

Marxism and Latin American Socialist Thoughts

Cooperative Socialism in Guyana: Formation, Practice and Limitations

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Abstract: Guyana's cooperative socialism is a type of socialism created by Latin American nationalist parties. It is one of the many socialist schools in Latin America. Guyana's cooperative socialism was mainly proposed, advocated and implemented by Forbes Burnham. Based on the national conditions and characteristics of Guyana, cooperative socialism has put forward many ideas and programs, put them into many practices, and achieved certain practical results. In theory, Forbes Burnham advocated using cooperatives as the main channel or tool to achieve the establishment of a cooperative society. The goal of the socialist system. In his view, cooperative socialism is guided by Marxism. The cooperative system is more advanced and just than public ownership. However, if he does not accept the ideas and answers that the socialist countries have prepared, he can only implement cooperative socialism. Only in this way can we avoid the alienation phenomenon of people exploiting people that is common in capitalist society. In practice, by carrying out the "nationalization movement" and "cooperative movement", Guyana gradually nationalized or cooperated domestic private enterprises. Various industries promoted management and production in the form of cooperatives. Judging from the results, although it ended in failure, as a distinctive socialist school, the implementation of cooperative socialism promoted the progress and changes of Guyana's economic society, forming a It is a unique development model that is unique in the world. It once had a wide impact in Latin America. Although there are certain shortcomings and mistakes, the starting point of the thought and practice of cooperative socialism is the hope that through cooperation It has played a positive role in promoting the development of Guyana.

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After the Second World War, nationalist parties in independent countries in Latin America and the Caribbean (hereinafter referred to as "Latin America") announced that they were embarking on the path of socialist development. Socialism in Latin America is a regional concept, not a social one. Many political parties hold different views and have their own schools of thought. They believe that each socialism has its own characteristics, and there are factions within factions. Generally speaking, although these socialist ideas have many differences with the socialist theory and practice that originated in Europe, However, in the practical process of resisting imperialist colonial oppression, they started from the actual situation of their own countries and opposed mechanically copying the experiences of other countries. They added a strong local Latin American flavor to socialist theory and practice, with obvious nationalist characteristics, but by no means A simple copy of the models of other countries. As far as Guyana is concerned, its cooperative socialism claims to be guided by Marxism-Leninism, but it places more emphasis on choosing the form leading to socialism according to its own conditions, which is different from scientific socialism. It is also different from the various schools of social democracy or social reformism that exist in developed capitalist countries. Cooperative socialism combines Guyana's cooperative tradition, with the establishment of cooperatives and the implementation of cooperativism as its main content, and is a kind of socialism with strong national characteristics . Socialism. This kind of socialist thought and practice plays a positive role in safeguarding national independence, developing national economy, and promoting social stability. Therefore, as a socialist trend of thought, it was once quite influential in Latin America.

Cooperative socialism in Guyana is an integral part of world socialism. This article starts from the history of Guyana and briefly reviews the struggle of the Guyanese people for national independence and the emergence and development process of cooperative socialism in Guyana. It summarizes the ideas of Forbes Burnham (Linden Forbes Sampson). Burnham's main views and propositions on cooperative socialism, summarizes the practice and effects of cooperative socialism in Guyana, explains the problems and limitations of cooperative socialism in Guyana in practice, and attempts to analyze the reasons for the failure of cooperative socialism in Guyana Reason.

The Formation of Cooperative Socialism in Guyana

Cooperative socialism in Guyana was mainly proposed, advocated and implemented by former President of Guyana, Forbes Burnham. He once stated: "There is only one kind of socialism, which is socialism based on Marxism-Leninism. Of course, every country is free to "I think we must also choose the path to socialism based on our own history, tradition and social and national characteristics, as well as the objective conditions mentioned by Marx." As far as Guyana's cooperative socialism itself is concerned, its proposal and practice have Deep historical background

Editor-in-Chief Gao Fang: «Introduction to Contemporary World Socialism», Beijing: Renmin University of China Press, 1990, page 458. Edited by Jiang Qi and others: «Contemporary International Communist Movement», Lanzhou: Gansu People's Publishing House, 1987 yPage 418y

The situation has gone through a complex

process. (1) Guyana's history of resistance to colonization, tradition of cooperation and the spread of

Marxism. Latin America has long been reduced to an imperialist colony and semi-colony, and has been deeply exploited and oppressed by imperialism. Guyana has also Guyana is no exception. Guyana is located in the northeastern part of the South American continent. Indians have settled here since the 9th century AD and have not been affected by external factors. However, with the "discovery" of the New World, starting from the end of the 15th century, Spain, Britain, and the Netherlands Colonialists from other countries successively invaded Guyana, and Guyana's original life was broken. The Guyanese people suffered bullying and plunder from many countries. Subsequently, Guyana "changed hands" several times. In 1814, the Netherlands "transferred" it to the United Kingdom in 1831. It officially became a British colony in 2001 and was named British Guiana. Facing the brutal oppression of colonialism, the Guyanese people carried out a long-term resistance and struggle. At the same time, in the historical development of Guyana, especially in the anti-colonial struggle, As a form of collective labor and equal distribution, cooperatives have a profound historical tradition among all ethnic groups and are accepted by people of all ethnic groups. As early as February 23, 1763, the Berbice Slave Revolution led by Guyana's national hero Coffey It is regarded as a concrete reflection of the spirit of cooperation and cooperative actions. In the 19th century, freed black slaves established 38 cooperative villages and towns. Indian contract workers who immigrated to Guyana also had a tradition of mutual aid. In addition, the British colonial authorities maintained its rule eased conflicts and actively promoted the bourgeois reform cooperative movement. In 1848, it also formulated a cooperative law and implementation regulations. These were the sources of the

