MODERN IMPERIALISM

An Economic and Statistical Survey

AITUC PUBLICATION

Price: 75 paise

Printed by

H. B. Ghanekar, New Age Printing Press, 85, Sayani Road, Bombay-25. Published by

S. A. Dange, All-India Trade Union Congress, 24, Canning Lane, New Delhi-1.

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This survey was compiled by the staff researchers of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of World Economy and International relations and Institute of the International Workers' movement.

It was published in the Journal "Peace, Freedom and Socialism".

It is being issued by us as reference and information material on the occasion of the Asian Seminar of Trade Unions (1971) convened in India by the All-India Trade Union Congress (WFTU Affiliate).

-AITUC

INTRODUCTION

THE DATUM CONTAINED IN THIS SURVEY is illustrative of the essence and development of capitalism and imperialism, disclosed by Marx, Engels and Lenin and in documents of the international communist and workers' movement, particularly those of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which comprehensively analysed world development and made a valuable contribution to the further elaboration of Lenin's theory of imperialism.

To understand the objective position, Lenin wrote in his Imperialism, the Highst Stage of Capitalism,

"one must not take examples or isolated data (in view of the extreme complexity of the phenomena of social life it is always possible to select any number of examples or separate data to prove any proposition) but all the data on the basis of economic life in...the whole world" (Coll. Works, Vol. 22, p. 190).

The compilers of this survey were guided by that methodological principle.

Needless to say, it has not been their purpose to provide an exhaustive analysis of present-day capitalism in all its multiformity. Besides, not all new phenomena and processes can be expressed in statistics. This survey, therefore, deals only with some main laws of imperialist development. It is based on data issued by the UN and its specialised agencies and on official statistics of a number of capitalist countries.

I

CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL

"The enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid concentration of production in ever larger enterprises are one of the most characteristic features of capitalism".

Lenin (Vol. 22, p. 196)

Post-war production and capital concentration and centralisation was especially marked in the fifties and sixties. Higher monopoly profits, notably in boom periods, accelerated the process of mergers and take-overs. Production diversification facilitated concentration of capital in monopoly concerns and the emergence of conglomerates. Accelerated monopoly accumulation of capital and its centralisation result in the lion's share of national wealth, national income and industrial output being concentrated in a small group of giant monopolies.

USA

| | No. of | merge | rs | |
|-----------|--------|-------|----|-----------|
| 1950-1954 | | | | 1,424 |
| 1955-1959 | | | ٠. | 3,365 |
| 1960-1964 | | | | 4,366 |
| 1965-1969 | | | | 14,453 |
| | F | RG | | |
| | No. of | merge | rs | |
| 1958 | | | | 15 |
| 1963 | | | | 29 |
| 1965 | | | | 50 |
| 1969 | | | | 168 |
| | FRA | NCE | : | |
| | No. of | merge | rs | |
| 1956 | | | | 893 |
| 1960 | | • • • | | 1,088 |
| 1966 | | | | 1,959 |
| 1967 | | | | 1,752 |

West German figures refer to especially big mergers.

In Japan there were 11,846 mergers of private companies in 1951-69. In Britain, mergers averaged 292 a year in 1954-58, and 794 in 1960-69. In Italy, 176 major firms were merged in 1961-67. The biggest single merger was of the Italian Pirelli and the British Dunlop firms, which controlled, respectively, 12 and 18 per cent of the West-European tyre market. In annual sales (1,400 billion lira) the new giant is second only to the US Goodyear (2,000 billion lira) and Firestone (1,450 billion lira) firms.

There have been takeovers in practically all branches of Belgian industry. In 1968, Union Minieres moved to take over control of country's non-ferrous metals industry by buying up Vielle Montagne, Asturienne des Mines and Overpelt-Lommel. In March 1969 the country's two major steel concerns, Cockerill-Ougree-Providence and Esperance-Longdoz, merged to form one of Western Europe's biggest steel combines, producing approximately 6 million tons a year and with an annual turnover of 30 billion Belgian francs.

USA Monopolisation (1966)

| Industry | | | Sal | es | Employment | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|-----|----------------|----------|------------|----------|--|
| andustry | | | \$ mln. | per cent | 000's | per cent | |
| Automobile—Total | | | 45,630 | 100.0 | 1,650 | 100.0 | |
| General Motors | | | 20,209 | 44.3 | 745.4 | 44.2 | |
| Ford Motor | | | 12,240 | 26.8 | 388.0 | 23.5 | |
| Chrysler | • • | • • | 5,650 | 12.4 | 183.2 | 11.1 | |
| Total, 3 companies | | • • | 38,099 | 83.5 | 1,316.6 | 79.8 | |
| Oil—Total | | | 45,501 | 100.0 | 464.0 | 100.0 | |
| Standard Oil (New J | ersey) | | 12,191 | 26.8 | 149.0 | 32.1 | |
| Mobil Oil | | | 5 ,2 54 | 11.5 | 80.9 | 17.4 | |
| Texaco | • • | • • | 4,427 | 9.7 | 79.3 | 17.1 | |
| Total, 3 companies | | | 21,872 | 48.0 | 309.2 | 66.6 | |
| Iron and Steel-Total | | | 21,193 | 100.0 | 1,350.7 | 100.0 | |
| United States Steel | | | 4,355 | 20.5 | 205.5 | 15.2 | |
| Bethlehem Steel | | | 2,669 | 12.6 | 133.3 | 9.8 | |
| Republic Steel | | | 1,360 | 6.4 | 53.4 | 4.0 | |
| Total, 3 companies | | • • | 8,384 | 39.5 | 391.9 | 29.0 | |
| Electronics—Total | | | 39,850 | 100.0 | 1,908.8 | 100.0 | |
| General Electric | | | 7,177 | 18.0 | 350.0 | 18.3 | |
| International Business | Machi | nes | 4,248 | 10.7 | 198.2 | 10.4 | |
| Western Electric | | | 3,624 | 9.1 | 158.4 | 8.8 | |
| Total, 3 companies | | | 15,049 | 37.8 | 716.6 | 37.5 | |
| Chemicals—Total | | | 38,636 | 100.0 | 961.4 | 100.0 | |
| Dupont de Nemours | | | 3,185 | 8.2 | 115.2 | 12.0 | |
| Procter and Gamble | | | 2,243 | 5.8 | 39.5 | 4. | |
| Union Carbide | | | 2,224 | 5.8 | 65.4 | 6.9 | |
| Total, 3 companies | | | 7,652 | 19.8 | 220.1 | 22.9 | |
| Aircraft and Missiles- | -Total | | 21,179 | 100.0 | 750.5 | 100. | |
| Boeing | | | 2,357 | 11.1 | 128.5 | 17. | |
| Lockheed Aircraft | | | 2,085 | 9.9 | 98.4 | 12. | |
| North American Avi | ation ¹ | :. | 2,024 | 9.6 | 92.2 | 12. | |
| Total, 3 companies | | | 6,466 | 30.6 | 311.1 | 41. | |

¹ Now North American Rockwell

FRG
Monopoly in Ferrous Metals (1968)

| Company or or | | | Steel | Output | Workers | employed | |
|------------------|----------|----|-----------|---------|---------|----------|--|
| Company or gr | oup | | mln. tons | % share | 000's | % share | |
| August Thyssen- | Hutte | | 11.5 | 27.9 | 76 | 23.6 | |
| Hoesch | | | 6.9 | 16.8 | 52 | 16.1 | |
| Fried. Krupp | | | 4.0 | 9.7 | 28 | 8.7 | |
| Ilseder Hutte-Sa | lzgitter | | 3.2 | 7.8 | 17 | 5.3 | |
| Klockner | | | 3.1 | 7.5 | 20 | 6.2 | |
| Mannesmann | | | 3.0 | 7.3 | 15 | 4.7 | |
| Rheinstahl | | | 1.2 | 2.9 | 27 | 8.4 | |
| Total | | •• | 32.0 | 79.9 | 235 | 73.0 | |
| Industry total | | | 41.2 | 100 | 322 | 100 | |

