, describes the scientific-technical revolution as "a period of change in technology and economic policy, in industrial structures and economic theory, and training essential for management and control." Should capitalism neglect these tasks, Drucker holds, the waning 20th century will see "the class struggle growing graver." Futurology, therefore, is designed to function as an "early warning system," as the guide for "social improvement," so that creating a new social system would seem superfluous. To make the prevailing system "sound and strong" and prevent the workingman from apprehending his plight by showering upon him an abundance of consumer values, illusions of happiness and ersatz entertainment–that is the obvious and avowed aim of "critical" futurology.

Despite minor peculiarities and disparities, "cultural pessimism" does not overstep the bounds of capitalist futurology. It may look like the opposite of the technocratic conceptions, but the differences are secondary, while the philosophical basis and pitch of "useful-

ness"–for the capitalist system–are identical. Nothing is altered by the controversy, often externally violent, that rages between them. Both trends–the technocratic glorification of modern technology and its cultural-critical demonization–depart from the concept of "technology in itself." Yet any investigation that examines the means of production and the workers in isolation from each other, is nothing but a hollow abstraction, because "in order to produce at all, they must unite. The specific ways and means whereby this union materializes, distinguishes the different economic epochs of the socialist structure" (Marx). Technology is but one of the elements of the socio-economic formation, like the state, democracy, science and culture. Any attempt to define the essence of technology in general, and the essence of the scientific-technical revolution in particular, in a classless, neutral context, is bound to fail.

Why is "cultural pessimism" useful for the monopoly bourgeoisie? If technical progress is seen in terms of its negative consequences, the blame is heaped on automats, computers and other appurtenances, thereby relieving of culpability those who are really responsible for the humane possibilities of the scientific-technical revolution not being used for the good of the people, for their looming large as a destructive force. What is construed as a humane accusation of technology is really an anti-humane apology for big capital.

This intrinsic tie-up of the technocratic and cultural-pessimistic futurological trends is espoused by the leading bourgeois ideologists. As they see it, the time has come to pour oil on troubled waters. Professor Karl Steinbuch, head of "System 69," a conference on problems of the future, called on his colleagues of the cultural-critical wing for joint action, because, as the technocrats had discovered, neither have been able to get far alone.

That is no more wish. In the mass culture of modern capitalism, where modelling the future offers an effective propaganda medium reaching millions of people packaged as science fiction (books, films, radio, television), influencing their thoughts, sentiments and behavior, technocrat the master and technology the demon are fully integrated: consummate technology is almost always an instrument of destruction; war is "father to all things"; the "supreme" organization of society is exclusively dictatorial in complexion; the dictator is surrounded by the technical elite; the rest are creatures of the lower order with little to choose between them and robots. Shades of their fascistoid spiritual ancestors hover over them: Nietzsche and his "will for power" and Spengler with his "inventor's passion" that disregarded the consequences. The irresponsible "blond beast," all power to the masters and boundless contempt for the masses, a militant irrationalism–the reigning ideology blurts out in trivial ways what the rulers are planning in cloistered seclusion.

Economics, politics, science and the arts of imperialism are compounded into a single system, but it betrays evidence of cracks and fissures, contrasts and contradictions. And as the scientific-technical revolution progresses, the contradictions will become deep-

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er: as regards the situation of the workingman, the discussions in universities, the collision of human hope with the misanthropic designs of the super-tycoons. The capitalist reality brings home to mental and manual workers alike the compulsive need for social change. All that is left to apprehend is that the only way the world they live in can and should be changed is by socialist reconstruction, in the manner already accomplished in some countries.

The theory of convergence–rearguard engagements and the strategy of outposts

With the deeds proving imperialism to be an outdated, parasitical and decaying system, the ruling element can no longer rely on the old-style bellicosity of primitive anti-communism. What they need for their rearguard engagements and their strategy of outposts is the theoretical "convergence" complex. The theory of convergence builds upon certain parallels in the technical growth and the structure of enterprises and other social mechanisms in the two world systems, inferring therefrom that they are converging and that the distinctions between capitalism and socialism are gradually disappearing in a "post-industrial society." It does not really mean a convergence of capitalism and socialism, however, and has its sights on discrediting and disrupting socialism, while stabilizing and expanding the power of imperialism. Modern anti-communism is making the most of the convergence theory, as W. Rostow, one of its originators, intimated in 1960 in his book, "A Non-Communist Manifesto."

Inside the state-monopoly system the convergence theory is meant to function as an instrument integrating critical and opposition groups, and outside it as an engineering tool for "building bridges" and eroding the socialist system. That is why its uses for home and external consumption differ.

The convergence theorists pursue the purpose of relegating the question of property and power into the background and thus diverting the exploited and oppressed from their main task: the revolutionary reconstruction of society. But when done by avowed imperialist ideologists, the intent is too obvious to remain unnoticed. All the more "value," therefore, attaches to those exponents of the convergence theory who earlier held Leftist views or were even influential in the Marxist camp. It is not surprising that all capitalist mass media, from Vienna's Molden-Verlag to the Catholic Academy in Bavaria, are placed at the disposal of a man like Roger Garaudy, who contends against Marxism with his own "new law of history," which says: "The more advanced a country is economically and technically, the more directly does its economic and social progress depend on scientific progress." To bring home his point, Garaudy adds: "In the United States research investment exceeds the sum of all other investments ($20 billion)."

The trick is typical. There is a grain of truth in what Garaudy says, because neither capitalist nor socialist countries could develop

without substantial investment in research. But the trends of growth, the aims of capitalism and socialism, are entirely different: they diverge, rather than converge. As for the reference to U.S. investments, the discoverer of the "new law of history" should be asked if he knows anything about the research trends dominant in the United States. It is common knowledge that funds for social needs are being ruthlessly cut back, while many additional billions are allocated for mass murder in Vietnam with such modern products of science and technology as napalm, rockets, and chemicals. Wall Street's stock exchange returns reveal the magnitude of the profit derived by General Motors, DuPont and other monopolies from billion-dollar investments in military-industrial research. How the country's economic progress and social progress for Black and White workers depends on this directly, is Garaudy's secret, and that of his colleagues, the exponents of the convergence theory.

U.S. sociologist Michael Harrington is certainly no protagonist of revolutionary change. However, as a realist, he has arrived at a conclusion that conflicts with the view of the convergence theorists: the greater the technical progress, he says, the smaller the share of the poor in welfare; conversely, their share in poverty increases. It is worst of all for the American youth, whose share in the "culture of poverty" is at least 50 per cent greater than that of the older generation. For this "lost generation" Harrington sees the bleak future of fathering the next generation amidst a culture of poverty. The other road offered the younger generation by U.S. imperialism is that of war in Vietnam.

But the convergence theorists and their backers could not care less. Behind a screen of "scientific impartiality," their activity is like a double-bottomed box for smuggling imperialist ideology past border guards. When these gentlemen indulge in frank talk, their intention is clear. East expert Alard von Schack ascribes two objectives to the "bridge-building" policy: "to prevent revolutionary situations at home" and . . . "create and exacerbate revolutionary situations on the other side." The "bridge-builder" amplifies: "All means of modern propaganda should be used with psychological skill to introduce our ideas into the social life of the Communist states. National distinctions, religious traditions and such human frailties as curiosity, female vanity, and pleasure-seeking, should be used to develop indifference to the aims of the communist political leadership." Among other useful means Schack lists closer communications and cultural exchanges, and a candidly counter-revolutionary psychological war "designed to prompt the population to passive resistance (go slow!) and sabotage." Lastly, Schack recommends cultivating a "sense of general discontent" in the socialist countries as the "precondition for internal change and putsches."

The apologetic complexion of bourgeois futurology has discredited it among workers, students and scientists for trying to perpetuate the past. Wulf D. Hund writes: "The futurologist is the magician of modern society: he does not forecast the future, he exhorts it.

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In doing so, he uses the existing structures. The future he dangles before us is nothing but a projection of the existing relationships. But that is no way to construct models of a new world." The writer draws the conclusion that a social upheaval, not great inventions, is needed to forge a better future.

It stands to reason that we cannot unreservedly accept this view. A better future needs both: the anti-imperialist struggle and social reconstruction, as well as great inventions and the possibilities opened up by the scientific-technical revolution. However, they must be brought to bear not in the limited and distorted profit-seeking way, but entirely in the interest of the workingman, helping unfold all his creative faculties. That is why we cannot leave investigation and modelling of the future to the ruling elements in the capitalist countries; we cannot afford overlooking the peril of the future being planned, propagated and destroyed by the class enemy for self-seeking purposes. In the class struggle we should take guidance in the brilliant forecasts of Marx, Engels and Lenin and analyze from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism the new processes of the scientific-technical revolution, the truly humane opportunities of which are realizable only in a socialist environment.

revolutionary perspective

Development of the communist movement

Ib Norlund

"It's hard to predict anything, especially the future." These words of a well-known Danish writer contain a good deal of truth. Marx, for instance, resented being referred to as a prophet or oracle.

But it is also true that conscious social action must largely rely on prognostication. That applies in particular to the revolutionary workers' movement. For Marxism, with its materialist understanding of history and dialectical method, enables us to prognosticate the social process. And, of course, the revolutionary movement can and should use this method in charting its future course.

Scientific prognostication, its methods and techniques, are now highly developed. Mathematical models can produce a fairly accurate quantitative prognosis in such fields as, say, economics or population. But they are hardly applicable to social development as a whole, with its complex interaction of numerous objective and subjective factors. How misleading this method can be is shown by the following example: the Pentagon ordered a computer analysis of its plans in Vietnam, and the computer showed that the U.S. could count on sure victory; the events, as we all know, point in the opposite direction.

It would be equally fallacious to use mathematical models in prognosticating the revolutionary process. A clear understanding of its prospects must be based on profound scientific analysis of the sum-total of all the factors and trends of social development, plus an understanding of the laws governing it. A splendid example of such prognostication will be found in the Communist Manifesto. In it, Marx and Engels emphasized that in the theoretical field the Communists have the advantage over the mass of the proletariat in that they understand the conditions, process and general results of the proletarian movement.

The Communist movement did not arbitrarily set out the social ideals of the working class. What it did do was to reveal the determinative direction of history and show how it can, and will, lead to socialism and communism. And Communist activity is directed at assisting the realization of this historical necessity. That is why

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the prospect of the Communist struggle depends on an understanding of the objective laws of social development and on examination of concrete trends and forces.

This is being done by each Communist party in framing future policy. The common tasks of the Communist movement are formulated by the Marxist-Leninist parties at international conferences which collectively draw up the movement's programmatic statements. And taking these statements as a starting point, the author would like to share with the reader some thoughts on the prospects for our movement in the foreseeable future.

Quantitative and qualitative growth

Development prospects are, basically, a continuation of operative trends. Drawing on past experience and on an appraisal of the present, we can more or less accurately predict—and therefore influence—the future.

Any discussion of the movement's prospects must start with an answer to this question: what point of the historical process have we now reached? The record of the 20th century should make it glaringly clear that the world is in the midst of crucial social change, the transition from capitalism to socialism. Ruling over vast areas and steadily gaining strength, socialism exerts an increasing influence on world development. Its ideas can no longer be brushed aside as theories or fond hopes; they have a tremendous impact, and even men who speak for the old society find themselves obliged to put up a socialist front.

These changes, stupendous in their implications, are insolubly linked with the Communist movement. For where socialism has triumphed and is marching from strength to strength, success has been made possible only by the efforts of the Communist parties, guided by Marxism-Leninism and decisively influencing the popular struggle. The Communist parties have forced the bourgeoisie into a losing ideological struggle, though capitalism still has a strong hold on society.

The process of revolutionary change is directly reflected in the growth of the Communist movement. In 1921, at the time of the post-World War I revolutionary upsurge, there were about two million Communists in the world (about one-third in Soviet Russia); today the total is 50 milion organized in nearly 90 parties. Nor has this growth been confined to the socialist lands: Communist membership increased fivefold since 1939 (from 0.5 to 2.5 million) in European capitalist countries, 190 times (from 20,000 to 3.8 million) in non-socialist Asia, nearly doubled in the Americas (from 180,000 to 343,000), and went up 12 times in Africa (from 5,000 to 60,000).

The movement has also undergone qualitative changes–a higher level of organization, higher standards of mass leadership in the class struggle and in organizing broad anti-imperialist alliances, and closer theoretical research in tackling key problems.

Such is the trend, and it effectively exposes attempts by bourgeois ideologists to discount the importance of the Communist movement, their claim that "world Communism has had its day," etc. One cannot help, in this context, recalling the words of a Danish statesman in a similar situation: "If such are the facts, I reject them!"

But the facts cannot be rejected. They clearly suggest that the Communist movement will continue to grow in scope and strength, as it has throughout the past decades. But that proposition is much too general. For even if this basic trend is obvious to everyone prepared to reckon with the facts, this does not mean that the road ahead is a smooth one, that present trends will operate unchanged. Indeed, it would be strange if the greatest transformation in human history were to be accomplished so smoothly and easily.

The revolutionary movement has known periods of powerful upsurge, but also of temporary decline. The relative stabilization of capitalism in the twenties, after the first world war, had its effect on the revolutionary movement, fostering all manner of opportunism, but it was not long before capitalism's inherent contradictions made themselves more acutely felt and the revolutionary movement was again on the upgrade.

After World War II, though caught in the process of its general crisis, capitalism was again able to achieve a measure of stability, due largely to renewal of basic assets, the scientific and technological revolution and state-monopoly control of the economy. This bred the illusion that capitalism had acquired a "new vitality," which naturally created new difficulties for the movement. On the other hand, however, the changed alignment of forces in favor of socialism raised entirely new problems for the working class and its Communist parties.

And so, the experience of history shows that a simple projection into the future cannot produce a true picture. True, social development necessarily leads to socialism and communism (and, consequently, to a powerful growth of the Communist movement), but this does not preclude periods of temporary slowdown in the tempo of revolutionary transformation.

But, then, the growth of the Communist movement cannot be measured only by its progress in the past. An analysis of the realities of the world we live in will reveal many important objective trends determining its continued progress, and not only in terms of its ultimate victory, but concretely within the framework of the coming decades.

Objective factors

There are three main revolutionary forces operating in the world today, and on each of these three sectors conditions are maturing for a fresh rise of the Communist movement.

The first and decisive force is the existing socialism, which has achieved its greatest success in the Soviet Union. Its strength rests

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on economic growth at a rate consistently higher than that of the capitalist world as a whole. Simple calculation will show that this rate differential might well be increased. All this will appreciably strengthen the socialist world system, that bulwark of the international revolutionary movement.

However, that is not the only factor of socialist growth. In the course of its development, the socialist system devises more effective methods of government to achieve a still greater measure of popular participation in public affairs and assure optimal satisfaction of the people's requirements. It was in this context that the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was able to state: "The socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilizing on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system."

The new stage allows for, and calls for, more effective use of the new technology, for closer identification of socialist production relations with the changed productive forces. It offers wider scope for collective and individual initiative, giving such concepts as democracy and freedom a hitherto unknown concrete meaning. The search for genuine broad democracy, for new, rational forms of organizing public life to accord with the new requirements–these questions are uppermost in the minds of progressives everywhere. That is why this process not only heightens the role and authority of the Communist parties in the socialist countries, but by virtue of the example they set, the Communist movement as a whole.

Socialism's continued progress opens up favorable prospects for the entire revolutionary movement, but not in the sense that a better future will come automatically. No, the enemy can be relied upon to do everything to resist socialism's growing strength and the influence of its example. But when the Communist movement explains the meaning of socialist achievements for the entire world, it encourages everyone still oppressed by capital and conscious of the objective need to change the world. And an objective need will always hew a way for itself, whatever the obstacles.

Another sector of the world revolutionary front is the working class and its allies in the countries of latter-day capitalism. And here the past few years have witnessed a sharpening of the over-riding labor-capital antagonism, with mounting strike movements and class battles involving large sections of the working people. It is becoming ever more clear that state-monopoly capitalism, now controlling the entire machine of government, has no solution for the vital problems facing society and each of its members. This comes as a telling blow to the many theories of capitalist stability. It shatters the illusion that capitalist domination will vanish "of itself," or through "social engineering," spontaneous protest, a "lightning blow," individual terror, conspiracies, etc.

Mounting discontent finds a more general expression in the widespread belief that there "must be change." That feeling is very

often vague, even confused, but it testifies that the revolutionary urge of the masses, far from having diminished (as many contended in the sixties) is stronger than ever. For people are keenly aware of the gap between the new possibilities and their own conditions, and the gap is widening despite changes in living standards resulting from higher production. The opportunities offered by the new technology have powered an urge for a more meaningful and spiritually richer way of life. In reality, however, they are all too often used in a way that makes for more "redundancy" and unemployment, hardens the poverty of large groups of the population, the backwardness of whole countries and regions, generates violence and racialism, leads to free time being spent uselessly and meaninglessly, accentuates the menace of militarization and atomic death.

The new goods, services and techniques, and the concessions made by the ruling elite cannot contain mass resentment. People are coming to realize that monopoly capital and its machine of government are using industrial advance to erect new barriers to satisfaction of their rising demands. There is, to cite but a few examples, industrial speed-up with its attendant nervous tension, the irritation and inconvenience caused by an inadequate transport system, pollution, and unsatisfactory recreation facilities. Improvement in these fields is closely associated in people's minds with solution of the more fundamental social problems.