subsequent implementation of cooperative socialism. Those who did not spread scientific socialist ideas and followed non-capitalist roads It is impossible for development to be successful. Since the mid-19th century, the national industries of major Latin American countries have gradually developed. The working class in various countries has grown day by day with the development of modern industry and capitalist production methods. Early trade unions and labor movements have emerged. European utopian socialism also spread here, and the people of Guyana were deeply influenced by it. After the birth of Marxism, under the influence of a large number of political exiles from the First International and the Paris Commune, socialist ideas began to spread in Latin America in the 1870s. By the 1880s and 1990s, with the translation and publication of Marxist works here, the theory of scientific socialism became more widely spread in Latin America. Newspapers and socialist organizations promoting Marxism also appeared in many Latin American countries. This also had a profound impact on Guyana. After the Russian October Revolution, the labor movement in Latin America developed further. Especially with the help of the Third International, revolutionaries from various countries established communist parties guided by Marxism-Leninism. The socialist ideological trend became the most vigorous socialist ideological system in Latin America. After the Second World War, the Guyanese people's national independence struggle developed day by day, and a political

ÿ [Soviet Union] Written by Geimirsky, translated by Lifu and Fudong: «The Third World: Society, Regime and the Army», Beijing: Commercial Press, 1980, page 328, edited by

ÿ Pu Guoliang: «Contemporary Foreign Affairs Introduction to Socialism» Beijing: Renmin University of China Press, 2006, Page 235

It has become an urgent practical need for the people to carry out struggle.

(2) Chidi Jagan led the People's Progressive Party in its struggle for national independence and its exploration of socialism

On January 1, 1950, the People's Progressive Party, with Cheddi Jagan as its leader and Forbes Burnham as its chairman, was established to lead the people of Guyana in their struggle for national independence. "On April 4, 1951, the People's Progressive Party The Progressive Party adopted the party constitution at the First Congress, openly professing its belief in Marxism-Leninism and advocating the construction of a socialist society." Chidi Jagan was the son of the "foreman" of the East Indian plantation. He accepted socialist ideas through the spread of Marxism. In Washington After attending college in Chicago, he returned to Guyana in 1943. He believed that Guyana was part of colonialism and capitalist exploitation and had a Marxist viewpoint. Most of the members of the People's Progressive Party he led were rice farmers and sugar workers of Indian origin, as well as some Intellectuals, some of whose leaders were influenced by the works of communist theorists and inspired by the economic development situation in the Soviet Union and China, proposed the establishment of a just and prosperous society through communist theory and the basic laws of social and economic organization. Possibilities. The People's Progressive Party firmly advocates reforms in its platform. It also unites major ethnic groups to form a common political party with interests beyond ethnic groups. It also advocates autonomy, economic development, and the establishment of a socialist society. Chidi Jagan believes that it is necessary to Maintain as many contacts as possible with socialist and communist organizations in the world, and therefore in practice try to import as many progressive books about the Communist Party and countries led by the Communist Party as possible. Many party members, including himself and his wife, He often attends various congresses and rallies held by European communist parties and left-wing organizations. The People's Progressive Party's weekly newspaper "Thunder" often publishes articles from the British "Worker Daily" and the Communist Party of Britain. Due to some of the People's Progressive Party's propositions that are beneficial to the people, The party received the support and support of the broad masses of the people, and its reputation and the number of party members increased rapidly. With the unremitting efforts of the People's Progressive Party, the United Kingdom was forced to agree to Guyana's implementation of internal autonomy in 1953. Subsequently, starting on April 27, 1953, In the vote, the People's Progressive Party won 18 of the 24 seats and became Guyana's ruling party. A new government was formed and Chidi Jagan became Prime Minister.

After the People's Progressive Party came to power, it declared in its manifesto that it was socialist in nature. While extensively improving social services, it would implement planned economic development. The ultimate goal was to establish a socialist country. However, the leaders of the People's Progressive Party Recognizing that, based on Guyana's national conditions, it is not easy to achieve this goal, we must continue to work hard to create conditions. The People's Progressive Party also believes that the acquisition of governing status is based on the constitution and law, and the same method must be used to achieve the goal of socialism. Completed. Although Chidi Jagan's socialism only remained at the theoretical stage, due to his understanding of Guyana's special problems

It examines issues in a universal context and provides reasonable explanations for many social issues from poverty to racial prejudice, making it extremely attractive to a large number of Guyanese intellectuals. However, this caused a stir in the British Dissatisfied, British troops landed in Guyana in October 1953 and deposed Chidi Jagan on the pretext of "preventing the establishment of a one-party communist regime" and arrested many leaders of the People's Progressive Party. Faced with this oppression, Chidi Jagan and his wife led a non-cooperation movement against the colonial regime in 1954. He and his wife were both arrested, but were soon released. After the 1957 elections, Chidi Jagan became Guyana's Minister of Trade and Industry. In view of previous experience and lessons, he implemented moderate socio-economic reforms and cooperated with the British colonial government to improve economic conditions. However, he also proposed the same motion to the Soviet Union and Cuba, which meant that he did not abandon socialism. After many years of hard work, In 1961, the United Kingdom agreed to the autonomy of Guyana. In the same year, Chidi Jagan won the election and served as Prime Minister and Minister of Development and Planning of British Guyana. However, what troubled him was that Guyana did not fully gain independence. With unremitting efforts and exploration, Chidi Jagan announced that British Guiana would be independent on May 31, 1962, but it was stalled because the British government blocked it again. He was committed to establishing a socialist economy under a parliamentary democratic system, but due to the implementation of austerity policies, it caused another Popular unrest in Guyana arose, and the Chidi Jagan government eventually stepped down at the end of 1964. Chidi Jagan often said, "I am a Marxist, but I am not a Communist Party member." The series of measures he advocated laid the foundation for subsequent cooperation . The implementation of socialism has laid a certain theoretical and practical foundation.