FRGMonopoly in Chemicals (1969)

| C | | | Sales | Workers Employed | | | |
|----------------------|------------|-----|------------|------------------|-------|---------|--|
| Company or gro | oup . | | mln. marks | % share | 000's | % share | |
| Farbwerke Hoechs | st | | 8,293 | 17.5 | 98 | 17.30 | |
| Badische Anilin & | Sodafabril | ٠,. | 8,261 | 17.4 | 95. | . 16.75 | |
| Farbenfabriken Bayer | | | 7,829 | 16.5 | 95 | 16.75 | |
| Total | | | 24,383 | 51.4 | 288 | 50.80 | |
| Industry total | | | 47,359 | 100 | 567 | 100 | |

FRGMonopoly in Automobile Industry (1969)

| Company on any | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|--|--|-----|-------|---|--|--|
| Company or group | | | | | | % share | | |
| | | | | | 1,904 | 52.8 | | |
| | | | | | 801 | 22.2 | | |
| | | | | | 397 | 11.0 | | |
| | | | | | 302 | 8.4 | | |
| Werke | (BMW) | | | • • | 140 | 3.9 | | |
| | | | | | 3,544 | 98.3 | | |
| | | | | | 3,605 | 100 | | |
| | Werke | | | | | 000's 1,904 801 397 302 Werke (BMW) 140 3,544 | | |

BRITAIN

Monopolisation of Production (1968)

| | le | No. of ading npan | g | % share |
|--------------------|------|-------------------------|---|------------------------|
| * * * | | | 1 | |
| Electricity | • • | 1 | Electricity Council and Electricity Boards in England and Wales abt. | |
| Coal | | 1 | National Coal Board ¹ | 100 |
| Steel | | 1 | British Steel ¹ Corporation | 91 |
| Portland cement | | 1 | Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers | 60 |
| Locomotives | | 1) | | 90 |
| Turbogenerators | | 1 | General Electric and English Electric | 50 |
| Military electroni | ics | 1 | • | 50 |
| Industrial electro | nics | 1 | | 50 |
| Control equipmen | ıt | 1 | Plessey Numerical Controls | 73 ² |
| Computers | | 1 | International Computers and Tabulators | 40 |
| Domestic applian | ces | 2 | Hoover, British Domestic Appliances | 66 ³ |
| Machine tools | | 5 | Alfred Herbert, Staveley Industries, Elliot John Brown, George Cohen 600 Group | , 60 ³ |
| Tractors | | 2 | Massey Ferguson, Ford | . 80 ⁴ |
| Passenger cars | | 4 | British Leyland, Ford, Vauxhall, Rootes | . 902 |
| Chemical fertilise | ers | 3 | Fisons, Imperial Chemical Industries, Shel Chemicals | i . 75 ³ |
| Synthetic rubber | | 1 | International Synthetic Rubber | . 60 |
| Chemical fibres | | 1 | Courtaulds | . 75 |
| Synthetic fibres | | 1 | Imperial Chemical Industries | 7.5 |

¹ State-owned

² 1969

^{3 1967}

^{4 1966}

FRANCE

Monopolisation of Production (1968)

| | co | No. o mpan r grou | iies | hare |
|-----------------|---------|-------------------------|--|------------|
| Oil products | •• | 4 | Companie francaise des Petroles, Companie francaise de raffinage, Shell Francaise, Erap-Elf abt. | 80 |
| Steel | | 2 | | 80 70 |
| Special steels | | 1 | | 7 5 |
| Aluminium | | 1 | | 80 |
| Motor vehicles | (all) | 4 | Renault-Saviem, Citroen, Peugeot, Simca 1 | 00 |
| Tractors | | 1 | | 26 |
| Locomotives (el | lectric | | | |
| and diesel) | | 1 | Alsthom | 53 |
| Refrigerators | | 1 | Thomson-Brandt-Claret | 80 |
| Washing mach | ines | 1 | Thomson-Brandt-Claret | 60 |
| TV sets | | 2 | Thomson-Brandt, Radiotechnique | 50 |
| Sulphuric acid | | 1 | Ugine-Kuhlmann | 28 |
| Fertilisers | | 2 | Pechiney-Saint-Gobain, Ugine-Kuhlmann | 40 |
| Glass | | 2 | Saint-Gobain, Boussois-Souchon-Neuvesel | 00 |
| Cement | | 1 | Lafarge | 42 |
| Synthetic Fibre | s | 1 | Rhone-Poulenc | 87 |
| | | | | |

JAPAN Monopolisation of Production (1967)

| | | | N | No. of C | ompanies | |
|--------------------|-----|---------|--------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| | | | 1 | 3 | 5 | 10 |
| | | | Per | centage | share of | output |
| Pig iron | | | 22.4 | 60.5 | 86.2 | 99.2 |
| Steel | | • • | 18.5 | 47.8 | 70.9 | 83.2 |
| Copper | | | 25.4 | 63.4 | 89.7 | 97.6^{2} |
| Aluminium (rolled | l) | | 23.1 | 48.8 | 70.0 | 84.8^{2} |
| Motor vehicles | | | 28.0 | 63.1 | 79.2 | 98.8 |
| Small passenger ca | ars | | 36.4 | 73.9 | 97.9 | 100.0^{1} |
| Locomotives | | | 30.7 | 63.6 | 83.9 | 99.8 |
| R.R. rolling stock | | | 15.3 | 43.9 | 67.6 | 100.0 |
| Vessels | | | 21.5 | 53.1 | 73.0 | 90.6 |
| Computers | | | 33.0 | 80.6 | 96.6 | 100.0^{1} |
| Electricity | | | 2 9.4 | 64.1 | 82.4 | 100.0^{3} |
| Cement | | | 15.1 | 43.1 | 58.9 | 79.9 |
| Oil products | | | 17.7 | 43.5 | 60.1 | 89.1 |
| Rocket fuel | | | 35.5 | 53.1 | 68.1 | 88.5 |

^{1 6} companies 2 7 companies 3 9 companies

| | | Country | à | Indust | ry | | | Total Assets (\$ mln.) | Sales (\$ mln.) | Employees (000's) |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|----------|--------|-------|----|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. | Standard Oil (New Jersey) | USA | Oil | | | | | 17,538.0 | 14,930.0 | 145.0 |
| 2. | Royal Dutch Shell | Holland Britain | Oil products chemicals | , gas, | | •• | •• | 15,409.4 | 9,738.4 | 173.0 |
| 3. | General Motors | USA | Auto | | •• | | | 14,820.1 | 24,295.1 | 793.9 |
| 4. | Texaco | USA | Oil | • • • | | •• | | 9,281.6 | 5,867.9 | 72.6 |
| 5. | Ford Motor | USA | Auto | | | | | 9,199.3 | 14,755.6 | 436.4 |
| 6. | Gulf Oil | USA | Oil | | | | | 8,104.8 | 4,953.3 | 60.0 |
| 7. | International Business Machines | USA | Computers | | | • • | | 7,389.9 | 7,197.3 | 258.6 |
| 8. | Mobil Oil | USA | Oil | | | | | 7,163.0 | 6,621.4 | 76.0 |
| 9. | General Telephone and Electronics | USA | Radiotechnica | al | | | | 6,909.8 | 3,262.0 | 170.0 |
| 10. | US Steel | USA | Steel | | | • • | | 6,560.2 | 4,754.1 | 204.7 |
| 11. | Standard Oil of California | USA | Oil | | | •• | | 6,145.9 | 3,825.0 | 46.6 |
| 12. | General Electric | USA | Electrical eq | uipment, | electr | onics | | 6,007.5 | 8,447.9 | 400.0 |
| 13. | British Petroleum | Britain | Oil products, | chemica | ls | | | 5,875.0 | 3,424.1 | 68.0 |
| 14. | International Telephone & Telegraph | USA | Communicati | ons | | | | 5,192.6 | 5,474.7 | 353.0 |
| 15. | Standard Oil of Indiana | USA | Oil | | | | | 5,150.7 | 3,469.1 | 48.2 |
| 16. | Chrysler | USA | Auto | | | | | 4,688.2 | 7,052.2 | 234.9 |
| 17. | Imperial Chemical Industries | Britain | Chemicals | | | | | 4,676.2 | 3,252.2 | 192.0 |
| 18. | Montecatini Edison | Italy | Chemicals, to | xtiles | | | | 4,592.0 | 2,483.2 | 145.0 |