The working class as well as other groups want to know how the present social structure can be changed to produce a new and a more just system. That can be achieved only through working-class struggle guided by Marxism-Leninism. Hence, the development and strengthening of the Communist movement is an objective necessity.

This should not be taken to mean that success will come automatically. It will come only through a struggle, in which we must reckon with reactionary attempts to exploit extreme Rightist elements. It is therefore important not only to rebuff their attacks, but effectively to utilize the rich experience of the Communist movement to counter Rightist and Leftist trends, which present a serious obstacle to translating this "desire for change" into a transformatory revolutionary force.

The third revolutionary force, the national liberation and anti-imperialist movement, has acquired increasing significance as it developed over the past years. The struggle of the Vietnamese and many other peoples against the old and new colonialism is indicative of the vast opportunities open to peoples forging ahead to liberation.

The movement differs widely in composition, aims, ideological principles and forms of struggle. It embraces social strata, parties and leaders consciously working for a socialist orientation, elements approaching that attitude, and elements that reject the ideas of socialism but, in their practical activity, are opposed to imperialism.

The general trend, however, is towards scientific socialism which is steadily winning new positions in the movement. We know, for example, that having won independence, many developing countries

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were anxious to follow the socialist path, though they did not accept Marxism-Leninism, and in some cases were even more or less hostile to it. But the experience of the first 10 or 15 years of independence taught them that utopian, unscientific notions of socialism would get them nowhere. Now they accept some of the basic elements of scientific socialism, if not the socialist system as such. Anti-imperialist liberation movements are gradually evolving into social movements that question the efficacy of capitalism. Indeed, the very logic of the fight for independence and progress is inducing many revolutionary democrats to seek closer ties with the socialist world, the working class and other progressive forces in capitalist countries. In short, the spread of the Communist movement is "programmed" in the vital requirements of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Ideological front

All the objective processes of the present situation—which are so strongly influenced by the socialism-capitalism confrontation—clearly indicate the need for an organized political and ideological force capable of devising solutions for the problems confronting society, indicating its development path and coordinating its efforts. In short, a force capable of directing the working class and popular struggle.

The growth of the Communist movement does not, however, depend entirely on the operation of objective factors. A definite role belongs to the subjective factor, that is, the ability to utilize available opportunities. What tasks do the Communist parties now set themselves, and how do they intend to accomplish them? Let us first examine the role and importance of the ideological front.

Communists in capitalist countries deem it their duty to promote the ideological struggle in order to overcome misconceptions and prejudices that lead people to resign themselves to monopoly capital domination. By rebuffing Right and "Left" opportunist attempts to produce a distorted class picture of reality, the Communists strengthened their positions in the battle against bourgeois ideology.

And of especial importance in this context is to reveal the true role of the working class and of socialism as it exists in many countries. For bourgeois ideology is concentrating on sowing confusion precisely on these questions. It is therefore important to fight bourgeois ideology in "close combat," expose and refute its theories by arguments that can convince people who are not acquainted with scientific socialism and are enthralled by bourgeois notions.

With its positions constantly weakening, imperialism is more and more resorting to ideological subversion. And since capitalism can hardly be held up as an ideal, its supporters are concentrating on weakening its opponents, present and potential, by sowing discord and doubt in their ranks, trying to divert attention from the class struggle by cultivating all manner of new-fangled ideas or simply by turning people's minds to "escape entertainment." Bourgeois

propaganda is doing its best to exploit national, racial and other ingrained prejudices, giving them a more "modern" image and presenting them as new standards in philosophy, ethics and aesthetics. This is one way of adapting to the higher educational levels of the modern industrial society, disarming the new active social forces and curbing their resistance to class domination.

The high-presure advertising techniques used to this end can produce results, especially at first, but the development is towards aggravation of the crisis of bourgeois ideology. For when people are told "nothing has meaning," "ideology is superfluous," or that we have reached the "end of ideology," they feel a growing desire to find their own approach to the problems of social life and the future. When capitalism's prophets predict that the technological revolution will turn a large part of mankind into robots manipulated by a group of all-powerful technocrats using computers, people feel the need for an ideology centered on the man of labor.

Scientific socialism is the answer to these problems. That is why the Communist movement can rely on objective growth factors, in the ideological as well as other fields. That is why it is destined to become the guiding force of social renewal. But let it be said once again that this will not come automatically; it will require conscious effort to uphold, disseminate and develop Marxist-Leninist theory.

Mass movement—key to the future

Communism, its opponents maintain, can develop only as an isolated force and stands no chance of forming durable ties with other Left, revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements. The Communists, we are told, are not capable of building up a system of alliances.

All this, we think, reveals misunderstanding of the dominant features of the world revolutionary process and how the Communists are assisting its development. And the Communists know that final success will come only through winning the broad masses over to the revolution by making them aware of their interests and possibilities, by uniting unlike-minded elements for struggle and for a dialogue capable of bringing divergent viewpoints closer together.

In accusing us of isolation, our enemies want to instill the belief that the Communists cannot march side by side with other progressives, since Leninism, internationalism, etc., preclude such unity. That is but a repetition of old and futile attempts to discriminate against Communists—a method capitalism has constantly used to maintain itself in power.

The initiators of anti-Communist campaigns denounce solidarity with the Soviet Union as "national betrayal." But the Soviet Union saved the European and many other countries from Hitler fascism. Socialism in the Soviet Union is doomed to fail, our enemies maintain. But socialism has registered unparalleled successes. The United States, a country ruled by monopoly capitalism, is the bastion of

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freedom, we are told, but everyone can see that the menace to peace and democracy comes mainly from the United States. The Communists have deprived the socialist countries of independence, is still another specious argument. But the peoples of these countries have reached unprecedented heights in national development. The "Berlin wall," we are asked to believe, spells disaster for Europe. But the facts show that it has helped towards better European relations. There have been many such propaganda figments to prove that "you can't do business with Communists," but all of them have burst like soap bubbles. In fact, the result of this malicious propaganda and the actions attending it has been the very opposite of what its organizers expected.

The Communists have demonstrated their ability, in the face of continued anti-Communist campaigns, to work in contact with large segments of the people and influence those captivated by non-socialist ideology. Of course, we can foresee new anti-Communist campaigns, but there is nothing to suggest that they cannot be effectively repelled.

Implementation of the unity policy is bound to raise many questions–formulation of aims, choice of forms and methods of joint action, possibilities for broader and long-term cooperation. Solution of these and similar questions will require a high degree of political perseverance and clarity.

The first goal must be active Communist participation in the mass movements and mass struggles in capitalist countries. And here the Communists have made good headway, and not only where there are mass Communist parties. For even in countries where the bourgeoisie has been able to hamper direct Communist influence the parties not only share in the mass struggle, but are important organizing factors.

Inasmuch as mass activity represents a decisive factor of change, the confidence won by Communists is the prelude to converting small Communist parties into a powerful revolutionary force. One might recall Lenin's remark: "It is possible that even a small party . . . after it has thoroughly studied the course of political development and become acquainted with the life and customs of the non-party masses, will at a favorable movement evoke a revolutionary movement. . . . " (Vol. 32, p. 476).

Naturally, we cannot foresee when and how this will happen. But everywhere the Communists are working to extend and strengthen mass movements, unite them organizationally in order more effectively to fight monopoly and imperialist rule.

The task, also, is to unite the working people. And this is impossible without a correct policy. The Communist parties have contributed significantly to concrete policy programs which, in the specific conditions of each country, indicate the road ahead for the working class and the people. Such action and longer-term programs, based on an analysis of the class forces, have proved far superior to all the theories purporting to offer a "pure" or "easy" way into the future. Communist policy is based on consistent ad-

herence to principle, and this has won it the support of those who are disenchanted by experiments based on illusions or high-sounding phraseology. We thus have another indication that the Communists can, and will, play a much bigger part in the political life of every nation. Of course, the Communist parties are not obvious to the fast-moving situation, which poses many questions requiring comprehensive and timely answers.

Of particular importance in this respect is closer working-class unity, which entails a correct pattern of relations with Social-Democrats.*

The Communists regard a strong and united working class and a Left alliance as the force capable of refashioning society along revolutionary lines. But unity in the struggle against capitalism has to be continued in building the new, democratic and socialist society, which will assume diverse political forms, one element of which may be the multi-party system.

The prospect for closer unity of the working class and the people does not in any way diminish the independent role of the Communist party. Rather the contrary: the party's organizational and ideological strengthening is essential if popular unity is to acquire a strength and scope capable of tackling the formidable task of winning power and building socialism.

Internationalism

Unity of the three main revolutionary forces into a single stream is an essential condition for further development of the world revolutionary process. Imperialism is still a strong adversary which uses every available means to keep itself in power. Only militant unity of all the anti-imperialist forces can crush capitalism and prevent it committing the greatest crime of all, the unleashing of thermonuclear war.

This worldwide community of revolutionary forces fully accords with internationalism, the basic principle and source of strength of the Communist movement.

Will that movement continue as an united international force or will it gradually separate into "national homes"? That question is agitating many minds, particularly among people sympathetic to socialism.

There is no denying that, especially in the past ten years, there have been instances of international cohesion being relegated to the background. Some were inclined to the view that this could prove to the advantage of the movement in individual countries. There were also theories of a special "national communism" based on negation of the common laws of social development. At times this led to sharp clashes and serious difficulties within the movement.

As was only to be expected, bourgeois ideologists seized on this

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*The present position and prospects of the Social-Democratic movement are discussed in K. Schacht's article elsewhere in this issue.

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to justify their claim that "world communism was disintegrating" and to predict the continuation of national strife, even war, within the Communist world. This speculation on temporary trends was palmed off as a permanently operating objective factor: nationalism, we were told, prevails over internationalism. In fact, this banking on division and discord became the chief imperialist weapon against the world Communist movement.

But imperialist rejoicing was premature. Things did not work out the way they wanted them to. The situation today is markedly different from, say, that of the mid-sixties. The march of events has shown that the "advantages" of "national confrontation" vis-a-vis the fundamental principles of the Communist movement are temporary and transient. More, events have made it glaringly clear that the main source of the movement's strength lies in its internationalism; that only cohesion of the fraternal parties can enable each of them to strengthen its position. This was convincingly expressed by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which did so much to consolidate Communist unity.

The Communist movement rightly believes that unity is not the automatic result of the working class's common international interests; it requires constant and conscious effort. All available evidence shows that unity will prevail over uncoordination, due both to the requirements of the common struggle and the lessons of past splits. These are factors that can obstruct imperialist attempts to exploit nationalism to foster confusion in the Communist ranks.

Certainly, the achievement of practical unity of independent countries and parties is not a simple matter. For here we are dealing on a broad plane with one of the most crucial changes in history. Differing development levels create objective difficulties which can easily be aggravated since national problems are among the most sensitive. Some of the recent differences in world communism are of a temporary character and are already being resolved. Others require more time and the accumulation of more experience. But these difficulties can be overcome, especially if the parties are guided by proletarian internationalism.

The Communist movement will doubtlessly develop as a community of independent and equal fraternal parties. This is determined by the conditions of struggle in the present-day world. But inasmuch as this community is based primarily on common aims, interests and ideology, it is both logical and necessary that the parties should promote joint action by the entire movement and its ideological unity. The degree of united action already achieved allows for definite optimism. Internationalism, which has always served to cement the international Communist movement, is not weakening but gaining in strength and developing in adaptation to new stages in the revolutionary refashioning of the world.

It is, of course, difficult to foresee the concrete forms of future cooperation between Communist parties. We are prone to see the future as a mechanical continuation or repetition of the present. But there might well be new forms of common action (at the 1969

Meeting there were suggestions, for instance, for joint theoretical research, an international Communist press agency, etc.) and these might be different from what we can now conceive. At any rate, profound understanding of the need for joint action and the desire to pool our forces will, beyond all doubt, lead to appropriate forms of closer political, ideological and organizational contact.

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Based on the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the laws of social development and on proletarian internationalism, guided by the organizational principles of democratic centralism, and having accumulated rich political experience, the Communist movement is well equipped to fulfil the tasks posed by the present era. And there is ample evidence that all opportunities will be utilized, with increasing effectiveness, in the none-too-distant future. Having crossed the watershed of the seventies, we are now in a new period, and much of the unclarity of the sixties has been dispelled by the sharpening irreconçilable class struggle. Attempts to follow paths which in one or another way depart from Marxism-Leninism have proved a failure. The Communist movement can solve the problems of our age—it has before it a radiant perspective and will act realistically and boldly to attain the noble aims that accord with the interests of all toiling humanity.

Communists should know that, in any case, the future belongs to them; therefore, we can (and must) combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle, with the coolest and most sober appraisal of the frenzied ravings of the bourgeoisie.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 101

Irrespective of whether the revolutionary movement advances at a faster or slower pace in the near future, the Communist Party must in both cases remain a party of action.

Resolution of the Third Communist International Congress, July 1921

Communists favor the most democratic methods of preparing for and carrying out united action with all progressive, patriotic and peace-loving forces on a national, regional and international scale. They will do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence. Forms of cooperation, chosen freely and by common consent, will make it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level to meet the requirements of the present situation.

International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969

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. . . The dawn of a new, better society is rising for the oppressed classes of all countries. And everywhere the oppressed masses are closing their ranks, reaching agreement despite national boundaries and language barriers. An international proletarian army is being formed, and the new century will see its victory.

Engels, in a message to the Socialists of Sicily, September 29, 1894

The struggle against imperialism is a long, hard and strenuous fight. Tense class battles lie ahead and they cannot be avoided. Let us step up the offensive against imperialism and internal reaction. The revolutionary and progressive forces are certain to triumph.

International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969

Latin America looks to the future

Longino Becerra

What future for Latin America? What does it hold for its peoples? What path will its countries follow? Once rhetorical, today these questions have a very practical meaning.

Frightened by the sweep of the world revolutionary process, the men who speak for capitalism are devising their own models of mankind's future. One of them, the French futurologist, Jean Fourastié, writes: "Knowing the direction evolution will take, we can conserve and accentuate everything that leads to the flourishing of mankind and arrest and redress everything that leads away from that goal".* For Fourastié, as for other bourgeois futurologists, "mankind" and "capitalism" are synonymous. Behind the ostensible concern for mankind is real concern for the capitalist system.

This desire to save capitalism, warn the ruling classes of impending upheavals and crises, show them the way out–such is the point and purpose of bourgeois futurology. In the words of West German publicist Claus Koch, the object is to "give the existing social system a new set of clothes in order to retain it intact".**

Gloomy forecasts

The dominant note in all bourgeois futurologist studies of Latin America is pessimism. Their method is simplicity itself: magnifying

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*Jean Fourastie, "Les 40.000 heures". Paris, 1965, p. 25.

**Claus Koch, "Critica de la futurologia". Bogota, Rev. *Eco*, No. 106, p. 366.

relevant statistics for a projection into the future. There is no critical approach to existing socio-economic structures, which, in fact, determine these relevant statistics, nor consideration of their possible change. The net result is a tragic picture of Latin America's future.

That applies, for instance, to U.S. futurologist Herman Kahn. According to his projection, only two Latin American countries, Argentina and Venezuela, will have reached the present level of Western Europe by the year 2000. Six others, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile, Colombia, Peru and Panama, will have approached the U.S. level of 1920. Brazil and several other countries will still be "in the process of industrialization," with a maximum annual per capita income of $600. The other 11 countries–Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guyana, Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, Haiti and the Dominican Republic–will remain in the "pre-industrial" stage with a maximum annual per capita income of $200.

The prospect could hardly be more discouraging: thirty years hence even the most developed Latin American countries will only have attained the present level of capitalist Western Europe where, it might be added, the vast majority of the population is a long way indeed from what capitalist propaganda describes as the "affluent consumer society."

Malcolm Adiseshiah, a high-ranking UNESCO official, estimates that between 1961 and 1970 annual per capita income in leading capitalist countries grew by $292, and only $12 in developing countries. With this rate of increase, in the year 2000 the average American will be still earning ten times more than the average Argentinian or Uruguayan.

No less gloomy are bourgeois prognostications of social development. Most of them are based on the growth of Latin America's population which, if present trends persist, will reach 379 million in 1980 and about 700 million in the year 2000. And this, futurologists predict, will sharply aggravate the continent's social and political problems.

Unemployment statistics are perhaps most indicative in this respect. The UN Economic Commission for Latin America estimates that about a quarter of the continent's gainfully employed population, that is, 25 million, are without jobs. This, the Commission believes, is due to slow economic growth compounded by an obsolete structure and high population growth. Its report says: "If economic growth rates remain unchanged, the problem of chronic unemployment will become sharper still and will have serious social consequences".* And the figures seem to bear that out: with the present rate of increase, the number of unemployed should be 40 million in 1980 and 80 million in the year 2000.

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*El Segundo Decenio de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo. CEPAL, Febr. de 1969, doc. E/CN. 12/836, p. 33.

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What way out?

Unless the rich countries undertake energetic coordinated action to bridge the gap dividing our planet, there can be no guarantee of freedom; the impending catastrophies and violence may sweep away our defensive barriers. That statement from Robert McNamara, President of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, is expressive of capitalism's fear of the future as more and more explosive social, economic and political problems arise in the underdeveloped countries.

Capitalism's apologists are seeking for ways to ward off this tragic future. And they have worked out all manner of pseudo-scientific theories purporting to show Third World countries the way out of their present predicament, but only, of course, along capitalist lines.