(3) The People's National Congress Party led by Forbes Burnham is committed to realizing socialism. Forbes

Burnham is of black African descent. He once studied in the UK and studied at the Law Department of the University of London. During his studies, he actively participated in political activities and engaged in colonial affairs. Liberation cause. At the same time, he was exposed to various trends of thought and read Marx's works. He claimed to be a student of Marx. From 1947 to 1948, Forbes Burnham served as the chairman of the West Indian University Students' Union in London and represented the organization at the He also attended the International Youth Federation Congresses in Prague and Paris. He also had close relations with various groups such as the center-left British Labor Party and the British Communist Party. In 1949, Forbes Burnham returned to Guyana from the UK and served as President of the British Guiana Federation of Labor. He further understood the national conditions of Guyana, and also conducted in-depth thinking and exploration on socialism. In 1950, Forbes Burnham and Chidi Jagan co-founded the People's Progressive Party, and since then their destiny has been closely linked to the People's Progressive Party. From 1950 to 1955, Forbes Burnham served as Chairman of the People's Progressive Party. He was first elected as a member of Parliament in April 1953 and served as Minister of Education in the Chidi Jagan cabinet. Due to historical challenges from colonialists,

ÿ Edited by Wu Zhiqing and others: "Various Socialisms in Asia, Africa and Latin America", Beijing: Qiushi Publishing House, 1983, p.

ÿ 306. Editor-in-chief Wang Weiguang: "General History of Socialism" (Volume 6), Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2011 ÿPage 502ÿ

The conflict between blacks and Indians has been around for a long time. In addition, Chidi Jagan represents Indians, and Forbes Burnham represents black Africans. The contradictions continue to develop and change, and many factors are intertwined, and finally lead to Racial conflicts evolved into a power struggle within the party. In 1955, Forbes Burnham and Chidi Jagan openly split. Both claimed to represent the People's Progressive Party, creating a situation where two People's Progressive Parties coexisted. However, to build Socialism, "an advanced political party that is loyal to the cause of socialism must be established", "this is a necessary condition for the country to be able to successfully and gradually develop along a non-capitalist road". In 1957, Forbes Burnham completely resigned from the People's Progressive Party He split off and formed the People's National Congress Party together with his supporters. The People's National Congress Party has close relations with the Communist Party of Cuba, the Communist Party of Romania and the Workers' Party of Korea. It has obvious socialist tendencies. Its main members are black people in the city. The first party congress was held in 1975. In the 1964 general election, the number of votes obtained by Chidi Jagan and

Forbes Burnham were not much different, but neither received more than half. In the end, the People's National Congress and the People's National Congress The United Power Party formed a coalition government, and Forbes Burnham became Prime Minister. After Forbes Burnham came to power, he was committed to Guyana's national independence. At the beginning of his administration, the People's National Congress Party did not propose the idea of building socialism. Instead, it opposed those who advocated socialism. The People's Progressive Party suppressed the People's Progressive Party, and soon after, the People's National Congress Party turned to support socialism. With the efforts of Forbes Burnham and the People's National Congress Party led by Forbes, British Guiana achieved national independence on May 26, 1966 and became an Autonomous territory in the British Commonwealth, the country was named Guyana. However, "imperialism hopes to maintain the backwardness of the 'Third World' forever to ensure that it can continue to exploit". After independence, Guyana's economic lifeline was still controlled by the United States, Britain and other countries. Capital control, it is extremely difficult to completely get rid of the shackles of foreign capital, which also seriously affects the development and progress of Guyana. In this regard, Forbes Burnham led the People's National Congress Party to continue their unremitting efforts and persist in the struggle. In December 1968, In the general election, the People's National Congress Party won and formed the government. In 1970, Forbes Burnham renamed Guyana the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, becoming the first country in the Caribbean region of the Commonwealth to adopt a republican system. At the same time, Forbes Burnham joined the Non-Aligned Party movement, pursuing an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-racist and non-aligned foreign policy. Forbes Burnham called himself a socialist and advocated the implementation of cooperative socialism in Guyana. In 1971, at the 14th Annual Conference of the People's National Congress Party, he made the first He put forward his theory of cooperative socialism. In December 1974, the People's National Congress Party held a special conference to celebrate the tenth anniversary of its rule. The conference adopted the party constitution and formulated a program. The conference also adopted the programmatic statement made by Forbes Burnham at the meeting. Speech - «Shafaya Declaration», the declaration calls the People's National

« [Soviet Union] Written by Geimirsky, translated by Lifu and Fudong: «The "Third World": Society, Regime and the Army» North Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1980, p. 326, p. 303.