12

| | | Country | Industry | | | Total Assets (\$ mln.) | Sales (\$ mln.) | Employees (000's) |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 19. | Shell Oil | USA | Oil | | | 4,356.2 | 3,573.1 | 39.0 |
| 20. | ENI | Italy | Oil products, chemicals, | textiles | | 4,330.1 | 1,616.8 | 62.7 |
| 21. | Philips | Holland | Electronics, electrical equ | uipment | | 4,211.6 | 3,597.6 | 339.0 |
| 22. | Tenneco | USA | Chemicals | | • • | 4,054.1 | 2,4 50.6 | 62.0 |
| 23. | Unilever | Britain | | | | | | |
| | | Holland | Food, detergents | | | 3,625.9 | 6,030.0 | 326.6 |
| 24. | Dupont de Nemours | USA | Chemicals | | | 3,452.8 | 3,655.3 | 118.1 |
| 2 5. | Mitsubishi Heavy Industries | Japan | Machines, autos, aircraf | ft | | 3,427.3 | 2,110.6 | 93.1 |
| 2 6. | Hitachi | Japan | Electrical equipment, ap | pliances, | machinery | 3,358.2 | 2,857.8 | 166.5 |
| 27. | Union Carbide | USA | Chemicals | ••• | | 3,355.9 | 2,933.0 | 104.4 |
| 28. | British Steel | Britain | Steel, engineering | | | 3,301.8 | 2,869.2 | 254.0 |
| 29. | Bethlehem Steel | USA | Steel, engineering | | | 3,224.2 | 2,927 .6 | 130.0 |
| 30. | Western Electric | USA | Electrical equipment | | | 3,171.9 | 4,883.2 | 203.6 |
| 31. | Philips Petroleum | USA | Oil products | | | 3,102.3 | 2,202.0 | 326.6 |
| 32. | Continental Oil | USA | Oil | | •• | 2,896.6 | 2,395.6 | 35.7 |
| 33. | Yawata | Japan | Iron and Steel | | | 2,743.0 | 1,993.2 | 61.1 |
| 34. | Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik | FRG | Chemicals | • • | • • | 2,732.2 | 2,256.9 | 94.7 |
| 35. | Farbenfabriken Bayer | FRG | Chemicals | •• | •• | 2,665.6 | 2,139.1 | 94.7 |
| 36. | Tokya Shibaura Electric | Japan | Electrical equipment | | | 2,624.5 | 2,133.6 | 143.0 |
| 37. | Farbwerke Hoechst | FRG | Chemicals, pharmaceutic | als | | 2,620.2 | 2,266.0 | 98.1 |
| 38. | Italsider | Italy | Steel | | • • | 2,612.6 | 972.2 | 38.9 |
| 39. | General Electric & English Electric | Britain | Electrical equipment | • • | | 2,519.1 | 2,155.2 | 228.0 |
| 40. | Nissan Motor | Japan | Auto | | | 2,493.2 | 2,023.2 | 69.6 |

II

BANKING CAPITAL

"As banking develops and becomes concentrated in a small number of establishments, the banks grow from modest middlemen into powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole of the money capital of all the capitalists and small businessmen and also the larger part of the means of production and sources of raw materials in any one country and in a number of countries".

Lenin (Vol. 22, p. 210)

The above is fully borne out by development of the modern banking system. Monopoly and finance-capital control is on an unprecedented scale: the overwhelming share of the capitalist countries' financial resources is concentrated in a few dozen banks

Since the war, the banks have acquired new sources for centralising and concentrating finance: the small depositor and institutional deposits, particularly pension funds made up of deduction from wages. This gives them wider scope for financing monopoly operations. Another aspect of this process is conversion into capital of workers' earnings. This form of financial exploitation of the army of hired labour has developed especially rapidly in the past few decades. Insurance companies, the number of which has increased substantially, have become an important means of accumulating small savings to provide an additional source of financing the economy.

Leading Capitalist World Banks (end of 1969)

| | | Co | ountry | Assets (\$ mln.) | Deposits (\$ mln.) |
|-----|---|----------|---------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Bank of America | | USA | 25,573 | 22,171 |
| 2. | First National City Bank | | USA | 23,092 | 19,142 |
| 3. | Chase Manhattan Corp. | | USA | 22,168 | 18,999 |
| 4. | Barclays Bank | | Britain | 14,017 | 12,508 |
| 5. | Manufacturers Hanover Corp. | | USA | 11,965 | 10,434 |
| 6. | J. P. Morgan | | USA | 11,448 | 8,986 |
| 7. | National Westminster Bank | | Britain | 10,642 | 9,651 |
| 8. | Western Bank Corp | | USA | 10,617 | 8,704 |
| 9. | Banca Nazionale del Lavoro | | Italy | 10,218 | 8,849 |
| 10. | Banque Nationale de Paris | | France | 10,104 | 8 ,2 51 |
| 11. | Chemical, New York | • • | USA | 9,739 | 7,883 |
| 12. | Bankers Trust, New York | | USA | 9,696 | 8,201 |
| 13. | Credit Lyonnais | | France | 9,514 | 7,422 |
| 14. | Westdeutsche Landesbank Giro | zentrale | FRG | 9,366 | 8,806 |
| 15. | Fuji Bank | | Japan | 9,281 | 7,033 |
| 16. | Sumitomo Bank | | Japan | 9,146 | 7,123 |
| 17. | Royal Bank of Canada | • • | Canada | 9,144 | 8,610 |
| 18. | Mitsubishi Bank | | Japan | 8,737 | 6,783 |
| 19. | L'eutsche Bank | • • | FRG | 8,686 | 7,590 |
| 20. | Sanwa Bank | | Japan | 8,531 | 6,577 |
| 21. | Canadian Imperial Bank of Co | mmerce | Canada | 8,296 | 7,768 |
| 22 | .Banca Commerciale Italiana | • • | Italy | 8,136 | 7,230 |
| 23. | Midland Bank | | Britain | 7,796 | 7,137 |
| 24. | Continental Illinois National E and Trust | Bank | USA | 7,631 | 6,307 |
| 25. | First Chicago Corp | •• | USA | 7,135 | 5,632 |

USAConcentration of Banking (end of 1968)

| | | Total . | Assets |
|---------------------------------|----|-----------|----------|
| | | \$ bill. | Per cent |
| All banks | •• | 500.7 | 100.0 |
| With assets of over \$1 billion | | 209.4 | 41.8 |
| With assets of \$1-2 billion | | 40.8 | 8.1 |
| With assets of \$2-5 billion | | 38.2 | 7.6 |
| With assets of \$5-10 billion | | 47.3 | 9.4 |
| With assets over \$10 billion | | 83.1 | 16.7 |