There have been numerous models for Latin America, constructed by representatives of the ruling classes and American imperialist pundits. The list is a long one: the "Pan-American operation" of ex-President Kubitschek of Brazil; Peronist "justialism" in Argentina; the "national planning government" of ex-President Lleras Restrepo of Colombia; the Chilean Christian-Democrat leaders' "revolution in freedom"; the Mexican "agrarian reform," now held up by U.S. imperialist ideologists as a model for the rest of Latin America.

Prominent among all these "models" is the Alliance for Progress initiated by the late John F. Kennedy. Its purpose was not so much to assist Latin American economic development as to neutralize the influence of revolutionary Cuba. It has proved an unmitigated failure both economically and politically. President Nixon has tried to fill the vacuum with another program, "action and mature partnership," launched after Nelson Rockefeller's not altogether happy tour of Latin America. There is hardly need to prove that this program will fare no better.

Several international organizations have turned their attention to Latin America. Worried by the continent's mounting problems, the UN Economic Commission has tried to chart out a strategy of economic development to prevent the storm that could sweep away capitalism's "defensive barriers." Its program is unadulterated reformism meant to bolster the socio-economic structure without encroaching on its class basis.

None of these models can solve the continent's problems, for in all cases the purpose is to hamstring objective processes and use reforms as safeguards against revolutionary upheavals.

The dialectical method

Bourgeois futurology is conceptually metaphysical, relying entirely on quantitative change and ignoring the need and possibility of qualitative change, i.e., fundamental refashioning of the socio-economic structure.

In contrast, dialectical prognostication does not absolutize quantitative changes, but regards them as the accumulation of conditions for leap-like qualitative change. It relies not on mechanical projections, but rather on investigation of the historical process seen against its concrete background and in the context of the trend and prospects of the class struggle at each given stage of social development. Lenin wrote in this connection: "History as a whole, and the history of revolutions in particular, is always richer in content, more varied, more multiform, more lively and ingenious than is imagined by even the best parties, the most class-conscious vanguard of the most advanced classes" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 95).

In examining the trend of the class struggle, dialectical prognostication must take into account the contradictions of our era and their likely aggravation. In Latin America the main contradiction at this stage is that between the mass of the people on the one hand, and U.S. imperialism and the Latin American oligarchy, on the other. The former want to demolish the existing socio-economic structure, the latter want to retain it through a face-lifting operation if necessary.

The Latin American revolutionary movement is not only anti-imperialist, agrarian and democratic. It has an anti-capitalist content determined by the workers' struggle against their exploiters. What we have, in other words, is a two-front struggle: against the archaic structures carried over from the past and against the reactionary structures the exploiters want to impose as the pattern of the future.

Few Latin Americans have any illusions about capitalism. Indeed, what have our countries, with their rich natural resources and industrious peoples, achieved as part of the capitalist world system? The statistical data cited above provide an eloquent answer. Besides, the economic and social realities of developed capitalist countries, notably the United States, do not add up to a "happy future" for Latin America. The U.S. "paradise," with its racial discrimination, mounting crime, especially among the youth, unemployment and poverty, holds no attraction for Latin Americans. They want a different and better future.

Towards socialism

Edward Bellamy predicted that in the early 21st century part of Latin America would be socialist. When this was written towards the close of the 19th century, it seemed a daring Utopia; today, it is being translated into reality. The victory of the Cuban revolution, the spread of the democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist movement, the success of the Chilean people in the recent elections, are signposts on the way to socialism.

Of course, it is difficult to set time limits. But this much is certain: Latin America's future lies in socialism, whatever its opponents do to hold back the march of history.

The first to embark on the socialist path will be countries where contradictions have reached their highest point. But how the Latin

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American peoples will break out of oppression will depend on concrete historical conditions, the constructive genius of the masses, the working class and its Communist vanguard.

What makes socialist transformations in Latin America inevitable? First, socialism is the only socio-economic and political system that offers radical solutions to the continent's vital problems. Second, throughout its long history and particularly in its highest, imperialist stage, capitalism has demonstrated its complete inability to solve these problems. Socialism, on the other hand, has demonstrated in a very practical way that it alone can assure the people progress, culture, prosperity and social equality.

Latin America's path into the future is determined by the concrete conditions of each of its countries. The Cuban revolution, the Popular Unity victory in the Chilean presidential elections, the advent to power in Peru of a progressive military government show that Latin America's advance to independence and social progress can assume different forms.

It can safely be said that the coming years will see still bigger and sharper conflicts between its peoples and U.S. imperialism, and that by the end of the 1970's more countries will be involved in the fight for economic and political independence. Of course, U.S. imperialism will exert every effort to prevent this. It will employ economic pressure and direct military intervention in combination with "fraternal cooperation" with the ruling oligarchy. To hold on to its chief positions it may even, in individual cases, make certain concessions. But this cannot conceal, let alone change, the reactionary substance of its policies.

It can also be foreseen that continued development of the anti-imperialist movement will be paralleled by rapid spread of the fight against capitalism. For sharper social antagonism is bound to show new sections of the population that they stand to gain nothing from capitalism, and they will look for a way out in non-capitalist development.

Non-capitalist development can assume different forms, but all of them will be of an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchial orientation. One form is typified in the national-democratic revolution in Peru which, with the people's participation, has set out to create a public sector in the economy, to establish control of basic industry, banking and part of foreign trade, to carry out a democratic agrarian reform, etc.

U.S. imperialism might even "tolerate" such revolutions, especially if they do not result in working-class power and in measures that directly pave the way to socialism. The imperialist strategists will doubtlessly seek to control the situation in Latin America through agencies set up for that purpose and redirect the movement to suit the United States. Of course, this will mean subversion, moves to impede and discredit progressive reforms. And in this the imperialists can rely on the reactionary forces deprived of power, exploit the indecision of nationalist governments in suppressing

the oligarchy and introducing measures to further the revolution.

All this implies that the class struggle will continue, even expand after the national-democratic revolution. But it will assume other forms, inasmuch as the peoples' ultimate goal is socialism. The national-democratic revolution is but the first stage, which does not solve all the problems, or accomplish all the tasks confronting the working-class and its Communist vanguard. Major and minor contradictions are not eliminated, nor is the danger of retreat. Certain contacts with imperialism remain with some even banking on its "disinterested" economic and technical assistance in development programs) as does "military cooperation." All these, naturally, are road blocks in the advance to complete national independence and progress.

There is another important aspect: the retention of private capital in agriculture and in significant areas of industry. Notwithstanding measures to assure worker participation in running the factories, the labor-capital antagonism is bound to become sharper.

We can foresee that after a certain time, depending on concrete conditions, Latin America's national-democratic revolution will have accomplished all its tasks. At first, it will contribute to economic development, for it will eliminate archaic socio-economic structures. Resistance by private capital and U.S. imperialism to the rising demands of the people, and refusal to participate in far-reaching development programs that conflict with their own interests, will confront our countries with the choice: submit to direct U.S. imperialist control, yield to capitalism, leaving many vital problems unsolved, or resolutely set foot on the socialist path.

The Latin American liberation movement is bound to grow in the coming years despite temporary retreats. A bigger working class, better organized and ideologically stronger, the vanguard of the working people and the consistent champion of their interests will play a much more meaningful role. The Latin American proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist parties, are destined to be the militant and organizing force in the battle to refashion society.

Its alliance with the peasantry will be a major factor in this struggle. The awakening peasant mass, which comprises the bulk of the continent's population, has a vast revolutionary potential. The urban middle strata, intellectuals and students, will increasingly be drawn into the revolutionary process.

And so, the democratic and revolutionary forces fighting for a brighter future are a heterogeneous mass. This squarely poses the question of tightening their unity, and this can best be done by the Communist parties, whose authority and prestige are steadily increasing. Strong and closer unity of Latin America's revolutionary forces will mean closer association with the other contingents that make up the worldwide revolutionary stream.

Seen in this light, it can be predicted that, all the obstacles created by U.S. imperialism notwithstanding, contact between Latin America

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and the socialist camp, notably the Soviet Union, will become steadily closer. The support and comprehensive assistance of the USSR will serve as the necessary guarantee of successful development of the revolutionary process on our continent.

* * *

Analysis of the underlying tendencies of the revolutionary process in Latin America gives the lie to all the predictions of bourgeois futurologists. By the close of the century our peoples, or at any rate a considerable part, will be living in socio-economic and political conditions totally different from those of today. Considering the advance of the world anti-imperialist struggle, we have reason to hope that by that time our peoples will have won through to economic, social and political liberation. That of course will depend on the specifics of the revolutionary process in each country. But in the end all roads lead to socialism, for, as Lenin wrote: "Progress, if we leave out for the moment the possibility of temporary steps backward, can be made only in the direction of *socialist* society, only in the direction of the *socialist revolution*" (Vol. 22, p. 316).

It is perfectly clear that in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482

It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation.

International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969

The problems confronting our people and country cannot be solved within the existing system. It is therefore necessary to put an end to imperialist and monopoly domination, eliminate the latifundia and open the road to socialism.

The character of the Chilean Revolution is determined by the vital need to liberate the country from the stranglehold of its enemies and remove all barriers to progress. Consequently, in its nature and aims, the Chilean Revolution is anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and agrarian, with socialism as its ultimate aim.

Communist Party of Chile Program

The purpose of our revolution is to overthrow the political and economic power of the oligarchy, return all the wealth usurped by imperialism, including the Panama Canal, and assure the country's

political and territorial integrity by expelling the U.S. *administration and armed forces from the Canal Zone.*

People's Party of Panama Policy Theses

Ecuador's national-liberation, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution will solve the following vital problems as the prelude to establishing a national-democratic state: Eradication of the economic and political roots of imperialist rule, democratic agrarian reform, democratization of public life, development of national industry, particularly its public sector, higher living standards, an independent foreign policy based on peace and friendship with all nations.

Communist Party of Ecuador Program

Our country stands in need of radical revolutionary change to refashion its economic and political structure as a means of winning freedom and overcoming backwardness. Such radical change can be achieved only through agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution.

The formation of a patriotic national-liberation government committed to the fulfilment of this program does not depend on the wishes or actions of some far-seeing caudillo. It must be the result of organization, unity and struggle of the people—workers, peasants, students, revolutionary intellectuals, white-collar workers, artisans, small businessmen–brought into a broad national-liberation patriotic front that will overcome the differences manufactured by the ruling classes and direct the people's democratic aspirations to the attainment of national independence, freedom and a swift advance from backwardness.

Communist Party of Colombia Program

The depth of the national-democratic revolution and the tempo of its transition to the socialist stage will depend on the militancy and strength acquired in the course of the revolutionary process by the core of the revolutionary forces, their ability to influence closely-related social strata. Hegemony of the proletariat is a fundamental political condition for the transition to socialism.

Political Resolution, Sixth Congress, Brazilian Communist Party

The Communist Party of Argentina will continue to fight at the head of the working class and the people for their immediate demands, linking this with the overall struggle for anti-imperialist, agrarian, democratic revolution aimed at building socialism and communism. The working class and the peoples of the world are advancing to that goal by different routes. . . .

Communist Party of Argentina Program

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Asia and Africa: how to end the lag

Hamid Safari

The 1960's were the UN-proclaimed Development Decade. Its results and outlook for the Third World claim worldwide attention, for its peoples make up over half of mankind and increasingly influence world developments.

This survey is concerned with the economic problems and prospects of Asian and African countries. Needless to say, economic progress plays a decisive part in shaping the future.

Some results of development

Out of the 112 countries classed by the UN as developing ones, 63 provide over 90 per cent of the GNP of the group. From 1960 to 1966 the gross national income of 20 developing countries increased 7.1 per cent per year, that of 25 countries, 4.8 per cent and of 18, a meagre 2.3 per cent. As for the other 49 countries, they contributed only 10 per cent of the Third World's GNP.

To these important economic distinctions must be added the great diversity of geographical and ethnic conditions, national traditions and socio-political patterns, and then it will be manifest that the developing countries of Asia and Africa may be regarded as one group only with considerable reservations.

The Afro-Asian countries have made some headway since they won political independence. In Africa their share in capitalist industrial production between 1950 and 1967 went up from 1 to 1.3 per cent and in Asia, from 4 to 5.6 per cent. Agricultural production increased too. In 1969 the developing countries accounted for 35 per cent of the capitalist world's wheat output against 28 per cent in the 1948-52 period. In the same year, their social product grew 5.5 per cent against 4.5 per cent on the average reached between 1960 and 1968.

Statistical data reveal, on the other hand, that the gap between developed and developing countries is widening rather than narrowing due to neo-colonialism. The Afro-Asian countries' share in world industrial production did not go up much in the sixties. Besides, it was chieflly mining that showed a growth while capital goods production advanced at a very slow pace.

The situation in agriculture is no better. Per capita output in African countries in 1969 was at the 1958-62 level, and countries in the Far and Middle East achieved only a small increase. From 1948-1952 to 1966, food imports to Mideast countries grew fivefold

and to South and Southeast Asian countries, 5.5 times. Instead of exporting foodstuffs, they became importers. FAO estimates that to meet the requirements of a growing population, food production in Mideast countries in 1985 will have to be double the 1962 amount. Even with a high growth rate of the GNP, the grain shortage in Southeast Asian, Mideast and African countries in 1975 will be roughly 6.5 million tons. In other words, the developing countries will need to import grain for many years to come. With agriculture holding first place in the Afro-Asian economy, this is tragic indeed.

The economic gap is disclosed by data on world trade. Whereas in 1950 exports from the developing countries amounted to 33.7 per cent of the annual trade total of the non-socialist countries, in 1969 the percentage dropped to 20. In the same period imports slipped from 29.5 to 19.3 per cent. Here is a revealing example. Between 1964 and 1968 exports from Burma, India, Singapore, Pakistan, Turkey, the Philippines and Ceylon increased by $724m. and stood at $5,540m. in 1968. In the same period, West Germany alone increased its exports by $8,627m., to a total of $24,842m.

The decreasing share of the developing countries in capitalist foreign trade is accompanied by the growing imbalance between their exports and imports. This is becoming a permanent trend. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* expects the foreign trade deficit of the Third World to rise to $24,000m. by 1975 and to $32,000m. by 1980 (compared with $5,000m. in 1963).

The ECAFE Committee on Trade, which held its 13th meeting in Bangkok last March, saw no prospect of a better trade situation. On July 25, 1970 the *Indian Express*, commenting on trade with capitalist countries, noted that India's business and government quarters were deeply concerned about the unfavorable state of trade with the West holding up the country's independent economic development.

It goes without saying that the drop in exports from the developing countries reduces their possibilities of importing machinery and plant to industrialize and diversify their economies. The relatively low growth rate of foreign trade is one of the main reasons for the increasing lag of the Third World.

From 1960 to 1968 the developing countries increased their GNP by an annual average of only 4.8 per cent—a growth rate lower than in the early fifties.

In 1968 the GNP of the developed capitalist countries was worth $285,000m. more than in 1964, while the developing countries showed only a 45,000m. increase. In the same year the difference in GNP between the developed capitalist countries, inhabited by 647 million people, and the Third World, whose population was 1,229 million, was $1,138,000m. (In 1964 the difference amounted to $1,148,000m.). The indices of per capital national income (dollars) are even more striking.

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	1950	1960	1967
Developed capitalist countries	910	1,175	1,500
USA	1,990	2,230	2,775
Western Europe	590	825	1,030
Developing countries	95	120	133
Africa	72	86	89
Asia	70	87	96

It follows that per capita national income in the developed countries has almost doubled (up $590) on the average over the past 17 years against a scant $26 and $17, respectively, in Asia and Africa. And while in 1950 per capita national income in the developed countries was 12 or 13 times as great on the average as in Afro-Asian countries, today it is 15 to 17 times greater.

Other facts still causing deep concern are unemployment, poverty and illiteracy in the Afro-Asian countries. Unemployment is on the rise in most of these countries. In India the number of officially registered unemployed went up from 1,502,100 in 1960 to 3,070,000 in 1969. There are more people out of a job now in Pakistan, Ceylon, the Philippines, Ghana, Zambia, Nigeria and elsewhere. Furthermore, the proportion of able-bodied inhabitants in the Third World is growing by 2.31 per cent per year and the forecast for the period between 1970 and 1976 is 2.6 per cent, against 1.1 and 1 per cent, respectively, in the developed countries. ILO estimates that about 300 million new jobs will be needed from 1970 to 1980. It should be clear that the countries of Asia and Africa cannot cope with this task as matters stand today.

The gap betewen the two groups of countries is growing also as regards vocational training. In 90 developing countries whose governments in 1967 answered a UNESCO questionnaire there was a relative decrease in the proportion of illiterates–from 44 per cent in 1957 to 33 in 1967. But then there was an absolute increase from 740 million in 1963 to 800 million in 1970.

Thus there is an increasing absolute discrepancy in economic development between capitalist West and East.

Key problems

Bourgeois analysts attribute the increasing economic lag of Afro-Asian countries primarily to demographic causes. It is true that the population growth there since the war has been appreciable, but this factor, while important, is not decisive. In many capitalist countries, too, the population growth was great at the early stage of their development. The population explosion in the developing countries is a natural result of their liberation from colonial bondage, a concomitant of the elimination of backwardness and of the changing socio-economic structures of one-time colonies and semi-colonies.

Capitalist economists often cite figures suggesting that popula-

tion growth in the Third World swallows over half of the increase in national income and about 65 per cent of the investments. In the developed capitalist countries, however, only 25 per cent of the investments is connected with population growth, they argue. However, nothing is said of who in the new states appropriates a substantial part of the profit from investments. The main reason for production growth rates falling behind population growth is not the population explosion but the domination of capitalist monopoly, the growing exploitation of the developing countries by foreign companies, and the poor economic basis inherited from the colonial era.