It is a communist party whose goal is to build cooperative socialism. It is necessary to establish a socialist society through cooperatives. It advocates the unity of all ethnic groups in the country. It strives to achieve self-sufficiency in food, clothing and housing in the economy. It advocates the ownership, control and development of national resources. From then on, cooperative socialism It became the purpose and goal of the People's National Congress Party. At the end of 1975, the People's National Congress Party announced that Marxism-Leninism was its guiding ideology and that it would build cooperative socialism under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. However, it also emphasized that all countries have the right to Determine its own path of socialist development. Guyana opposes mechanically copying the experience of other countries and "must choose the form leading to socialism based on its own conditions"

2. Core viewpoints and practices of cooperative socialist thought in Guyana

Forbes Burnham and the People's National Congress Party believe that the People's National Congress Party has been committed to realizing socialism since its establishment. It has always believed in socialist ideology and strived to establish a socialist system in practice. It was only in the process of colonization and decolonization that it Due to the influence of various complex factors, the People's National Congress Party did not use the word "socialism". This is because the People's National Congress Party adopted a cautious and objective attitude and did not raise this slogan until the conditions were ripe. Forbes Namu and the People's National Congress Party also believe that the Soviet system of the Soviet Union, Ujamaa socialism in Tanzania, and workers' autonomy in Yugoslavia are all development paths explored by each country according to their own conditions. Although there are big differences in form, they can achieve social development. The goals of doctrine are consistent. Therefore, Forbes Burnham pointed out that the experience of other countries must not be mechanically copied. In view of the fact that Guyana has a cooperative way of life in history and has a certain basis for socialist practice, "We believe that in the Guyana's cooperative system can and must be the way to realize socialism." Therefore, he advocated combining cooperatives and socialism. He believed that cooperative socialism is a special path for the Guyanese people to realize socialism. It is based on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and according to their own country. Conditions choose the form leading to socialism. The core of his "cooperative socialism" thought is cooperativism, that is, cooperatives are used as the main channel and tool for building

socialism. (1) The main points of Forbes Burnham's cooperative socialist thought Regarding cooperative socialism, Forbes Burnham has explained it Let's take a look. It mainly includes the following aspects.

ÿ Editor-in-Chief Wang Weiguang: "General History of Socialism" (Volume 6) Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2011, page 503 Quoted from the Scientific

ÿ Socialist Teaching and Research Section of the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: "The Theory and Practice of Contemporary Foreign Socialism" Beijing: Party School Press of the Central Committee of the

ÿ Communist Party of China, 1987, page 616. Editor-in-chief Wang Weiguang: "General History of Socialism" (Volume 6), Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2011, page 502.

1 A socialist society is an egalitarian social cooperation. The

ultimate goal of socialism is to realize socialism, but the short-term goal is to strive to develop the national economy, increase social wealth, and ensure that this wealth is evenly distributed by the people. Therefore, Forbes Burner Tom's idea of cooperative socialism is first reflected in his understanding of socialism, especially his understanding of the basic differences between socialism and capitalism. Forbes Burnham believes that socialism aims to establish a proletarian or egalitarian society. Society, while capitalism is based on the premise of the existence of a class society. Socialism is based on the premise that production is used by and serves the people, and the first consideration of capitalism is to produce goods and services for personal interests. Therefore, socialism is What is superior to capitalism is suitable for Guyana's national conditions and will definitely win the support of the broadest masses of the people. "Cooperative socialism is the embodiment of scientific socialism in Guyana". Forbes Burnham emphasized that efforts must be made to develop Guyana's national economy and gradually improve the lives of the people of Guyana, because Guyana's independence does not mean that its subordinate status has ended, and it still needs to continue to work hard. He proposed that social equality mainly refers to "the economy is controlled by the small people, the proletariat and small farmers or by their representatives. The elimination of "Privileges and ensuring equal opportunities", "The masses manage the economy, eliminate classes, have no privileges due to birth or property, and exploit the country's resources for social purposes" is the ultimate goal of Guyanese socialism. Therefore, in the "Safaya Declaration » In the article, Forbes Burnham describes the socialist ideal, proposing to ensure equal opportunities in the political, economic and social life of the country, so that every Guyanese people have the opportunity to work for the welfare of the country and have the right to share in the welfare. The results ensure that every

Guyanese has their own welfare and manages the country's natural

resources. 2. Cooperatives are the most powerful tool for building socialism in Guyana. Forbes Burnham believes that "cooperation is the best way to build socialism in Guyana". The creativity of the Guyanese people can be maximized. The ultimate goal of cooperation is to realize socialism. "The basic spirit of cooperativism is cooperation. The scope of cooperation includes everything, from central agencies to kindergartens, production departments and non-production departments. There must be a spirit of cooperation between departments and between races." Forbes Burnham believes that cooperative socialism is not a utopia, but a "possible" communism, and a special path for the Guyanese people to move towards socialism. He pointed out, Marx and Engels did not criticize the cooperatives themselves, but the criticism of utopian socialism was because the early utopian socialists required the ruling class to accept and implement their cooperation program, which was completely different from the actual situation in Guyana. People's National Congress Party " As the vanguard party in building

1 Wang Weiguang Editor-in-Chief: "General History of Socialism" (Volume 7), Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2011, page 435. See Forbes

2 Burnham's interview published in Guyana's "Record Daily" on February 23, 1975.

3 Wang Weiguang Editor-in-Chief: "General History of Socialism" (Volume 7), Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2011, Page 435, Page