JAPANConcentration of Banking (end of 1968)

| | • | | Asse | Assets | | |
|------|--------------------|------|-----------|----------|---------|--|
| | • | | Bill. yen | Per cent | branche | |
| All | banks | | 46,161 | 100.0 | 6,934 | |
| incl | uding | | | | | |
| 1. | Fuji Bank | | 2,234.9 | 4.8 | 213 | |
| 2. | Mitsubishi Bank | | 2,154.9 | 4.7 | 183 | |
| 3. | Nippon Kogyo Bank | | 2,134.1 | 4.6 | 12 | |
| 4. | Sanwa Bank | | 2,116.0 | 4.6 | 207 | |
| 5. | Sumitomo Bank | | 2,109.6 | 4.6 | 192 | |
| 6. | Tokai Bank | | 1,614.9 | 3.5 | 201 | |
| 7. | Dai-ichi Bank | | 1,579.3 | 3.4 | 148 | |
| 8. | Mitsui Bank | | 1,534.9 | 3.3 | 148 | |
| 9. | Nippon Kangyo Bank | | 1,428.3 | 3.1 | 149 | |
| 10. | Daiwa Bank | | 971.8 | 2.1 | 135 | |
| Tot | tal, 10 banks | | 17,879 | 38.7 | 1,588 | |

FRGConcentration of Banking

| | Assets | (1956) | Assets (1969) | | | |
|------------------|-------------|----------|---------------|---------|--|--|
| | Bill. marks | Per cent | Bill. marks | Per cen | | |
| All credit banks | 35.3 | 100.0 | 177.5 | 100.0 | | |
| Deutsche Bank | 7.6 | 21.6 | 31.8 | 17.9 | | |
| Dresdner Bank | 1.1 | 3.2 | 24.3 | 13.7 | | |
| Commerzbank | 4.4 | 12.4 | 19.0 | 10.7 | | |
| Total, 3 banks | 13.1 | 37.2 | 75.1 | 42.3 | | |

BRITAINConcentration of Banking (Jan. 1, 1970)

| | | | Assets | | |
|---|-------|--------------|-----------|-----------|--|
| | | | £ billion | Per cent | |
| | | | 10.4 | 100.0 | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | 3.0 | 28.9 | |
| k | | | 2.9 | 28.5 | |
| | | | 1.9 | 18.9 | |
| | | | 2.1 | 20.1 | |
| | k | | | £ billion | |

FRANCEConcentration of Banking (end of year)

| | Nur | mber of | Banks | | Branches | | Assets | | | |
|------|--------|---------|-------|------------------|-----------|-------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--|--|
| | French | Foreign | Total | Paris | Provinces | Total | Own (mln. francs) | Other (mln. francs) | | |
| 1949 | 380 | 35 | 415 | 450 | 2,876 | 3,326 | 362 | 12,080 | | |
| 1959 | 306 | 37 | 343 | 583 ¹ | 3,013 | 3,596 | 2,354 | 44,955 | | |
| 1968 | 232 | 66 | 298 | 613 | 4,604 | 5,217 | 7,107 | 139,295 | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

¹ Paris & Seine Dept.

ITALY
Concentration of Banking (end of 1968)

| | As | sets | Branches | n . |
|---|------------|----------|-----------------|----------|
| | bill. lira | per cent | and Agencies | Per cent |
| Main credit institutions | 47,541 | 100.0 | 10,523 | 100.0 |
| including 6 biggest banks | 21,144 | 44.5 | 2,292 | 21.6 |
| Banca Nazionale del Lavoro | 5,629 | 11.8 | 255 | 2.4 |
| Banca Commerciale Italiana ¹ " | 4,621 | 9.7 | 474 | 4.5 |
| Credito Italiano! | 3,200 | 6.7 | 296 | 2.8 |
| Banco di Roma | 3,059 | 6.4 | 2 69 | 2.5 |
| Banco di Napoli | 2,462 | 5.2 | 499 | 4.7 |
| Monte dei Paschi di Siena | 2,173 | 4.7 | 499 | 4.7 |
| | | | | |

¹ State holds more than 50 per cent of stock.

III

FINANCE CAPITAL AND THE FINANCIAL OLIGARCHY

"The concentration of production; the monopolies arising therefrom; the merging or coalescence of the banks with industry — such is the history of the rise of finance capital and such is the content of that concept."

Lenin (Vol. 22, p. 226)

i

The coalescence of bank and industrial capital results in the emergence of gigantic financial groups. Some 20 of these in the US, 10-20 in Britain, 10 in France and 5-10 in Japan control a substantial part of industry, trade, transport, credit and services.

The US financial groups play a big role in the economy of international imperialism. In addition to branch banks, they exercise control over an impressive number of US monopoly subsidiaries in more than 60 countries of the capitalist world and of sales agencies in 130. By penetrating the market of other countries they are able to gain control of important branches of the economy, e.g., oil, chemicals, motor vehicles, electronics, etc.

USAMain Financial Groups (end of 1968)

| | | Main interests | Total Assets (\$ billion) | In Banking | In Industry Trade & Services |
|-----|---|--|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | New York (J. P. Morgan) | Oil, steel, chemicals, auto, electrical equip- | 1/7 5 | 54.7 | 112.8 |
| 2 | New York (Rockefellers: Chase | ment, electronics, rubber, etc Oil, electrical equipment, electronics, rubber. | | 34.7 | 112.0 |
| 4. | Manhattan, Chemical Bank) | food, paper, chemicals | 404 - | 67.4 | 57.2 |
| 2 | California (Western Bank Corp., | Oil, aerospace, electrical appliances, | 124.0 | 07.1 | 37.2 |
| ٥. | Crocker, Wells Fargo, Security Pacific) | electronics | 66.7 | 45.0 | 21.7 |
| 4 | Chicago (amalgamated, Crown-Hilton) | Steel, oil, electrical equipment | rr 0 | 17.4 | 37.6 |
| 5. | New York (First National City Bank) | Oil, chemicals, aircraft, steel | 22.0 | 19.4 | 13.5 |
| 6. | Mellons (First Boston) | Oil, chemicals, aluminium, auto, electrical | | | |
| ٠. | (1100 17000) | equipment | 20. 7 | 7.3 | 22.4 |
| 7. | Boston | Steel, electrical equipment | 28.1 | 20.2 | 7.9 |
| 8. | Texas (Great America, amalgamated, Merkisson) | Oil, chemicals, food, precision engineering | 27.7 | 14.7 | 13.0 |
| 9. | Cleveland (amalgamated Humphrey- | Steel, chemicals, rubber, auto, electrical | | | |
| | Hann, C. Eaton) | equipment, farm machines | 04.0 | 7.6 | 16.4 |
| 10. | Dupont | Chemicals, oil, rubber, aircraft | 21.7 | 7.6 | 14.1 |
| 11. | Hartford | Food, service industries | 20.3 | 19.4 | 0.9 |
| 12. | Detroit | Auto, electronics | 17.4 | 8.9 | 8.5 |
| 13. | New York (Manufacturers Hanover Corp.) | Chemicals, food | 15.6 | 10.4 | 5.2 |
| 14. | Minneapolis-St. Paul | Chemicals, textiles | 13.7 | 7.3 | 6.4 |
| 15. | New York (Sullivan & Cromwell, Marine Midland) | Auto | 10.1 | 5.8 | 4.3 |
| 16. | | Chemicals, food | 8.9 | 3.2 | 5.7 |
| | New York (Goldman Sachs, Lazard | Engineering, electrical equipment, radio | | | |
| | Bros.—Lehman) | food | 7.2 | 1.3 | 6.9 |
| 18. | New York (Newmont Mining Harrimans) | Aircraft | 6.3 | 1.9 | 4.4 |
| | | Total | 678.4 | 319.5 | 358.9 |

BRITAIN

Main financial groups (late 1960s)

| | Sphere of influence |
|---|---|
| Lloyds—National Westminster— R. Fleming | International banking, consumer credit, steel industry |
| Barclays—Martin's—United Dominions Trust—Royal Insurance | Financial links with British companies operating in South Africa, where Barclays DCO is the biggest commercial bank |
| Midland—Hill, Higginson— Eagle Star—Drayton | Aircraft construction, television, electronics |
| Jardine-Matheson—Hongkong & Shanghai | Shipbuilding, insurance, banking |
| Prudential | Major insurance company owning real estate and linked with engineering |
| Imperial Chemical Industries | Chemicals |
| Rothschild—Samuel—Oppenheimer | Oil, non-ferrous metals, chiefly in parts of the former British Empire |
| Morgan—Morgan Grenfell— Lazard | Oil, engineering, Emission and acceptance, insurance |
| Peninsula & Oriental Steam Navigation-W. Cory-Runciman | Shipping, foreign trade, real estate |
| Bowater Paper—London & Yorkshire Trust | Paper industry |

The biggest financial monopolies of Japan are Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, Fuji, Dai-chi and Nippon Kangyo (industrial bank group), with centres in banks and trading companies. They are controlled by co-ordinating centres including the presidents of the parent companies. Mitsubishi, Mitsui and Sumitomo supply up to 17 per cent of the nation's industrial output.