Some bourgeois analysts strongly recommend the developing countries to concentrate on agriculture. This is an obvious attempt to impose a neo-colonialist development scheme, to push the developing countries back to a monoculture economy, which in colonial days reduced them to raw-material appendages of imperialist powers. In 19 African countries export of one product still provides over half of the foreign exchange derived from exports and in four countries, over 90 per cent.

Anyone who looks into the causes of the Third World's lag in agriculture will see that behind that, too, is the neo-colonialist policy of imperialist powers deliberately holding up agrarian reforms. The imperialists have made the big landowners and tribal chiefs their political allies. To preserve antiquated socio-economic relations in Afro-Asian countries means reproducing the requisites of the existence of these strata, which the imperialists need particularly now that the anti-imperialist movement is growing in breadth and depth.

Capitalist ideologists often write about a lack of funds for rapid economic progress in Afro-Asian countries. It is fair to ask, therefore, why the developing countries lack development funds despite the fact that they are so rich in natural and manpower resources. Indeed, 90 per cent of the diamond deposits, 50 per cent of the magnesium and chromium and 70 per cent of the gold of the capitalist world are found in Africa. Indonesia, Malaysia, Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand supply over 85 per cent of the world's output of natural rubber. Over 1,169 million tons, or 70 per cent, of the 1,696 million tons of crude oil extracted in the non-socialist world in 1969 came from developing countries.

Unequal economic relations are the obvious explanation. They are among the reasons why the developing countries lack funds to get rid of their colonial heritage. The extremely low standard of the productive forces in spite of the existence of enormous material resources shows that the developing countries cannot solve their pressing socio-economic problems so long as they are in the sphere of the capitalist division of labor. This has been evident throughout the post-war years, with colonialism giving way to neo-colonialism.

To disguise the predatory nature of imperialism, its apologists insist on the "beneficial" effect of foreign private investment and

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call for more. Actually imperialist monopolies, which take advantage of the backward structures of the developing countries, make vast profits through relatively small investments. In 1967 the U.S. monopolies, for example, derived a $2,700m. profit from $18,500m. invested in the Third World.

At the beginning of the second decade of the existence of new states the imperialist powers took further steps for the "advancement" of these countries. On instructions from the President of the International Bank, a Commission on International Development was set up in August 1968 under Lester Pearson, ex-Prime Minister of Canada. In the autumn of 1969 the Commission published a report entitled "Partners in Development" which regards "cooperation" between local and foreign private capital as the most effective way of fostering progress in the new states.

In other words, the imperialist approach to one of the biggest problems of today, the future of more than half of the world population, has undergone no fundamental change. By offering what is in effect old solutions, the imperialists want to win even stronger positions in the economy of the developing countries so as to go on shaping and controlling the development of the Third World.

"It is perfectly clear," said O. Baldé, Guinea's secretary of state in charge of financial control, speaking at a meeting of UNCTAD in Delhi, "that direct foreign investments are detrimental rather than helpful." This statement is proved correct, in particular, by the fact that in a mere four years the United States took out $9,300m. in profits from the Third World, whereas new investments amounted to only $2,300m. One wonders who helps whom.

The Pearson commission suggests that the developing countries should break out of the vicious circle of backwardness by laying the groundwork for "free and fair international trade." Yet UNCTAD estimates that in the sixties the developing countries lost from $2,000m. to $3,000m. a year through an adverse price trend alone. The loss incurred by them as a result totalled $17,000m. And now the Pearson commission recommends carrying on this kind of trade for the next ten years.

The report speaks of imperialist "aid," of course. But how have Asia, Africa and Latin America benefited from that "aid"? By 1970 the Third World owed about $50,000m., or more than twice as much as in 1961.

Even a cursory examination of the problems of the developing countries reveals that imperialism is solely responsible for their plight.

Conditions for progress

Many of those who forecast the future of the developing countries ask themselves whether these countries can catch up with the developed countries, meaning generally the United States. Two American authors, Herman Kahn and Anthony Wiener, claim in their book *The Year 2000* that it will take a country like Indonesia

six centuries to attain the GNP per capita reached by the USA in 1965. UN experts, for their part, claim that at the present rate of increase in national income India would require at least 137 years to attain the level reached by Japan in 1965.

This is a clearly preconceived approach. The countries of the Third World are economically backward today. What they want at present is not to overtake or outstrip this or that country, but to end their age-long backwardness and become economically developed countries as speedily as possible.

The Afro-Asian countries must solve numerous economic, social and cultural problems if they are to end their backwardness. When these problems have been solved it will be right to say that the first phase of development is over. We believe that, given definite conditions, many countries of Asia and Africa can end their lag before the close of this century and initiate a new phase of economic change. But they cannot achieve this cherished goal without removing all obstacles to rapid economic progress.

The two main requisites of progress in Afro-Asian countries are an end to dependence on imperialism, and the implementation of radical anti-capitalist reforms. Only on this basis can a country make the utmost use of its internal resources. Bourgeois futurologists, who play up quantitative indices, deliberately sidestep these issues, for they continue to regard the peoples of Asia and Africa as objects of history. Yet these peoples have long since become makers of history. They strive consciously for a national rebirth, which can only result from planned utilization of their gigantic material and manpower potential for the benefit of the working people.

The colonial system of imperialism collapsed in the period the main content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism. The material prerequisites for the triumph of socialism are developing all over the world. Under the impact of the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the ideas of socialism are winning more and more people, guiding them in their liberation movement. Unable to stop this process, the imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideological flunkeys try to impose various pseudo-socialist concepts on the developing countries. Social-reformists and Right- and "Left"-wing revisionists vie in recommending solutions, extolling the alleged advantages of the "welfare state," "mixed economy" and "market socialism." But life shows again and again that only scientific socialism makes it really possible to eliminate backwardness and achieve progress.

To choose the right way is of key importance today for in the long run it will mould the destiny of millions and the future of the developing countries.

Most of the countries in the Third World are following the capitalist path. Using the enormous booty taken through colonial and neo-colonial plunder, the imperialists try to turn some of them into a showcase of the "free world" justifying capitalism in the eyes of the peoples. But neo-colonialist policy miscarries even

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in these selected countries. Economic growth tends to slacken and inflation is mounting, putting an added burden on the disinherited masses.

Other developing countries have chosen the non-capitalist path, which "opens up the possibility of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and creates conditions for transition to socialist development," as the Document of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties points out. These countries are carrying out important socio-economic changes and state planning has greatly fostered economic development.

The non-capitalist way makes it possible to mobilize financial, material and manpower resources for the revolutionary transformation of society, to rally the progressive forces and to concentrate their effort on economic and social progress.

It would be wishful thinking to regard non-capitalist development as painless and easy. All advance involves difficulties aggravated by neo-colonialist attempts to check revolutionary change by overthrowing progressive regimes. It has been proved that in these circumstances the fundamental problems of socio-economic progress are solved in sharp class struggles.

Non-capitalist development can become a real factor for revolutionary change only if its underlying concept is not set against scientific socialism and if the country that has chosen a socialist orientation is closely allied with the socialist commonwealth headed by the Soviet Union.

The methods of socio-economic change in the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union have set a vivid example for Afro-Asian countries. The Russian people's fraternal assistance enabled these republics to end their all but medieval backwardness and to make all-round progress in a historically brief period. Even the capitalist press admits this. Today, *Monde* wrote, Uzbekistan produces over four million tons of cotton a year, or 72 per cent of the Soviet Union's total, generates 16,000 million kwh of electricity and extracts 30,000 million cubic metres of natural gas . . . The working of mineral deposits is accompanied by intensive industrialization, which explains distinctively Soviet "growing pains"–a chronic shortage of labor.

Yet a few decades ago Uzbekistan did not differ much from many Afro-Asian countries which are as rich in natural resources but are still lagging behind.

The international factor

To acknowledge that overcoming the backwardness of the devoloping countries and assuring their subsequent advancement depend primarily on internal conditions does not at all mean underrating the international factor. On the contrary, it is safe to say that the role of this factor in the next decade will grow steadily.

The assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is of enormous importance to the progress of the developing coun-

tries. In 1970 the Soviet Union had agreements on economic and technological cooperation with 18 Asian and 19 African countries. Today Soviet credits to the developing countries total about 5,000m. rubles. History has recorded no other example of such disinterested support for peoples striving to overcome centuries-long backwardness. Over 30 power stations have been built in India, Ceylon, Cambodia, Pakistan and Nepal with the aid of European socialist countries. With help from Czechoslovakia and Poland, India has built plants manufacturing 10,000 machine tools per year.

Unlike imperialist "aid," which is aimed at subjugating peoples economically and politically and at stepping up their exploitation, the main purpose of the aid offered by the socialist countries is to contribute to the rebirth of countries that have freed themselves from colonial dependence, and to their economic and political sovereignty, which means that its value is both economic and social. It is in the best interest of the developing countries to strengthen relations with the socialist world by extending mutually beneficial cooperation and economic links on a planned basis.

The future of the developing countries will depend largely on the alignment of world forces. Peace provides the prerequisites for bringing the inexhaustible potentialities of socialism to bear. As the economic, technical and military power of the world socialist system grows conditions are also becoming more favorable to the developing countries. Of course, this factor can fully play its role only provided Afro-Asian countries actively contribute to the socialist countries' peace effort.

Support of the Afro-Asian countries by the proletariat of the developed capitalist countries is particularly important today. The proletariat of the developed countries, leading the democratic forces, fights against the neo-colonialist policies and acts of aggression of imperialism and prevents it from meddling in the internal affairs of the developing countries.

The peoples of Asia and Africa have a right to and must demand that the imperialists make up for at least some of the colossal losses these peoples sustained through colonial slavery over a long period and continue to sustain through neo-colonialism. This demand will unquestionably be backed by the Communist and Workers' parties, as well as by all progressive forces in the developed capitalist countries.

Mutual assistance by the developing countries on the regional and inter-regional level is also gaining in importance. The prevailing economic structure drives them to compete to a certain extent among themselves, which injures their interests. It is noteworthy that bourgeois futurologists working on "development" plans for Afro-Asian countries, dodge this important problem or offer neo-colonialist solutions.

We think life presents the new states with the problem of an economic integration exempt from the ruinous influence of imperialist countries and monopolies. We mean the implementation of joint complex plans for industrialization, agricultural reconstruction, the

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utilization of natural resources and extended foreign trade. These measures, which so far have been carried out on a negligible scale, will help Afro-Asian countries to gain time and save funds and materials as they strive for progress. Their economic integration does not prejudice, but rather benefits the interests of individual countries.

The problem of extending and strengthening the united anti-imperialist front has a direct bearing on the future of the Third World. Indeed, changes in the position of the new states in the world capitalist economy depend on the scale and effect of the struggle against neo-colonialist intrigue.

Lenin pointed out that "in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect" (Vol. 32, p. 482). We can see this brilliant forecast coming true. The peoples of Asia and Africa are going through a period of tremendous revolutionary upsurge—witness the events in South Yemen, Sudan, Libya, Somalia, Ceylon and other countries.

The years to come will be marked by the growing unity of action of diverse classes and social strata opposing imperialist oppression and home reaction. The struggle of the peoples, which will vary in form from country to country, will be identical in anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist content. The national liberation movement will sweep away the remnants of the colonial system in Asia and Africa.

The problems of future development in Afro-Asian countries are difficult and manifold, the more so since this development will be stubbornly resisted by foreign and home reaction at every stage. Imperialism will do its utmost to block the independent development of these countries. But history cannot be reversed. The staunch resistance of the heroic people of Vietnam, backed by the Soviet Union and all progressive forces of the world, foiled the plans of the biggest imperialist power and showed up the inability of imperialism to put down the national liberation movement when the revolutionary and progressive forces are united.

The objective factors in the development of the peoples that have gained freedom will intensify trends for united action against imperialist and neo-colonialist plots. Supported by the community of socialist countries and the proletariat of the developed countries, the peoples of Asia and Africa will march on to a socialist future as they strengthen their anti-capitalist positions.

Social Democracy on the threshold of the seventies

Kurt Schacht

The working-class movement in the capitalist countries is divided into diverse ideological and political currents. The most important of these are the Communist, revolutionary current and the Social-Democratic, reformist current. The Social Democrats' influence is strong in many West European countries where their parties and the trade unions and other organizations led by them play a part on the political and economic scene. The evolution of the Social-Democratic movement in the coming decade will not be immaterial to the prospects of the class struggle in either these countries or the world as a whole.

In setting out to comment on these problems, I realize that the diversity of national conditions leaves little room for generalizations. Nor do I claim to review all the problems of working-class unity.

Main trend

Where do the Social-Democrats stand in today's worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism, between the working class and other anti-monopoly forces and the capitalist monopolies, between the national liberation movement and colonialism? What is their attitude to the issue of peace and war? These questions cannot be answered without considering the manifold and contradictory processes going on in individual parties and the Socialist International.

The Socialist International comprises 54 parties and organizations totalling slightly more than 15 million members. About 78 million people vote for these parties. Roughly two-thirds of the Social-Democrats and their electors are in Western Europe. Latin America has eight parties in the Socialist International and Asia, nine. Mainland Africa is not represented in the Socialist International except for two parties active on islands belonging to that continent. Among its members are a small U.S. party and influential parties operating in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The only Arab party in the Socialist International is the Aden People's Socialist Party. It is a vestige of the cold war and an expression of anti-communism that nine "parties" of emigrés from the socialist countries of eastern and southeastern Europe and the three Baltic republics of the Soviet Union are represented in the SI.

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The member parties differ considerably in traditions, social composition, structure, influence, and ideological and political position. Some of them cooperate with the Communist parties of their countries and carry on a dialogue with them (in Finland, France, Italy, Chile). Others (in West Germany and Austria, for instance) are conspicuous for the doctrinaire anti-communism of their leading groups. Almost every Social-Democratic party has a fairly influential Left or Right wing. In some capitalist countries the fifties and sixties saw the Left wing withdraw from the respective Social-Democratic parties to found Left Social-Democratic or Socialist parties. This was the case in Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and Finland. In Italy and Japan the two wings founded two rival parties. Recently Right-wing groups broke away from the Netherlands Labor Party and from the new French Socialist Party, and Left-wing groups dissociated themselves from the Swiss Social-Democratic Party and the Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party.

Despite the growing diversity and contradictoriness of Social-Democratic policies, however, nothing has changed about the fact that the theory and practice of the Social-Democratic Right is dominated by the tendency to adapt itself to the capitalist system, come to terms with the ruling class on the principle of "improving" capitalist rule and abandon the struggle for socialism, with anti-communism as a result. The West German, Austrian, British and Swedish parties still set the pace in the Socialist International. Now as in the past, they make up the core of the Social-Democratic movement.

It is the Social-Democrats that help the bourgeois state in many West European countries to function without particular handicaps. Monopoly capital tries through Right Social-Democratic leaders to paralyze the workers' will to win power and achieve genuinely socialist objectives.

Ten of the nineteen West European parties–those of Belgium West Germany, Finland, Iceland, Italy (two parties), Austria, San Marino, Sweden and Switzerland—are in the governments of their countries or head them. Outside Europe the Social-Democrats form governments in Costa Rica, Israel, Madagascar, Mauritius and Singapore. In Spain and South Vietnam, parties of the Socialist International are banned.

In some West European countries the Social-Democrats perform functions of importance to imperialism. They help to maintain both capitalist rule at home and its positions in the conflict between the two social systems, in face of the growing might of socialism, the deterioration of internal class antagonisms in the capitalist countries and the upsurge in the national liberation movement. The aggressive NATO bloc and the Common Market would hardly have been viable without support from the Right Social-Democrats. Certain Social-Democratic leaders are carrying on an ideological fight against the socialist countries in the interest of monopoly capital. Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian Social-Democratic leader, expects by

means of a "Social-Democratic policy to develop an alternative that will thrust deep into the Communist power sphere through the process of social transformation it will bring about."

The main trends of the Social-Democratic movement and the processes taking place in it were reflected in the resolutions of the 11th Congress of the Socialist International (Eastbourne, June 1969). Although the resolutions are in the nature of recommendations, the participants' stand on the key issues affects Social-Democratic policy in many countries. The Congress discussed the Social-Democratic parties' attitude to the Communist parties and socialist countries, their ideological and political positions in view of intensified mass struggles by the workers and youth in the capitalist countries, and problems of war and peace (these came up when the situation in various "trouble spots" of the planet was examined).

A collective report, "Socialism and the New Generation," submitted to the Eastbourne Congress admits that the Social-Democratic parties and trade unions have become to a certain degree an integrated part of capitalist society. On the other hand, leading Social-Democratic groups still make a show of striving for socialist goals. The document stresses that the purpose of "democratic socialism" is to bring into being a new society based on the real equality of men.

Can that goal be attained through anti-communism and systematic isolation from the Communist current, the most numerous and active current of the international working-class movement? Speakers at the Congress dodged this issue and even took a frankly hostile stand on communism. They slanderously accused the Communist parties of the socialist countries of "liquidating democracy" and imputed to the Communist parties of the capitalist countries the intention of gaining absolute hegemony through the policy of united action with the Social-Democrats. The only delegates who refused to support these attacks were those of the Japanese Left Socialists and the Finnish Social-Democrats.