The people have seized power and relied on the people to implement their own program. They did not rely on the goodwill of the bourgeoisie to achieve success. Forbes Burnham did not agree that the highest form of public ownership must be state ownership, but believed that cooperatives were more democratic and a kind of An advanced form of common ownership is more advanced than state ownership. And he believes that the purpose of cooperatives is to increase production and eliminate alienation, which is in line with the socialist goal of handing power to the working class. It can also enable the people to participate more in management, and is a collective form of democratic self-government, it should dominate the national economy. Forbes Burnham also emphasized that the goal of the People's National Congress Party is not only to develop Guyana economically, but also to turn small people into real people through economic justice and social transformation. People are organized to produce and operate through cooperatives in various industries, which can maximize the potential of the nation, bring into play national wisdom, and mobilize the energy and enthusiasm of workers, because cooperatives are jointly decided and implemented by members, and democratically based on the contributions of members. Distribution has realized the close integration of cooperatives and the efforts of the Guyanese people, allowing people to consciously control society without being excluded and controlled by society, which cannot be achieved by relying solely on state control or state socialism. Forbes Nahm also strengthened relations with socialist countries in the world and actively promoted horizontal cooperative relations among developing countries. He also advocated extending this cooperation theory to the international community in order to eventually eliminate the gap between poor and rich countries.

3. We must develop our national economy, culture and education through

self-reliance. Forbes Burnham believes that although Guyana achieved independence in 1966, this does not mean the end of its subordinate status. Guyana still has a long way to go. Because Guyana currently has The various systems are a continuation of past colonialism and are not conducive to the development of the Guyanese people and the economy and society. Especially the economic lifeline is still in the hands of foreign capitalists and is dominated by external forces. It is still a colonial economy and the living standards of the people. has not been effectively improved. In order to get rid of economic subordination, Forbes Burnham specifically proposed to actively learn from China. He believes that China's development process mainly relies on the people's voluntary use of their own abilities, wisdom and experience, that is, self-reliance. Therefore, China is a role model. Guyana must also choose the strategy of self-reliance and establish its own independent economic system and a socialist paradise relying on the labor and productivity of the Guyanese people. Therefore, self-reliance has become Guyana's policy for reforming its economic, political and social systems. When facing the problems that occurred in individual cooperatives, Forbes Burnham emphasized that individualism, selfish attitudes, lack of normal education and clear direction led to the failure of individual cooperatives, because a cooperative brought together many workers. Work requires a common goal and a collective consciousness. In order to eliminate wrong ideas, everyone must have the opportunity to receive education and training, and the education system must be completely revolutionized. In addition to formal education, he also actively advocates the establishment of a national As a necessary supplement to the service system, it is also required to learn from the experience of the national service system in Tanzania, Kenya and other countries.

4. Uphold the absolute leadership of the People's National Congress Party

over the country. Regarding the relationship between the People's National Congress Party and the country, Forbes Burnham also conducted in-depth exploration and thinking. Based on Guyana's development history and current national conditions, he proposed that the People's National Congress Party must provide practical and theoretical guidance to the country in the political, economic, social and cultural aspects. It must actively play its leadership role and extend its leadership role throughout practice in all fields and aspects to realize the party's absolute authority over the government. Leadership. At the First Congress of the People's National Congress Party, Forbes Burnham gave a detailed description of the party's leadership issue, proposing that the government is subordinate to the party, which theoretically strengthened the party's leadership. He proposed that, The government must formulate policies that are suitable for Guyana's actual situation based on the party's ideology, strategy and tactics, and cannot be divorced from the People's National Congress Party. The government's mobilization, education and call on the people must be carried out in accordance with the People's National Congress Party's program. Forbes Burnham Tom also requires that every cabinet member must be a member of the People's National Congress Party and must obey the ideology and policies stipulated by the party's congress and other party institutions. For policies proposed by the People's National Congress Party, the party can choose government members to implement them. He also advocated actively promoting the reform of the military and ensuring the party's absolute leadership over the military. This further clarified the relationship between the People's National Congress Party, the government and the military. In addition, the People's National Congress Party's party constitution also clearly stipulated that a high degree of leadership should be implemented within the party. Centralization of the Party, specific provisions on the selection of deputy leaders and general secretaries of the Party were made, and in particular, the issue of how leaders should handle power when an emergency occurred within the Party was emphasized. In order to prevent Party leaders from using power for personal gain and undermining socialism, The People's National Congress Party has also put forward strict requirements for party cadres and stipulated a "code of conduct" for leaders. For example, in order to prevent the phenomenon of seeking power for personal gains from tarnishing the reputation of socialism, the "code of conduct" stipulates that once someone is appointed as the leader of the party, he must submit his property report to the party within one month, and cannot own shares in the company without the consent of the party and the government.

5. Implement a policy of national reconciliation and cooperation, and pursue a neutral and non-

aligned foreign policy. In the political life of Guyana, racial conflicts are a particularly prominent issue. This kind of contradiction has deep historical roots and has been around for a long time, because the residents of Guyana mainly include people of black African descent and Indian descent. In the long history of colonization, colonialists deliberately sow discord between different races in order to consolidate their rule, further deepening racial divisions. In particular, most political parties openly or covertly The support given by the people made the racial conflicts more acute. Forbes Burnham had a clear understanding of this. He believed that the cooperation between Indians and blacks determined the development of cooperative socialism. The two

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If the state of racial cooperation is good, cooperative socialism will develop in a good direction. Otherwise, cooperative socialism will not be able to develop. In other words, without adopting a policy of reconciliation, it is impossible to achieve national political and economic stability and prosperity. Therefore, the People's National Congress One of the party's basic policies is to achieve national reconciliation and cooperation, and strive to transform itself into a multi-ethnic political party.