The Mitsubishi group is managed by Kinyokai, a centre which includes the presidents of 26 companies employing over 250,000 workers and selling over two trillion yen's worth of products annually. Mitsubishi Shoji, one of Japan's biggest firms, sells the output of the group's enterprises both at home and abroad. Its sales average more than 2.3 trillion yen per year. It accounts for 13 per cent of imports and 10 per cent of exports. Its chief company is Mitsubishi Jukogyo, which has over 95,000 employees and sells close on

630 billion yen's worth of products per year, netting over 14 billion yen. There is hardly an industry in which the group has no vested interest. Mitsubishi heads the list of companies manufacturing arms and has interests in a number of foreign concerns.

The principal financial groups of the Federal Republic of Germany are linked with Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank, three of the country's biggest. Deutsche Bank, the most powerful group, includes the Siemens electrical engineering company, the Bayer and BASF chemical corporations, Glanzstoff, the Mannesmann, Hoesch, Klockner and Rheinstahl steel corporations, the Demag engineering corporation, the Reemtsma tobacco monopoly and Allianz Lebensversicherung, a major insurance company. Deutsche Bank controls enterprises employing over one million workers and selling about 70 billion marks' worth of products per year.

The economic and political life of France is dominated by Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Rothschild, Lazard, Banque de l'Union Parisienne, Credit Industrial et Commercial, the Lorraine group, Credit Commercial de France, Schneider, Banque de l'Indochine and the North group.

Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas assets late in 1967 amounted to 1 billion francs. The total share capital controlled by it in French companies operating in diverse economic fields — with the exception of foreign subsidiaries — amounted to 7.4 billion francs. Most of the enterprises controlled by the group operate in key economic branches: iron and steel, oil, electrical engineering, chemicals, cement, paper, textiles, foodstuffs, heavy engineering, publishing, transport and trade. In 1967 the group's enterprises in these branches had over 310,000 employees and sold 36.5 billion francs' worth of products.

A typical financial giant in Italy is the IFI-FIAT group. IFI (Institute for Financing Industry) shareholdings in 1969 were estimated at 107 billion lire, of which FIAT held 48.9 billion, or 45.6 per cent.

IV

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CAPITAL EXPORT

"Typical of the old capitalism, when free competition held undivided sway, was the export of goods. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of capital."

Lenin (Vol. 22, p. 240)

Capital export in the postwar period has been governed by new objective laws. Formerly capital was exported mostly to underdeveloped countries — the sources of raw materials and cheap labour. Today large amounts of capital flow into economically developed countries, with a close intertwining of economic interests and immensely increased competition between the major monopolies as a result. Another essentially new aspect of capital export since World War II has been its more pronounced state-monopoly character. The capitalist state has become an important exporter of capital to every part of the capitalist world.

USAInvestment abroad, end of year (\$ billion)

| | | | | Total | | | stern rope | Can | ada | | erica | Count | |
|------------------|-----------|--------|------|-------|-------|------|---------------|------|---------|------|-------|-------|------|
| | | | 1950 | 1955 | 1969 | 1955 | 1969 | 1955 | 1968 | 1955 | 1969 | 1955 | 1969 |
| Total | • • | | 31.5 | 43.3 | 140.9 | 15.0 | 41.4 | 10.6 | 34.3 | 9.3 | 26.3 | 5.4 | 39.9 |
| Private | • • | | 19.0 | 29.1 | 110.2 | 5.4 | 30.3 | 10.6 | 34.3 | 8.3 | 20.3 | 3.6 | 25.2 |
| Direct Sharehold | lings & d | others | 11.8 | 19.4 | 70.8 | 3.0 | 21.6 | 6.5 | 21.1 | 6.6 | 13.8 | 2.6 | 14.3 |
| | | | 5.7 | 7.3 | 25.2 | 1.6 | 5.1 | 3.8 | 11.5 | 0.7 | 3.1 | 0.6 | 5.5 |
| Government | | | 12.5 | 14.2 | 30.7 | 9.6 | 11.1 | _ | _ | 1.0 | 5.9 | 1.8 | 13.7 |

23

FRG
Direct private investment (mln Mark)

| | | 1955 | 1960 | 1968 | 1969 |
|----------------------|------|------|-------|--------|--------|
| All investments | | 354 | 2,928 | 14,349 | 17,618 |
| Industrial countries | | | 1,898 | 10,159 | 12,234 |
| Developing countries | | | _ | 4,190 | 5,384 |
| | | | | | |

FRANCE

Trend of private long-term capital movement (balance of payments data)*

| Year | Direct investments and loans by French residents abroad (millions of francs) |
|------|--|
| 1961 | 768 |
| 1968 | 2,121 |

^{*} Official statements set French investments abroad at from 15 to 20 billion francs.

V

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM

"The only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the strength of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc. And the strength of these participations in the division does not change to an equal degree, for the even development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries is impossible under capitalism."

Lenin (Vol. 22, p. 295)

Some statistics indicate a narrowing of the development gap between monopoly capitalist countries, of a certain pulling up of Western Europe and Japan to US standards due to the technological revolution and overall economic growth. However, the uneven course of development which makes for sharper inter-imperialist antagonisms tells with every shift in the balance of capitalist forces.

JAPAN
Private capital export (\$ mln.)

| | | | | 1951-1959 | 1960 | 1967 | Total 1951-1967 |
|--------------|------------|----------|--------|-----------|------|-------|--------------------|
| Total | | | | 197.2 | 94.0 | 229.0 | 1,415.9 |
| Securities | | | | 92.6 | 34.1 | 118.8 | 614.8 |
| Loans & cred | lits exclu | isive of | export | | | | |
| credits | | | • • | 75.9 | 21.1 | 85.1 | 504.9 |
| Others | • • | • • | • • | 28.7 | 38.8 | 25.0 | 296.2 |

BRITAINInvestment abroad

| Year | Total (£ mln.) | Common count | |
|------|-------------------|--------------|----------|
| | | £ mln | per cent |
| 1948 | 1967 | 1,111 | 56.5 |
| 1966 | 10,000-11,000 | | |
| | | | |

Developing countries are an important sphere of both private and government investment as in the past. Ever since the mid-fifties, private, state and inter-state economic "aid" programmes have been playing a growing role in capital export to these countries.

"Aid" to developing countries (\$ mln.)

| | To | tal | Private p | rogrammes |
|-------------|---------|----------|------------|-----------|
| | 1961 | 1968 | 1961 | 1968 |
| USA | 4,549.1 | 5,675.1 | 1,102 | 2,071 |
| France | 1,406.3 | 1,482.9 | 463 | 628 |
| Britain | 899.0 | 845.1 | 442 | 417 |
| FRG | 839.0 | 1,663.7 | 221 | 1,040 |
| Japan | 376.7 | 1,049.3 | 160 | 542 |
| Netherlands | 200.3 | 276.1 | | |
| Italy | 257.5 | 550.4 | 177 | 356 |
| Belgium | 163.9 | 243.0 | 72 | 150 |
| Canada | 87.0 | 306.4 | 26 | 94 |
| Australia | 70.91 | 187.2 | | 30 |
| Sweden | 51.9 | 128.8 | 44 | 54 |
| Portugal | 43.81 | 48.1 | | |
| L'enmark | 33.3 | 73.7 | 2 5 | 45 |
| Norway | 26.9 | 57.7 | 18 | 35 |
| Austria | 20.2 | 73.7 | 18 | 46 |
| Switzerland | 210.6 | 241.8 | 187 | 223 |
| Total | 9,235.4 | 12,903.6 | 3,097 | 5,875 |

¹ Estimate.