Anti-communism, which dominated the Eastbourne Congress, was emphasized by the provocative statements of East and Southeast European emigre "parties." Their spokesmen voiced the hope that there would be anti-communist crusades. Herbert Wehner, Deputy Chairman of the West German Social-Democratic Party (SDP), praised these "parties" for their role, saying that the viability of Social-Democracy in the West was a prerequisite of its viability in the socialist countries.

The Eastbourne Congress passed certain resolutions on international matters. That Social-Democratic forum did not dissociate itself from imperialism's policy but took, if timidly and inconsistently, a critical view of some aspects of this policy. It adopted an appeal couched in general terms for a political settlement in Vietnam. However, the appeal neither condemned the U.S. aggression nor identified itself with the liberation movement in South Vietnam. All parties to the Mideast conflict were invited to settle their dis-

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putes by peaceful means. The Congress did not denounce Israel's policy of aggression, nor did it insist on Israeli evacuation of the occupied Arab areas.

Congress delegates declared for an armaments cut, a ban on chemical and bacteriological weapons and a moratorium on tests of multiple-warhead missiles.

The Congress approved in principle the proposal for a European security conference.

It took a negative stand on the aid being extended to the Colonels' regime in Greece by Western countries, specifically by the United States, expressed "solidarity with the people of Africa still fighting colonial and fascist oppression" and condemned "the political, economic and social oppression which still exists in most of the countries of Latin America." The worth of these declarations was revealed, however, before the end of the Congress: in response to a protest from the British Labor Government, the spokesman of the Zimbabwe people's liberation movement was barred from the rostrum.

As one looks back there is no escaping the conclusion that some of the Eastbourne resolutions were non-committal and it was only on a few issues that the Congress urged constructive steps.

Some leading groups of the international Social-Democratic movement continue to back the U.S. aggression even though they voted for the appeal to establish peace in Vietnam. For instance, the West German government headed by Social-Democrats indirectly helps to fill gaps in the U.S. budget by covering the expenses of the U.S. troops stationed in the Federal Republic. Nor can one forget the position of the former government under Wilson. That government refused, it will be recalled, to reckon with the will of its own party and to dissociate itself from the U.S. aggression. Close links with the Labor Party of Golda Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister, and the aggressive NATO alliance induce most leading groups of the parties in the Socialist International to support the Israeli expansion into Arab territory both materially and morally.

Having subordinated their policy to the overall imperialist strategy of the USA and NATO, influential leading Social-Democratic groups oppose some of the Eastbourne resolutions. The Wilson government, for one, stuck to its close relations with the racialist clique of the SAR, nor did it adopt effective sanctions against the establishment of the Smith regime in Rhodesia. The West German government persists in supplying Portugal with arms that are used against the liberation movement in the colonies.

Thus the main trend in leading Social-Democratic quarters and in official Social-Democratic policy is to submit to capitalist conditions, safeguard the economic and political foundations of capitalism and foment anti-communism. On the other hand, the Social-Democratic movement in recent years has shown a mounting trend towards differentiation and greater internal discord and conflict. The predominant trend is increasingly opposed by efforts for a

critical appraisal of decades of Social-Democratic collaboration with the ruling class and for the renunciation of pro-capitalist and anti-Communist positions.

Growing differentiation

Developments since Eastbourne suggest that the Social-Democratic rank and file are increasingly questioning the ideological and political positions approved by the Congress. Many Social-Democrats have a different idea of the political objectives of their parties. The Left wing advocates support for the workers' struggle. It calls for dissociation from the aggressive policies of NATO and U.S. imperialism, for peaceful coexistence and a settlement of relations with the Communist parties and socialist countries. This trend is strengthening as class battles in capitalist citadels intensify and the aggressive and man-eating character of imperialism stands out more clearly.

Whom will the Social-Democrats join? Will they join the working class to fight monopoly capital or side with a doomed imperialism defending itself and oppose the working class and other progressive forces?

The Right Social-Democrats have done much to shelve or talk away the problem of socializing the means of production, but it has come up again. In line with the Eastbourne Congress, the Swedish Social-Democratic leadership tries to influence discussion by resorting to anything but the original theory of "socializing the functions of capital" without interfering in capitalist property relations. The leaders of the German SDP allege in reply to demands from the rank and file, that the Social-Democratic movement has long since renounced the "originally widespread opinion" that "the task is, first of all, to socialize the means of production." Bruno Kreisky wants an abstract "democratization of every sphere" of capitalist society. These and similar appeals and statements nothwithstanding, there is a growing demand in many parties that monopoly capitalist power be curbed and overcome.

In Sweden after the latest general election the Social-Democratic Youth League insisted on replacing the prevailing capitalist form of economy by a "socialist economic system whose main components must be planning and a planned budget, economic democracy, democracy at the place of work and an equitable wage structure." The British Labor Party's annual conference at Blackpool resolved that the party's future program should provide for steps to combat monopoly capital and "extend social ownership and control of industry."

At the Swiss Social-Democrats' recent congress in Biel the party's relatively strong Left wing demanded withdrawal from the coalition with bourgeois parties and a "return to revolutionary socialism." The Young Socialists, the nearly 180,000-strong youth organization of the German SDP, insisted in one of their policy statements on "putting the means of production at the service and under the

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control of society as a whole." The Japan Socialist Party congress reaffirmed the policy of overcoming capitalist society. (This prompted the theoretical journal of the German SDP to comment that "apart from certain lingering personal relations, there is now hardly a common basis on which the SDP and JSP could meet"). The recent extraordinary congress of the regrouped French Socialist Party at Epinay rejected the orientation towards political centrism, arguing that "accession to political responsibilities that would not make a fundamental transformation of the politicio-economic system possible would face us with the choice between failure and complicity with our adversaries still in government posts." Similar views and trends have been registered in the Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Belgian, Austrian, Italian (Left wing) and Spanish Social-Democratic parties.

Regrettably, Left Social-Democratic groups and trends lack decisive influence. They have no decisive say in either the Socialist International or in individual parties. At best they make it difficult for the Right-wing leaders to follow a pro-capitalist, anti-Communist course.

The growing anti-minopoly trends and currents among the Social-Democrats cause concern primarily to the leadership of the West German SDP, which believes that the French, Italian and Japanese Socialists are in crisis because they have had no "Godesberg of their own." Leading SDP politicians say they are going to join more vigorously in the ideological struggle within the Socialist International so as to show other Social-Democratic parties the way to "Godesberg," that is, to collaboration with monopoly capital.

This was also the object of "Social-Democracy and Communism," the anti-Communist platform on relations between Social-Democrats and Communists recently adopted by the leading committees of the SDP. The intention of intensifying the anti-Communist campaign explicit in the platform poses a threat. At the moment West German Rightists led by Strauss, Chairman of the CSU, and key politicians of the CDU are stepping up their opposition to ratification of the treaties signed with the Soviet Union and Poland. Right-wing extremists threaten to kill Social-Democrats and Communists. This makes a united democratic front imperative. To fan anti-communism in this situation means in effect encouraging reactionaries who want no détente.

The platform in question echoes the absurd anti-Communist theses of Eastbourne. Judging by the utterances of SDP leaders, the purpose is to justify the prohibition against Social-Democrat cooperation with Communists in any form. However, many SDP members are unhappy about this policy of the leadership. The Young Socialists, for example, accuse the latter of intensifying the anti-communism existing in West Germany, "which in the past, too, served to prevent reforms necessitated by the interests of wage labor."

Events since Eastbourne have revealed the indefensibility of its

anti-Communist concepts, which run counter to the interests of the Social-Democratic parties and their supporters. The Finnish Social-Democrats have persevered in their policy of cooperation with the Communist Party of their country and of friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Trips to the Soviet Union and GDR by JSP delegations help to extend the relations of that party with socialism countries. In stressing the significance of the GDR visit, JSP Chairman Tomoni Narita said that the delegation led by him had used the opportunity to learn how a socialist revolution was accomplished in an advanced capitalist country. This statement appeared in *Socialist International Information.*

New relations are developing between the Social-Democratic and Communist parties of various countries. In Chile the Radical Party, a member of the Socialist International, joined the the Popular Unity bloc whose victory in the presidential elections confirmed the correctness of the tested principle of the working-class movement that united action by anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist forces makes for progress and ensures common success. Shortly after Eastbourne the Italian Socialist Party split due in important measure to disagreement over the attitude to the Communist Party. After the regional and municipal elections Italy's Communists and Socialists together formed local government bodies in a number of regions and cities. Contrary to the anti-Communist guidelines of Eastbourne, the French Socialist Party has continued the dialogue with the Communist Party. In Luxembourg the Right Socialists found themselves in a grave crisis when the party's strong Left wing voted for cooperation with the Communists on the municipal councils of some districts and towns. Even in Sweden, the homeland of "democratic socialism," the Social-Democratic government has since the recent general election been in need of parliamentary support from the Communists to muster a majority against the bourgeois parties.

Capitalist reality brings Communists and Social Democrats close together time and again, prompting them to hold talks and to take joint action. Their interests are common because worker Communists and Social-Democrats alike are in the same conditions under modern capitalism and are faced with one and the same exploiter, monopoly capital. Now as before, they stand together in increasingly powerful strikes. In Kiruna, Sweden, in Limbourg, Belgium, in the Asturias, Spain, in the strike movement of British, Italian, French, West German, Japanese, Finnish and Australian workers, Communists and Social-Democrats uphold the demands of the working class in common struggles. Actions against the U.S. aggression in Indochina show that they are also prompted by a common desire to safeguard peace against imperialist plots. Numerous Social-Democrats note with satisfaction the attitude of their Swedish fellow-thinkers and the Japanese Socialists' militant actions against the U.S. aggression.

The West European Social-Democrats are taking a more and more favorable view of the idea of a European security conference. An

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increasing number of Social-Democratic parties are arriving at a sober appraisal of the situation in Europe, as they realize that the policy of "rolling back communism" put forward by Dulles and Adenauer has been defeated by the growing might of the world socialist commonwealth and the increasing desire of the peoples of Europe for peace and security. Unquestionably, the signing of treaties between the Soviet Union and West Germany and between Poland and West Germany was a stimulus to the movement for European security. This stimulus will have a stronger effect when the two treaties have been ratified and put into practice.

In accordance with their recent congress, the Danish Social-Democrats regard "recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier by the West, as well as the right of the German Democratic Republic to participate (in the European security conference.–*Ed.*) as a prerequisite" for holding the conference. A representative group of British Labor MPs considers recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier and all existing frontiers in Europe, and recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the independence of West Berlin to be a task of the proposed security conference.

The Finnish Social-Democrats formulated their point of view on this issue as follows: "Recognition of the finality of the frontiers existing in Europe is a precondition for a new European security agreement. It is also in the interest of peace for all European countries to recognize the existence of two sovereign and equal German states and their present frontiers." Most of the other Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe are in favor of a European security conference. On the Finnish Social-Democrats' initiative the Socialist International plans to hold a conference in Helsinki in 1971 to discuss the problem of European security. In this connection Rafael Passio, Chairman of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party, expressed the hope that "the Socialist International will intensify its activity in regard to European security problems" and help to "create better and more secure conditions in Enurope."

A positive approach to the problem of European security might promote trends against new countries joining the monopoly-dominated Common Market. The point is that establishing a European security system implies more extensive economic relations throughout Europe whose development will hinge in no small measure on the elimination of tariff barriers.

While a number of Social-Democratic parties are agreeable to a European security conference, some German SDP leaders want approval of the idea to be made conditional on a "satisfactory settlement" in West Berlin, meaning West German control of the city. In other words, these leaders put forward the kind of preliminary conditions insisted on, among others, by NATO reactionaries. Yet stipulations of this sort go against a constructive approach to the conference.

With regard to war and peace, European security and other problems, it is not all Social-Democrats that are motivated by the

peoples' interests—far from it. Some of them still cling to "Atlantic" policy, seeing a possibility of détente in a stronger NATO, through which they would like to take "modest" steps towards settling international problems. Life shows that this point of view is out of step with the progress of international relations in Europe and the world.

The latest International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, which almost coincided in time with the Eastbourne Congress of the Socialist International, had this to say in its Document: "Facts and the experience gained by the working class in the course of their struggles, and the sharp criticism of opportunist views by the Communist Parties—which remains a constant task—deepen the crisis of reformist concepts. A differentiation is taking place in the ranks of Social-Democracy, and this is also reflected in the leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defense of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to reckon with the demands of the working masses in the economic and social fields, and in the questions of the struggle for peace and progress."

Facts of recent date—such as the Social-Democrats' election failure in Britain and Sweden—are undoubtedly accelerating differentiation processes in the international Social-Democratic movement and aggravating crisis phenomena in many parties. These phenomena are due to a variety of reasons. In any case, the Social-Democratic parties are clearly passing through serious trials, above all where they show particular zeal in helping to bolster and safeguard monopoly capitalism. They find themselves in the predicament of a man being pulled at once to the right and to the left. There is capitalism demanding complete subservience to its interests and, on the other hand, the rank and file of Social-Democratic parties and their supporters, who counter an increasingly reactionary and aggressive capitalism by demanding anti-monopoly and democratic measures.

What is the prospect for Social-Democracy in the seventies, in the light of the foregoing?

The outlook

It would be interesting, first of all, to know how the prospects of the Social-Democratic movement are seen by its leaders and theoreticians.

"Social-Democracy," Bruno Kreisky wrote in the article, "The Social-Democratic Outlook for the Seventies," "is becoming the alternative to conservatism, on the one hand, and communism, on the other." These words make it only too clear that the Social-Democratic Right intends to abide by the bankrupt policy of anti-communism and adaptation to capitalism. In fact, a number of the Social-Democratic international documents call for resistance to both communism and capitalism. Kreisky substitutes "conservatism" for "capitalism." Yet the ruling bourgeoisie, far from taking a conservative stand today, makes active use of the ideology and practice of social reformism, especially in those countries where the work-

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ing class is politically mature and active. To substitute struggle against conservatism for the struggle against capitalism means, in effect, joining big capital in its efforts to preserve capitalism by refurbishing it.

In what way can this policy benefit the Social-Democratic parties? When their programs come closer to those of bourgeois parties the masses lose faith in the Social-Democrats. Besides, the bourgeoisie is not necessarily keen on backing the Social-Democratic parties. It generally prefers to lean on a reliable bourgeois party for support if that party can win over certain social strata by using shrewd demagogy, upholding a spurious alternative and pretending to be completely innocent of "conservatism." Developments in France are indicative in this respect. The ruling Gaullist party has for years been talking about a "new society" as the object of its policy. The Radicals led by J. J. Servan-Schreiber, for their part, promise important reforms. For all that, Gaston Defferre, the Socialists' Presidential candidate in 1969, who favored an alliance with bourgeois reaction and stood for anti-communism and a split of the democratic forces, barely polled five per cent of the votes.

And here is how another two prominent Social-Democrats see the future. "A greater and more rapid economic growth and improvement of the standard of life, greater social security, full employment and economic equity making for a visible improvement in the condition of the low-paid categories, as well as the introduction of a five-day working week and a four-week holiday with increased pay . . . These things add up to a good program for the seventies" (Jens Otto Krag/Denmark/, "We Shall Frame the Policy of the Seventies"). "The aim is to cmbine freedom and solidarity. Socialism cannot be defined more precisely or in greater detail than this" (T. Elster /Norway/, "Socialism Before the Year 2000").

The record of the Social-Democratic movement tells us that problems of social development objectively ripe for solution cannot be solved, nor the pressing requirements of the working people met by adapting oneself to capitalism. From this point of view the program set out by J. O. Krag may become a reality rather than degenerate into another promise (the number of promises made over the decades!) provided its realization is not an end in itself but a component of long-range strategy interlinking the struggle for the immediate demands of the working class and the struggle for far-reaching anti-monopoly changes. But it is precisely the advocacy of the wrong perspective that shows up the destructive effect of bourgeois ideology and the pro-capitalist practice of the Social-Democratic Right. Surely T. Elster's vague and abstract statement neither opens up a perspective nor indicates in any way how and for what worker Social-Democrats should fight in the seventies as part of their fight for long-range objectives.

This state of affairs in Social-Democratic theory and practice leads—in a measure varying locally—to growing isolation from the workers and other working people. In addition to the parliamentary

setbacks of some parties, it is revealing that more and more frequently the trade unions criticize the policy of the Social-Democratic parties of their countries, those in power included, as in the case of Britain and West Germany.

At the grass roots, on the working-class level, there is a growing demand that anti-communism in Social-Democratic ranks be ended. Today it is obvious to anyone that no problem of the struggle for the key interests of the working people, for peace and disarmament, against monopoly capitalist power, for socialism, can be solved without cooperation with the Communists, without taking into account the experience and international achievements of the Communist movement. Nevertheless, Right Social-Democratic leaders hold up the battered bugaboo of anti-communism in an effort to scare Left-wing forces away from cooperation with the Communists, alleging that in the long run, if not immediately, this would mean absorbing the Social-Democratic and other Left-wing parties and robbing them of their independence. Yet the Communist parties' stand on this issue is perfectly clear.

The Document of their 1969 Meeting says: "Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working-class unity, are in favor of cooperation with the Socialists and Social-Democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. They will do everything they can to carry out this cooperation. Communists are likewise in favor of cooperation with other democratic parties and organizations interested in the renewal of society. To advance on this path, it is, of course, necessary for the Socialist parties and other political organizations favoring socialism resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism."

The idea of "the need to break with the policy of class collaboration" is not an arbitrary demand of the Communist movement. It reflects a lesson of history, of democratic changes and socialist revolutions! The parties that could not bring themselves to break with the declining system and reactionary classes shared the latter's inevitable fate and were rejected by the people. On the other hand, unity and cooperation of the forces seeking a democratic renovation of society and striving for socialism, and a real fight against the omnipotence of capital, against reaction, assure fulfilment of the historic role of every current enjoying the support of the working-class and progressive movement. This—common democratic and anti-monopoly objectives and a common resolve to fight for a society of labor and freedom—is the cardinal prerequisite for cooperation between Communists, Social-Democrats and all progressives.

In view of the differentiation going on among the Social-Democrats, in view of the fact that while influential leading groups of them are still closely linked with the capitalist system, a substantial proportion of the membership of the parties concerned, and

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some parties in their entirety, turn to anti-monopoly objectives and, in the most progressive instances, to socialist ones, the seventies offer the Social-Democrats the following two main alternatives:

–continuing the Right-wing leaders' line of safeguarding the interests of monopoly capital and renouncing the struggle for a democratic remaking of society in the interest of the working class and other anti-monopoly forces, which means that Social-Democratic influence will gradually decline and there may be serious losses in the strata now forming the Social-Democrats' social basis;

–or setting out consistently to uphold the workers' interests, take part in the democratic and anti-monopoly movement, safeguard peace against imperialist intrigues, break with anti-communism and make common cause with the Communists and other progressives, which means that the working class will win new power positions and there will come important social and democratic changes.

Of course, social life, being complex and contradictory, does not always lead to results that can be accurately predicted. The future takes shape in the struggle between opposed trends, but a precise formulation of alternatives helps to form a clearer idea of the enormous advantages of united action by all contingents of the working-class movement and all anti-monopoly forces.

No possibility is fatally predetermined. The option will depend on people, the subjects of historical action. Communists are certain that among the millions of Social-Democrats there will be those who can pave the way to a progressive option, to joint struggle for democracy and socialism.

Socialists discuss scientific prevision

The Seventh World Sociological Congress, held in Varna, Bulgaria, attended by more than 3,500 scholars from 80 countries, so far the most representative, was the first to take place in a socialist country. Not least among the attractions that drew this massive attendance was that the main subject centered on the problems of scientific prevision, social prognostication and planning, the interest in which runs high all over the world. Extending a welcome to the delegates, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, pointed out that "the idea of scientific prevision, of forecasting and planning social processes, has been tested in the historical practice of the socialist countries, and it gives us pleasure to note that the idea has become part of world civilization."

The main trends in sociology, expressive of the views of different social strata, movements and political forces, were represented. Though all sociologists were highly active, regardless of the trend or theory they represented, one could not help noticing the growing prestige of Marxist-Leninist sociology. It is generally accepted that progress in sociology depends on its ability to provide solutions to major problems of social life, avoiding such extremes as superficial empirical and schematic abstract approaches. The Congress discussion convincingly showed that Marxist sociology is capable of that, for it organically combines concrete methods of studying social phenomena with Marxism-Leninism as the general theory and methodology of understanding social processes. This was stressed in the papers of Academician A. M. Rumyantsev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "Social Prognostication and Planning in the Soviet Union," Professor Zivko Oshavkov, director of the Institute of Sociology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, "Sociology and Social Prognostication," and Professor Erich Hahn of the GDR, "The Conception of Sociological System and Social Prognostication."

The steadily increasing role of Marxist sociology was evident

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also from the pithy and interesting contributions of many other speakers. They discussed a wide range of problems: the outlook for socialist society and the developing countries, the class struggle in the world arena, social and political relationships, demography, urbanization, social consciousness, law and the state, youth movements, the army's place in society, war and peace, the socio-political consequences of the scientific-technical revolution, mathematical methods and modelling in social prognostication and planning, etc.

The year of the Varna Congress coincided with the centenary of the birth of Lenin, marked by all progressives. The growing interest in Leninism was accentuated at a special session, "Leninism and the Theoretical Problems of Present-Day Social Development." The session examined the Leninist view of sociology and its place among the social sciences, Lenin's ideas on control and prognostication of social development, Leninism and social revolution, and topical points in Lenin's theory of scientific prognostication. General attention centered on the papers of Academician P. N. Fedoseyev (USSR), Professor Guy Besse (France), G. Somerville (USA) and many others.

Indicatively, Lenin's ideas were also highly prominent in the other working and special groups and research committees. Marxist sociologists pointed to the fallacy of "pluralistic Marxism," the thesis that Leninism was "outdated" and needed to be complemented by fashionable bourgeois conceptions. This helped some honest and conscientious scholars from capitalist and developing countries to shake off their distorted ideas about Marxism-Leninism implanted by a certain kind of propaganda. Some of them, especially those of the younger generation, are obviously gravitating towards materialist dialectics, the only method whereby analysis of concrete empirical facts can be combined with profound theoretical propositions.

Discussion of the central theme revealed that bourgeois sociologists have no effective alternative to Marxism-Leninism and the existing socialism. Their futurologist concept is, basically, propaganda of the celebrated "post-industrial society" doctrine.

In the debate, Marxist sociologists showed the fallacy of that doctrine. The main fault of the exponents of the "post-industrial society" idea (U.S. sociologist D. Bell and others), they pointed out, is evasion of the source of the world's troubles—capitalism and monopoly power. They underscored one-sidedly the role of technology, industry and the scientific-technical revolution, but abstracted from the antagonistic capitalist social relations. Making a fetish of science and technology was shown to be wrong; so was the view that science and technology were responsible for the disastrous consequences, really traceable to capitalist rule.

Thoroughly criticized, too, was the concept that newly-liberated peoples had no alternative but to duplicate the development of capitalist industrial countries. Scholars from the developing countries stressed the need for radical social changes on a non-capitalist basis. To back up their conceptions, some of them referred to

Marxist-Leninist postulates. Speakers noted the impact of the socialist world system on the non-capitalist growth of the new states.

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Our correspondent asked sociologists of diverse schools the following questions:

1) What changes do you expect in socio-political relations by the year 2000?

2) How do you think the competition and struggle will develop between the two opposite social systems—socialism and capitalism?

3) Do you think a nuclear world war will be averted and the disarmament problem gradually solved?

Mr. John Weir (Canada):

1) I am convinced that by 2000 the process of the world transition from capitalism to socialism, which began with the Great October Revolution in Russia in 1917, will in the main be completed.

2) I believe that in conditions of peaceful coexistence, which should be substantially established during the 1970's, the main competition between capitalism and socialism will develop in the sphere of social production and the satisfaction of the people's needs and aspirations, with sharp ideological struggle in which socialism will demonstrate its economic, democratic, cultural, scientific and moral superiority.

3) I think that the defeats suffered by the imperialists in their attempts to turn the clock of history back–defeats inflicted by the growing power of the socialist camp, the peoples liberated from and still fighting to liberate themselves from colonialism both old and new, and the struggles of the working people in the capitalist countries–provide grounds for the belief that peaceful coexistence can and will be imposed in the ensuing years with gradual disarmament and the removal of the awful threat of world nuclear war.

How soon and to what extent this will be achieved depends on the united struggle of the peoples, which will be tremendously accelerated when the unity of the socialist states and the international Communist movement is re-established along these lines.

Professor Friedman Samy (France):

1) It is impossible, in strictly scientific terms, to provide a valid forecast due to the state of our knowledge and that of our techniques. In hypothetical terms, however, and taking account of the subjective element, I assume that the future, at least that of Europe and North America, will see a considerable rise in economic and social security, accompanied by less active participation of the masses in political affairs and a more visible cutback of individual freedoms. Africa, Asia and Latin America will achieve economic security, albeit to a minimum degree, but at the price of a curtailment of individual freedoms due to increasingly totalitarian regimes.

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2) Both systems will accentuate rapprochement: capitalism will become more socialist, and vice versa.

3) This is of course possible in theory. In practice, the imperialists will seek to maintain the balance of fear and thus perpetuate their regimes.

Professor Leo P. Chall (USA):

1) I think by the year 2000 we shall think less about socio-political relationships and more about psycho-satisfying relationships.

2) Socialism will come closer to capitalism and capitalism closer to socialism. These two concepts will not have the meaning *we put to them* like phlogiston. We'll have competition but not on a struggle level, but on a level much like we have competition in sport *now*.

3) Without a doubt, certainly. It is possible and desirable.

Professor Nestor Porcell (Chile):

1) My first prediction is the triumph of socialism over capitalism, on a world scale.

I think that the second phenomenon will be the social revolution in Latin America.

The third change that will appear is the organization of socialism by entire continents.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries of today will live in communist society.

The concepts of race and nationality will lose their conservative sense forever.

2) The development of competition between socialism and capitalism will be ideological, but primarily by the images of social welfare that each system presents.

The "dialogue" with its dialectical opposites will open the minds to the reality of socialism as the just and human non-alienate system of life.

3) It is possible to prevent war by organizing the working masses of the world and developing direct communication between peoples.

I think that imperialism is aware of the powerful military forces of socialist countries and that is a guarantee against provocation of a third world war.

* * *

As we see, the scholars represent different standpoints. Sociologists with an objective view of the trends of social growth realize that the future will be socialist. Others represent the convergence theory, which Marxists categorically reject (see O. Neumann's article elsewhere in this issue). Nor can we accept the contention that the progress of developing countries entails loss of individual freedom. It is likewise wrong to reduce the struggle of the two systems to an ideological "dialogue."

However, all replies stress that another world war can be averted.

V.S.

THE ENGELS JUBILEE

The world Communist movement and progressives everywhere recently celebrated the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels. The many national and international functions held on the occasion helped advance theoretical and politico-ideological work in the fraternal parties.

The Soviet Communists, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, pointed out, take pride in the fact that the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin first materialized in practice in their country.

A jubilee session of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CC CPSU, held in Moscow, was addressed by Academician M. V. Keldysh, President of the Academy, who described Engels' works as a fount of revolutionary thought and a model of how the Marxist dialectical method should be applied to social problems, natural science and history; Engels' legacy, he said, is of great methodological importance for modern theory.

Academician B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, devoted his contribution to Engels' role in developing revolutionary theory and the labor movement. The ideas of Marx and Engels, complemented and projected by Lenin, he said, have been the theoretical basis of the Soviet Communists' activity from the day their Party was founded.

To learn, defend and develop –that, briefly, is the approach to theory which Lenin adopted from Marx and Engels and then bequeathed to us, Comrade Ponomaryov said. The main impulse for the conceptualization of the latest practice comes from the world Communist movement. Theory is tested, complemented and corrected in the light of experience. That is the core of the creative nature of Marxism-Leninism, the way the immortal legacy of its founders is put into practice. And in this the CPSU has a highly important and responsible role, for the Party of Lenin is in the van of the battle for the revolutionary reconstruction of the world.

One of the highlights was the

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international academic conference held in Berlin under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, attended by 41 delegations from Communist and Workers' parties and from European, Asian, African and American national-revolutionary parties. The conference was addressed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary, CC SUPG, and Chairman of the GDR State Council. There is no country in the world, he noted, where Engels' name would not be known. Ulbricht stressed the relevance of Engels' legacy in analyzing state-monopoly capitalism and for further socialist construction.

The report of Comrade F. Ebert, Member of the Political Bureau, CC SUPG, "Frederick Engels—One of the Founders of Scientific Socialism," dwelt on the impact of Engels' ideas on the further theoretical elaboration of many of the problems raised by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The rapporteur showed the significance for the GDR Communists of Engels' structural principles of the socialist system. The conditions have ripened, he said, to align the life of society with the inherently socialist productive forces and production relations, thus advancing to a developed socialist social system.

An academic conference of political officers of the People's Army of the GDR, the Soviet Army and the armies of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, was held in Dresden.

In Wuppertal, the town of Engels' birth, the German Communist Party organized an international academic conference, "Frederick Engels and the Present-Day Working-Class Movement," attended by scholars from Belgium, Hungary, Denmark, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, the USSR, the FRG and Czechoslovakia. The main paper, "F. Engels and the Struggle of the GCP," was presented by Comrade Willi Gerns, Member of the Presidium of the GCP. The successors and continuers of Engels' cause in the Federal Republic are the Communists, he said, denying Social-Democratic leaders' claims that the present-day Social-Democrats were the sole guardians of Engels' ideas.

A Frederick Engels Center was opened during the celebrations in Wuppertal, dedicated to the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

Other Communist and Workers' parties, too, sponsored mass functions in tribute to Engels—academic conferences, symposia, jubilee meetings, and the like.

A large selection of books and other publications was issued in many countries on the occasion of the jubilee. Two biographies have been published: *Fridrikh Engels. Biografiya*, L. F. Ilyichev (head of a group of authors), Moscow, Politizdat, 1970, 627 pp., and *Friedrich Engels. Eine Biographie*, H. Gemkow (head of a group of authors), Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1970, 708 S.

E.G.

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

The role of the intelligentsia of the socialist countries in developing the scientific and technological revolution was the subject of an international symposium sponsored by scientific-technical societies of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the USSR. It was held in Slovakia in the closing days of November as part of the Lenin centenary program.

It discussed some of the theoretical and practical problems confronting intellectuals and scientific and technical societies as the technological revolution unfolds.

There was a comprehensive analysis of the trend toward a c l o s e r relationship between workers, engineers and scientists, higher professional standards for workers and the process of new groups of technical intellectuals joining the ranks of the working class. Speakers noted the steadily growing level of consciousness among workers as they master Marxist-Leninist theory. This has increased the social weight and strength of the working class. Scientific and technical societies in the socialist countries should gear their activities to these processes and perspectives, thereby cementing the alliance of science and labor. This entails unremitting active struggle against bourgeois concepts that distort the real processes.

Another strategic aim is to reveal the implications of the scientific and technological revolution, particularly its economic aspects, in order better to prognosticate, plan and regulate scientific and technological progress.

The symposium also examined problems relating to government policy in the technical sphere and the elaboration of appropriate plans to make maximum use of the technological revolution; problems of socialist organization of science, intensification and optimization of scientific and technological research and other social processes; planning and regulating of the technological revolution and employing its results on an international scale.

The discussion showed that scientific and technical societies in the socialist lands have rich opportunities for creative activity and can contribute to the solution of key problems of scientific and technological development. Participants emphasized that it is the direct duty of intellectuals effectively to assist government and Party bodies in prognosticating, planning and regulating scientific and technological progress.

ITALY

The Italian Communist Party published a pamphlet summarizing the Lenin centenary campaign. Its success, the pamphlet says, shows that Lenin's cause, the ideas of the October Revolution, the building of the world's first socialist state, have always been uppermost in the Italian workers' struggle against capitalism and imperialism. It also provides added proof of the Party's strength and of the authority it enjoys among the workers and the people generally.

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The focal event of the centenary campaign was the commemorative meeting of the Party's Central Committee and Central Control Commission attended by secretaries of regional and district organizations, Communist MP's and cultural personalities and by a delegation of the Soviet Communist Party.

Other features of the campaign were photo exhibits, cinema performances, distribution of printed matter. All this gave millions of Italians a closer understanding of Lenin's life and work, the history and achievements of the USSR and the significance of the October Revolution for the worldwide fight for peace and socialism. Leading Party functionaries addressed numerous public meetings and rallies (of which there were about 18,000). A series of theoretical conferences and seminars were devoted to the theoretical heritage of the leader and strategist of the international proletariat. Much credit for this must go to the Gramsci Institute, which sponsored a number of lectures on Leninism.

The Communist press made a valuable contribution to the centenary celebrations. Besides numerous articles in *L'Unita*, *Renascita* and other periodicals, the Party put out 575,000 copies of various pamphlets and other matter and completed publication of the 45-volume Complete Works of Lenin in 225,000 copies.

NEPAL

Lenin's "What Is To Be Done?" has been published in Nepalese for the first time, in 3,000 copies, the third Lenin work to appear in Nepalese in the centenary year.

SOVIET UNION

The Soviet people can record many achievements on the labor front for the 24th CPSU Congress, which by decision of the CC Plenum, held on December 7, will meet on March 30, 1971. Thousands of factories, building sites, collective and state farms, seven of the 15 Union Republics and more than 60 Autonomous Republics, Regions and Territories report pre-schedule fulfilment of the five-year plan. Early fulfilment is reported also by the general machine-building, electronics, and light industries. This year's harvest is an all-time record, both in grain and cotton.

Speaking at Yerevan on the 50th anniversary of Soviet Armenia, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, said: "There is still a month to go to the end of the five-year plan, but it can already safely be said that the Soviet people have successfully attained its main targets. The country has made a big step forward in augmenting its economic potential and developing all aspects of social life."

Expansion in material production has substantially raised living standards. Preliminary figures show that real per-capita income increased about 33 per cent over the five-year period, compared with 19 per cent in the preceding five-year period.

The Soviets, the political foundation of the state, play an important part in economic, social and cultural progress. The Communist Party has worked con-

sistently to heighten their role. This was evidenced by the recent conference of rural Soviet chairmen of the Russian Federation. The report delivered by G. I. Voronov, CC CPSU Political Bureau member and Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and the speech by M. A. Suslov, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, defined the basic tasks of the Soviets in the present stage of communist construction.

The conference revealed that the rural Soviets have many ways, means and opportunities of influencing agricultural output, improving working and living conditions, and raising cultural and educational levels.

Of the 24,400 rural Soviet chairman, 21,500 are members of the Communist Party. The Party has five million members in 173,000 branches in rural areas.

TUNISIA

"What Do the Tunisian Communists Propose?" The Paris *France nouvelle* weekly put the question to Muhammed en-Nafia, First Secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party. The reply was that the Party calls for a policy actively supported by Tunisian progressives and aimed at deep-going economic and social change. This should include restriction of large land holdings and the transfer of land to poor peasants without compensation; building up the public sector in industry and, lastly, barring the way to neo-colonialist penetration by pursuing a consistent foreign policy and drawing on the advantages of assistance from the socialist countries. Accordingly, we Tunisian Communists recommend a non-capitalist path under democratic mass control.

The Tunisian Communists, Muhammed en-Nafia said, insist upon the repeal of the measure that deprived our Party of legality in 1963. Events since the judicial investigation have made it perfectly clear that the measure was unfounded and unjustified.

DIARY

A seminar on the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune was held in Prague.

Organized by *World Marxist Review*, it was attended by Party and research workers from the Communist and Workers' parties of Algeria, Argentina, Bulgaria, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Greece, Honduras, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mongolia, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Soviet Union, Tunisia, United States.

The main paper, "The Paris Commune and Its Influence on the Development of the Labor Movement," was presented by Jacques Duclos, Political Bureau Member of the French Communist Party. There were 19 speakers in the ensuing debate.

The seminar was held in an atmosphere of constructive exchange of views based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. A report of the proceedings will appear in the

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next issue of *World Marxist Review.*

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During a recent visit to *World Marxist Review,* Comrade Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the Peruvian Communist Party, described the situation in Peru and the Communist effort to unite all democratic and anti-imperialist forces. His article on the subject will be found elsewhere in this issue.

Comrade Jorge del Prado commented favorably on the work of the journal, noting that it helps the Peruvian Communists in their practical and theoretical work.

* * *

Another visitor, Comrade Ruben Dario Sousa, General Secretary of the People's Party of Panama, described the fundamental tasks of the Panamanian Communists in organizing a mass anti-imperialist movement and uniting all progressive and democratic forces on a broad basis. This will open wide vistas for the development of the revolutionary process.

An article by Comrade Sousa will be published in one of the coming issues of the journal.

books and journals

Through dim spectacles

"The wisest man who had not the gift of foresight. The more I have seen of Western societies, the more it nags at me. It nags at me in the United States, just as in Western Europe. We are immensely competent; we know our own pattern of operations like the palm of our hands. It is not enough. . . . It would be bitter if, when this storm of history is over, the best epitaph that anyone could write of us was only that: 'The wisest men who had not the gift of foresight'."

C. P. Snow

The appearance of a vast amount of futurological literature in the 1960s came as a surprise, or at least seemed paradoxical, to many people. In 1957 Raymond Aron, regarded by the West as an authority on sociology, declared: "We are too much obsessed by the twentieth century to spend time speculating about the twenty-first. Long-range historical predictions have gone out of fashion." For once, the usually discerning sociologist proved to be lacking in vision. Through an irony of history, interest in long-range predictions, which in late years has increased immensely, is due precisely to "obsession" with the present. The editorial board of this journal noticed this barely perceptible trend in the social sciences ten years ago, long before various futurological associations and commissions came into being. In collaboration with the Marxist Studies Center of the French Communist Party it held a forum at Royaumont on the theme "The Future of Mankind" and thus confirmed the accuracy of Marxist prediction on this particular point as well.

Time was when Fritz Baade, Robert Jungk, George Thompson, Arthur Clarke, Harrison Brown, Fred Polak and other analysts probed into the immediate and distant future at their own risk. By now individual efforts have given way to organized and sustained investigations of the likely long-range trends of social development. A few years ago, the term "futurology" (coined by Professor O. K. Flechtheim of West Berlin to denote the empirical approach to social forecasting) was little known even among experts. Today it is used by almost every educated person and the press. The Commission on the Year 2000 of the American Academy

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of Arts and Sciences; the Hudson Institute Inc.; the Institute for the Future; the RAND Corporation, and the Resources for the Future in the United States, the International Association of Futuribles, the International Long-range Research Center and the 1985 Group in France, the Society for Problems of the Future in West Germany and research institutes for the future in West Berlin, Munich and Tuebingen, West Germany, the Committee on the Next Thirty Years and the working group of Mankind 2000 in Britain, futurological centers in Rome, Tokyo, Vienna, Oslo, Basel and Amersfoort are only some of the major research institutions concerned with social forecasting in the developed capitalist countries.

The futurologists have periodicals of their own, such as the *Futurist, Analyse et prévision* or *2000. Daedalus, Public Interest, Kursbuch* and numerous other socio-political and academic publications devote special issues to social forecasting. Futurology aspires to the role of both a branch of knowledge and a social movement. This was evident, in particular, from the convocation of two international conferences, Oslo 1967 and Kyoto 1970, that led to the founding of the International Association of Futuribles and the opening of the international Futuribles' Club in Paris.

This intense activity was accompanied by the publication of an enormous amount of literature. A reasonably complete list of the titles in question would require special research. However, some of them are plainly intended to produce a political effect and this earns them the attention of experts and laymen alike. Certain of them have been translated into several languages and have won considerable publicity. They include "The Year 2000" by Herman Kahn and Anthony J. Wiener, "The New Industrial State" by John Kenneth Galbraith, "Future Shock" by Alvin Toffler, "Toward the Year 2000," edited by Daniel Bell, "Das 198. Jahrzehnt" (The 198th Decade), edited by Claus Grossner and others, "The World in 1984," edited by Nigel Calder, "Between Two Ages" by Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Age of Discontinuity" by Peter Drucker, "Forecasting and the Social Sciences," edited by Michael Young, "Les 40.000 heures" (The 40,000 Hours) by Jean Fourastié, "Les désillusions du progrès" (The Disillusions of Progress) by Raymond Aron, "The Technological Society" by Jacques Ellul, "The Active Society" by Amitai Etzioni, "The Unprepared Society" by Donald N. Michael and "The Crisis of Industrial Society," by Norman Birnbaum. These books differ greatly in social content and outlook, so that to evaluate them it is essential, first of all, to ascertain the function of social forecasting generally in today's ideological and political battles.

The current spate of forecasts is by no means a passing fashion nor a tribute to idle curiosity. Irrespective of the new words used in the West (*futurology, futuribles, long-range research*, etc.), the mounting effort to visualize the future is undoubtedly due to two real trends of our time. One of them is the fast-growing pace of social development and the other, the people's increasing share in history making. Both trends are a challenge to the ruling classes of capitalist society, who are losing their hold on both world deve-

lopments and social consciousness. These classes expect futurology to help them regain control by predicting the likely course of events and taking advance steps accordingly, and, on the other hand, formulate an alternative to socialism and mesmerize the consciousness of the masses with the idea of a "predestined future." In the former case the aim is to devise a "social technology" and to use scientific and technological achievements to control social processes. In the latter case it is a question of a subtle "intellectual technology" for manipulating people's consciousness and behavior. These are the two sides of the futurological medal. The former is discernible above all in books by Peter Drucker, John Galbraith and Pierre Piganiol and in works edited by Michael Young, Daniel Bell and Nigel Calder, and the latter, in the writings of Herman Kahn and Anthony Wiener, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Raymond Aron and other authors.

Bourgeois futurological concepts are based on the voluntarist principle of "self-justifying prophecy," or, in other words, on the theoretically untenable notion that a forecast, by convincing people of the alleged inevitability of a definite future course of developments, becomes thereby the main reason for its realization. The heavy methodological equipment used in this kind of forecasting is designed to inculcate a particular way of thinking and behavior in people *today* rather than to predict the society of tomorrow on a scientifically sound basis. Like the Wizard of Oz, who had all his subjects wear green spectacles, bourgeois ideologists want gradually to inveigle public opinion into approaching social problems of today from the standpoint of their futurological views. Needless to say, these dim spectacles distort both the present and the future beyond recognition.

As expected, state-monopoly capital did not succeed in monopolizing social forecasting, and futurological research in the West became an ideological battlefield. Many democratic-minded scientists and public leaders set the idea of "emancipating the future" from the monopolistic oligarchy against the latter's attempts to channel developments towards a "predestined future." This tendency shows in "Mankind 2000," especially in A. Waskow's and R. Jungk's articles, and in books by Etzioni, Ferkiss and Birnbaum. As a result, social forecasting has assumed a most contradictory character politically, for the clash of the interests of diverse social strata, projected into the future, tends to become worse rather than to ease.

"To rule means foreseeing." This ancient dictum has never been more correct than now. Forecasting and the advance drafting of solutions for any contingency have become imperative for both government agencies and the big monopolies whose activity and profits are conditioned more and more by the anticipation of new scientific discoveries as well as of economic trends, social conflicts and other factors, and this in many countries, not in one. During the past decade these international corporations have done more than governments or research centres to encourage forecasting. The

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major firms have hundreds of economists, sociologists and demographers working on forecasts. Toffler, the American futurologist, writes that some companies, "once the living embodiment of presentism, today hire intuitive futurists, science-fiction writers and visionaries as consultants." The corporations' watchword is not to miss a single opportunity.

To perform the function they have been assigned to, forecasts must contain more or less reliable knowledge and not idle speculations about the future. Investigations of this nature, exemplified by the writings of Bertrand de Jouvenel, Olaf Helmer and others, pay special attention to the methodology, methods and techniques of forecasting. From this point of view, social forecasting in the West occasionally contains much that is useful, despite its theoretical and methodological deficiences. It is interesting to note that while a number of companies, such as Unilever, have made their forecasts public (see, for example, R. Brech, "Britain 1984," London 1963), most companies prefer to withhold them. This is done, for example, by a major British corporation which recently completed work on a detailed projection of the year 2000. Originally it intended to publish its forecast as proof of its "concern" with the nation's interests, but eventually decided to sacrifice publicity for more tangible benefits. It is by no means the only company which is particularly anxious not to give away its idea of what the twenty-first century will be like, as Andrew Shonfield, the British economist and sociologist, pointed out.

Thus social forecasting has by no means only an ideological function to perform, as some of its critics were inclined to believe at first. It has been allotted a notable share in shaping and implementing practical policies within the various monopolies, throughout the nation and even in the world. The U.S. Commission on the Year 2000 and its counterparts in France, Britain, West Germany and Japan are all investigating the long-term trends and prospects of social development to establish realistic and not imaginary variants of achieving definite economic and social objectives at home and abroad.

The advocates of state-monopoly capitalism and numerous liberal intellectuals are hoping that the technological revolution will enable capitalism to develop without major social upheavals into a "post-industrial society" and that political conflicts between classes will be eliminated through technological improvements. Kahn and Wiener, Brzezinski and the authors of "The World in 1984" see in scientific and technological progress all but a panacea for the social contradictions of an antagonistic society. Of course, these are naive expectations in spite of their optimism. The latent process now going on, the American sociologist Victor Ferkiss writes, is not the advent of a "post-industrial society," overhastily announced by many futurologists. "Industrial society," he writes, "is not so much being transformed into a post-industrial, technological society as it is breaking down—economically, politically and culturally."

The optimism shown by Kahn and Wiener, Brzezinski and other

authors of futurological books is rather affected. In reality bourgeois ideologists are far more alarmed by the social implications of the technological revolution and the outcome of the competition between the two systems than they would like to admit to themselves, let alone to others. This is seen in pessimistic statements, such as was made by Brzezinski, who wrote that his view of America's role in the world was still optimistic and that he said "still" because he was "greatly troubled" by the dilemmas Americans face at home and abroad, and even more by the "social and philosophical implications" of the current trend of change. This concern is still more pronounced in recent comments by Daniel Bell, the greatest American authority on futurology. "How a society can live with such a disjunction is a difficult question for the future," he wrote in an article headed "Unstable America." He wondered whether the gap between cultural and social institutions is not too great to bridge.

The conviction that the capitalist system is historically transitory and that socio-economically it cannot hold its own in face of the technological revolution is gaining ground with public opinion, even among the so-called intellectual elite of the United States. "The Limits of American Capitalism," a book by Robert L. Heilbroner, an influential economist and sociologist with liberal-reformist leanings, is most revealing in this respect. Noting that the social changes effected in the socialist countries have undermined the belief in capitalism as a "natural system," the author stresses that, "in a fundamental sense, communism puts capitalism on trial before the bar of history." Analysis of the insoluble contradictions of capitalism, which the technological revolution is aggravating, and the economic and social effects of this revolution leads him to the following conclusion: "What is certain is only one thing. It is the profound incompatibility between the new idea of the active use of science within society and the idea of capitalism as a social system. . . . In the end capitalism is weighed in the scale of science and found wanting—not alone as a system but as a philosophy." The real problem facing American society is, as he sees it, not to make hopeless attempts at perpetuating capitalism but to find the least painful road to the society that will succeed it.

Only a few years ago such views were regarded in the United States as heretical or un-American. Today they are shared by numerous spokesmen of official science in academic and scientific quarters and find their way even into "respectable" periodicals like *Public Interest*, a mouthpiece of U.S. "Big Science." In a special issue devoted to the prospects of capitalism in the contemporary world, Irving Kristol, the publisher, wrote that the social ideals on which capitalism rests had lost their appeal in the eyes of the public. This system is rejected as a social ideal not only because it has failed to live up to expectations. From now on it is not only real but idealized capitalism that has lost its appeal. Kristol believes that ideologically Big Business is defenseless against public

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charges of neglecting the social problems of today. Even when heads of corporations try to counter these charges by saying they "can perform that mission too," provided they are given time, "there is no good reason," Kristol wrote, "to think they can accomplish this non-capitalist mission; nor is there any reason to believe that they have any proper entitlement even to try." All this is indicative of the growing ideological isolation of Big Business even in the stronghold of modern state-monopoly capitalism.

Lately many democratic-minded scientists, such as Robert Jungk, Arthur Waskow and Fred Polak, have been earnestly trying to formulate a progressive alternative to bourgeois apologist conceptions of man's future. But such an alternative cannot be evolved in the absence of precise ideological positions and a reliable theoretical basis. Today it is only Marxism-Leninism that can provide correct guidelines for the future and indicate realistic ways and means of fighting for genuine social progress.

In the early sixties state-monopoly capitalism chose social forecasting as the battlefield of its ideological and political counter-offensive against both the theory of scientific communism and the most diverse liberal reformist sentiments and social criticism among the public. However, as early as the close of the decade this ambitious action turned into self-defense against growing public discontent with the inherent defects of the antagonistic system. The rapid advance of the scientific and technological revolution in the developed capitalist countries has been accompanied, as Marxists predicted, by a deterioration and not a lessening of economic contradictions, social conflicts and the ideological and political struggle, as well as by a polarization of views on the future.

E. Arab-Oghly

Project MSFN

It was a quiet and fine morning, January 10, 2971.

Xanf was in exuberant spirits. The long years of college were over, he had his diploma, and ahead was an exciting job on other planets. His turn had come to face the commission headed by none other than Aliroz.

"My young friend," said the eminent scholar-explorer, who had led expeditions to the remotest points of the Universe, "your academic record is good, and the machine-analyzers report glowingly on your will-power and psychological attributes. Since you have asked for a tough assignment, we have decided to send you to Project MSFN."

Xanf could not have been more flattered. Not in his wildest dreams had he expected this faith. Outside a handful of the initiated, few people knew anything of the MSFN project. It was the ob-

ject of mystifying, often ludicrously extravagant rumors. Yet no appointment was more complimentary. Only the pick of the pack were chosen for the job.

"You probably know of the Sakura Effect. It brings us close to resolving a formidable problem, that of materializing thought. It is still in the laboratory stage, however, and it will be years before science learns to control it. What you do not know is that for inexplicable reasons a giant burst of materialization during an experiment has turned ancient fantasies into solid reality—not the scientific forecasts, which have long since materialized, but the wildest, often monstrous figments of a primitive perverted brain."

"Does this mean that object MSFN . . ."

"Yes. It is a series of artificially reproduced worlds, deplorably real, which we have named Materialized Sci-Fi Nightmares. Now you know the measure of our problem. We haven't been able to break the secret of de-materialization, and any other way of eliminating the chimera is ethically unacceptable. All we can do is isolate these worlds and prevent their negative influences on civilized communities. Also, with a view to subsequent action, we are making a thorough study of them."

"What is my job going to be?"

"To investigate, scrutinize, search for a remedy, and give us your suggestions. But we'll go into that later."

Aliroz got up from his chair, giving to understand that the interview was over. "Only a few words more, my friend," he said. "We have faith in you, but summon all your courage. You'll need it. You mustn't yield to the influences of your new environment in any circumstances."

"How could you think I would!" Xanf replied heatedly.

"Calm yourself. You will see one day that my warning wasn't superfluous."

A month later, the young astronaut's friends saw him off on his long journey.

Xanf's first letter to Aliroz

My dear friend and mentor, you asked me to write of my impressions. Now that I have come out alive from my first trial I can tell you about it.

A small planet of sci-fi origin, Logan's Run (LR), was picked for my debut. Following orders, I attuned my electronic transformator on the local inhabitants the moment I landed, reproducing in myself all their physiological features. I experienced no substantial changes, save one: a deep-red crystal flower glowed from under the skin of my right palm. I did not trouble my head over it, entered a giant densely-populated city, and began studying the environment.

At first glance, LR seemed a normal world: people went to school, worked, had fun; the technical civilization, including Thinker, a powerful electronic brain, was fairly well developed. But soon I

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was struck by a peculiar feature: there were young people, but I met no one of middle age, let alone elderly or old. What had happened to the older generations? Before I could find the answer, a woman suddenly ran out of an alley closely pursued by a man. Uncombed, in a tattered dress, breathing heavily, she flung herself on my chest. The man, dressed in black, halted a few steps away, a weapon gleaming sinisterly in his hand. Stunned, I tried to calm her: "Don't be afraid. I'll protect you. He'll not dare harm you in broad daylight, with so many people looking on. . . ."

She looked at me as though I were mad. She expected no help. She was simply seeking cover behind me, as behind an inanimate object. Strangely, far from hurrying to our aid, the other people in the street shrank back, forming an empty space around us. On the other side of the street, onlookers gathered to watch the proceedings.

Then the woman pushed me off and ran zig-zagging along the street like an animal fleeing from a hunter. In another instant she would have turned a corner, but the man in black was quick. I heard a muffled report and saw a blinding explosion. A handful of ashes was all that remained of the woman. Coolly, the man put away his annihilator, which, I later learned, is locally known as a blaster. The crowd dispersed.

In the days that followed I was an unwilling witness of many similar scenes. But I mustn't tire you with the details, dear Aliroz, so I'll try to tell you briefly of the order on Logan's Run. The planet owes its origin to the imagination of William Noland and George Johnson*, who had predicted a disastrous food shortage at the end of the 20th century as the consequence of the population explosion. The United States government tried compulsory birth control. The youth, however, took this as a direct infringement of their rights, and rebelled. The majority of the armed forces were under the age of 21, and defected to the rebels. Senators and Congressmen were hanged from lamp posts and the angry young men seized control of the country.

Then a young prophet, Chaney Moon, suggested destroying everybody over 21. His proposal found solid support and by 2072 the elder generation was exterminated. Moon, too, fell victim to his own idea on reaching the fatal age. The methods of liquidating the "surplus" population have been perfected. Every infant gets a crystal flower grafted into its palm at birth, showing blue, yellow and then, at 14 (adulthood, according to local custom) red. The colors are controlled by the electronic brain. On the 21st birthday the crystal turns black, and the wretch is supposed to report for voluntary acceptance of death. Naturally, there are reluctant individuals who try to escape. They are pursued and destroyed by agents of the annihilation service, like the unfortunate woman.

By the time I learned all this, I was 21 and the crystal flower

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*W. Nolan, G. Johnson, *Logan's Run, A Utopian Nightmare of Tomorrow's World*, London, 1967.

in my palm glowed black. Fleeing the men of the blasters, I came to ice caves where a few survivors aged over 21 had found sanctuary. Only the strongest survived, for the only means of survival was cannibalism. Then I fell into the hands of a roving band of 15-year-olds, buying my freedom and life with a chunk of my own flesh. What with all the experiences I had on Logan's Run, I still can't believe I managed to escape.

It has occurred to me that we could use the time machine to send someone back to the twentieth century and blaster the originators of Logan's Run before they wrote their book.

The second letter

Hello, Aliroz. I was almost certain my idea was impracticable. That was why I did not put it down in my official report. Our rules, I know, won't let us amend the past so as to avoid unexpected consequences in the present, though in my heart of hearts I hoped an exception could tolerably be made. However, what can't be–can't be.

Now about my next object–The Tower at the Edge of Time. On arriving there I tuned in my electronic transformer again and found to my horror that nearly all my clothes vanished. I was left in a loincloth and a leather harness of belted straps. At first I feared we had miscalculated and I had been dropped somewhere in the primaeval past. But looking round, I was reassured. There was no mistake: the giant spaceships touching down on the little planet were technical wonders even by our standards, and the strapping young men emerging from them were dressed as I. I struck an acquaintance with one of them, by name of Thane.

He was extraordinary: his body was that of a gladiator, his hair the flaming red of bronze; he was an accomplished boxer and, moreover, conversant with telepathy and the occult arts. He was well-mannered, even gallant in his way (with the ladies) and professionally a space corsair who had led wild hordes to ravage and loot rich planet ports, like once the famous Captain Flint in the Atlantic.

Banding with him I quickly found myself in the center of events and able to get my bearings. In this world, created by the imagination of Lin Carter,* a strange mixture of slavery and feudalism prevails. The political system is of two basic forms: despotism and theocracy. Technically, it has the spaceships I have already mentioned, and the electric whip, a thoroughly efficient brain smasher. Nothing more remains from the gods that once visited the planet.

Thane and I went to an inn and ordered wine. Some bravo–an agent of the local Prince Chan, as we learned–picked a fight with us, but my companion's laser pistol and a few of his uppercuts disposed of him.

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*Lin Carter, "Tower at the Edge of Time," New York, 1968.

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Chan retaliated by setting loose a pack of warriors and then sent a temptress of seductive beauty to deal with us. When this failed, he made a deal with Shastar, the pirate. Both of them wanted Thane, for he knew the secret of time, beyond which lay a fabulous treasure. By a subterfuge, the conspirators captured him for a time, but Shastar relented, for he was ashamed to go against his fellow-pirate in league with the arrogant and vile aristocrat. . . .

Forgive me for breaking off, Aliroz. I must stop Chan, who is sneaking up behind my friend with a knife between his teeth.

The third letter

Greetings, old man. I gather from your letter that you can't wait for the end of the story. You have probably guessed that I expected to gain possession of Thane's treasure to finance the alteration of MSFN. But my plans have burst. I found no treasure beyond the Edge of Time.

You disapprove of my crude language, but in the kind of work I'm doing I have no time for linguistic niceties. When with the wolves, you run with them. I wonder how you'd behave in my place.

This is my third month on object Sexmax. Remember LR? Well, Sexmax is something like it, the sole difference being that on Logan's Run the tyranny was of the youth, and here it is of the women. Hughes Cooper,* the originator of this lunatic world, maintains that the female sex took advantage of their numerical superiority to win a majority in U.S. Congress and establish sex hegemony. The male has been reduced to something akin to a work horse, or to an instrument of women's pleasure, and has been stripped of all human rights.

No sooner had I adapted myself to the local conditions when I was summoned before a seven-woman commission, which subjected me to a humiliating physiological examination: they felt my biceps, inspected my teeth (to see how white and strong they were), ordered me to jump, etc. Then they estimated my mental powers, and then, to add insult to injury, put down a medium grading. To top this, I was turned over to a Femautomat, which concluded disgustingly that I was lacking in sex-appeal.

To cut a long story short, I am now of the lowest caste, doomed to lifelong slavery in the mines. Health services are lacking, the food is meagre, all things stringently regulated and watched over by women warders. Our social bracket is not even entitled to an old-age pension. Our only entertainment is provided monthly by generous "hostesses," the counterparts of the pre-historic army harlots.

Hypocritically, this is meant to honor the Sexmax creed, to wit: "Every citizen, regardless of age status or other distinguishing characteristics, has a natural right to a full sex life." But

*Hughes Cooper, "Sexmax," London, 1969.

what fullness is there if the selection of men for women wishing to marry is done by computers?

I have toyed with many ideas–expanding education of women, or inciting an insurrection of the males—to alter this crazy world. Or perhaps it would be a good idea to fuse Sexmax and LR. I wonder who would take the upper hand. . . .

The fourth letter

Before I begin, I want to tell you that I am fed up with your petty reproaches. I need no lectures any more. And this is the last time I am writing to you.

I am on the planet Emm Luther, the figment of Bob Shaw.* Its relations with the metropolis, the Earth, are badly strained and the prospect of a space war looms big. The Earthmen are sending spies over, but the highly efficient local counter-intelligence keeps tracking them down. The wretches are caught, blinded and put in a concentration camp. It is practically impossible to escape: the camp is surrounded by miles and miles of swamp inhabited by electro-lizards. To make assurance doubly sure, robot rifles firing heat-seeking missiles are so scattered as to make escape practically impossible. And you have probably guessed by now, Aliroz, that I, Xanf, associate of Project MSFN, identified as an Earth agent by my smell the moment I set foot on Emm Luther, have been blinded and flung into the concentration camp. True, they did not take me easily, for I have learned a thing or two in the other MSFN worlds, especially from my association with Thane. I killed several dozen of the local counter-intelligence, stole a few top secrets about their anti-matter research, and seduced a pretty wench related to the local ruler. You will say I have overstepped my powers. But I don't care. The time is ripe for action. I have a plan. My mistress will help me escape. I shall capture power here, then conquer all the other worlds. That is what I, Xanf, future ruler of the Universe, say to you! . . .

* * *

"The poor devil has lost his mind," said Aliroz, putting the letter aside. "We have lost one more fine operative. I wish I could lay my hands on those sci-fi writers!"

The members of the Council exchanged surreptitious glances. They had never thought the great explorer and humanist was capable of losing his temper.

It remains for me to assure the reader that these nightmarish samples of science fiction were not tendentiously selected. In a Charing Cross bookshop in London this kind of fare is offered in

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*Bob Shaw, "Night Walk," London, 1970.

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abundance, and we took whatever came to hand (it so happened that the assortment dated to 1967, 1968, 1969 and 1970). For that matter, it could just as well have been New York, Tokyo or Hamburg. . . . The same paperback trash is offered in the thousands throughout the capitalist world.

It was not hard to perceive that this literary garbage is made according to one and the same prescription: a pinch of pseudo-scientific idiom, another pinch of sex, more of horror, with a space-suit hero of propensities matching those of Tarzan or James Bond. Cashing in unscrupulously on the public interest in the future, science fiction has become big business. What is more, it performs a social function: distracting people from the anxieties of today (an ersatz for drugs) and breeding dread of the morrow. In effect, it is an attempt to spiritually poison the present-day Xanf.

It stands to reason that the world of the future is not imperilled by any materialization of the lunatic ideas contained in these paperbacks, but the harm they do is self-evident all the same.

G. Shakh

Jean Barets' three keys

Did Napoleon really exist? The question was asked—and answered in the negative—way back in 1827 by Professor Pérès of Lyons. M. Pérès, a mathematician, adduced "proof" to show that Napoleon Bonaparte was no more than a figment of the mass hypnosis that swept the world in the early 19th century. The professorial opus remains a classical example of how pseudo-scientific verbiage can be used to create a semblance of scientific hypothesis.

But it seems he has his emulators. For there have been "learned treatises" to show that Marxism does not exist and cannot exist in future. The methods used are similar to those of the Lyons professor.

We have had occasion to comment on the works of two other French professors, Raymond Ruyer and Jacques Ellul, who set out to "refute" the existence of Marxism (see *World Marxist Review* No. 2 and 7, 1970). A more recent example is a book by Jean Barets, *La Poltique en révolution*. The author, leader of the Technology and Democracy movement, does not refute Marxism. In fact, he admits that it did exist in the past, but the road into the socialist future will by-pass Marxism. Cleansed of its pseudo-scientific encumberment, his theory can be reduced to the following.

Modern society is like a gigantic civilized ant heap built entirely on the cold logic of economic laws. True, it more or less fully satisfies the material requirements of its members, but shows scant concern for their psychological requirements. In short, capitalism is presented as a kind of self-programmed charity machine. M.

Barets goes on to argue that there are practically no groups in the world today prepared to revolt for economic reasons. All the revolts, he says, are for "psychological reasons" and cites the rebellious students in France, Japan and the United States. They are up in arms because politics ("the art of manipulating human beings in society") has made a fetish of economics, in total disregard of man's spiritual needs. This universal resentment can be stopped and a road into the future–into the "socialism of the era of cybernetics and biological revolution"–can be hewed by injecting psychology into politics.

Not very lucid, to be sure, but M. Barets explains how it will work. History, he says, is a row of three rooms. The first is occupied by the pre-industrial society that lives by the laws of production, and "to enter this room one needs only the key of Marxism." The second room is the industrial society, and here one needs a double key: an analysis of the contradictory economic management system, and an analysis of the contradictory political conceptions that underlie it. The third room is the post-industrial society of the future, and here the key is analysis of the human psychology, inasmuch as "liberation of human instincts" is the very basis of this new society.

This needs explanation, too. The first-room theory has a definite purpose: since Marxism cannot be refuted, the next best thing is to admit its existence in the past. M. Barets modestly compares himself to Einstein: he includes Marxism in his scheme of things just as Einstein included Newtonian mechanics in his theory of relativity. . . .

The second room is needed to instil the idea that Marxism is applicable only to underdeveloped societies and has no place in developed industrial societies, in which production relations need not be taken into account. There is no such thing, M. Barets intimates, as economic exploitation under capitalism–there is only the "residue of economic coercion" resulting from faulty industrial management. Given a rational management system, and it can be devised by young, energetic graphocrats (the bureaucrat turned writer!), mankind will shed all the remnants of economic coercion.

Psychological coercion, however, is quite another matter. It can be removed only by applying M. Barets' theory of intelligent management based on the experience of primitive tribes with their clear division of power between the tribal chief and the witch doctor. The chief embodies secular power, management of all the tribe's practical affairs. The witch doctor wields religious power and looks after the people's subjective, psychological needs. In short, the chief is, so to say, the rational factor and the witch doctor the irrational. And M. Barets believes it is quite rational, for human nature is a combination of the angel and the beast and social history is a record of the continuous struggle between them. Also this bit of wisdom: politics is like a pendulum, swinging back and forth from the rational to the irrational. Right now it is in the irrational phase; accordingly society should shift from economic

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to psychological policy. That is the only way to enter the third room, in which man breaks with economic rationalism and is guided solely by his instincts.

And so, the art of managing human affairs plus psychology will lead mankind to the grand vistas of the "socialism" conceived by M. Barets. And it will all be done through pure thought, without class struggle or a scientific ideology, in fact in defiance of that ideology. But M. Barets does not realize that a policy based on pure thought and unconnected with revolutionary practice is sheer delusion. To all practical purposes, the Barets theory is but a reflection of the capitalist production relations he has so lightheartedly "abolished."

Books in brief

Prognozirovanie kapitalisticheskoi ekonomiky. Problemy metodologii (Capitalist Economic Forecasting: Methodological Problems). Moscow, Mysl, 1970. 448 pp.

This collective monograph by economists of several institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences deals with the methodology, analytical system and techniques of forecasting capitalist production, the national economy and foreign economic relations and the distinctive characteristics of short-, medium- and long-term forecasting.

The reader is given an idea of forecasting systems used by bourgeois economists to investigate the trends of capitalist development in the U.S., Britain, France and Japan. These systems are used by private employers as a means of countering competition, but above all by the bourgeois state–as a means of active intervention in the process of capitalist reproduction and economic regulation in favor of the capitalist class, primarily the biggest monopolies. Despite their class limitations and apologist nature, some models of economic forecasting common in the capitalist countries have certain general methodological merits, as the authors point out.

W. Dorf

B. M. RAYMUNDO, *Argentina 2000: Una Nacion Semidesierta?* (Argentina 2000: A Semi-desert Country?). Buenos Aires, Orbelus, 1969. 204 pp.

This book is concerned with the problems of a country with a low population growth rate which, moreover, tends to decline. The author believes that by the end of this century Argentina may find itself among the most sparsely populated countries, which would be a further handicap to its economic development. In revealing the interdependence of demographic problems and socio-economic structure, he shows up the disastrous role of the prevailing

latifundium system. The concentration of land in the hands of the oligarchy closely linked with foreign monopolies prevents the cultivation of vast tracts of unused land and the application of intensive farming methods, and leads to still greater urbanization and greater pauperization of the towns.

The book is a forceful rebuttal of neo-Malthusian concepts. It proves that today people starve not because there is no food but because they cannot come by it. Hence the task is, first and foremost, to "remove the main obstacles to the implementation of a sound demographic policy–the power of the landed oligarchy and the influence of its ally, monopoly imperialism." If carried out, this program would help in solving acute social problems and, as a result, in greatly increasing food production and exports to countries that are short of foodstuffs.

V. Gonzalez

C. CLARK, *Starvation or Plenty?* London, Secker & Warburg, 1970, 180 pp.

The author, a British bourgeois economist, shows that today's world has the material means of solving its food problem. With the present standard of farming, the cultivable land area could feed 35,100 million people, or ten times as many as inhabit the globe at present. Some countries are already wrestling with the problem of farm produce surpluses and the governments of a number of developed capitalist countries, such as the United States, resort to government control of food production.

The author joins issue with the neo-Malthusian contention that the population explosion is pushing mankind to the brink of starvation. He considers that scientific progress makes it possible to produce foodstuffs on an unlimited scale. The author rightly stresses the role of science but fully ignores the social cause of starvation. To his thinking, the problem of starvation in today's world can be settled by merely redistributing agricultural output. Yet it is obvious that this plan cannot be carried out within the bounds of capitalist relations.

In spite of its biased approach to a burning issue, the book has this to recommend it that it contains ample factual evidence and an analysis of scientific and technological methods of increasing food production and that it rejects reactionary bourgeois concepts.

D. Gibbs

R. ARNFIELD (Editor). *Technological Forecasting.* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1969. 417 pp.

This is a collection of papers read by futurologists at the first European conference devoted to the problem (Glasgow 1968). The book devotes much attention to forecasting methods and techniques. It examines various forms of extrapolation and the scenario, inductive, "fantasy" and other methods of projecting the future. Many of the contributors searched for ways and

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means of influencing scientific and technological progress within the framework of capitalism, but some of them had to admit that capitalism does not allow adequate scope for this. They believe that more rapid technological progress requires, in particular, more extensive forecasting, since the two interplay. This made forecasting a most powerful intellectual medium capable of influencing future phenomena and developments. The book gives warning that mankind may ruin its future in the same way as it has ruined its natural environment.

New books

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication.)

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