In terms of foreign relations, Forbes Burnham believes that since it is cooperative socialism, it must pursue a neutral and non-aligned foreign policy. Therefore, he advocates formulating an independent foreign policy, not accepting threats and interference from any country, and supporting the The struggle against imperialism, anti-hegemony and anti-colonialism in all countries in the third world, active development of friendly relations with third world countries, especially socialist countries, participation in the Non-Aligned Movement, and extensive economic cooperation with many countries. In 1978, the sixth At the Non-Aligned Countries Conference, Guyana was elected as a member of the Coordination Bureau. Forbes Burnham has always maintained friendly relations with China and visited China three times in 1975, 1977 and 1985. At the same time, he also actively worked hard to promote the integration of the Caribbean region. Advocate the establishment of a new international economic order.

(2) Guyana's practice of implementing cooperative socialism. Based on the theory of cooperative socialism, Guyana, under the leadership of the People's National Congress Party, has implemented a series of measures to promote Guyana's economic and social development.

1 Actively promote the nationalization of foreign-invested enterprises

In order to maintain political and economic independence, restrict foreign capital, and control domestic resources, the Guyanese government actively promoted the nationalization policy of foreign-invested enterprises under the slogan of cooperative socialism. For example, at the time of independence, it accounted for 1/2 of Guyana's gross national product. Sugar, rice, and bauxite, the three major economic pillars that account for more than 80% of total exports, are all in the hands of foreign capital. Among them, the production of rice and bauxite is completely controlled by the United States and Canada, and 90% of the sugar industry is controlled by the United Kingdom . Obviously, if the country cannot control the economic lifeline, "independence" is just "in name only." Therefore, Forbes Burnham led the People's National Congress Party to take a series of measures to implement three types of ownership: the state, cooperatives and private ownership, and gradually nationalize foreign-invested enterprises. In particular, the paid nationalization of foreign-invested enterprises began in 1971, which stipulated that the domestic government or cooperatives must own more than half of the shares and the final decision-making power in the enterprises. National cooperative banks, cooperative insurance companies, and institutions for managing foreign capital were established. After Thanks to the efforts of the People's National Congress Party and the Guyanese people, the Guyanese government has successively completed the nationalization of the bauxite industry, forestry, commerce, sugar industry, transportation and other sectors. By 1979, the output value of state-owned enterprises accounted for 80% of the gross national product. % ỹỹ The nationalization of foreign capital has basically been completed. Through nationalization, not only foreign capital has been hit, but also the country has mastered the main means of production, enhancing the strength of the national economy and national self-confidence.

ỹ Editor-in-chief: "Contemporary Foreign Socialism" by Nie Yunlin, Kaifeng: Henan University Press, 1988, page 387. Edited

ỹ by Wu Zhiqing and others: "Various Socialisms in Asia, Africa and Latin America", Beijing: Qiushi Press, 1983, page 307 Pagey

2 Actively promote the planned

economy. Forbes Burnham and the People's National Congress Party led by him saw the advantages of the planned economy in being able to highly effectively concentrate manpower, material and financial resources on key construction. At the same time, they saw that socialist countries such as the Soviet Union and China had implemented The Five-Year Plan has achieved great success. He believes that Guyana's industrial base is weak. The implementation of the Five-Year Plan is not only suitable for Guyana's national conditions, but also can promote Guyana's industrial construction and development. Therefore, it is necessary to formulate a Five-Year Plan that is consistent with Guyana's actual situation. Therefore, In 1967 and 1972, the Forbes Burnham government adopted and implemented two five-year plans. Through the implementation of these two five-year plans, Guyana's originally extremely weak industry has developed to a certain extent and achieved practical results. In the second During the first five-year plan, Guyana built more than 40 industrial projects, such as brick factories, frozen shrimp farms, radio assembly plants, etc., which were quickly completed and put into use, bringing huge benefits to the development of Guyana. At the same time, in During the two Five-Year Plans, the Forbes-Burnham government actively promoted agricultural diversification. For example, as early as a century ago, due to various reasons, Guyana stopped growing cotton and relied entirely on imports. However, during the two Five-Year Plans, cotton Planting was restored and the country gradually got rid of its dependence on imports. After various efforts, Guyana has also achieved self-sufficiency in fish, meat, eggs and various vegetables. People's lives have been significantly improved, and the planned

economy has achieved certain results. 3 In Multiple systems establish a comprehensive cooperation system

Since Forbes Burnham and the People's National Congress Party under his leadership pursued cooperative socialism, the Guyana government has vigorously promoted the movement of workers and farmers to join in the establishment of cooperatives. Cooperatives have developed rapidly and comprehensively. All walks of life, especially commerce, industry, and agriculture have They are organized to produce and operate in the form of cooperatives. In order to speed up the development of cooperatives, the government has also formulated cooperative regulations, which restricts the development of capitalism and stipulates limits for members' shareholding and dividends. In addition, the state only levies income tax on members. No profit tax is levied on cooperatives. In addition to establishing a central cooperative bank to provide commercial loans to enterprises and cooperatives in the industry, agriculture, and service industries, the state has also established an agricultural cooperative bank and a real estate mortgage cooperative bank to provide large amounts of funds and loans to cooperatives. Technical assistance. In 1970, there were 811 cooperatives in the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, with more than 70,000 cooperative members. In order to strengthen the state's leadership and support for cooperatives, starting from New Year's Day 1971, Forbes Burnham decided to establish the position of cabinet minister to manage cooperatives. He personally served as the first Minister of Public Cooperation. After ten years of hard work, by 1980, a total of 1,431 cooperatives had been established across the country, with 1,135,000 cooperative members, and the economic output of cooperatives accounted for 10% of the gross national product. After that , Cooperatives have also been established in fields such as law, accounting, shipping, construction, and development, and the number of cooperatives has surged again.