Capitalist industrial production indices

(1950—100)

| Year | USA | Britain ¹ | Belgium | Italy | Francel | FRG | Sweden | Japan | All countries |
|--|-----|----------------------|---------|-------|---------|-----|--------|-------|------------------|
| 1951 | 108 | 103 | 114 | 114 | 112 | 117 | 104 | 136 | 110 |
| 1961 | 146 | 137 | 153 | 259 | 198 | 263 | 155 | 519 | 174 |
| 1969 | 229 | 176 | 228 | 434 | 307 | 407 | 259 | 1,398 | 267 |
| 1970 ² | 223 | 179 | 246 | 455 | 325 | 448 | 264 | 1,594 | 275 |
| Average annual growth rate in 20 years (1951-1970, per cent) | 4.2 | 3.0 | 4.6 | 7.9 | 6.1 | 7.8 | 5.0 | 14.8 | 5.2 |
| Average annual growth in 10 years (1961-1970, | | | | | | | | | |
| percent) | 4.5 | 2.9 | 5.6 | 6.8 | 5.6 | 6.1 | 5.5 | 13.8 | 5.1 |

¹ Building included,

² Estimate.

Share of individual countries in capitalist industrial production (per cent)

| | _ | | - | • | | |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| | 1948 | 1950 | 1960 | 1965 | 1969 | 1970¹ |
| All capitalist countries | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| USA | 55.8 | 54.6 | 45.8 | 44.9 | 43.4 | 41.3 |
| Britain | 11.9 | 11.6 | 9.3 | 8.3 | 7.1 | 7.0 |
| Belgium | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 |
| Italy | 2.2 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 3.6 | 3.7 |
| France | 4.5 | 4.4 | 4.7 | 4.5 | 4.6 | 4.8 |
| FRG | 4.2 | 6.6 | 9.6 | 9.3 | 9.4 | 9.7 |
| Sweden | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| Japan | 1.3 | 1.6 | 4.4 | 5.6 | 8.5 | 9.6 |
| | | | | | | |

¹ Estimate

Share of individual countries in capitalist exports (per cent)

| | 1948 | 1950 | 1960 | 1965 | 1969 | 1970¹ |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| All capitalist countries | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| USA | 23.8 | 18.3 | 15.9 | 16.5 | 15.5 | 15.6 |
| Britain | 12.1 | 11.0 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 7.0 | 7.1 |
| Belgium and | | | | | | |
| Luxembourg | 3.2 | 2.9 | 2.9 | 3.9 | 4.1 | 4.0 |
| Italy | 2.4 | 2.2 | 2.8 | 4.4 | 5.0 | 5.0 |
| France | 3.8 | 5.6 | 5.4 | 6.1 | 6.1 | 6.3 |
| FRG | 1.1 | 3.6 | 8.9 | 10.9 | 12.0 | 12.2 |
| Sweden | 2.1 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 2.3 |
| Japan | 0.5 | 1.5 | 3.2 | 5.1 | 6.6 | 6.9 |

¹ Estimate

USA Investment

| | Total (\$ billion) | Government ¹ (\$ billion) | Government share (per cent) |
|------|-----------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1939 | 13.7 | 4.9 | 35.7 |
| 1950 | 56.4 | 9.1 | 16.1 |
| 1969 | 167.5^{2} | 36.1^{2} | 21.6 |

Only the Federal government, barring outlays for military construction and the purchase of military hardware.
² Estimate.

BRITAIN BRITAIN Government share in total Government share in housing of domestic investment construction (per cent) (per cent) 1950 48.2 1950 81.7 1960 40.0 1960 42.1 ٠. . . 46.5 47.8 1969 1969 . .

VI

GROWING ECONOMIC ROLE OF THE STATE

"Monopoly capitalism is developing into state monopoly capitalism. In a number of countries regulation of production and distribution by society is being introduced by force of circumstances".

Lenin (Vol. 24, p. 309)

State-monopoly capitalism has become the decisive aspect of production relation in all imperialist countries. Government economic activity has greatly extended and its impact on capitalist production has increased accordingly.

Today the state is a major owner in numerous capitalist countries. Even in the United States, where no industries have been nationalised, the share of the state in national wealth in the early sixties was about 15 per cent, or 23 per cent if military assets are taken into account. In Japan the share of the state in national wealth in the mid-sixties was estimated at 21 per cent.

The bourgeois state is playing a bigger role in production and service industries and in investment.

Government investment in imperialist countries

| | | | | | | Percentage of total |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|----|------|-------------------------|
| USA | | •• | • • | •• | | 20-25 |
| Britain | | | | | | over 40 |
| FRG | | • • | | | | 20-25 |
| France | • • | • • | | | | 25-30 |
| Italy | | | | | | about 30 |
| Japan | | | | | | over 30 |

FRG
Government investment* (1968)

| | | Spheres | | | Billions of marks | Percentage of total |
|----------|-----|---------|----|---------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Total | | | | ٠ | 20.8 | 16.7 |
| Plant | | • • | | | 2.2 | 4.2 |
| Building | • • | .* * | •• | • • | 18.6 | 25.9 |

^{*} Excepting investments by state-owned enterprises.

FRANCE
Share of state-owned enterprises in various industries (1967)

| Government share ((per cent) | | | Industries |
|---------------------------------|-----|---------------|---|
| Over 80 | | | Coal, gas, electric power, tobacco and matches, television. |
| From 40 to 80 | •• | | Aircraft, arms and material, land, sea and air transport. |
| From 20 to 40 | ••• | ; •• <u>.</u> | Oil, automobiles, mineral chemicals. |

ITALY

Government share in production (1968)

| Economic branch | | Per cent | Economic branch | Per cent | |
|-------------------|---------|----------|-------------------|----------|--------------|
| Steel | | | | | |
| Iron | | 58.3 | Shipyards | | 80 |
| Steel | Steel | | Telecommunication | s | 100 |
| Oil products | | | Radio and Televis | ion | 100 |
| Natural gas | | 97.0 | . . | | |
| Crude oil | | 98.3 | Roads | • • | 62.5 |
| Refined oil p | roducts | 19.4 | Shipping | | |
| • | | | Passenger | | 60. 2 |
| Petrochemistry | | | Cargo | | 6.5 |
| Nitric fertiliser | s | 40 | Airlines | | |
| Synthetic rubl | ber | 96 | Passenger | • | 99.9 |
| Synthetic fibre | es | 8 | - wastiger | •• | ,,,, |

ITALY
Government share in the economy (1965)

| Indices | Unit | Entire national | State sector | Private sector | State sector | Private sector |
|---------------|---------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | | economy | | | Per | cent |
| Proportion of | wage | | | | | _ |
| workers | thous. | 12,144.1 | 2,568.9 | 9,575.2 | 21.2 | 78.8 |
| Total investo | nent | | | | | |
| billions | of lire | 6,714.0 | 2,424.0 | 4,290.0 | 36.1 | 63.9 |

State purchases of goods and services and state investments today range from 20 to 50 per cent of the GNP* depending on country. In most capitalist countries the share of the state has been increasing at a fairly high rate.