Edited by Qian Genlu and others: "Outlook of Contemporary Foreign Socialism", Nanjing: Nanjing University Press, 1987, page 131.

4. Actively promote education reform and social welfare policies

In order to improve people's living standards, Forbes Burnham and the People's National Congress Party led by Forbes Burnham actively reformed the education system and implemented social welfare policies. Before independence, due to long-term colonial rule, Guyana's national education was extremely backward, and many people were out of school, unemployed, etc. Serious social problems have hindered the economic and social development of Guyana. In order to provide Guyanese youth with educational opportunities, the National Assembly of Guyana passed the National Service System in 1974. Forbes Burnham also serves as the Chairman of the National Service Commission. This system requires all ministers to hold office. During this period, they must serve the nation for one month every year. The government strongly calls on young people, students, and the unemployed to receive national service training. Forbes Burnham also emphasized that national service is one of the systems that changes the old capitalist and neo-colonial order. In order to ensure the reform of the education system, the Guyana government established a system integrating labor and learning in 1976, taking over more than 600 missionary schools and independent primary and secondary schools and kindergartens, and realizing free education from kindergarten to university nationwide. In addition, the government also actively advocates mass self-help activities, believing that this is an important way of cooperative movement and an important task with both educational and economic significance. With the help of the government, through various forms of self-help activities, Guyana has taken effective measures in health care, transportation, postal and telecommunications, and housing construction. Many roads, bridges, school buildings, and residences are provided by the government with materials and technical guidance. In addition, local residents, students and other groups and With the establishment of the form of voluntary labor, many social problems have been effectively solved, people's living standards and satisfaction have continued to improve, and society has also achieved a certain degree of stability. In short, under the influence of cooperative socialist ideas, Guyana pursues the cooperative socialist line. The policies and measures of cooperative socialism have been implemented, and have achieved certain results in terms of the national economy and people's clothing, food, housing and transportation, and have had a positive and far-reaching impact on the economic and social development of Guyana.

Three limitations of the development of cooperative socialism in Guyana

Lenin once pointed out, "The general laws of world historical development not only do not exclude the particularity of individual stages of development in the form or sequence of development, but are based on this." In terms of the form of socialist practice, different countries have different. Due to differences in history and cultural traditions, different development paths will be chosen. Guyana's socialism, with cooperative systems as its main content, plays an important role in safeguarding national independence and developing the national economy.

Edited by Qian Genlu and others: "Perspective on Contemporary Foreign Socialism", Nanjing: Nanjing University Press, 1987, page 132, Logan A Hennessy "Re-Placing Indigenous Territory: Villagization and the transformation of American environments under 'Cooperative Socialism' IN GUYANA " JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF GEOGRAPHERS Vol 103 No 4 1242-1265

Lenin: «Collected Works of Lenin on Socialism», Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009, page 356.

It has played a positive role in the economy and other aspects, and has also mobilized the enthusiasm of the Guyanese people to a considerable extent and improved the lives of the Guyanese people. However, at the same time, we must see that there are also some problems in Guyanese state-owned enterprises. The phenomenon of workers not going to work is prominent. Low production efficiency, shortage of funds, slow development of the entire national economy, and the short-term goal of self-sufficiency in food, clothing, and housing have not been fully achieved. In particular, after entering the 1980s, Guyana's economy encountered difficulties and became the most indebted country in the world. One. After the death of Forbes Burnham in 1985, First Vice President Hugh Desmond Hoyte succeeded the president and concurrently served as party chairman. He actively adjusted domestic and foreign policies, continued to promote cooperative socialism, and explored suitable. However, with the rapid changes in the international situation and the deterioration of the domestic economic situation, cooperatives lost the vitality of the 1970s. By the end of 1988, the country's foreign debt reached US\$1.7 billion, and the per capita The debt was US\$2,500, while the per capita GDP of that year was only US\$569. This aroused strong dissatisfaction among the Guyanese people. Afterwards, the People's National Congress Party lost the 1992 general election and lost its governing position. The People's Progressive Party, which came to power, publicly stated At present, Guyana does not implement a socialist system and advocates the establishment of an independent, democratic, and equal society. This marks the complete end of more than 20 years of cooperative socialist practice in Guyana.

Overall, more than 20 years of cooperative socialist practice achieved remarkable results in the 1970s.

At that time, Guyana's economy had developed, the society was relatively stable, the people's living standards had improved to a certain extent, socialist construction had achieved good results, and cooperative socialism had continued support from the Guyanese people. However, in the 1980s, Guyana's cooperative society The effectiveness of socialism was not great, economic development was slow, people's enthusiasm was also frustrated, and many problems occurred. This was caused by many complex reasons. From an objective point of view, it was related to the entire international environment. At that time, world capitalism was undergoing a transformation Cyclical economic crises, the global economy is in recession. Guyana has been greatly affected by the economic crisis of the capitalist world. Coupled with the impact of climate anomalies and natural disasters, the development of cooperative socialism in Guyana faces many difficulties. Guyana originally had The economic foundation is weak and the source of funds is unstable. Economic construction and balance of payments depend to a large extent on unfavorable factors such as foreign loans. At this time, the situation is even worse. The economy has seriously deteriorated. By the late 1970s, Guyana, as one of the three major economies The output of rice, sugar and bauxite, the pillars of the economy, has been significantly reduced, export revenue has dropped sharply, the market has been depressed, foreign exchange has dried up, the unemployed population has increased, and people's satisfaction has declined. After the International Stone

Editor-in-chief Wang Weiguang: "General History of Socialism" (Volume 7), Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2011, page 435. Wu Deming:

"Economic Development and Indigenous Issues in the Interior of Guyana", published in "Latin American Studies", 1997 Issue 2, pp. 31-34. Editor-in-chief

Wang Weiguang: "General History of Socialism" (Volume 7), Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2011, pp. 435. Mandel Jay R

The rise in oil prices, while the prices of sugar and bauxite continued to weaken, further aggravated Guyana's economic difficulties, causing Guyana's economy to continue to deteriorate, falling into the deepest recession, and cooperative socialism suffered an unprecedented blow.

Marxism believes that external factors work through internal factors. The main reasons for the problems of Guyana's cooperative socialism are also the dogmatization of theory, problems in policy and management, and in some aspects, major strategic and policy mistakes have been made. ̄

First, in the process of promoting nationalization, the pace was too fast and the policy was excessive. From the perspective of Forbes Burnham's subjective desire, the purpose of promoting nationalization is to get rid of the control of foreign capital on the domestic economy and achieve economic independence. But this does not happen overnight. If it can be completed successfully, it needs to be completed gradually and in stages. Although Guyana gradually nationalized foreign-invested enterprises from 1971 to 1976, the speed during the specific implementation process was too fast, which affected the enthusiasm of private investment at home and abroad, resulting in the outflow of capital and talent. For example, when the People's National Congress Party first came to power, it encountered resistance from the People's Progressive Party and Indians. The national economy was in a state of paralysis. A large number of Indians emigrated abroad with funds, which had a negative impact on the development of cooperative socialism.

Second, the proportion of state-owned enterprises is too large and the planned economy is overemphasized. Socialism with cooperation as its main content has not fundamentally changed Guyana's social production relations. The national economy relies heavily on foreign countries, and the country's basic economic structure has not changed. After the implementation of nationalization, The proportion of the state-owned economy is too large, and the operating mechanism of the national economy is inflexible. Especially at the beginning of the implementation of cooperative socialism, great emphasis was placed on the planned economy. Although some social problems in Guyana were solved, not only were all the main means of production included in the plan. Even consumption materials, such as vegetables, fruits, eggs and poultry, are included in the plan. However, state-owned enterprises and cooperative enterprises have no substantial autonomy. In particular, cooperatives cannot arrange production, sales or even the allocation of internal personnel according to social needs. The final result will inevitably make the entire national economic system rigid. Although the autonomy of state-owned enterprises was expanded after 1985, restrictions on private enterprises were relaxed, private investment was encouraged and foreign capital was introduced, but the results were slow and did not change the rigid results.

The third is that poor management has led to low productivity and excessive promotion of social welfare. After the implementation of nationalization and cooperativeization, the management of state-owned enterprises was not very scientific. Corruption, waste, chaotic management, and "eating from the same big pot" occurred, resulting in the collapse of state-owned enterprises, and cooperatives have suffered losses every year. In order to mobilize the enthusiasm of the people, cooperative socialism actively promoted welfare policies. Although it met the needs of the people and received support and support from the people, the welfare expenditure exceeded the level of national strength, which instead caused serious consequences. The fourth is to ignore the development of rural areas. Guyana itself is an economically backward country. To develop socialism, it must pay attention to rural reforms. However, the country has ignored rural areas in the practice of cooperative socialism.

For example, when urban areas were undergoing vigorous cooperatization, they were indifferent to rural areas. Faced with the situation that the majority of farmers were still under the rule and exploitation of feudal landlords, Forbes Burnham and the People's National Congress Party led by Forbes Burnham did not carry out rural ownership. In the end, it did not receive effective support and support from farmers. These reasons combined together will inevitably lead to the failure of cooperative socialism in practice.

Four Conclusions

The emergence and development of any new thing cannot be smooth sailing. It must have a tortuous development process, and socialism is no exception. The development of world socialism is destined to be a long-term, complex and tortuous exploration process, and it is also a non-equilibrium process. The development state of the country is more diverse and diversified. Moreover, the tortuous course of world socialist practice tells us that once a Marxist political party gives up its Marxist beliefs, socialism and communist beliefs, it will fall apart. Latin America is socialist, areas where communism emerged earlier. In this area, the socialist schools are extremely complex in content and have great differences in form. However, they all emerged in the third country that had long suffered imperialist colonial oppression. Countries around the world are facing the common tasks of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism externally, and developing the national economy and carrying out social reforms internally. As a socialist school, Guyanese cooperative socialism is one of the socialist trends of thought that coexisted in post-war Latin American countries. Although it does not break away from the category of a nationalist party and is not without its shortcomings and mistakes, the ideas and practices of cooperative socialism in Guyana were proposed by Forbes Burnham under the specific historical conditions of Guyana. As a country that has long suffered from imperialist colonialism As an oppressive third world country, the starting point of Guyana's cooperative socialism is to build socialism through cooperatives. It uses cooperatives as the main channel or tool to promote management and production in the form of cooperatives in various industries across the country. It is a unique The socialist theories and policies of the country. The propositions and programs of cooperative socialism to reform social relations and resolve social contradictions based on the characteristics of the country are undoubtedly a bold attempt. Although it is anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-hegemony, safeguarding national independence, and developing It played a certain role in the national economy, but cooperative socialism made major strategic and policy mistakes in practice, and eventually gave up its socialist beliefs, which inevitably led to the failure of cooperative socialism in p

(Editor in charge Xu Rui)

“Xi Jinping on the Governance of China” (Volume 2), Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2017, page 326.