GNP* and government spending

(billions of national currency units)

| | | GNP* | | Gover: spend | | Government spending percentage of GNP* | | |
|---------|---|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---|-------------------|--|
| | | 1950 | 1969 | 1950 | 1969 | 1950 | 1969 | |
| USA | | 284.8 | 931.4 | 60.8 | 293.0 | 21.3 | 31.5 | |
| Japan | | 6,922 | 51,0771 | 1,481 | 10,6291 | 21.4 | 20.81 | |
| FRG | | 97.8 | 530.81 | 30.3 | 184.3 ¹ | 31.0 | 34.71 | |
| Britain | | 11.7 | 38.6 | 4.6 | 19.0 | 39.3 | 49.2 ¹ | |
| France | | 100.8 | 625.1 ¹ | 30.7 | 247.0 ¹ | 30.5 | 39.5 ¹ | |
| Italy | • | 12,4 55 | 51,456 | 3,545 | 18,908 | 28 .5 | 36.7 | |

^{1 1968}

A substantial part of the capitalist countries' national income is redistributed through the state budget. Budget funds provide the material basis for state-monopoly regulation of the economy.

Proportion of national income redistributed through state budget (1969)

(per cent)

| USA | | 31.1 | FRG | 45.5 | Italy | | 45.4 |
|---------|-----|------|--------|----------------|-------|-----|------------|
| Britain | • • | 54.4 | France | 52.0^{1} | Japan | • • | 26.0^{1} |

¹ 1968.

^{*} As calculated by Soviet sources.

VII

IMPERIALISM IS MILITARISM

"Modern militarism is the result of capitalism. In both its forms it is the 'vital expression' of capitalism — as a military force used by the capitalist states in their external conflicts . . . and as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes for suppressing every kind of movement, economic and political, of the proletariat".

Lenin (Vol. 15, p. 192)

The inseparable connection of militarism and war with imperialism, pointed out by Lenin, has been borne out by the subsequent development of imperialism.

Militarisation of the economy has become part and parcel of the capitalist economic structure. One of its results is the "military-industrial complex", an alliance of the military establishment and the industrial monopolies. Military spending in the imperialist countries is on the rise. From 1949 to 1968 the NATO countries spent directly for military purposes over \$1,300 billion, of which \$800 billion was spent from 1960 to 1968.

NATO military spending (\$ million)

| | | | | 1949 | 1959 | 1970 |
|---------------------|----|-----|---------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| USA | | | • • | 13,580 | 46,614 | 80,253 |
| France ¹ | | | | 1,370 | 3,631 | 5,874 |
| Britain | | | | 2,181 | 4,460 | 5, 712 |
| FRG | | | | | 2,640 | 6,111 |
| Italy | | | | 482 | 1,067 | 2,416 |
| Canada | | | | 372 | 1,642 | 1,741 |
| Netherland | ds | | | 179 | 396 | 1,075 |
| Turkey | | | | 199 | 2 69 | 401 |
| Belgium | | | | 153 | 374 | 677 |
| Denmark | | | | 5 2 | 143 | 365 |
| Norway | | | | 52 | 150 | 370 |
| Greece | | | | 51 | 158 | _ |
| Portugal | | | | 50 | 98 | 356 |
| Luxembou | rg | • • | | 2 | 8 | 8 |
| Total ² | •• | • • | | 18,777 | 61,641 | 105,359 |

¹ France withdrew from the military organisation of NATO in 1966.

² Totals may not tally due to differences in converting national currencies into dollars.

VIII

THE FALL OF COLONIAL EMPIRES

"The socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie — no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries against international imperialism".

Lenin (Vol. 30, p. 159)

World War I and the October Revolution brought on the crisis of colonialism. The 1940s were the historic watershed in the abolition of colonial oppression in vast areas of the globe. At the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism, we are witnessing the fall of the imperialist colonial system.

Political map of the world in 1919 and 1969

| | | 1919 | | 1969 | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---------|-------|------------------|----------|-------|------------|---------------------|----------|------------|---------|
| | Countries | | | I | Area | | Population | | rea | Population | |
| | | | | Mins. of sq. km. | Per cent | Mlns. | Per cent | Mlns. of sq. km. | Per cent | Mlns. | Per cen |
| 1. | . The world | | •• | 135.81 | 100 | 1,777 | 100 | 135.8 | 100 | 3,520 | 100 |
| | (a) Socialist countries | •• | | 21.7 | 16.0 | 138 | 7.8 | 35.2 | 25.9 | 1,210 | 34.4 |
| | (b) Other countries | | | 114.1 | 84.0 | 1,639 | 92.2 | 100.6 | 74.1 | 2,310 | 65.6 |
| 2. | Big imperialist powers colonies | and | their | 60.32 | 44.4 | 855 | 48.1 | 12.3 | 9.0 | 539.2 | 15.3 |
| 3. | All colonies and semi-c | olonies | | 97.8 | 72.0 | 1,235 | 69.4 | 5.0 | 3.7 | 36.3 | 1.0 |
| 4. | Former colonies and that became sovereign 1919 (excepting socialist | states | after | | | _ | _ | 79.1 | 58.2 | 1,616 | 45.9 |

¹ Without Antarctica.

² USA, Britain, France, FRG (Germany in 1919), Japan and Italy.

IX

IMPERIALISM AND WAGE LABOUR

"Classes can be abolished only by the dictatorship of that oppressed class which has been schooled, united, trained and steeled by decades of the strike and political struggle against capital ... of that class alone which will be able to bear all the hardships, trials, privations and great sacrifices which history inevitably imposes upon those who break with the past and boldly hew a road for themselves to a new future"

Lenin (Vol. 29, p. 390)

The postwar period, and more particularly the sixties, have seen considerable changes in the social composition of wage labour in the developed capitalist countries. By early 1970 there were roughly 220 million wage workers, half of whom held jobs in industry. They make up the overwhelming majority of the gainfully employed population. Their average share in all developed capitalist countries is 79 per cent and varies from 61 per cent in Japan to 93 per cent in Britain.

Qualitative changes in composition (skills, trades and distribution by industries) express themselves in a steadily growing proportion of workers by brain due directly to progress in science and technology.

Proportion and branch composition of wage workers in developed capitalist countries (millions)

| | | | All countries ¹ | USA | Canada | Western ¹ Europe | EEC1 | FRG | France | Italy | Britain | Japan | Australia and New Zealand |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------|--------------------------------|------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| 1960 | | | 190 | 56.1 | 5.22 | 99 | 54.4 | 20.92 | 13.6 ³ | 13.42 | 21.92 | 23.6 | 4.1- |
| 1969 | • • | | 220 | 70.6 ⁴ | 7.1 | 105 | 57.0 | 21.84 | 15.2 ⁴ | 13.8 | 22.4 ⁵ | 32.0 | 5.1 |
| 1969—per cent o | f 1960 | | 116 | 126 | 140 | 106 | 105 | 104 | 112 | 103 | 102 | 136 | 124 |
| Distribution by k | ey branc | hes in | 1969 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Industry ⁶ | | | 112 | 31.0 | 3.0 | 57 | 31.7 | 13.4 | 7.9 | 7.6 | 12.5 | 18.0 | 2.6 |
| Agriculture | •• | | 8 | 1.4 | 0.2 | 6 | 2.6 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 1.4 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.2 |
| Service indu | ıstry ⁷ | | 97 | 37.8 | 3.6 | 38 | 20.6 | 8.1 | 6.3 | 4.0 | 9.4 | 13.0 | 2.3 |

¹ Estimate. Not all totals tally because they include unclassified categories.

² 1961.

³ 1962.

^{4 1968.}

⁵ 1966.

⁶ Extractive and manufacturing industry, energetics, building, transport and communications.

⁷ Trade and the service industry.

Skill composition of industrial workers in some capitalist countries

(per cent)

| | | | rs | |
|---------|----------|---------|---------------|-----------|
| | Year | Skilled | Semi-skilled | Unskilled |
| USA | 1950 | 33.1 | 51.9 | 15.0 |
| | 1969 | 36.2 | 5 2 .1 | 11.7 |
| FRG | 1951 | 47.6 | 28.0 | 24.4 |
| | 1966 | 43.4 | 36.8 | 19.8 |
| Britain | 1951 | 41.0 | 39.8 | 19.1 |
| | 1969 | 39.2 | 38.5 | 22.3 |

The deterioration in the general economic situation in the capitalist countries is exemplified most clearly by increased tensions on the capitalist labour market, which expressed itself in a lower growth rate of employment or even an absolute reduction of it in a number of countries and in fast growing unemployment. This applies above all to the United States, and in 1970 it was also true of Britain, Canada, France, Japan and Australia.

Proportion of officially registered unemployed in developed capitalist countries

(thousands)

| | | ' | orro orrow | | | |
|-----------|----|----------|------------|-----------|-------|-------------------|
| 1 | | | | 1960 | 1969 | 1970 ¹ |
| Total | | | | 7,882 | 6,473 | 7,780 |
| USA | | | | 3,852 | 2,831 | 4,210 |
| Japan | | | | 500 | 570 | 601 |
| FRG | | | • • | 237 | 173 | 148 |
| Britain | | | | 393 | 597 | 841 |
| France | | | | 131 | 223 | 247 |
| Italy | | | | 1,746 | 964 | 930 |
| Canada | | | | 446 | 382 | 500 |
| Sweden | | | | 19 | 30 | 29 |
| Norway | | | | 17 | 16 | 13 |
| Denmark | | | | 31 | 35 | 29 |
| Austria | | | | 82 | 67 | 62 |
| Belgium | | | | 114 | 85 | 72 |
| Netherlan | ds | | | 29 | 49 | 47 |
| Australia | | | | _ | 80 | 86 |
| | | | | | | |

¹ Estimate based on 10 or 11 months.

Note: As unemployment registration varies in method and completeness from country to country (data furnished by labour exchange or trade unions, selective investigation, etc.), the totals should be regarded as rough estimates.

The technological revolution implies, not only new production techniques and technologies, but a new content and character of labour itself and at the same time more flexible and disguised forms of intensification and exploitation of labour. Occupational diseases and industrial accidents have shown upward trend in recent years.

Industrial accidents (thousands of workers)

| _ | | | 1960 | 1969 |
|-----------------|------|------|-------------|---------------|
| USA! | | | | |
| Total | | | 1,950.0 | 2,200.0 |
| Fatal accidents | | | 13.8 | 13.8 |
| Britain | | | | |
| Total | | | 382.3 | 322.4 |
| Fatal accidents | | | 0.9 | 0.6 |
| Italy | | | | |
| Total | | | 1,057.4 | $1,208.0^{2}$ |
| Fatal accidents | | | 1.9 | 2.5^{2} |
| F R G | | | | |
| Total | | | 2,697.7 | _ |
| Fatal accidents | | | 3.0 | 4.3 |
| France | | | | |
| Total | | | 990.6 | 1,254.22 |
| Fatal accidents | | | 1.7 | |

¹ Occupational diseases included.

Productivity indices in the manufacturing industry

(output per man-hour, percentage of 1960)

| | | | | 1965 | 1969 | 1970 (first six months) |
|---------|----|------|---------|------|------|-------------------------------|
| USA | | | ••• | 120 | 132 | 136 |
| Britain | | | | 119 | 139 | 140 |
| FRG | | | | 130 | 165 | 167 |
| France | | | | 126 | 171 | 177 |
| Italy | | | | 152 | 189 | 197 |
| Japan | •• | | | 142 | 236 | 261 |

² 1968.

Inflation is problem number one for most of the developed capitalist countries. It hits the workers' family spending hard. Living costs are going up everywhere, swallowing much of the increase in nominal wages. As a result, real wages have stopped rising in some countries (USA, Britain) and there has been a drop in the case of numerous categories of workers. In other countries, such as the Netherlands or Canada, the growth rate of real earnings has slackened noticeably.

Living cost indices

(1963 = 100)

| | | | | | 1960 | 1970¹ |
|-----------|----|---------|-----|---------|-----------------------|-------|
| USA | | | | | 96.6 | 126.4 |
| Canada | | | | | 96.2 | 126.1 |
| Britain | | | | | 90.9 | 134.5 |
| FRG | | | | | 9 4 . 2 | 120.3 |
| France | | | | | 92.4 | 130.6 |
| Italy | | | | | 87.1 | 127.0 |
| Belgium | | | | | 95.6 | 128.3 |
| Netherlan | ds | | | | 94.0 | 140.8 |
| Austria | | | | • • | 90.0 | 127.6 |
| Sweden | | | | | 90.8 | 134.2 |
| Japan | | • • | • • | | 82.6 | 143.5 |
| | | | | | | |

¹ Estimate based on 10 or 11 months.

The advance of state-monopoly capitalism and the ruinous socio-economic effects of the technological revolution have aggravated the antagonism between labour and capital. This finds expression in the great scale and militancy of strike actions. The following bourgeois official statistics give only an approximative idea of the scope of this form of class struggle.

Strikes in capitalist countries

| | | | Number of strikes | Number of strikers (thousands) | Number of man-hours lost through strikes (thousands) |
|--------------------|-----|------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| BRITAIN | | | | | |
| 1950 | | | 1,339 | 302.0 | 1,389.0 |
| 1960 | | | 2,832 | 819.0 | 3,024.0 |
| 1969 | | | 3,116 | 1,665.0 | 6,846.0 |
| 1970¹ | | | 3,888 | 1,784.0 | 10,950.0 |
| ITALY ² | | | | | |
| 1950 | | | 1,250 | 3,537.1 | 7,760.8 |
| 1960 | | | 2,471 | 2,337.9 | 5,786.2 |
| 1969 | | | 3,788 | 7,507.0 | 37,824.6 |
| 1970^{1} | | | 3,150 | 5,700.0 | 18,500.0 |
| U.S.A. | | | | | |
| 1950 | | | 4,843 | 2,410.0 | 38,800.0 |
| 1960 | | | 3,333 | 1,320.0 | 19,100.0 |
| 1969 | | | 5,700 | 2,481.0 | 42,869.0 |
| 1970^{1} | | | 5,600 | 3,300.0 | 62,000.0 |
| FRANCE | | | | | |
| 1950 | | | 2,586 | 1,527.3 | 11,728.8 |
| 1960 | | | 1,494 | 1,071.5 | 1,070.0 |
| 1969 | | | 2,208 | 4,549.2 | 2,224.6 |
| 19701 | | | 2,850 | 3,100.0 | 1,950.0 |
| F.R.G. | | | | | |
| 1950 | | | 1,344 ³ | 79.3 | 380.1 |
| 1960 | | | 288 | 17.1 | 37.7 |
| 1969 | | | 86 ³ | 89.6 | 249.2 |
| 1970 | | | | | |
| JAPAN | | | | | |
| 1950 | | | 584 | 763.5 | 5,486.0 |
| 1960 | | | 1,063 | 918.0 | 4,912.0 |
| 1969 | , . | | 1,783 | 1,411.94 | 3,633.6 |
| 1970 ¹ | | | 2,900 | 1,950.0 | 5,880.0 |

¹ Estimate based on 8 to 11 months.

² Excepting political strikes.

³ Number of enterprises involved in strikes.

⁴ Exclusive of strikes lasting less than four hours.

The main historical processes of the past 50 years have confirmed the validity of Lenin's theory of imperialism as the highest and last stage of capitalism. On the other hand, this period has seen a number of new phenomena due to the evolution of state-monopoly capitalism and the technological revolution, an intensification of the main characteristics of imperialism, a sharpening of the old contradictions of the outgoing social system and the rise of new contradictions. The world revolutionary process has created a new situation and a new balance of forces in the world. The 1969 Communist forum, proceeding from an analysis of contemporary capitalism and the alignment of class forces in the world, drew the following conclusion:

"Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces".