

WORLD

Problems of

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Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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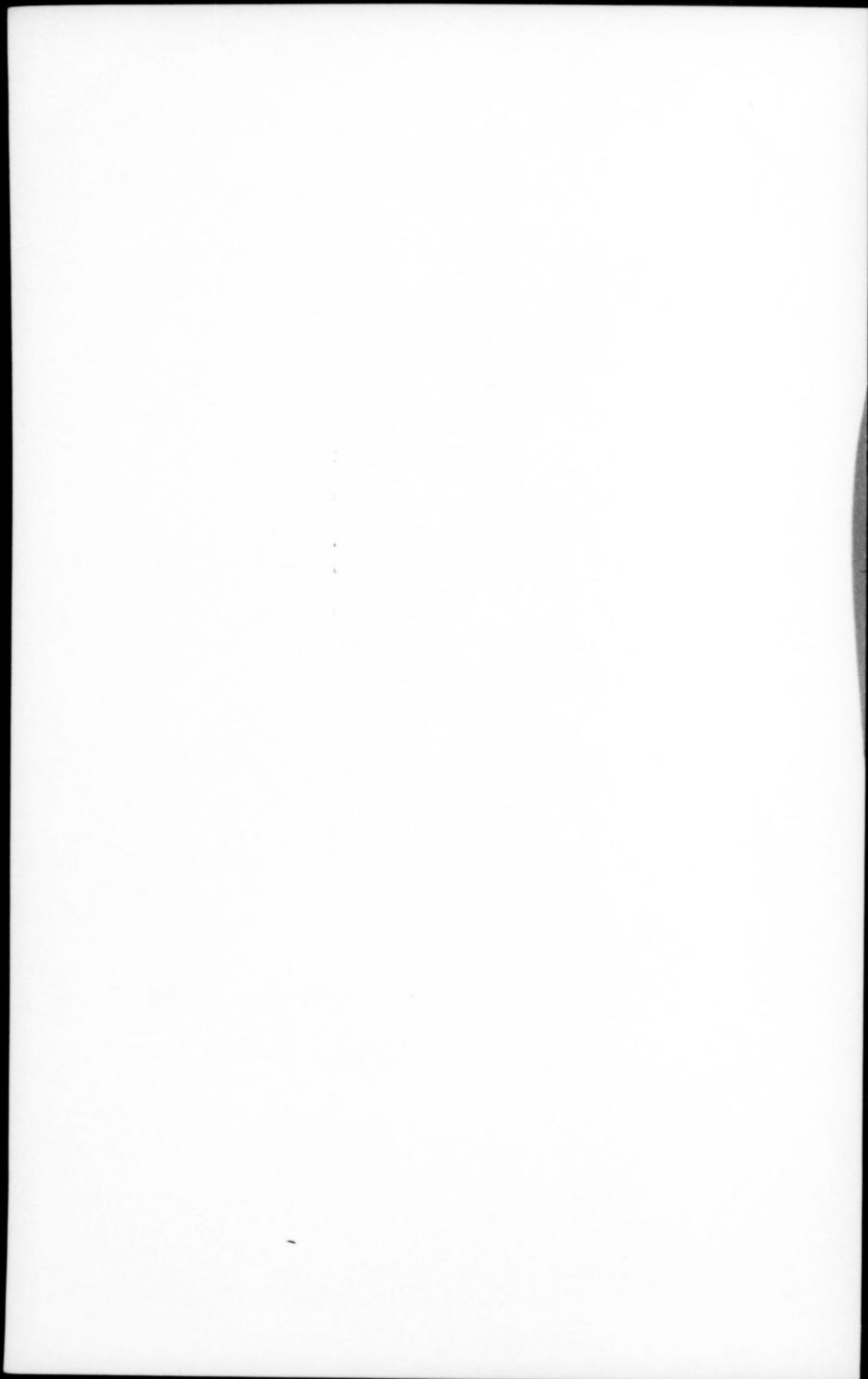
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journal of Communist and
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Peace to the peoples

The historian of 20th century international affairs will describe our time as a turning point on the tortuous path of world politics. Nor will he require any special perspicacity – elementary honesty and fairness will indicate the main source of the changes at work in these years. That source is the greatly enhanced might of the socialist community. That source is their peace-promoting and revolutionary foreign policy, which the achievements of communist and socialist construction have given unparalleled initiative and effectiveness. That source is the vast scope of the workers' class struggle in the capitalist countries, the growing political consciousness of the masses, their outstanding contribution to the anti-war and anti-imperialist movement. That source is the vast development of the national liberation revolutions, the vitalization of the peace-loving forces, their strengthening unity in the fight against war and aggression.

The Appeal in Defense of Peace unanimously adopted four years ago by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized that 'today lasting peace is no longer a utopia – it is a fully feasible aim. Mighty social and political forces exist in the world today which oppose war and work for relaxation of tension and broad international cooperation.' The march of events has fully borne out that conclusion. The far-reaching foreign-policy initiatives the USSR has taken in conjunction with other socialist countries have ushered in an entirely new period in the struggle for a universal and reliable peace. Coordinated action by the socialist countries, their close cooperation in the economic, political and defense fields, have played an outstanding role in piercing the cold-war front and bringing about positive changes in world affairs.

The system of treaties readjusting relations between a number of leading European states with differing social systems, the successfully developing cooperation between them, progress in multilateral negotiations opening the prospect of turning Europe into a continent of peace, the constructive Soviet-USA dialogue and the agreements following from it have created substantial political and legal prerequisites for meaningful universal assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states and peoples. The victory of heroic

Vietnam – which had the internationalist assistance and solidarity of the socialist countries, the Communist parties, all peace-loving forces, all honest men – put an end to the dirty war started by imperialism and created real possibilities for strengthening peace and security in South-East Asia.

The continued strengthening of socialism's world positions is a determining element of this détente process. The bilateral and multi-lateral treaties and agreements between capitalist and socialist countries accord with the spirit and letter of peaceful coexistence and signify acceptance of the reality that the political gains of socialism are irreversible. The blockade of the GDR which world reaction tied to enforce has collapsed, and today the socialist state on German soil is recognized by most governments. The prestige of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is higher than ever. More and more countries in Latin America are turning their backs on the policy of isolating Cuba, and seeking ties with the first socialist country in the Western hemisphere.

Understandably, the crucial role in the process, aptly described as socialism's peace offensive, is played by the biggest and mightiest of the socialist countries, the first country of the new social system, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and its Communist Party. A new chapter in the chronicle of Soviet foreign policy was rung in by the decisions of the latest, April 1973 Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. That Leonid Brezhnev was awarded the International Lenin Peace Prize was an acknowledgement of the tremendous contribution made by the Political Bureau, the Central Committee and the General Secretary of the CC CPSU to the many-sided work of implementing the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress.

In close conformance with the tenets of the great Lenin, the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government fuses constant concern for lasting world peace with revolutionary energy aimed at delivering mankind from all forms of social and national oppression, imperialist domination and exploitation. The Communist and Workers' parties hold that every sign of anti-Sovietism is damaging to peace and world socialism.

The heightened attention of Communists to international problems corresponds with the objective requirements of the present stage in the worldwide class struggle. The contradiction between socialism and imperialism, which is the very pivot of life today, manifests itself primarily in international relations. The clash of interests and the settlement of conflicts between states belonging to opposite social systems has developed into a form of class struggle that involves, and at times determines, not only the fate of one country or nation, but that of the whole of mankind.

'It is highly naive to think,' Lenin said soon after the October Revolution, 'that peace can be easily attained, and that the bourgeoisie will hand it to us on a platter as soon as we mention it' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 345). Today, too, the problem of peace is a problem involving an intensive struggle. For it is not merely

a matter of patching up things with imperialism and leaving it at that. On the contrary, the object is to impose on imperialism – with its built-in proclivity for aggression and suppression of national freedom – a world order that would tie the hands of international reaction and bar the road to encroachments on the peace and security of the peoples.

Communists solve problems of strategy and tactics creatively, taking into account the revolutionary changes in the second half of our century, notably the changed balance of world forces.

Militarism and the propensity for warlike gambles and violence are intrinsic in imperialism, but only incorrigible dogmatists can conclude from this that war is inevitable and is the only possible solution of the root contradiction of our age. To take that attitude is to misread the logic of events, which is compelling the ruling classes of the imperialist powers to make decisions dictated by the reality of our time, by the increased influence and strength of socialism. The peace forces see their task in developing their peace offensive, thereby frustrating imperialism's maneuvers and foiling its aggressive plans.

Postwar history has conclusively demonstrated the weakening of imperialism and its inability to stop the victorious forward march of the new social system. It has failed to attain its aims in open conflict. Its plans of economic boycott of the socialist countries have also proved futile, and so have its attempts to subvert socialist society. Imperialism and its abettors cannot reverse the unfolding social and national revolutions. Despite the prolonged occupation of Arab territories, they have failed to change the general progressive direction of developments in the Middle East. They are powerless to crush the armed struggle of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau. Their plans against the Popular Unity government in Chile are meeting with failure.

Also operating in this direction are the growing inter-imperialist and internal socio-economic contradictions in the capitalist world. The economic instability, monetary crisis, run-away inflation and mounting unemployment are sharpening all class relations in modern capitalist society. The increasing working-class struggles, the successes in consolidating the maturing Left forces, the development of the general democratic movement, and the growing influence of the Communist and Workers' Parties, are leading imperialism to review its past positions and are causing many of them to reassess their foreign policy.

The internationalization of all spheres of human endeavor, accelerated many times over by the scientific-technical revolution, is also tearing down the cold-war barriers and compelling capitalist states to seek contacts with the socialist countries, to consent to economic and cultural cooperation with them. The objective economic laws requiring broader international exchanges of commodities, technical know-how and scientific achievement are outweighing imperialist designs to clutter the world with barriers of economic discrimination.

Lastly, the subjective reaction of bourgeois politicians to these lessons, to the signs of the times, has resulted in a reassessment, prompting many figures of the capitalist world to depart from the dogmas of the cold war and to cast about for a more realistic approach to the changed situation.

The greatly increased resources of socialism for directing the course of history make it possible now to elevate the struggle for peace to higher, qualitatively new levels. Not only prevention of a nuclear catastrophe is now possible. No, the conditions are ripe for improving the situation in general and directing world politics towards cooperation and regulation of differences by negotiation. The Central Committee meeting in April instructed the Political Bureau to direct its efforts at making the favorable changes in the international situation irreversible.

The economic and technical progress of the socialist countries is creating an opportunity to introduce a new element in world politics and move towards economic cooperation between countries with different social systems. This means much more than just an expansion of current trade operations. Also materializing now is cooperation formalized in agreements and backed up by practical measures – cooperation organized for the long term, for decades ahead, and embracing a variety of industries, science and technology.

However, the historic reversal in international relations now under way gives no reason for relaxing vigilance vis-à-vis the designs and maneuvers of imperialist reaction. The aggressive imperialist groups have not, and will not, abandon attempts to scuttle the incipient détente. In Europe they are still banking on NATO and trying to prevent the erection of an effective collective security system. In the Middle East they are supporting and encouraging the Israeli aggression, and trying to impose their will on the Arab peoples. In Asia, refusing to reconcile themselves with their setback in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are pouring in arms for local reaction, and continuing to shower bombs on Indochina. The colonialist racists and hangmen in Africa, and the imperialist agents in Latin America are providing fuel for dangerous conflagrations.

The liberation struggle and the struggle for peace are inseparable. On this score, the Marxist-Leninist concept has nothing in common with either the revisionist opportunist doctrines which demagogically demand suspending of revolution for the sake of peace on earth, or the ultra-Left contention that a peaceful climate is not conducive to revolutionary action. In fact, and this was emphasized in the Appeal in Defense of Peace of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 'the cause of peace is served by the actions of the working class against the omnipotence of the monopolies, resistance of the Latin American peoples to the dictatorship of military juntas, the anti-colonial movements in the countries of Asia and Africa, and the Negro people's struggle for their rights in the USA.' Briefly, peace is served by all forms of the revolutionary activity of the working people, of the peoples of the world. Similarly, successes achieved in buttressing international security

serve the cause of revolutionary renovation. They create favorable conditions for the class struggle of the proletariat, the working people in general, for uniting all anti-imperialist forces, and for accentuating the social content of the national-liberation revolutions.

Humanity has had enough experience to cast off the illusion that peace among states leads to a decline of class struggle. The conflicts between labor and capital, oppressors and oppressed, the struggle of mutually exclusive ideologies, and the economic competition of opposite systems do not die down in a situation of peace. On the contrary, they acquire an especially profound meaning as contradictions that, through their development, embody all modern history.

The most important political task today, as the Communist and Workers' parties see it, is to unfold and develop the struggle for peace. In this struggle they are working for the unity of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the world, and calling for cooperation and joint action by all who seek to contribute to international détente. And today they are participating actively in preparing the World Congress of Peace Forces, at which, it is now safe to say, public bodies, political parties, trade unions, professional, women's, youth and religious organizations of the world will be represented on an unparalleled scale.

There is a profound meaning in the fact that this peace forum is to be held in Moscow, the capital of the state which proclaimed 'Peace for the Peoples!' in its very first revolutionary decree.

One can hardly exaggerate the scale of the tasks and the degree of the responsibility devolving today on the fighters for peace and sounder international relations, because the battle is being fought for the future of mankind, the most crucial of all issues.

CORRECTION

May 1973 issue of WMR. On page 117, the sentence beginning on Line 8 of paragraph 2 should read: "The CYA reveals the reactionary nature of the Bundesheer to young people and educates them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism."



Road of rapid socialist development

Edward Gierek
First Secretary, CC, PUWP,

Next year our people's state will celebrate its thirtieth anniversary. In just under three decades the Polish people has accomplished a big job – raising the country from the ruins of appalling wartime destruction, and overcoming centuries of backwardness. A socialist industry has been built, justice established in social relations, and a dependable foundation laid for the rapid, harmonious all-sided development of socialist Poland.

Our country is transformed in all respects. Its situation on the international scene has changed radically. Its alliance with the Soviet Union, its place in the socialist community and its dynamic foreign policy are an enduring guarantee of independence, security and effective participation in world affairs.

The Party's Sixth Congress, held in December 1971, charted the trends of Poland's present development, opened a new, qualitatively higher stage of socialist construction. The Congress-approved Program had been finalized in broad consultations with the working class and the people at large. At Party meetings, in mass organizations, in the People's Unity Front, in talks with workers of larger industrial enterprises and through the press, radio and television, we solicited opinions about the Central Committee's program theses, took note of proposals, and accumulated experience. Also, we asked thousands of prominent specialists in many fields – workers and peasants, public and political leaders, scientists and writers, actors and artists, engineers and technicians, teachers, doctors and economists, Party members and non-members – to submit their views and suggestions. That is why the program of the Sixth Congress can be legitimately described as a program of the whole people, reflecting the aspirations and aims of our nation.

The program is based on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist strategy of development, which, in substance, predicate that general economic development must be tied in with a rising standard of living, and that economy, politics, and ideology must present a unity. Framing the program for Poland's further socialist development, our Party benefited from the rich experience of socialist

construction in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community generalized theoretically by the fraternal Communist parties.

The invaluable experience of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which defined the main laws and regularities of the present stage of socialist development, was of special significance.

I. The decisions of our Sixth Congress lay the main accent on accelerating the socio-economic development of Socialist Poland. This means accelerating the growth rates of industrial and agricultural production, and likewise the improvement of the living standard. The program is also centered on deepening the leading role of the Party, fortifying the socialist state and its institutions, elevating the socialist consciousness of people in town and country, and carrying forward socialist relations and socialist democracy based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

In line with the decisions of the Sixth Congress we attach cardinal importance to political and ideological work among the masses, and to mobilizing the working class and the entire nation for the fulfilment of the now much greater economic and social tasks. Our people have an ever-deeper appreciation of the close link between conscientious, highly productive labor and better living conditions, a better life for every citizen, a more prosperous and spiritually satisfying life consonant with socialist principles. They appreciate ever more deeply that this link can function in the interest of the working people only under socialism. For us conscientious labor at every job is the supreme criterion of the individual and at once the main factor of a worthy, full-blooded life-style, a factor that enables every citizen to pursue his or her creative aspirations. We imbue labor with its true meaning and role.

Better organized and more productive labor, the growing involvement of the people, are yielding good results. The country's economic development has grown more dynamic. Industry, agriculture, foreign trade, and all the other sectors of the economy are showing higher and also qualitatively better indicators. As a result, the national income has gone up more than 17 per cent in two years. The rapid growth of production has seen a substantial rise of real earnings. Also, we are able to speed the solution of important social problems, notably housing.

With the economy growing rapidly and the living standard going up, the Party's links with the working class, that main source of Party strength, have grown firmer. Close bonds with the working people in deeds and aspirations are forging a more solid political and ideological unity in the process of socialist construction, and assure the further strengthening of our state and the further growth of the people's socialist consciousness.

Poland's accelerated socio-economic progress is based on two interconnected factors: firstly, the Party's bold and at once realistic socio-economic policy, with higher investments, better use of modern science, and broader cooperation with the fraternal socialist

countries, and secondly, the dedicated involvement of the working class and all working people, stimulated and inspired by the Party, their greater initiative on their jobs and in public activity, conscientiousness in labor, higher requirements and concern for the professional improvement of all working people, and the development of socialist democracy. These factors assure a sizeable growth of the national income and of the standard of living. They are the qualitative factors of progress, giving fuller play to the advantages of the socialist system and its creative potential, and yielding greater social gains.

The main indicators of Poland's present socio-economic development surpass earlier targets. Hand in hand with the fulfilment of the Sixth Congress decisions, conditions are shaping for new, still bolder projects. The Party is assuring a balance between economic development and the rising welfare of the people, full and harmonious attainment of the economic and social targets of the Congress program. An atmosphere of activity to accelerate progress, principally created by Party members, reigns everywhere among workers and other working strata.

The magnitude of our tasks requires better economic programming and well organized labor by millions of people. And our problems are doubly difficult, because Poland's socialist industry is in the midst of rapid technical reconstruction: new factories are going up, the plant of many old ones is being modernized, and new technology and techniques are being introduced. Up-to-the-minute thinking, the highest degree of competence, precise organization and discipline are required to cope with these undertakings.

Our Party attaches great importance to developing the countryside. In matters of agrarian policy, the basic idea behind the Sixth Congress decisions is to accomplish two interconnected tasks: to secure a continuous and systematic growth of farm output geared to the rising demand, and rapid socialist reconstruction in the countryside consistent with the general laws of socialism and with Lenin's principles.

We are doing much to extend socialist relations in agriculture and assure state farms and farming cooperatives the leading role. Another important objective is to expand cooperation between peasant farms and socialist farming enterprises in production and marketing. We want to make the most of the productive potential of the peasant farms and to stimulate changes towards socialism. An up-to-date material base, primarily mechanical, is being built up for large-scale socialist farming. And in its work among peasants, the Party has set out to impress on people the need for that type of agriculture. Our policy is aimed at consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, and the leading role of the working class.

There are good opportunities for raising the dynamics of development and using more fully the advantages of the socialist system through further improvements of planning and management. And intensification of the qualitative factors of development depends in large measure on how these opportunities are used. We regard

improvement of planning and management as a comprehensive process; it requires better order at enterprises, more management know-how and concern for public property; also, it is a continuous process of modernizing methods of programming, management, production organization, and regulating the levers in the various enterprises, industries and the economy as a whole. We are also closely studying the experience and achievements of the fraternal socialist countries, notably of the Soviet Union.

In matters of planning and management the Party is guided by the tested principles of Marxism-Leninism, and, first and foremost, the priority of national and state interests over particular and local interests, as well as the principle of centralized planning. We are steering clear of any simplistic contraposition of centralization and decentralization. The optimum socio-economic progress, we hold, requires a continuous improvement of the mechanism of central planning and central direction of all nationwide questions that determine the trend of the country's development, but also it requires the best possible conditions for the development of local initiative in matters of a particular nature.

At present, we are working on a new five-year plan for 1976-80, and at the same time on a general long-term development plan up to 1990. Tied up with this is the already far advanced work on a program for the country's economic regionalization, modernization of the transport infrastructure, and comprehensive schemes for the protection and active development of the natural environment.

During the preceding and the current five-year period, much has been done to coordinate our plans with those of the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. Now we want to go still farther in this context. The intensive growth and modernization of the economies of all the CMEA member-countries offer new possibilities for specialization, cooperation, scientific-technical collaboration, and socialist economic integration. Coordinating our five-year and long-term plans, we must all strive to speed the fulfilment and further development of the CMEA comprehensive program. Poland has opted for socialist economic integration, which is also of exceedingly great political significance and a substantial factor cementing the unity of the socialist community.

It is of the utmost importance for Poland's development to promote this cooperation, expand foreign economic ties, including equal and mutually advantageous ties with capitalist countries, and to extend our participation in the international division of labor. Recently, we also adopted a program to expand economic relations with the developing countries, and are planning to at least triple our trade with them within the decade.

II. In the theses for the First Congress of the Communist International, V. I. Lenin wrote:

'It would be sheer nonsense to think that the most profound revolution in human history, the first case in the world of power being transferred from the exploiting minority to the exploited

majority, could take place within the time-worn framework of the old, bourgeois, parliamentary democracy, without drastic changes, without the creation of new forms of democracy, new institutions that embody the new conditions for applying democracy, etc.' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 464).

This has been borne out by the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, including Poland.

The viability and the superiority of socialist democracy over democracy of the bourgeois type stem from the fact that it unites the working people around the program of socialist development on the basis of continuously growing participation in decision-making. This superiority also stems from the fact that the opponents of socialism, who contradict the interests of the masses, are denied the possibility of action, and that the conceptions of the so-called free play of political forces and political pluralism have been rejected. The principle of socialist democracy materializes in discussion and choice of development trends in country, region or enterprise, and in responsibility for the fulfilment of decisions. In recent years, our Party has gone a long way in developing and consolidating democracy in this context. We are continuously improving the system of nationwide information and consultation, maintaining a sustained dialogue with the working class and elevating the role of the representatives bodies – the people's councils and the Sejm. We are also improving the methods and raising the prestige of the People's Unity Front, in which allied parties – the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party – and many public organizations and groups work with us in effectuating our Party's socialist construction program.

The bigger part played by the subjective factor in building socialism should, of course, combine with the growing role of the Party as the vanguard of socialist and communist progress, with the growth of its leading ideological and political role. The Party's leading role is one of Lenin's fundamental principles, confirmed by the experience of the socialist community. This is why we work so hard to fortify the Party politically and organizationally, to fortify its working class nucleus, improve its forms of work, and assure the leading role of every Party branch in its area, industrial enterprise, or community.

In line with the program of our Sixth Congress, we attach significance to reinforcing the organs of our state, a state of proletarian dictatorship. A number of decisions has been taken by the Central Committee and the Political Bureau to upgrade the role and importance of administrative bodies in the economy. We are improving the government apparatus, raising its professional and political competence, and firming up its ties with the masses. Everywhere, we are cultivating the principle of public discipline and respect for law and order.

Acting on the instructions of the Sixth Congress, we have made a thorough analysis of our cadre resources and our cadre policy in general. In its decision on this score, the Political Bureau stresses

the high requirements to be set for cadres, who bear the brunt of the work in implementing Party policy. This is why we are relying on capable, energetic and loyal Communists, politically conscious and disciplined architects of progress, able to assess their work creatively and critically, and to tackle new, ever more audacious assignments.

Our Party attaches great importance to ideological work in its own ranks, and in society at large. We consider raising the level of our ideological and educational work the mainspring of the Party's political militancy, of consolidating socialism by extending and strengthening the socialist consciousness of the people. Our ideological work is tied up closely with the Party's policy, the socio-economic objectives, and with international affairs.

Ideological and economic activity, Lenin always stressed, should be closely combined, fused into a whole. This, he said, is an essential condition of success in building socialism. Moulding the socialist personality and fortifying socialist relations in society is part of the continuous and systematic effort to satisfy the material and cultural requirements of the people. By improving material and cultural conditions, we create the new socialist model of a highly developed society diametrically opposite from the standpoint of its class implications and humanitarian content to the realities of the capitalist world. In our society rapid economic progress and the scientific-technical revolution blend with social security, with confidence in the future, with new and higher social relations obviating the individual's bondage to things and the social inequality implicit in the capitalist system.

Building up our broad ideological offensive, we attach importance to the ideological and social factors assuring the identity of word and deed based on trust in the working man and faith in the creative power of the people.

It is most important, as we see it, to consolidate in the public mind the fundamental principles of socialism – an upright attitude to labor, socialist behavior, dedication to the interests and undertakings of the socialist state, continuous consolidation of the people's political unity, and popularization of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Especially intensive is our ideological work in the large industrial enterprises. We are improving the Party's branches at the big factories, and study and disseminate their best experience. The Central Committee itself directly assists in Party work at nearly 200 of the biggest enterprises.

Several months ago the Seventh Plenary Meeting of our Central Committee drew up a comprehensive long-term program for the political education of the youth. Our younger generation is very numerous. In the present five-year period alone as many as 3,500,000 young people will launch out on their working careers. People under 30, born in People's Poland, make up 60 per cent of the population. The Plenary Meeting set the government a number of tasks, notably in education, aimed at modernizing and improving Polish schools in substance, that is, in matters of vocational and profes-

sional training, and ideologically, that is, in bringing up good citizens of the socialist state. And all Central Committee decisions relating to the education of the younger generation are being implemented. In April 1973, the country's youth organizations were amalgamated in the Federation of Polish Socialist Youth Leagues, based on a single ideological program.

Our ideological work lays special stress on internationalism. And we can say without exaggeration that friendship with the USSR, fraternal feelings for the Soviet people, are now an ineradicable element of the consciousness of our people, of present-day Polish socialist patriotism. Internationalism is deeply rooted in the minds of our people, and we continue to develop it; this is borne out eloquently by the mass participation of the public in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. The fraternal internationalist relations of our people with the other peoples of the socialist community are also growing deeper, and so are the ideological bonds with the forces of socialism, freedom, progress and peace throughout the world.

The processes of moulding socialist consciousness are not entirely free of conflicts. More than any other social processes, they unfold in a setting of class struggle on an international scale and in our country. These two fronts of the class struggle – the international and the internal – are interwoven.

Our Party is aware of all the implications of the ideological struggle and educates its members in a spirit of political vigilance and militancy. We are also aware that thanks to the successes of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the ideological struggle is gaining ever greater weight in the confrontation between socialism and capitalism, and the ideological requirements are becoming ever greater too.

In ideological work and in fortifying socialist consciousness, our Party has assumed the offensive along a broad front encompassing all areas of life – from the spread of political knowledge to the domain of morals and the life style. There is much that we must accomplish in this sphere in order to eliminate the survivals of the old outlook, and to implant more intensively socialist convictions and the socialist attitude to reality.

The Party is steadily improving its guidance of the mass communication and propaganda media. Mass political education and party education are making good headway, and new forms of work with the youth have been launched. We want to assure an all-round dynamic development of the social sciences based on complete domination of Marxism-Leninism. Recently we held a conference on the social sciences and humanities. Organized by our Central Committee, it was the first of its kind in the history of People's Poland. It revealed that the community of social scientists has rallied around the Party and its policy, and that the majority appreciates its tasks and duties in the ideological struggle.

It is our aim to assure the domination of socialist ideology in Polish society and of Marxism-Leninism in the spiritual life of our

nation. And we have reason to say that substantial and lasting gains have been made towards this end.

III. Thanks to socialism Poland has been able to assume a place in the family of nations that provides the conditions for all-round peaceful development, and guarantees independence and security. Our foreign policy has a dependable foundation in treaties of alliance, in the unbreakable and dependable bonds of friendship and cooperation with the other countries of the socialist community, and in our solidarity with the world Communist and revolutionary movement. Fortifying our socialist state and accelerating its development, we are contributing to the struggle for socialism on the world scale, for the freedom of the peoples, for lasting peace.

Fraternal relations with the Soviet Union hold top priority in Poland's foreign policy. We attach prime significance to the development of this alliance. And in the past several years Polish-Soviet cooperation in the spirit of fraternity and friendship has made substantial headway.

The friendly visit to Poland of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, on May 11-12, 1973, was an impressive testimonial of fraternal Polish-Soviet relations. The visit itself, and the negotiations held during the visit reaffirmed the unity of the two parties on all questions of socialist development, the identity of views of both parties and both states on all current and long-term international problems, the singleness of mind in pursuing a further dynamic, all-round development of Polish-Soviet cooperation.

The significance of the visit is all the greater, considering the time in which it was held. This period is marked by active progress in implementing the great Peace Program formulated in Comrade Brezhnev's report at the 24th Congress of the CPSU—progress approved by the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU in April. Our Party is in total agreement with this Leninist course of Soviet foreign policy. Poland is active in Europe and on the world scene to promote its implementation, and is contributing to the realization of the joint policy of the socialist community, aimed at consolidating the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This is serving the interests of the international working class, of all progressive forces, of world peace.

Our Party lays the main accent on bilateral and multilateral relations with all the socialist countries. There is a continuous enrichment and expansion of international cooperation, including cooperation in ideological work and the establishment of closer economic ties. We are carrying out agreed programs for the specialization of industry and for cooperation in production, and are also making certain joint capital investments. Besides, we have been promoting new forms of scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation. We seek ever closer bonds with the peoples of the other socialist countries by expanding contacts, cultural exchanges, and tourism. These bonds lead to a better knowledge of the vast cultural wealth, the history and achievements, of each of the fraternal countries.

Strengthening the unity of the socialist community is for us a most important issue. Closer ideological links and cooperation in all fields bring our parties closer together, enable us to collaborate better, and give us a deeper understanding of the problems of socialist construction in each of the countries concerned. Meetings at the top Party and government levels, which, as experience has shown, are a valuable and fruitful form of cooperation, are more frequent than in the past. Especially significant were the meetings in the Crimea in 1971 and 1972, and the sessions of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries. Our Party regards these consultations as important and fruitful, and takes an active part in them. We follow faithfully all the agreed decisions, because we know that this is essential for the success of our community in international affairs.

In our relations with the socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America we are animated by the wish to deepen cooperation, enrich it with a new content and new forms, so that it should effectively promote socialist construction in each country and the community as a whole, and cement the unity of our system based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our activity in this area, we know, is approved by the fraternal parties. We regard it as our internationalist duty.

Our Party has taken an active stand against the divisive anti-Marxist ideology of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Maoism boils down to great-power chauvinism. It is directed against the vital interests of the socialist community, the international working class, and the anti-imperialist movement. Completely devoid of principle, Maoist policy juggles with ideology, and is contrary to the interests of peace and socialism, and likewise to the interests of the Chinese people. Our assessment of the Chinese leaders' policy is in complete accord with the standpoint of the CPSU and most of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world. Firm action against this policy is one of the key factors of success in the fight for socialism, for the freedom of the peoples, for peace.

The international situation requires greater unity. We regard agreed joint activity by the countries of the socialist community, by the entire Communist movement, as a supremely important factor of socialist strength in the battle against imperialism and a decisive factor of security for each socialist country.

Communists must always see the international situation from a class standpoint. We must be vigilant. Imperialism is still a system that breeds war. It has not changed its essence. This is borne out by its numerous acts of aggression, suppression of revolutionary and national-liberation movements, and subversive activities against the socialist states.

In line with our internationalist duty, we shall continue to extend all the support we can to peoples fighting against imperialism and defending their national independence. We have been aiding, and shall continue to aid, the heroic people of Vietnam in pressing

for strict implementation of all the points of the Paris agreement, and in the country's peaceful rehabilitation.

We support the Arab peoples in their lawful struggle to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, for peace and security in the Middle East, for their national rights.

We are also striving to contribute to the struggle of progressive and revolutionary forces in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Our relations with all countries that follow an anti-imperialist policy are shaped to promote mutual solidarity against imperialism, fraternal aid and support.

Our relations with the capitalist countries are based on the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems. As we see it, this principle will to an ever larger degree determine the basis of international coexistence and cooperation. Thanks to united action, the countries of the socialist community have achieved substantial progress towards this goal.

This may be illustrated by the treaties between the Soviet Union and the FRG, between Poland and the FRG, and also between the GDR and the FRG, which have put an end to the cold war and paved the way for normalizing relations through the recognition of the existing frontiers and the political realities in Europe. A new and tremendous contribution to this course of events, to consolidating peace in Europe, was made by the recent history-making visit of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the FRG.

Like the Soviet Union, Poland has for many years developed friendly and peaceful relations of cooperation with France and other capitalist countries. The principles of peaceful coexistence gained considerable ground in the Soviet-American agreements of 1972. The policy of the socialist countries has set the scene for an all-European security and cooperation conference, and Poland is taking an active part, consistent with the decisions of our Sixth Congress, in its preparations.

Poland's activity on the international scene is geared to our firm belief that the social purport of the epoch in which we live is determined by the class struggle—on the international scale, as well as in our country—for a new, socialist society, a society of justice, freedom of the peoples, universal security, peace and friendly cooperation. All our actions should be designed to provide the most favorable conditions for this. A special responsibility devolves on the peoples building socialism. Their policy is an important element in the worldwide ideological battle between socialism and imperialism. Our contribution to peace and socialism amounts, most of all, to strengthening the economic and political potential of the socialist countries, and also their defensive capacity in the Warsaw Pact framework. The unity of action of the Communist parties is the measure of their influence in each country and in the world as a whole, and is an essential factor for the ultimate triumph of socialism over capitalism.

The Polish United Workers' Party adheres undeviatingly to the

common program of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. It is our wish to contribute as much as we can to the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement, the most massive political movement in world history, which encompasses all the peoples. This purpose is served by the more lively contacts between the PUWP and the fraternal parties, which promote bilateral cooperation, by mutual visits of delegations, and by participation in congresses and actions of the world Communist movement.

It is our firm belief that we possess all the required resources to triumph over capitalism in all fields – the ideological, political and socio-economic. Though still a young and developing system, socialism is the only system that can resolve the crucial issues of our time, assuring the peoples social justice, all-round progress and development, assuring world peace, setting lofty aims before the individual, and offering opportunities for a creative life.

Huge, epoch-making tasks are facing the world Communist movement. And in line with the decisions of its Sixth Congress, the Polish United Workers' Party is making every effort to make the greatest possible contribution to the worldwide struggle for socialism and peace, a contribution worthy of the finest traditions of the Polish people and the Polish revolutionary movement, consonant with the goals and aspirations of the Polish working class and all the working people of our country.

Economic integration

VIEWS AND JUDGMENTS OF RESEARCH INSTITUTES

The essence of integration processes; comparative analysis of socialist and capitalist economic integration; its impact on the socio-political image of the present-day world, the conditions and character of the class struggle, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement – all these problems are receiving much attention from fraternal parties and Marxist researchers.

The WMR Commission on Theoretical Problems asked several Marxist research institutes to present their views on the following:

Can we formulate a general definition of integration, singling out the forms of economic relations that are endemic to the integration process?

How, concretely, do production and socio-political relations influence the character and type of economic integration?

What are the fundamental differences and determining factors of integration processes under capitalism and socialism?

Can we say that imperialist strategy has shifted from the struggle for re-division of the world to integration as a means of securing the

common interests of the capitalist class? Or is it merely a matter of the forms of the struggle being changed?

How do integration processes affect the international revolutionary movement? In what way does socialist economic integration exert a revolutionary influence on world development?

What is the relation between the trend toward wider and closer economic cooperation of countries with differing social structures and economic integration within the framework of the two mutually-opposed world systems? Is integration possible between countries belonging to different systems?

We have received replies from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations, the Frankfurt-on-Main (FRG) Marxist Research Institute, and the Polish Institute of International Affairs. We would welcome contributions also from other research institutes and centers and from Marxist and non-Marxist scholars.

USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES INSTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Economic integration is a rapidly developing, dynamic and multiform process extending to groups of countries within the socialist world system, on the one hand, and the capitalist system, on the other. Naturally, our understanding of economic integration, its causes and consequences, becomes more comprehensive as integration extends to more countries, groups of countries and regions.

General characteristics

In our view, economic integration – which, naturally follows a different course under socialism than under capitalism – has certain general features as a definite social category (just as such categories as 'market economy,' 'the state,' 'social reproduction,' 'division of labor,' etc.). But integration has its specific characteristics and features, conditioned by the given social system. Socialist integration thus differs fundamentally from capitalist.

In considering integration as a trend of world development in the second half of the 20th century, we take as our starting point Lenin's proposition that closer association of national economies, the internationalization of economic life, is an objective process determined by the development requirements of the productive forces and the international division of labor. 'Already under capitalism,' Lenin wrote, 'all economic, political and spiritual life is becoming more and more international. Socialism will make it completely international' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 246).

Originating as the natural sequel to the preceding internationalization of production, economic integration carries the process to a higher (at the present stage) level. The technological revolution has so developed the productive forces that in many countries individual enterprises, larger units, whole industries and, to one or another degree, even national reproduction as a whole, are dependent for their effective functioning on external conditions, on close

economic ties with other national economies. This carries further the internationalization of economic life and, more important, leads to qualitative changes, to economic integration.

The following are some of the more general characteristics of economic integration that set it apart from other world-economic phenomena:

First, integration implies development of stable and close ties and division of labor between national economies. The process is attended by individual enterprises, industries and economic regions complementing each other and adapting to each other. Hence, the emergence of international economic complexes combining primarily countries with similar economic levels.

Second, integration is a regulated process requiring coordinated action by participating units (economic amalgamations, states) in shaping economic ties between national economies, industries and individual enterprises. National governments and international institutions play an active part in gearing integration to the interests of the ruling classes.

Third, as a rule integration is regional, reaching optimal development in areas that offer necessary economic and political prerequisites. In the socialist world system this applies to the member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and in the capitalist world system to the EEC countries. Integration processes, albeit less clearly expressed, are at work in North America (USA-Canada), and, more recently, in the Pacific area (Japan-Australia-New Zealand-Canada).

Fourth, integration makes for deep-going structural changes in the national economy, new economic proportions and, as the end result, higher productivity of social labor.

Fifth, by its very nature, integration is closely connected with class and social relations and with politics, and benefits different classes under different social systems. Unlike international economic cooperation, it involves countries with identical or similar socio-economic structures and modes of production. This determines the composition of integration groups.

And so, in its most general aspect, economic integration can be defined as an objective process of developing close and stable ties and division of labor between national economies, with resultant emergence of international economic complexes embracing groups of countries with the same type of socio-economic structure – a process, moreover, consciously regulated in the interests of the ruling classes of the countries concerned.

Fundamental differences

Inasmuch as integration is a complex phenomenon involving not only productive forces but also production relations, and not only the basis but also the superstructure, it is only natural that it should have a different class essence in differing socio-economic conditions.

Socialist integration is based on public ownership of the means

of production and on economic planning. It brings together socialist economic amalgamations and enterprises and socialist states. In contrast, capitalist integration brings together national economies based on private property, private capitalist monopolies and capitalist states.

Socialist economic integration is regulated and directed by the participating states in accordance with the economic laws of socialism, which are purposively employed. The socialist countries share common socio-economic, political and ideological interests and have common ultimate aims. This furnishes a durable foundation for fuller use of all the advantages of economic integration. This has found expression in the Comprehensive Program adopted by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance: 'The deepening and perfection of economic, scientific and technical cooperation and development of the socialist integration of CMEA members is a conscious process regulated by the Communist and Workers' parties and governments of CMEA countries. Its purpose is to promote the international socialist division of labor and closer contacts of CMEA-member economies, give them a modern, highly effective structure, even out economic development levels, form close and stable ties in basic branches of the economy, science and technology, enlarge and consolidate the CMEA countries' international market, and perfect commodity-money relations.'

In contrast, integration of developed capitalist countries is regulated by state-monopoly methods: parallel with regulation by the monopolies and through government intervention, there is ingrained capitalist rivalry, unregulated development of individual enterprises and industries, market anarchy. Hence, state-monopoly regulation operates only as a tendency that constantly clashes with centrifugal forces. Contradictions continue to develop between monopolies, within a given country and internationally, between national finance-capital groups, and between groupings of imperialist states. Capitalist integration is, therefore, in a way, the international form of state-monopoly capitalism and, at the same time, a weapon in the monopoly struggle to re-divide markets and spheres of influence.

Socialist integration can, and does, produce an economic effect that directly benefits the people. CMEA integration measures are designed to secure optimal solutions of key socio-economic problems, expansion of productive forces, higher scientific and technological levels and improved prosperity standards.

Under monopoly capitalism, the economic effect of integration is to create better conditions for the monopolies, increase their profits and intensify exploitation of the workers. And though integration makes for more rational development of the productive forces, this results primarily in increasing capital assets. The rate and direction of production growth are conditioned by the interests of monopoly capital, by its efforts to maintain and consolidate the system of capitalist relations.

There is also a profound difference in the integration mechanism,

i.e., the economic levers and political and legal instruments and methods employed, in combination, to achieve integration.

The socialist integration mechanism operates through closer co-operation of the CMEA countries in framing and coordinating their economic plans, including long-range projections for cardinal branches of the economy, science and technology, joint planning of individual industries and lines of production, production cooperation and specialization. There is this special feature: the activity of state and economic organizations, CMEA and its agencies, directly extends to production, science and technology. But socialist integration presupposes also broad development of the socialist international market, trade, international credits, monetary and finance relations. This is achieved through a combination of economic measures, in which planning combines with greater use of commodity-money relations, and central direction with local initiative.

The capitalist integration mechanism depends on interaction of monopoly and state, on a combination of private-monopoly and state-monopoly methods. In the production spheres, the main integration partners are private capitalist concerns, national and international monopolies working in contact to multiply profits and redivide markets and spheres of influence. The bourgeois state and imperialist groupings are concerned mainly with market relations, with removing economic barriers for integrated monopolies and retaining them for outsiders. Hence, common markets, customs unions, free trade areas, and so on.

All the same, bourgeois governments have to react on the reproduction process, chiefly through the EEC economic and monetary alliance. But that does not obviate sharp rivalry between monopolies within the EEC, and certainly does not alter the substance of capitalism as a system. It is no accident that the West-European integration mechanism is subjected to serious crises under the impact of cyclical production declines, inflation and monetary upheavals.

All these fundamental differences in class substance, aims, economic and political mechanisms clearly show that there can be no question of integration of socialist and capitalist countries. But business relations between them, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, which is part of the general trend towards internationalization of economic life, are both natural and possible. And the socialist countries have consistently worked for long-term mutually advantageous economic ties with all countries, whatever their social system.

Third type of integration

So far we have been discussing socialist and capitalist integration. But there is also a third type, involving developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It has many specific features stemming from the relatively low level of economic development. The widening gap with industrial countries compels them to concert their efforts to overcome economic backwardness and rebuff im-

perialist neo-colonialism. For its part, monopoly capital tries to dragoon these countries into imperialist groupings, also to get the maximum advantage from participation in Asian, African and Latin American economic groupings.

Note should be taken of two conflicting tendencies in integration of developing countries:

- the progressive, anti-imperialist tendency, one that accords with the interests of the people of these countries and helps their economic independence and development; this tendency is supported by the socialist countries, who helped the ex-colonies win liberation and are helping them build up their national economies;

- the anti-democratic, imperialist tendency of shoring up the positions of foreign capital in the integration complexes and making them serve the interests of the foreign monopolies and the imperialist powers.

One or the other of these tendencies may prevail at various stages of the integration process, and in varying concrete circumstances, but only after a sharp struggle.

Economic integration and revolutionary mass struggle

The interaction of these processes is complicated by the fact that we are dealing with three distinct types of integration, each of which has a definite impact on the world revolutionary process.

Imperialism uses integration to consolidate its positions. The emergence of integrated complexes has given the monopoly bourgeoisie additional opportunities to work out a common economic and social strategy and tactics for whole groups of countries. Integration has firmed the organizational pattern of international co-operation through the multi-national and international monopolies, European and international employers' unions. The monopoly bourgeoisie has also created a political integration mechanism that impedes effective participation of the democratic forces in the governing bodies of integration groupings. It is using international ties and intertwining of capitals in these groupings for an onslaught on the workers' rights and on the labor and democratic movement.

Faced with the constant change in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism and with the growing strength of the socialist community, imperialism has sought to coordinate foreign and domestic policy and to take concerted action vis-à-vis developing Afro-Asian and Latin American countries - a glaring manifestation of 'collective' neo-colonialism.

Increasing centripetal trends in the imperialist camp doubtlessly complicate the class struggle. But capitalist integration, while facilitating international concentration of production and extension of state-monopoly regulation, leads to more socialization of production and stimulates the maturing of objective and subjective prerequisites for revolutionary transformations in capitalist countries, for the transition to the new social system.

Who benefits most from capitalist integration? Clearly, the monopolies and primarily the top monopolies. It is only natural, there-

fore, that the main social consequences of capitalist integration are not wider acceptance of 'social partnership,' or the workers' 'integration' in the capitalist system, or the weakening of the labor movement, which is what many bourgeois politicians and ideologists predicted and hoped for. No, integration has sharpened the antagonism between the vital interests of the vast majority of nations and monopoly capital, including the international groupings, aggravated the class struggle and strengthened international workers' solidarity. Integration is attended by evening out of national wage levels, social conditions, the workers' way of life. This creates new, objective preconditions for joint action by the working class in the integrated countries.

Inter-imperialist rivalry, the fight for spheres of influence, is a major factor in weakening imperialism's positions. The rivalry does not disappear with the development of integration. Its forms change, and its center is shifting from relations between national monopolies to relations between groupings of capitalist states. This finds concrete expression in the increasingly intense struggle between the three main power centers, the U.S., the Common Market and Japan. And each of the three is seeking to control the integration process in its own part of the world—the Common Market in Western Europe and Africa, the U.S. in Canada and Latin America, and Japan in the Pacific.

Integration of developing countries—providing, of course, that the progressive tendency prevails—will likewise weaken the imperialist front. In fact, it can prove an additional reserve of international anti-imperialist solidarity and unity.

Increasing importance attaches to the framing and realization of an action program for the working class in the capitalist countries, its parties and organizations. Such a program should present a democratic alternative to capitalist integration and should be based on intensified anti-monopoly struggle, active mass influence on the policy of the international monopolies and on all the imperialist integration groupings.

Socialist integration is bound to play an important part in intensifying the world revolutionary process. The strengthening of the socialist community makes for a new pattern of international relations based on socialist internationalism, genuine equality, respect for independence, and comradely mutual assistance. Socialist integration has a stabilizing effect on the international situation and promotes world peace and security. All this is in the interest not only of the socialist countries, but of all the anti-imperialist forces and the world revolutionary struggle.

FRANKFURT-ON-MAIN MARXIST RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Scientific analysis of economic integration has an important bearing on the anti-monopoly struggle, particularly in the FRG. For today the workers' life and struggles are affected not only by the concentration of international capital and state-monopoly regulation within a given

country, but also by state-monopoly measures within the expanded EEC and similar groupings.

West German imperialism plays a conspicuous part in all these processes, notably in Western Europe. It wants to activize integration in pursuance of its old expansionist, revanchist and reactionary aims. To this should be added that illusions born of capitalist integration and encouraged by the Right-wing Social-Democrat leaders have gained wide currency among FRG workers. It is against this background that, on the basis of Marxist analysis, we have to elaborate, propagate and fight for a democratic anti-monopoly alternative to imperialist integration.

New stage in internationalization

It is now generally accepted that integration is an expression of, and a new stage in, the internationalization of the productive forces and economic life generally. That applies both to socialist and capitalist society. This new stage retains the old and develops new forms of internationalization.

Regardless of the concrete forms of international integration agreements – by virtue of which integration becomes a more or less regulated process – integration leads to the intertwining and reciprocal adaptation of national economies of states with identical socio-economic structures to form a territorial complex, e.g., CMEA, USA-Canada, the European Economic Community. We are here dealing with an objective and therefore irreversible process of the internationalization of productive forces, giving them an internationally social character. Division of labor and cooperation are no longer based on commodity exchange and circulation, but, increasingly, on the international intertwining of productive forces and production.

Integration and the socio-economic character of society

In considering integration as both the expression and result of the development of productive forces, it should be borne in mind that its motive factors and forms are determined by the character of the social system.

Under socialism, reciprocal adaptation of national economies and optimization of their structures to secure higher efficiency, is a fundamental and planned process. Integration is achieved through coordination of economic plans. Its motive force is the basic law of socialism. For the aim of socialist planning and integration is increasingly full satisfaction of the requirements of the people based on public property of the means of production, and with due account to the level of the productive forces – in other words, conscious, planned adaptation of social production to the social character of productive forces on an international scale and their accelerated development. Socialist integration begins in production and its aim is to optimize production structures. This is the

impulse for continued intertwining of all reproduction spheres and all other aspects of social life.

Under imperialism, the internationalization of productive forces and production means internationalization of capitalist relations, more power to the international concerns and financial groupings. In other words, integration is determined by the contradictions of monopoly accumulation and realization of capital. Capitalist integration is realized through the monopoly drive for profit and power, amidst all the contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism. Economic rationalization is simply a more rational way of making profit at the expense of the working people and to the detriment of the national economy.

The big concerns, the prime movers of integration, reap the results of internationalization of the productive forces. This applies especially to the American-based international monopolies, the pillars of contemporary imperialism, its dominating force, though the U.S. imperialists no longer hold undisputed sway in many fields.

Bigger profit is the compelling aim not only of international private monopoly, but also of agreements and measures by the various governments and supra-national organizations. The mechanisms resulting from such agreements assure partial adaptation of production relations to the social character of the productive forces on an international scale.

Capitalist integration, that concentrated form and new stage of internationalization based on regional groupings, relies chiefly on state-monopoly regulation. This is the international form of state-monopoly capitalism. Integration affects not only the basis of capitalist society. Through the so-called supra-national agencies, institutions and legal norms there are created new support points for capitalism, which, in turn, actively react on the integration process.

Thus, intensified concentration within a country to create larger and more competitive units, stimulates the founding of international amalgamations. That applies to the EEC, which acts as a catalyst of capital concentration and centralization.

West German concerns rely largely on exports and are the main advocates of an expanded Common Market. They are especially interested in obtaining equal conditions for the realization of capital in the EEC countries, but they do not confine their activities or interests to the EEC or Western Europe.

The imperialist system is at a new stage of its general crisis. Integration agreements are expressive of the correlation of forces not only between rival monopoly groups, but also between the imperialist states party to these agreements. As early as in the 50s, integration policy was largely shaped by the confrontation of the two world systems, the class struggle in developed capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement. And imperialist contradictions are developing in new forms under the impact of these factors.

New conditions and forms of inter-imperialist struggle

Are we not witnessing a shift from the struggle to redivide the world resulting from the uneven development of states and groupings, to integration as a means of safeguarding and promoting the capitalists' common interests?

As regards the EEC, it has not achieved the aims set by its founders (Adenauer, de Gasperi, Schumann) and its transatlantic godfather (Dulles). The expanded Common Market is farther away from political unity than ever before. For though there has been joint action on a number of important issues, there is nothing resembling 'integrated' economic unity. Broader cooperation has not removed the national bases of the various financial oligarchies and monopoly groupings, nor has it eliminated rivalry and contradictions between member-states.

Integration, therefore, only sharpens the inner imperialist contradictions, intensifying the scramble for spheres of influence, the efforts to alter the power balance. This may be illustrated by the relations between West German and French imperialism. But despite all this rivalry inside the integrated complex, common EEC interests tend to prevail during collisions with North American and Japanese imperialism.

U.S. imperialism retains its place of leadership in the capitalist world. But the customs disputes and the latest monetary crises have shown that the growth of Japanese and West European economic might has generated centrifugal impulses.

U.S. monopolies give their backing to the so-called Atlantic factions in Western Europe. They go out of their way to disrupt the Common Market's state-monopoly 'attainments,' and President Nixon's recent promise to orient U.S. policy on Western Europe betrays intentions of frustrating the common EEC strategy and accentuating bilateral relations and treaties.

Meanwhile, the common objective of stabilizing the capitalist system as a whole is pursued by joint actions against socialism, the working class and the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

Conflicting impact on revolutionary process

Integration stands for socialization of the productive forces at multinational level. This tends to broaden the international base of the revolutionary working-class movement, to open up new spheres for joint action, and to speed the building-up of the material prerequisites for the new social system.

True, through integration the monopoly bourgeoisie acquires new means of domination and added scope for economic and socio-political maneuvering against the working people.

International bodies conceived by non-democratic procedure and completely subordinated to monopoly interests (free from determinative control by the national state and democratic forces), regulate important economic and social domains. But this state-monopoly

regulation cannot eliminate, or even reduce, contradictions for any perceptible length of time. In fact, it only tends to reproduce and sharpen them.

Yet in the present stage the class struggle is still mainly locked into the framework of the national state, though in many ways integration is tearing down the frontiers.

All this should be borne in mind when drawing up the democratic anti-monopoly alternative to capitalist integration. Bilateral and multilateral consultations are required, coupled with joint and coordinated pressure in the national frameworks for governments to seek satisfaction of demands at EEC level. Also required are coordinated actions against multinational concerns and EEC bodies. This would alter the course of development imposed by imperialism, and undermine its domination. U.S. influence, too, must be combated. We must make the most of its contradictions with West European imperialism, which grows sharper as integration unfolds in Western Europe.

In this context, special importance attaches to the policy of peaceful coexistence. Broader economic cooperation between countries with different social systems offers greater freedom of maneuver for individual capitalist states, helping them shake off dependence on U.S. imperialism. In the long run, it promotes internationalization of the productive forces and economic life. It goes without saying that such international economic cooperation is not integration of countries with different socio-political systems.

POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Integration exercises an ever greater influence on political and economic relations inside and between countries and groups of countries. Hence the prominence in Marxist science of studies of integration, of its character and essence, generating a lively exchange of opinion and research experience. What we should therefore like to deal with are issues that we think have not yet been supplied conclusive solutions or definitions.

A fundamentally new category

Before one can begin to study the essence and character of integration, one should define the concept *per se*.

As we see it, economic integration is a historical socio-economic category reflecting the adaptation of international economic relations and the related forms of the superstructure to the growth of the world's productive forces. Therefore, it should be regarded as a materialization of the objective law that relations of production must correspond to the character and level of the productive forces in the different existing socio-economic formations.

International economic integration is spurred by the rapid internationalization of production. The scientific-technical revolution has had the effect of expanding the scale of production and the inter-

national division of labor. National economic frameworks have become too narrow to assure the diversification made possible by modern technology and required by rising public needs. The essence of foreign trade, exchange of technology and international movement of capital has changed drastically in the past several decades.

True, viewed in isolation from their present functions at international level, these developments are not novel. Under capitalism, internationalization is the result, and at once the foundation, of the international division of labor. Probably, its roots go down to the preceding formations. But in the present new stage of the scientific-technical revolution it has become a vehicle of really fundamental change. Mutual adaptation of national economic structures is an objective compulsion, failing which growth of production and higher productivity are inconceivable.

Therefore, economic integration is not simply a higher form or just another stage of internationalization, but a fundamentally new category of international economic relations. It blends national economic mechanisms into multinational complexes in which mutually complementary economic structures and the related superstructural machinery pave the way for superior conditions of economic growth and for a fuller attainment of the socially conditioned aims of production.

Integration is a multifold concept. On the one hand, it reflects economic regularities of what Oskar Lange, the Polish economist, describes as the technical-balance type. Present technical progress requires definite and appropriate organizational forms of economy: due to its dimensions the threshold of profitability has risen. To cover the cost of the increasingly capital-intensive technical innovations, production must be massive and specialization in industry must increase, thus modulating the domestic and international division of labor. This spur to integration is of a general and worldwide nature. It determines the pattern of rational economic activity under socialism, as well as under capitalism. Besides, it also spurs further internationalization of production.

Two types of integration

On the other hand, economic integration is a materialization of laws expressing both the common and the specific features of economic development in the different formations. The essentially different aims, motives and mechanisms of the socialist and capitalist economy, based on fundamentally different relations of production, predetermine disparity in types of integration.

Capitalist integration is subordinated to the specific aims of the capitalist mode of production. In the present stage these aims are aligned with the interests of several of the biggest capitalist monopolies, which take advantage of expanding international economic relations to extend the sphere for applying their capital and to maximize their profits through state interference and political power levers. In other words, economic integration is attuned to the state-monopoly forms of organizing production, exchange and distribu-

tion. It is full of intrinsic contradictions and clashes of interest, notably because international economic integration is a qualitatively new stage in the socialization of production, while the form of appropriation is still the same – capitalistic. This is why the erection of multinational economic complexes, designed to remove obstacles created by the narrowness of national markets, is accompanied by tensions and disproportions.

In contrast, socialist integration is impelled by needs and aims that, far from conflicting with the socialization of production, require more and more of it. In the new stage, it fits in adequately with the international economic ties required by the world economy in general. The greater scale of production, specialization and diversification, coupled with the ever greater need for international exchanges of technology and with other factors behind the present trends of economic development, tend to stimulate international economic cooperation. It is now necessary to harmonize the economic structures of the separate countries, to balance out their economic development, and to incorporate them in economic complexes with coordinated growth targets.

The fact that the integration of socialist countries is based on socialist relations of production is the objective foundation identifying the interests of individual members with the interests of the community. The basic motive of integration and the main aim of the individual members of the socialist community are identical: maximum satisfaction of the needs of society. Thanks to this identity relations between countries in the socialist community are based on the principle of mutual aid, as well as of mutual advantage. This is a most important factor in socialist-type integration.

Centripetal and centrifugal tendencies

The disparity of basic aims explains the disparity of the mechanisms of capitalist and socialist integration. In a broad sense, capitalist integration is a vehicle of competition. It encompasses economic rivalry and political struggle for influence and supremacy. In the postwar years it was impelled by, firstly, the sharpening contradictions between imperialist states, secondly, the intensifying class conflicts in the capitalist world and, thirdly, the competition and confrontation of the two world systems.

This gave rise to two distinct tendencies in international capitalist relations: the *centripetal*, generated by the identical interests of the bourgeoisie as a class in face of an unfavorable relation of world forces, and the *centrifugal*, generated by conflicting trends and inter-imperialist rivalries, the struggle for supremacy and influence assuring favorable conditions for economic and political expansion.

Both these tendencies have influenced the model of West European integration and its politico-institutional structure. On the one hand, the rapid unfolding of integration processes in Western Europe was a reply to the 'American challenge,' securing greater

competitiveness for the West European monopolies vis-à-vis their U.S. rivals. On the other, it closed the class ranks of the bourgeoisie against the mounting radicalization of the masses and the perils presented by the dynamic development of the socialist countries. In fact, West European integration was conceived as a counter-agent. That, indeed, explains the system of discrimination and the barriers raised to Common Market relations with the socialist world.

Spontaneous operation of the mechanism of competition tends to sharpen all the contradictions that directly imperil the pillars of the capitalist system. This is why so much store was set on state-monopoly regulation of integration processes. It is meant to dampen the growing social tensions. But the facts show that it can no more eliminate intrinsic antagonisms than the creation of monopolies eliminated competition (it only changed its forms). It merely unifies the terms of competition and introduces certain correctives in the rules of struggle and rivalry, fertilizing the soil for 'supra-national' institutional infrastructures. The contradictions between the individual countries and the community as a whole implicit in capitalist integration, give rise to the tendency of limiting the sovereignty of nations in the name of the 'loftier' aims and aspirations of international capital.

And this attempt to adapt the mechanics of capitalist economy to the new conditions is proving to be a source of new contradictions and conflicts. In the final analysis, it generates new impulses for anti-monopoly action by the working class and all progressive forces.

The interests of individual countries and the socialist community

The mechanism of socialist integration is geared to the objective need for balanced and proportionate development, a process regulated at international level by levers similar to those employed within the national economies. The optimum programs for expanding economic ties and for a mutual adaptation of structures, are based on agreed solutions and harmonize the interests of individual countries and the socialist community as a whole. And since there are none of the conflicting economic aims typical of capitalism, socialist integration does not limit national sovereignty. On the contrary, it is based on the full observance of sovereignty, while giving ample scope for economic coordination and agreed solutions in the realm of the international division of labor.

Identity of aims and economic methods does not mean that the process of integration is entirely free of problems. The mechanism of the international division of labor requires continuous improvement. The problems are solved as integration experience accumulates.

International economic cooperation

Despite its many similar objective motors, the aims of integration under capitalism and socialism, as we have seen, are quite opposite,

and the mechanics quite dissimilar. Economic integration is a category related to definite socio-economic formations, and inapplicable to countries with different systems. This brings us to the question of whether regional integration is an aid or an obstacle to economic cooperation between such countries.

Integration, as we have said, is the result of changes in international economic relations and, at the same time, a new stage in the development of these relations. Specialization and diversification, and the greater importance attaching to the scale of production, stimulate foreign trade and international cooperation. Regional integration has powerful levers to increase the international commodity turnover and cooperation also on an inter-regional scale. But there are subjective, political obstacles. The Common Market's protectionist policy, its system of tariff discrimination and quantitative restrictions on East-West trade, are motivated by political aims contrary to the objective needs of the international division of labor. This has deformed the structure of the commodity turnover between the socialist and capitalist countries and has had a strongly adverse effect on international economic cooperation.

For many years the countries of the socialist community have worked to surmount the imperialists' artificial division of the world economy. The integrating West European states and the CMEA countries have no agreements at institutional level to facilitate broader international economic cooperation, though, certainly, the difference of social systems is neither the sole nor the main reason for this. The shaping of a desirable model of cooperation depends first and foremost on whether or not the EEC replaces its system of discrimination against the socialist countries with a mechanism encouraging commerce and industrial cooperation. 'Consequently,' Comrade Gierek observed aptly, 'the substance of the matter is not what our attitude is towards the EEC, but what the EEC attitude is toward us.'

While tightening the bonds inside the socialist community, integration also gives fresh impulse to the foreign economic relations of its member-countries. It does not isolate the CMEA countries from the world market. On the contrary, it promotes their participation in the international division of labor.

Specialization in production and the growing scale of industry offers especially favorable opportunities in this respect for the smaller countries. The extensive and stable market of the socialist community, notably that of the USSR, is for them a basis for refashioning and modernizing their production apparatus and organizing modern large-scale industry. The go-it-alone and anti-import orientation is, as a rule, evidence of weakness and a low economic niveau. Modernization and specialization suitable to the changes in public demand and the new opportunities created by technical progress, generate export tendencies. And socialist integration is a factor stimulating the orientation of a country's economy on external export-import ties.

The institutions of socialist integration assure and maintain its

open character in relation to the rest of the world. They encourage proliferation of forms of mutually advantageous economic cooperation, scientific and technical exchange and industrial cooperation between countries with different social systems. This is borne out, among other things, by the initialling of a draft agreement between CMEA and Finland this March.

The further development of long-term ties between countries with different social systems is not only of economic, but also of great political, significance. It should contribute substantially to the shaping of a system of collective security for Europe and the world as a whole.

The making of the new man

Gyorgy Aczel
Member PB, Secretary
CC HSWP

(ANOTHER IN OUR SERIES OF ARTICLES ON DEVELOPED
SOCIALISM)*

The problems of public education differed, and were solved differently, in the different stages of socialist construction. To assess Hungary's accomplishment in laying the foundations for the new society, and to understand our problems of today in terms of the future as we are completing the building of socialism, it is probably wise to look back at the past.

The Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 introduced (or drafted) radical reforms, producing many still valid solutions for modernizing and democratizing education. The scheme involved some of the country's leading progressive specialists, such outstanding figures of Hungary's intellectual world as Mihaly Babics, who applied himself to refashioning higher education, and Bela Bartok and Zoltan Kodaly, who assumed guidance of higher musical education.

So, following the suppression of the Soviet Republic, the ruling class drew two 'cultural' conclusions: first, that culture must be fenced off from the masses, for thought, knowledge and education were suspect and vehicles of 'communist subversion,' and, second, that all progressive men of art, scientists, professors and teachers who had had a hand in organizing the cultural life of the Soviet Republic, must be eliminated.

*For other articles in this series see WMR, Jan., March, June, 1973.

'Serious' sociological work endeavored to prove that the Hungarian peasant was 'obsequious' from birth and was content with but a modicum of religious 'knowledge.' Funny proverbs were contrived, like the one about the peasant not needing to 'know more than that feet are pushed into boots one at a time,' to justify a practice that was anything but funny. The system of public education, designed to block the spread of culture, was barely sufficient to train the work force for the very much underdeveloped industry. Its ideological content was out-and-out reactionary.

The People's Democracy assumed the formidable job of organizing a new, democratic, socialist system of education. And what it has achieved may well be described as historic. Following the country's liberation, we put an end to the cultural monopoly of the overthrown classes, and organized mass education for workers, peasants and their children. Dissemination of reactionary ideology, notably anti-Sovietism, chauvinism and anti-democratism, was curbed. Socialist ideology became dominant in public education.

The former obsolete school was replaced with a school more responsive to the requirements of social reconstruction. We instituted eight-year schooling, adopted a law requiring every child to have 10 years of education, and nationalized the parish schools.

Figures tell a convincing tale about the results of those early efforts:

	1938	1972
Kindergarten attendance (% of 3-5 age group)	23.5	62.0
School attendance under obligatory education law (% of 6-14 age group)	—	98.6
Attendance at secondary schools of matriculation standard (% of 14-18 age group)	16.6	68.0
Attendance of higher educational establishments (% of 20-24 age group)	2.0	11.0

Nowadays, children of people in manual jobs comprise 55 per cent of the secondary-school enrolment and more than 40 per cent of the enrolment in universities and higher schools. Besides, many of the other students no longer come under that head because their parents have in the process of our development become members of the new, socialist intelligentsia. It may be said with legitimate pride, therefore, that tremendous strides have been made in unfolding the spiritual powers of the nation, of her true representatives—the working class and all working people.

To be sure, the old legacy still makes itself felt. For example, with the scattered farmsteads we inherited village schools where one teacher guides several classes at once. Neither have we yet eliminated the shortage of schools in the urban outskirts. There are also problems stemming from the slight lag of education behind the rapidly growing demands of full-scale socialist construction.

True, the lag is relative, but deficiencies tend to stand out in relief against our many achievements and new tasks.

We have reached a point in our socio-economic development where an uplift of education, of all its aspects, is vital and urgent for society's further progress. 'It is essential,' says the Resolution of the Tenth HSWP Congress, 'that the leading Party and government organs should analyze the entire system of state education and take steps to assure its further development.'

Economic growth and the scientific-technical revolution are setting higher demands on education. Society needs highly qualified specialists. But it is not only a matter of meeting the technical and economic needs of production, and training technocrats. The building of socialism requires an ever higher degree of intellectuality. We have therefore concentrated our effort on bringing up active, creatively-minded people who embrace socialism as the only acceptable system, identify their own welfare with the public well-being, with social progress, and have a sense of involvement in eliminating obsolescent and regressive tendencies.

The unfolding socialist democracy is also setting higher demands. While still in school, among children of their own age, young people must learn to use their rights responsibly, acquire the knack for teamwork, and be industrious and conscientious. This is achieved by involving pupils in various scholastic and extra-scholastic activities suited to their age.

Under socialism, knowledge is not all that the school must impart. It must help mould society, help unite the laboring classes and strata, and fortify the nation's unity. The school is also designed to help erase the disparity between town and country, and between mental and manual labor. With due respect for family upbringing, we are not letting either the advantages or the deficiencies of familial life be the decisive factor in shaping the child's future.

Education and upbringing are not restricted to the school. An ever greater influence – especially on the youth – is exercised by the radio, television, press, and cultural institutions. Yet, as before, apart from the family, the moulding of the individual occurs mainly in the school. In fact, its role in systematizing knowledge and developing the faculty of apprehending and using it, its significance in moulding the socialist individual, increase proportionally to the increasing influence of the extra-scholastic factors.

To suit the changed conditions, our Central Committee analyzed the state system of public education last year and outlined its further development in the new stage of socialist construction.

For the analysis we used the method that has stood us in good stead in framing solutions in other important social areas. Hundreds if not thousands of people took part in the 18-month project. We were helped by Party and public organizations, government bodies, scientists, specialists in industry and agriculture, students, public leaders and parents, but, naturally, most of all by professors and

teachers at all levels of education, from kindergarten to university. The results of the investigation, enclosed in ten thousand pages, proved a dependable basis for framing a solution. The high sense of involvement shown by all concerned, the knowledge and responsibility that went into the job, showed the effectiveness and potentialities of socialist democracy.

The Central Committee resolution on the condition and tasks of the nation's educational system ties in organically with other recent Central Committee decisions relating to culture and science. And at present we are working on a decision to expand the network of cultural institutions.

This shows that the Party is determined to raise the nation's educational and cultural standard on the basis of a comprehensive conception.

A search for solutions of the complicated problems of education is under way throughout the world. The answers depend on the nature of social relations. The two systems differ radically in their approach to education.

Since the essence of capitalism does not change, neither does that of the bourgeois school. Its purpose, as ever, is to raise narrow specialists who perform expertly in their field, and can handle technology. Due to the division of labor based on social antagonisms, these people, despite their high degree of skill, are no more than 'detail workers,' that is, 'ordinary bearers of a definite partial social function' (Marx, *Capital*.) The general set-up is so shaped as to facilitate manipulation with them inside and outside the factory.

The actions of Communist parties, workers and students, coupled with the new requirements of capitalist production, are compelling the bourgeoisie to undertake partial educational reforms. However, under capitalism far-reaching changes of real benefit to the people are impossible.

The answer is provided by socialist society, which directs education at replacing the detail worker, to use Marx's expression once more, with the 'fully developed individual.' What we want are specialists with a versatile education, well versed in theory and practice, possessing a Marxist-Leninist outlook, socialist ethics and far-reaching social interests, who can think independently, are politically conscious and are active in socialist construction. Educational establishments train young people for labor, for a professional career. But they are also expected to prepare them for life in the collective, for a rewarding personal life, to cultivate sensible and satisfying uses of leisure, and give them a taste for continuous self-improvement in this age of rapid scientific and technical progress, in this dynamic socialist world.

Truly up-to-date, socialist education implies a capacity for appreciating all cultural values. We reject the bourgeois idea and practice of counterposing the humanities to natural science and technical education. There is no abyss between science and aes-

thetics. We are firmly convinced that spiritual and physical culture can form a unity. A socialist education presupposes the ability to evaluate political events, the march of history, the development of society, from the only true standpoint of scientific communism. It also presupposes the ability to find one's place in the collective and use one's knowledge for the common benefit.

Only in a collective, not in spite of it or in isolation from it, can we mould the man of the new type, the free individual. And the collective that moulds this individual can be formed only in the struggle for the new society, because only under socialism and communism can the dream of the great utopian thinkers become a realistic aim. Only here 'the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all' (Marx, Engels, *Communist Manifesto*).

For years the school tried to keep pace with the rapid accumulation of knowledge. It kept re-patterning the curriculum, added to the number of subjects, introduced more and more new knowledge. As a result, children were, and still are, overburdened with irrelevant encyclopaedic information available in reference books and manuals. Teachers touch on a vast number of particular aspects, provide numerous facts, and require their pupils to remember them. This sort of thing falls short of the main aim: lasting knowledge of the fundamentals of science, and development of the mind. Neither does it encourage continuous acquisition of knowledge outside the school, the urge to broaden one's horizons.

It is hopeless to try and learn everything one may need in the next 30 or 40 years point by point. The school cannot compete with time, must not create the illusion of conclusive knowledge. It is quite enough to provide knowledge that will not change in the foreseeable future, that is, just the fundamentals. In our time, the two concepts 'school' and 'study' do not coincide. This was put down aptly in the 24th CPSU Congress resolutions: 'The development in all fields is now so rapid that the education received early in life is merely a foundation requiring a continuous addition of new knowledge.'

We want the younger generation to have a thirst for knowledge. The child looks at the world with wide open eyes, and asks ceaseless questions. To inquire, to seek the truth, is an inborn urge. In Shakespeare's tragedy, Julius Caesar speaks with disapproval of his adversary, 'he thinks too much: such men are dangerous . . . he reads much, he is a great observer . . .' But in our society this is a virtue. We admire it. To encourage the thirst for knowledge, to help mould the socialist personality, education and upbringing must give the youth all the answers to its whys and wherefores. If we turned a deaf ear to its questions, or if we shrugged them off, if we were not sensitive to its problems, if we showed irritation, we should breed indifference, even cynicism. And no man of socialist society should ever be indifferent, while cynicism is completely incompatible with our system.

Our Central Committee decisions have also set out our attitude towards natural endowment, especially to some of the outdated notions related to it. Often, young people who stand out for their theoretical perceptiveness, whose mental faculties are higher than average, are said to be 'endowed.' By saying 'let the gifted ones go on to university,' we unconsciously stigmatize those with other vocations. And, certainly, that is unfair. The concept 'endowment' is legitimate and true if we apply it to faculties generally, displayed in different theoretical or practical fields, if we relate it to all higher-than-average performance. It is know-how, the social value of labor, its outcome, its quality, that are the measure of endowment.

Our system of evaluation is meant to encourage young people to develop faculties most useful to them and society. This is consonant with the Party's ideal of versatile, harmoniously developed individuals with distinctive personalities.

As our Central Committee sees it, there is no urgency in changing the school system, consisting of eight-year basic schools, three-year vocational schools, four-year secondary schools (gymnasium or technical school), and higher educational establishments with a three- to six-year course of study. It still has many untapped possibilities. All the same, however, we are giving thought to what the structure should be in the more remote future. The Central Committee has instructed research institutes to work out suitable projects. But it is the view of our Central Committee that to justify this preparation, which will take many years, the main thing is to take a step forward now, within the present framework, and bring up to date the content and quality of education.

Here we give priority to the *basic* school, which lays the foundations of knowledge (after the eight years 85 per cent of our children go on to secondary school). We can elevate its academic and general standard by balancing out disparities in school facilities, and improving school work. Also, kindergartens are getting a big share of attention. Children who do not attend them are gradually drawn into a scheme of preparatory instruction, which introduces them to school life. Past experience in socialist countries shows how many potentialities are still untapped in modernizing instruction in lower forms.

The *vocational* schools prepare the bulk of the replacements for the working class. This is why improving them is of particular importance. Trainees, the future skilled workers, should acquire enough general knowledge to be able to go on to the secondary school. On finishing, they may join a three-year evening school, which opens the way to a higher education. Besides, there are one-year courses where university professors prepare young skilled workers for admission to university-level establishments. After completing them, applicants are admitted without entrance examinations.

In the past, industrial and agricultural *technical* schools set themselves an enticing goal: school-leavers should be able to go on

to university, should have a trade, and should possess a sufficient range of technical knowledge to assume supervisory functions. But this far-ranging aim proved unattainable. From now on technical schools will prepare young people not for university generally, but only for a specific higher education. (It stands to reason that the school-leaver retains his option, and need not necessarily go to a technical or agricultural higher school.) We have also given up the idea that technical schools should train foremen and supervisors. The more capable of the school-leavers, having become skilled workers, can acquire the additional knowledge required for this at special courses.

The *gymnasiums* are introducing extra-curricular subjects. This will help prepare pupils for further education, and also provide training for employment on finishing the gymnasium. The extra-curricular subjects are to be introduced in the second year, so that the children, their parents and teachers, have time enough to choose the right career.

Neither are we planning any sweeping organizational reforms in *higher education*. The demand for new types of specialists (e.g., agrarian chemists) could be partly met by the present structure through cooperation of different educational establishments. And to a large extent, as in many other cases, the matter could be solved by cooperation with other socialist countries. For example, more than a thousand Hungarians are studying in the Soviet Union, and acquiring professions they could not have learned at home.

The main purpose of the higher school is to lay a foundation, to provide students with a sum of stable and dynamic knowledge. True, this trend is often at loggerheads with the immediate requirements of enterprises, which expect 'ready-for-use' and 'fully trained' engineers. The higher school, we tell them, equips novice specialists with the essentials, and it is up to the enterprise to develop them for more responsible work.

Only recently, the view was widespread that *evening* and *correspondence* schools had completed their mission by giving an education to those whom the bourgeois system had denied a schooling. But the Central Committee found this form of education still relevant, because for various reasons thousands of workers get their education on the job. Furthermore, admission to higher schools is not foolproof, due, among other things, to the natural margin of error in evaluating ability and also in selecting the profession. So, in due course, correctives may be required. But still more important is the fact that the continuous development of production, of all public life, modifies the demand for specialists and sets higher requirements on their knowledge. And on-the-job training through evening and correspondence schools is a flexible way of meeting these demands. Last but not least, the progress of socialist construction is tending to reduce working hours and increase leisure, which will encourage ever larger numbers of people to extend their education. This, too, is a valid motive for retaining and improving the evening and correspondence schools.

The object of the Party's educational work is to instil in the masses the communist outlook, which determines the behavioral norms. And the modernization, the further development of public education, is also geared to this most important task. We have set out to devise more effective methods of instruction and upbringing for our youth to acquire the scientific world outlook.

Instruction in the basic rights and duties of the citizen is being introduced in all primary schools. And a course in the fundamentals of our world outlook, systematizing and elaborating on the ideological aspects of the general and special disciplines of the preceding classes, has been introduced in the fourth year at secondary schools.

Marxism-Leninism is an obligatory course at universities and institutes. And where the curriculum or, more precisely, the instructor, is aware that this subject is not simply a sum of knowledge, but also the source of beliefs and convictions, it becomes less of an obligation; the student experiences an inner need for it. This approach to Marxism-Leninism in the secondary and higher schools will help eliminate the frequently over-academic, inflexible nature of instruction, bring it closer to the life of our society, to the problems engaging our youth.

The Party considers it most important for the youth to understand and accept the principles and norms of proletarian internationalism and to realize the common destiny of our country and the whole socialist community.

In fostering socialist, collectivist ethics and political consciousness in our children we take into account – both in the content and methods of instruction – that they have had no direct experience or knowledge of imperialism, capitalism or the semi-feudal system that existed in Hungary until very recently. In fact, for the youngest the counter-revolution of 1956 is remote history. This generation compares and weighs capitalism against socialism not on the basis of personal experiences or impressions, but partly on the basis of direct and indirect acquaintance with world events. This is taken into account by educational establishments.

One of the main tasks of education and upbringing is to teach young people to be industrious. Labor is the mainstay of meaningful life. At home and at school the student encounters – should encounter – the beautiful and joyous feeling of work fulfilled. It was labor that made man, and labor remains a basic condition of human development.

We have done much to make labor the prime means of personal success, to make work for small or big collectives, for the nation as a whole, a prime source of well-being and fulfilled hopes and joys. It is the school's duty to awaken and foster this love and respect for labor, for every kind of well-done, meaningful work. When young pioneers do something useful for their class or school they experience the joy of working for the collective. When school children join to help beautify their community, build schools or roads, or rebuild homes destroyed by some natural disaster, when students help the children of workers and peasants to prepare for

college entrance examinations or engage in cultural work at vocational schools or in industrial communities, they promote not only their own advance but that of others as well.

The Party trains young people to think for themselves, with a sense of responsibility, collectivist ethics, self-disciplined people who accept and abide by the basic rules of social life and expect others to do the same, who can voluntarily subordinate their own interests to those of society, and are convinced that the best way of achieving personal happiness is by cooperating with the collective. And all this can be cultivated only in a collective.

The Young Communist League has an important part to play in collectivist upbringing, and one of the Party's duties is to help it in every way to perform its tasks. We see that in the schools where academic standards are low the YCL branches are out of touch with the students. Some schools, staggering from one extreme to another, either restrain their activity and narrow their sphere of work or fail to give them the necessary assistance. It is not true that young people are disorderly and undisciplined; on the contrary, they are more often than not, stricter than their elders in their self-appraisal. Thousands of excellently run camps and clubs and amateur activities are vivid proof that, given suitable preparation and thoughtful guidance, young people are quite capable of organizing work and recreation on their own, displaying a high degree of responsibility and always mindful of collective interests.

Our historic successes in education and upbringing are due to the selfless efforts of the great majority of teachers who have wholeheartedly embraced socialism and act in its best interests. The Party has confidence in the teachers and relies on them. We shall continue to perfect the content and structure of education and improve school facilities without forgetting, however, that the effectiveness of education depends first and foremost on the teachers. Only socialism can and does give them the genuine respect of the society. We are doing what Lenin deemed imperative for the educators of the new generation: '... to raise the school-teacher to the level that is absolutely essential if we want any culture at all, proletarian or even bourgeois' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 463).

The school prepares young people for the future; but the training is provided by teachers who were trained in the past. The contradiction can be overcome only with the help of teachers open to new ideas, of high professional standards and self-discipline, with imaginative thinking, teachers who keep abreast of the time and are devoted to socialism. Of no less importance is the dedicated work of teaching staffs as a whole.

We are seeking more attractive forms of retraining and advanced thinking. This must be done by the best representatives of the educational profession; also the greatest possible use must be made of the facilities provided by research institutes, universities and the mass information media, such as television, which can ensure the 'presence' of leading specialists in schools in the remote parts of the country.

Up till now the work of teachers has been hampered by

numerous duties and conventions. By giving greater independence to teachers and teacher collectives and encouraging the seekers of new roads, state bodies and local councils can provide greater opportunities for creativity. Teachers can hope to be successful only if they work as a creative educational collective. That is why it is our intention to expand the rights of teacher collectives. Already, they are entitled to take part in planning school work and deciding on all questions of education on which they can be expected to have expert judgment.

The expansion and strengthening of school democracy serves the interests of the society. A school engaged in moulding new people must also be a school of socialist democracy. But only that teacher is capable of bringing up young people in this spirit who himself has a sense of involvement in socialist democracy.

Greater rights for the teaching staff does not weaken, but rather enhances the principal's prestige. A school principal's prestige, like that of any other executive, depends first and foremost on his ability to create the most favorable conditions for the political, ideological and professional advancement of his personnel; it is based not on dictatorship but on the respect of the collective. To be sure, prestige must also be strengthened 'from above,' but this can be achieved only in harmony with prestige generated 'from below' and based on the ability to organize collective work.

Education is the concern of the whole of society. While we were preparing the new decision we saw (and the first steps in its implementation have confirmed this) that the new complex problems can be resolved only in conditions of broad public activity guided by the Party. We regard the improvement of education as a duty of prime socio-political importance to which all Party bodies and members must give their constant attention.

The Party is closely involved in the drawing up of the school and university system of the future, encouraging the experts to discard obsolete methods and seek bold and effective solutions. Communists must be visionaries probing the roads to the future, but always mindful that the future is rooted in the present. That is why we are wary of utopias and unrealistic plans. New proposals should be verified by extensive experiments. In charting future vistas we take into account the experience of today and consider it absolutely essential to learn from other countries of the socialist community and study the education plans of fraternal parties.

Socialism is the first society in which the adult generation deliberately sets itself the task of bringing up a harmoniously developed and knowledgeable young generation to take its place. We can do this if we break completely with the heritage of the past, when the school was, to a degree, a symbol of conservatism, and a person with ossified, dogmatic, hidebound views was rightly called a scholastic. That time has long passed, but survivals of it can occasionally be felt.

Nowadays, the school stands for up-to-date and verified knowledge. We want it to turn out independent, responsible people aspiring to work for socialism and ready for sacrifice in its name.

We cannot plan our future without planning the school's future, for the development of socialist society is impossible without the constant perfection of public education.

International theoretical conference

An international theoretical conference on 'The Working Class and Its Party in Contemporary Socialist Society' was held in Warsaw on May 21 to 23, 1973. It was sponsored by **WMR** in collaboration with the journal **Nowe Drogi** and the Higher School of Social Sciences of the CC PUWP. The participants were delegations of the brother parties of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union, representatives of **WMR** and **Nowe Drogi**, the Higher School of Social Sciences, and other Polish scientific institutions.

The introductory remarks were made by the head of the PUWP delegation, F. Szlachcic, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC PUWP. Thirty papers were presented. K. I. Zarodov, Chief Editor of **WMR**, made the concluding speech.

The conference dealt with various aspects of the evolution of the working class in the society building socialism and communism, and discussed ways and means of increasing the role of the working class and its party as the leading force of society and the main factor in the fight against revisionism and anti-communism.

The conference was held in a spirit of earnest and comradely discussion and of unity of views on all issues.

Participants met at the CC PUWP with J. Szydlak, member of the PB and secretary of the CC; S. Kania, alternate member of the PB, secretary of the CC; and A. Werblan, member of the CC Secretariat, who acquainted them with the Party's current activity.

The fraternal delegations to the conference were led by K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CC CPSU; K. Gyaurov, alternate member, PB of the CC BCP; J. Sandor, member CC HSWP; Hanna Wolf, member CC SUPG; G. Chimid, member CC MPRP; S. Voicu, member CC RCP, and V. Kves, member Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPC. They were received by E. Gierek, First Secretary CC PUWP. He informed them of the activity of the PUWP in carrying out the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress. E. Gierek spoke highly of **World Marxist Review** and its growing role in propagating Marxist-Leninist ideology and exposing currents and trends hostile to the working class.

A survey of the conference will be carried in one of the coming issues of **WMR**.



Main tool in building socialism

Lubomir Strougal
Presidium Member,
CC CP Czechoslovakia,
Chairman Federal Government
of Czechoslovakia

The present period of building developed socialism imposes new requirements on the mechanism of social administration and the state machinery and requires the deepening and more effective functioning of socialist democracy.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia pays constant attention to the key problems of the state, democracy and the whole political organization of society. One of these is to expand the functions of the socialist state in keeping with the nation's economic progress, the socialist consciousness of its people and the ever greater international impact of the new system's achievements. Add to this that the question of the role of the state has become a focal point of acute ideological struggle.

In all we do to improve the system of government administration and to enhance its effectiveness we rely on the solid methodological foundation provided by the heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin and, as emphasized in the documents of the 14th Congress of the CPC, strive to take into account 'the whole of the positive experience of the past that has vindicated itself, as well as to make use of the rich experience of the fraternal countries, especially the USSR.' The greater the international experience we can draw on, the less 'right' we have to make mistakes and the greater our responsibility for consolidating and developing our gains.

I. Following Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army in May 1945 and the victory of the national-democratic revolution, a popular democratic state was formed. In class content it was a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the people transitional to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In February 1948, political power in its entirety passed into the hands of the working class. This marked a qualitative change in the content and essence of state power, with the popular democratic state gradually assuming

all the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The most important of these was defense of the revolutionary gains against numerous internal and external enemies of the new regime, since the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, though removed from the seats of power, still had considerable influence in the country and maintained close contacts with international imperialism.

With socialist change the state increasingly took over economic functions, assuming responsibility for economic management, planning and organization, as well as for control over the measure of labor and consumption. Its cultural and educational functions also became increasingly important. Overcoming and removing the accumulations and survivals of preceding socio-economic structures in people's consciousness and psychology, and fostering a socially conscious attitude toward work and devotion to the cause of socialism and international solidarity with the liberation struggles of working people all over the world, became part of the functions of state bodies.

The qualitatively new character of state power, the expansion of its functions and its greater role in society necessitated the creation of new bodies and offices staffed with politically alert and professionally competent personnel. Thousands of politically conscious workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals were enrolled in the civil service. The state apparatus became truly of the people.

The CPC creatively applied, in our industrial country, the Marxist-Leninist proposition that throughout the capitalism-socialism transition the state must be a proletarian dictatorship. In 25 years of revolutionary transformation of Czechoslovak society the working class, led by the Communist Party, has, in the words of the 14th CPC Congress, 'convincingly demonstrated that socialism is an incomparably more just, democratic and progressive social system ensuring a more happy and prosperous life for the working man.'

But in the 50s a number of errors were made in resolving urgent problems of building socialism. They were aggravated by a subjectivist analysis of the maturity of social relations, and contradictions widened between the socialist state's actual progress and what was understood to be its functions. It was claimed that all the fundamental tasks of the transition from capitalism to socialism had been resolved and hence the dictatorship of the proletariat was no longer necessary.

What we had was a simplified approach to the definition of the stages through which the building of socialism must pass and the criteria for judging its maturity. The building of socialist society was interpreted as meaning only changing the forms of ownership and removing the economic base of class antagonisms. The fact that this had been achieved was cited to support the claim that, by the 1960s, Czechoslovakia had become a developed socialist society and conditions were ripe for a state of the whole people.

Over-assessment of Czechoslovakia's socialist society, in respect of both the basis and the superstructure, favored the emergence

and spread of revisionist views and trends, which in 1968-1969 were exploited by international imperialism and internal reaction in an attempt to undermine the foundations of socialism and, ultimately, do away with it altogether. These attempts were an important component of a planned counter-revolutionary coup, which failed thanks to the resolute struggle of the healthy Marxist-Leninist forces in the Party and the people against reaction and opportunism, and thanks to the internationalist help of fraternal socialist states. The CPC got rid of the Right-wing opportunist and revisionist elements. Its new leadership headed by Comrade Gustav Husak concentrated on overcoming the consequences of the crisis.

The first task was to strengthen the authority of the state and assert its functions as a tool of class power. The Party's leading role was fully restored at all levels of the state apparatus, which was purged of anti-socialist elements. The unified leadership of society gradually consolidated on the basis of democratic centralism and state planning.

An essential part of the whole consolidation process was strict adherence to the law, from the point of view of both citizens' rights and protecting the interests of society as a whole and the socialist principles of our development. This process, which was consummated by the 14th Party Congress, resulted in the strengthening of Czechoslovakia's international standing and prestige. An important element was the new treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation with the Soviet Union, which guaranteed our country from external threats, its sovereignty and continued socialist development.

Having consolidated the foundations of the new system, we are now concentrating on building developed socialism. The task is to raise the productive forces to a qualitatively new level based on the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Of major importance is the further socialization of labor and the development of socialist relations of production, which will bring the working class, cooperative farmers and other population strata and groups closer together. An important aspect of the present stage is the further substantial improvement of material and cultural standards, the general and professional training of all working people and their grasp of Marxism-Leninism.

The interdependence of internal and external factors is especially apparent at the present stage of socialist construction, with the role of external factors increasing. Thus, the growing trend toward internationalization of the production forces makes it incumbent on the Party and the state to give more attention to measures aimed at expanding socialist economic integration. Integration adds new elements and scope to the state's internal and external functions. The Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, the first document on long-term multilateral cooperation of fraternal countries, establishes the principle of socialist internationalism as an ethical, political and legal basis of relations between states.

In speaking of integration we should not restrict ourselves only

to questions of internationalization of the productive forces. Also involved is greater cooperation between socialist states in other fields. An important aspect of the international activity of socialist countries is coordination of their foreign policy, joint defense of revolutionary gains, and the struggle against aggressive encroachments of imperialism and its anti-communist ideology.

The socialist state continues to play an important part in dealing with these difficult and diverse tasks. In this connection the CPC attaches major importance to improving the functioning of the administrative apparatus. As emphasized in the resolution of its 14th Congress, it is 'necessary constantly to abide by Leninist methods and style, work for high political and professional standards, and eradicate bureaucracy and indifference toward the needs of people.' Our efforts are concentrated on having the central bodies of state administration work to a single concept and make better use of scientific data and international experience.

Naturally, the CPC does not view the state organism as something ossified and unchangeable. We carefully analyze the changes in political organization that occur as the country advances, taking into account that the conditions for a state of the whole people are gradually ripening. But this is a long-term perspective. At the present stage the Czechoslovak state retains its character of dictatorship of the proletariat.

II. The period of building developed socialism sees the expansion of socialist democracy, the highest form of democracy in a class society. It creates the conditions for exercising all the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, and for citizens to perform their duties, and is the vehicle whereby the working people exercise their complete sovereignty.

As a component part of the political superstructure of society, democracy is conditioned by its economic base, of which it is the political and legal expression. Under socialist relations of production democracy is a fundamental principle of organization of the new society. This is its basic difference from the bourgeois system, in which democracy is but one of several possible forms of the superstructure and one of the main means of promoting the interests of the ruling class. Public ownership of the means of production and political power of the working class in alliance with all working people make possible and necessary the active creative participation of the broadest masses of the working people in building socialism. Such participation requires the development of democracy and, at the same time, the greatest conscious discipline of the working people. The 14th CPC Congress gave special attention to these questions.

The CPC's principled and clear line of expanding socialist democracy is not, of course, an end in itself. The Party strives to take into account the degree of development of the material and technical base, the ideological and political unity of the people, etc. Every new stage in the building of socialism poses new tasks and prob-

lems, makes it incumbent on Communists to approach the perfection of political forms of social organization on the basis of scientific analysis. The aim is to bring the legal institutions of the state, as well as their individual elements, into line with the present level of socialist social relations. In expanding democracy there is no place for fortuitous, hasty 'reforms' that interfere with the new society's advance or for 'models' ignoring the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist statehood.

The needs and interests of man are the supreme concern of socialist society. Only socialist democracy creates an atmosphere of genuine humanism in which the political forms of social administration cease to be contrary to the interests of the individual.

Extensive participation of the people in managing social processes and tackling the problems of socialist construction goes hand in hand with the leading role of the working class and its Communist Party, for the workers constitute the only class which does not set itself the aim of perpetuating its power. The synthesis of these two basic principles is the earnest of our society's consistent socialist orientation.

Our citizens take part in administration through elective and other state bodies and the mass organizations and political parties of the National Front. It is the constant duty of our whole political system and the working people themselves to use and develop the effective forms of this democracy.

We attach much importance to elections to representative bodies, both as vehicles of popular sovereignty and as a means of extending and perfecting socialist democracy. The meaning of our elections is unity of the people and election of their best representatives. For under socialism elections play a positive integrating function, they harmoniously blend local and group interests with the interests of the society as a whole. Our democratic election system is in keeping with these principles because it provides broad opportunities for popular participation from the very beginning, when the National Front candidates are being nominated. Every citizen enjoys the inalienable right to express his attitude towards a candidate through direct vote and, after election, to hold the deputies of all representative bodies accountable for their performance in office. The electorate enjoys the equally important right to recall a deputy who fails to perform in the best interests of the society.

In 1968, Right-wing, anti-socialist forces, operating under a 'renewal' label, sought to violate these principles and change the election system so as to achieve their main goal of weakening and subsequently doing away with the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. 'Politicians' and 'theoreticians' of the Right extolled the 'virtues' of bourgeois democracy, seeking to introduce an election system similar to the pluralist structure of bourgeois society. For understandable reasons they failed to mention that the 'advantage' of bourgeois democracy is that it totally ignores the genuine interests of the working people and gives preference to those of the ruling

class. They also failed to say that political pluralism in capitalist countries is a logical consequence of the deep internal differentiation of the ruling bourgeoisie and its inability to integrate as a class.

The tendency to restore the machinery of 'political pluralism' in our country manifested itself, above all, in attempts to form another 'working-class' party, e.g., the Social-Democratic, 'alongside' the Communist Party. That would have artificially split the working class and so run counter to its objective character as an organized social class equipped with the integral revolutionary scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

The outcome of the 1971 general election was a clear answer to anti-Communist designs. The convincing election victory of the policy of the Party and the National Front – a policy expressing the community of the fundamental class, national and international interests of the workers and other working people – was evidence of the population's support for the policy of the new CPC leadership. It was an important factor in finalizing the results of the consolidation of Party and society.

As regards the position and role of representative bodies, the CC CPC in February 1973 re-emphasized that 'the Party takes meaningful steps to ensure that all government bodies and their apparatus serve the working class and the people. The Party constantly sees to it that the class composition of these bodies and the professional, ideological and political training of their personnel are adequate and in keeping with the functions and mission of the socialist state.'

This principle is fully applied. In Czechoslovakia's highest organ of state power – the Federal Assembly – 141 out of the 350 seats are held by workers and cooperative farmers, and other segments of the population, including intellectuals, are likewise represented. Account has also been taken of the rights of national and ethnic groups: along with the Czech deputies there are 123 Slovak and 24 Hungarian, Ukrainian, Polish and German deputies.

The situation is similar in the highest bodies of both our republics: 94 of the 200 deputies to the Czech National Council are workers or cooperative farmers, 58 are intellectuals and 48 are members of other social strata. On the Slovak National Council, 66 of the 150 deputies are workers or cooperative farmers and 84 represent other social strata.

The composition of representative bodies is expressive of the social role of the political parties – the Czechoslovak Communist Party, which is the leading political organization of the country, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Czechoslovak People's Party, Party of Slovak Rebirth and Slovak Freedom Party. The Federal Assembly includes 61 deputies belonging to no party and the National Councils of both republics, another 78 non-party deputies.

The national committees, which exercise state power in the various communities, districts and regions, play an important part in promoting socialist democracy. They comprise over 204,000

deputies, 42 per cent of whom are non-party people. The social composition of national committees at all levels is in keeping with the Constitution, which says that 'all power in the CSSR belongs to the working people.' Workers make up 41 per cent of the total number of deputies, members of agricultural cooperatives and small farmers 19.3 per cent, intellectuals 23.9 per cent and members of other population groups over 15 per cent.

Roughly one-third of the deputies are below 35 years of age. Women, who account for almost 24 per cent of the deputies, have a notable share in the activity of national committees. Every fifth woman deputy is on a national committee council and 1,342 women are committee chairmen or secretaries.

The foregoing facts confirm the democratic character of these important agencies of the socialist state. However, citizens' participation in their work is much greater. There are 35,000 commissions operating under national committees, with a membership of nearly 240,000. They are assisted by 9,546 civic committees which have almost 100,000 members and are in turn aided by tens of thousands of house commissions.

The National Committees take guidance from the National Front's election programs based on the decisions of the 14th Party Congress. These programs provide for the development of various areas and are intended to meet the fundamental requirements and interests of the urban and rural population. Numerous working people, National Front organizations, government and economic agencies participated in drafting them. At election meetings people did not confine themselves to discussing the merits of candidates, but took a stand on election programs, and thereby they largely predetermined the activity of the new representative bodies in the next five years. National Committees at all levels regularly inform the public of progress in carrying out plans, which enables citizens to exercise their right of control. The implementation of election programs is part of the everyday work of Party organizations, the National Front and National Committees.

The National Committees concern themselves with a wide range of problems. They manage public affairs in their areas and see to the solution of problems of education, culture, health and social maintenance, the service industry, transport, construction, trade, environmental protection, and so on. The organizations controlled by them extend paid or free services to the population. The economic importance of their activity is seen in the fact that they spend roughly half of the funds budgeted by the two republics. The National Committees also perform a number of control functions in regard to other agencies and organizations in their respective areas. Their activities virtually cover every field.

The steady expansion of public services and the moulding and education of socialist man make it necessary to improve the work of local government and of every member of society. The National Committees must be effective and important bodies of government.

The Party and the whole of society for that matter are working

for high efficiency in representative bodies. This concerns their functions, organizational and structural matters, working methods, personnel, and material facilities.

III. The introduction of federal principles was a step forward in developing the political system of the CSSR, which is based on the common interests of the Czech and Slovak peoples. The leading role of the working class in the national and democratic revolution and the final victory achieved in February 1948 paved the way for a consistent Marxist-Leninist settlement of the national question in Czechoslovakia. As socialist building went on, the Communist Party laid emphasis on speeding the economic and cultural advancement of Slovakia and ending the lag inherited from the capitalist period. Outstanding results were achieved in 25 years of socialist development. In the 1948-1972 period, industrial production in the Slovak Republic grew 14-fold, the share of mechanical engineering rising to 26 per cent as against 12 per cent in 1948. Crop yields doubled. Enrolment in secondary schools grew more than fourfold and in higher schools, almost fivefold. In a historically short time Slovakia became an industrial country with developed farming and a high standard of education and culture.

However, constitutional adjustment of national relations fell farther and farther behind economic and social progress. It was necessary to end underestimation of this aspect of the national question and manifestations of subjectivism. On the Party's initiative, our republic was reorganized from a unitary into a federal state of two Slav peoples – the Czechs and the Slovaks. The federal structure was adopted according to Leninist principles and after the example of the Soviet federation, which years of experience have shown to be an effective constitutional form of adjusting relations between nationalities in a multinational state on consistently democratic lines.

The federal structure of the CSSR became effective on January 1, 1969. The Czechoslovak federation is a voluntary union of two national republics – the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. It guarantees the self-determination of both nations and their right to statehood in full accordance with the principle of internationalist class solidarity. This is of special importance to the Slovak nation, which suffered greatly from economic backwardness and inequality within the Czechoslovak bourgeois state.

The Czech and Slovak peoples today are guaranteed equality by both the equal status of the two national republics forming the federation and equal participation of the two nations in federal bodies and their decision-making. This is made possible by the structure of the Federal Assembly, composed of a People's Chamber and a Chamber of Nationalities, and by other constitutional guarantees. The political guarantees of equality are supplemented, in keeping with Leninist principles, by economic guarantees possible only under socialism. That is why Federal bodies have been entrusted

with removing social and economic distinctions between the two republics, particularly by providing equal conditions and opportunities for creating and using the national income.

The federal structure is fully consistent with the fundamental principles and values of socialism: the political power of the working class allied with other working people; the leading role of the CPC in the socialist political system, uniform for the federation and its constituent parts; a planned socialist economy based on public property. The distinctive features of the Czechoslovak federation which are due to the special character of the political union of the two nations in no way affect its socialist substance. Our federation is of the same type as the Soviet federation.

More than four years' experience have shown the socialist nature of the Czechoslovak federation to be an important factor for unifying our nations. But since the federal structure was introduced at a time when we were eliminating the effects of the crisis situation of 1968/69, and since we had to 'complete' this structure in the first post-crisis years with due regard to political and economic consolidation tasks, we concerned ourselves primarily with promoting the functions of the socialist state and raising the prestige and efficiency of its agencies.

On analyzing the experience of the federal structure, the CPC took steps to perfect the federation and heighten the efficiency of Federal and republican bodies. The purpose of these steps, especially with regard to planning, the budget and delineation of authority of the Federal and the republican agencies, was to increase the leading role of Federal bodies throughout the economy and in key industries. These measures were prompted by the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, and in carrying them out we took account of the experience of the Soviet federation.

Now, the Federal government and its agencies exercise their leading, integrating and coordinating function to good advantage. The delienation of functions between the federation and the two republics has made for harmonious operation of government bodies at all levels under the overall guidance of the CPC. Interconnection and coordination are becoming the rule in the work of Federal and republican bodies.

The results achieved in recent years in every sphere of our social life confirm the necessity for the integrating function of the federation, especially in the economy. It has made for effective use of every instrument of planned economic management in the two republics and the federation as a whole.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regards the socialist federation as a means of integrating the two national republics, unifying the interests of our peoples and helping them to draw closer together as they build a developed socialist society. The experience gained to date shows that in Czechoslovak conditions the federal structure makes it possible optimally to coordinate national interests with an internationalist approach to fundamental common interests.

Our experience confirms the universal validity of the Marxist-Leninist principles of solving the national question and the fundamental principles of socialist federation as embodied in the USSR. It shows that consistent solution of this question is an important factor of social progress.

The socialist state is an intricate mechanism of agencies and institutions and their interconnections. Consequently, its institutional forms should be seen, and studied, as part of an integrated whole. In line with the conclusions of the 14th Party Congress, we lay emphasis on continuously, if gradually, improving the organization and functioning of the socialist state, of deepening its democratic character as progress is made in building socialism. The socialist state is a highly dynamic organism and structural changes, even partial, of one institution were bound to react on others. An overall approach to the problem of perfecting the socialist state necessarily connotes forecasting the desirable as well as undesirable effects of contemplated changes. It is in this area that the Marxist-Leninist science of state and law has ample scope for socially important creative research. Prognostication by Party and government bodies, and, of course, by research institutions, in this sphere is as important as in the economy. It is essential steadily to perfect the functioning of our state so that it may be equal to the contemporary tasks of building socialist society and prepare, both institutionally and functionally, to fulfil the tasks that will face it at the next stage.

The decisive factor for the further progress of Czechoslovak statehood is the leading role of the Communist Party, the only social force capable of formulating a meaningful development program for socialist society and the state on the basis of scientific socialism, and of organizing the working people's effort to implement it.

Foreign workers in Western Europe

This was the subject of a seminar arranged by **World Marxist Review** in Prague. It brought together Communist Party representatives from the following ten countries: Belgium, Britain, FRG, France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Turkey.

In his introductory remarks, K. I. Zarodov, the journal's Editor-in-Chief, stressed the importance and topicality of the problem.

For the Communist movement, he said, the social and political consequences of labor migration are both a new and an old problem. Marx and Engels, it will be recalled, studied the relations between the British proletariat and Irish immigrant workers and drew im-

portant conclusions for the strategy and tactics of the liberation struggle. Lenin observed that capitalism had given rise to a 'special form of migration of nations' (Coll. Works, Vol. 19, p. 454). In his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* he described migration from relatively backward, low-wage countries to developed capitalist countries as a special feature of imperialism.

But, of course, what we are dealing with today is far greater than anything recorded in the past. For one thing, the scale and direction of migration have changed. In the past, the exodus was from Europe to overseas capitalist countries, first the United States and then Canada and Australia, where population growth lagged behind growth of the economy and 'superfluous' capital. Today the flow of immigrants is to Western Europe. They come not to settle, but to do temporary work – mostly from other West European capitalist countries rather than the Third World. Spontaneous movement of populations has given way to a deliberate monopoly policy of redistributing manpower resources. And so, the question of foreign labor power has acquired specific features and implications that merit careful investigation. The Communist parties, both in the host and 'exporting' countries, are gravely concerned over the fate of migrant workers. And yet the problem has not been collectively discussed by representatives of the fraternal parties.

Notwithstanding the complexity of the situation created by this international migration, the Communist parties have found a number of effective organizational and political solutions that are now being put into practice. At this seminar the matter could be examined from a theoretical standpoint; we could see the place it occupies in the Marxist-Leninist analysis of state-monopoly capitalism, and also exchange information.

Since I have no wish of forestalling the exchange of opinions, let me confine myself to just two aspects of the problem.

The Common Market monopolies are jointly exploiting the labor resources of member and non-member states. By massive imports of foreign workers, they pursue the dual object of creating a pool of cheap labor power, on the one hand, and sharpening competition on the labor market, on the other, setting native against foreign workers and thereby increasing pressure on wage levels and, as the end result, weakening working class unity. It is no accident that the reactionary element is using the influx of foreign workers to whip up racial and nationalist feelings.

This is part of the monopoly policy of dividing the working class and weakening its revolutionary potential. And to it the Communist parties and many trade unions oppose their own policy based on proletarian internationalism. Statements by brother parties show that the Communists appreciate the need to protect the migrant workers' economic and political rights, strengthen working-class unity and internationalism, and in this way advance the world revolutionary process. This seminar offers a good opportunity to review the experience accumulated by the parties in this field.

Second, it is highly important to distinguish to what extent the

present migration wave to Western Europe reflects the objective development requirements of the productive forces, and to what extent it reflects the egoistic interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie. What are these objective requirements? What are the chief social and economic consequences of migration, both for the host and 'exporting' countries? What connection is there between imperialist integration and migration? What are the prospects for this latter-day 'migration of nations'? What difficulties, and what fresh opportunities for the revolutionary struggle, are presented by migration? These and other questions could be the subject of our discussion.

In conclusion, K. I. Zarodov cited these two passages from the Marxist-Leninist classics:

'Since the condition of the workers of all countries is the same, since their interests are the same, and since their enemies are the same, the workers must fight jointly and oppose to the fraternal alliance of the bourgeoisie of all nations their own fraternal alliance of the workers of all nations' (F. Engels, 'On Poland').

And the second passage: 'Only by casting off every savage and foolish national prejudice, only by uniting the workers of all nations into one association, can the working class become a force, offer resistance to capitalism, and achieve a serious improvement in its conditions' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 308).

Today, when state-monopoly capitalism is facilitating the internationalization of the working class by bringing together huge masses of workers of different nationalities, these propositions are no less, perhaps even more, valid than when they were propounded – the first by Engels and the second by Lenin.

Magnitude of the problem

Statistics cited at the seminar showed the unprecedented mobility of labor power and the scale of migration. Suffice it to say that in the 60s over *one million* (not counting seasonal labor) emigrated every year in search of work in other European countries. In some countries the influx of foreign workers reached staggering dimensions. Thus, the annual average for the FRG was 364,000, Switzerland – 310,000, France – 227,000, Holland – 150,000.

The FRG now has 2,345,000 foreign workers, equivalent to about 11 per cent of the work force. The figure for France is 2,500,000 (20 per cent), Britain 2,500,000, Switzerland about 1,000,000, Belgium over 180,000 (of whom 157,000 blue-collar and 23,000 white-collar, or 11 per cent of the work force), Sweden over 400,000, etc.*

All told, there are *more than 10 million* foreign industrial and office workers in the West European industrial countries. But it should be borne in mind that the figure fluctuates between 8 to 12 million, depending on the statistical method employed. Some include

*Total immigrants in these countries is substantially higher. There are 4 million in France, for instance, and 3.7 million in Britain. But not all of them are wage-earners, and include members of families, professionals, small businessmen, shopkeepers, artisans, whereas the above figures refer only to those employed in production and the service industries.

families while others do not, some take only the official figures, while others include estimates of 'contraband' migration.*

Communist Party representatives attending the seminar from major host countries and from those that have become purveyors of labor power for the 'Europe of the Monopolies' cited facts and figures to produce a more salient, stereoscopic picture of migratory processes in Europe.

No less than five million Italian workers have left the country in search of jobs in other parts of Europe. More than four million Spaniards are living abroad, of whom more than two million in Europe. In 1955-1970, about one million Greeks sought jobs in Western Europe, and about half a million are still living abroad, of whom more than two million in Europe. In 1955-1970, about one million Greeks sought jobs in Western Europe, and about half a million are still living abroad, 370,000 in Federal Germany alone. More than one million Portuguese workers emigrated to France and other countries in the 60s. Turkey, too, is thrusting ahead with 700,000 of its citizens (of whom 50,000 on . . . tourist visas!) already abroad and another million on the waiting list. Most of them go to the FRG, where Turks (528,000) comprise the biggest ethnic group (22.4 per cent) among guest workers.

This massive migration and redistribution of manpower in capitalist Europe is bound to have far-reaching economic, social and political consequences for all the countries concerned. But before analyzing the consequences, the seminar looked into the causes of this heightened demand for foreign labor in Western Europe.

In the interests of big business

Marxist-Leninist studies of the migration problem always emphasize the contradictory and relative character of the present labor shortage in Western Europe. In the capitalist world, the number of job-seekers is usually considerably greater than the number of available jobs. Several countries that continue to accept foreign workers have relatively high unemployment levels.

The relative deficit of labor in capitalist Europe is the result of a conjuncture of economic, social and demographic factors, some irreversible, others transitory.

One such factor is the decline of the able-bodied population caused by the war. According to some estimates, the former EEC Six lost about 11 million in war casualties and postwar emigration.

Also this: Eastern Europe's passage to socialism eliminated another source of immigration. The socialist countries are no longer, as they had been before the war, a reservoir of labor for the 'industrial West.'**

Many speakers emphasized the link between large-scale migration and the increasingly uneven development of capitalist coun-

*This 'contraband' migration, especially from fascist-regime countries, is often far in excess of the legal migration: legal emigration from Portugal in 1970 is officially estimated at slightly more than 50,000, and 'contraband' emigration at over 100,000.

**The exception, so far, is Yugoslavia. There are over 460,000 Yugoslav workers in the FRG, where they make up the second biggest ethnic group.

tries. The more developed European capitalist countries have been growing at a faster pace than before the war, but this only widens the gap with the industrially backward European countries. The profit drive, which played such a big part in accelerating capitalist integration and the founding of the Common Market, played a determining part also in monopoly's migration policy. Its purpose was to assure super-exploitation of foreign workers, redistribute capitalist Europe's labor resources and somehow regulate their use in the interests, needless to say, of the more powerful monopoly groups. It is no accident that one of the first to recruit foreign labor was the Federal Republic of Germany, where the factors mentioned above were more pronounced.

Analyzing the motives of French Big Business, *Charles Barontini*, the French Communist Party's functionary in charge of work among foreign workers, said that the sharp increase in the import of foreign labor began in 1958 with the establishment of the authoritarian regime and was expressive of the monopolies' desire to consolidate their domination.

With the growth of state-monopoly capitalism (*Barontini* said) the main consideration was to find new sources of capitalist accumulation, assure the powerful private-sector groups still bigger profits and boost concentration to enable French capital to continue its expansion policy despite the loss of the colonial empire, and effectively deal with sharper competition in foreign markets. Accordingly, the state gave the monopolies lavish financial privileges and helped them step up exploitation of the working class.

The French authorities justify the policy of encouraging immigration, which is uprooting thousands of families, by the compulsion of economic development. In fact, however, the immigrant work force is mainly benefiting state-monopoly capitalism. The guest workers are subjected to maximum exploitation, which creates pressures on the entire system of wages. *Pompidou* as much as admitted this in 1963. 'Immigration,' he said, 'is a means of relieving the pressure on the labor market and a way of resisting social tensions.'

Miguel Segura, member of CC, CP of Spain, said: The migration in Europe is an effect of state-monopolistic concentration and internationalization of the productive forces, the fierce inter-monopoly and inter-imperialist competition, and the widening gap between the industrially-developed and the developing countries, between different regions of the world. The mid-century scientific-technical revolution coincides with the rapid growth of state-monopoly capitalism, facilitated by the vast reserves of cheap labor in the economically weaker countries of Europe and elsewhere. Some capitalist states are economic parasites at the expense and to the detriment of others. Millions of people have been reduced to a common commodity. 'We ask for hands, and get people,' a German capitalist is known to have observed with callous disdain, epitomizing the inhumanity of this scheme.

Idris Cox, CP of Great Britain, agreed that the inflow of foreign

workers into West European countries is traceable to state-monopoly capitalism and the widening activity of giant multinational concerns. Also, it is largely traceable to the EEC. Multinational monopolies operate in several countries at once, and exploit the manpower of all the countries concerned. Consequently, they encourage migration of labor.

In Great Britain, the problem of foreign workers has peculiar features as a result of the country's imperial past, and the dual attitude of Conservatives and Laborites towards the Common Market. There are twice as many white immigrants as immigrants with a black skin (2.5 million and 1.2 million respectively). Yet reaction has come out publicly against admitting black-skinned immigrants, and the venom of racialism has spread far and wide in recent years. The neo-fascist forces and Right-wing Conservatives conduct racist campaigns, blaming the deteriorating housing conditions and the mounting unemployment on the dark-skinned immigrants. What is extremely significant is that the number of work permits for black immigrants has declined from an average of 20,000 a year for the three years 1963-1965 to only 3,000 a year for the three years 1969-1971. The general trend of British government policy is to cut down each year on black immigrants and to encourage more white immigrants every year.

Who benefited from immigration? asked Jacques Moins, member of CC, CP of Belgium, and answered: the employers, the capitalists. Foreign workers play a prominent part in the Belgian economy. Immigrants are used mainly in heavy industry, in the dangerous and harmful trades (e.g., three out of every five miners are foreigners) and on unattractive jobs shunned by Belgian workers.

It is not humanity that motivates the authorities to encourage immigration of families rather than lone workers, for thereby industrial areas with a low birthrate gain the prospect of additional young people for the work force. Immigration thus serves demography, as well as production.

Heinz Muellhaus, member of the Ruhr-Westphalia leadership of the German Communist Party, said that state regulation of recruitment abroad geared to the requirements of capital accumulation builds up a labor potential for economic expansion and, at the same time, a labor reserve on an international plane.

'Freedom of travel' but no freedom of choice.

Driving for super-profits, present-day state-monopoly capitalism repays those who produce its vast wealth with stark ingratitude.

Take the freedom of workers' travel provided for in the EEC Rome Treaty. Bourgeois propaganda extols this as a token of individual freedom. But is this true? The facts cited at the symposium yield the following uninviting picture.

H. Muellhaus: Most immigrants come to the FRG from countries that have concluded manpower agreements with Bonn, such as Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Morocco and

Tunisia. Foreign workers from Common Market countries (Italy) are supposed to have certain advantages, but in general there is no *legislation to govern the legal status of foreigners in the FRG.*

Foreign workers are denied the rights possessed by local workers. The immigration authorities are vested with broad powers. It depends totally on their whim and fancy to grant or withhold entry permits, to set the terms of residence, or to expel. Most guest workers sign an undertaking before leaving their country to do a specified job at a specified enterprise or in a specified industry. *They have almost no freedom of choice.* Before changing a job they must have their employer's consent. And frequently, he wants to be paid for it. Resigning from a job may entail deportation, for a foreign worker's passport is stamped with the following legend: 'This residential permit becomes invalid once employment is terminated.' Deportation is also the lot of those who fall sick or are incapacitated in an accident. They are expelled for failing to honor their contract, for 'not helping the German economy and industry.'

Under Article 6 of the Aliens Act they are denied civic freedoms, such as the freedom of assembly, speech, organization, travel and choice of job. Article 10 makes the provision that persons may be deported for 'political reasons,' thus allowing scope for abuse against democratic elements, Communists and trade unionists.

In this sense, the Federal Republic of Germany is no exception. In Belgium, too, Moins observed, the rules governing foreign workers are extremely vague; regulations are amended and interpreted in ministerial circulars. As a result, a foreigner is wholly denied legal guarantees. Even regulations that may look liberal at first glance are geared to the needs of capitalist production.

To avoid providing the advantages that are due to immigrants from EEC countries,* employers recruit manpower elsewhere, especially in the Mediterranean countries. At present, however, admission of foreign workers is substantially restricted, because unemployment has mounted visibly. This regulation of entry is, in a way, an escape valve for the labor market: when hands are short immigration is more liberal and the doors are even open to job-seeking 'tourists'; when difficulties arise, the authorities adhere to the letter of the law and require work permits, residential permits, etc., and violators are prosecuted. One might say that in such cases Belgium exports her unemployment.

Sune Olsson, alternate member of Central Committee, Left Party - Communists of Sweden, said: The labor market in the northern countries is ostensibly wide open. But, in fact, severe restrictions are applied to people from other parts of Europe. Prospective immigrants must have a guaranteed job and housing before entering Sweden. Their labor permit is valid for one year, the question of renewing it for another two years cannot be raised until after it

*The provision that immigrants from EEC countries and local workers should have the same labor and social rights entered into force in October 1972. But this applies in practice to but a portion of foreign workers, and is a concession won by determined action by the working class and its unions.

expires. Employers pay foreign workers the lowest possible rates, subject them to diktat, and use them on the hardest jobs rejected by Swedish workers.

The vicious racist immigration laws operating in Great Britain were described by Vishnu Dutt Sharma, member of Executive Committee, CP of Great Britain. A disgraceful piece of legislation was passed in 1968 with even British subjects whose parents were not born in the country coming under the Immigration Control Regulations due exclusively to their ethnic origin. Most are of Indian extraction and reside in Eastern Africa. By so doing, the British government is violating the Declaration of Human Rights.

The 1971 Immigration Act, which entered into force this January, has reduced immigrant workers to the status of seasonal laborers. The candidly racist law denies entry to black-skinned people from the Commonwealth countries. Now, work permits are issued for a definite job in a definite firm for a definite time. Changing jobs without consent of the Employment Administration is prohibited. Permits must be renewed yearly during the first four years, and this only with the employer's consent. Thereby, workers are placed completely at the capitalist's mercy. If dismissed for any reason, including redundancy, they may be sent out of the country.

Outlining the legal status of immigrants, Segura pointed out that despite ILO Convention No. 97, designed to end discrimination of immigrants and ratified by nearly all the pertinent governments, social, racial and political discrimination of foreign workers continues. This applies to social maintenance, child allowances, trade union rights, representation on public bodies, and participation in bodies of control and democratic management. Employment terms, too, are not equal. Neither are training opportunities. Capitalism deliberately cultivates inequality, providing different conditions for native and foreign workers, for people from EEC and non-EEC countries, for permanent workers, seasonal, and others. This division, coupled with vicious racist propaganda, is designed to split the working class.

Despite certain disparities, immigration laws in all West European countries are outdated and unfair. The laws are repressive, restrict foreigners' rights and curtail their individual and collective freedoms. More correctly they should be called *laws against foreigners*. By and large, immigration rules are patterned to suit the interests of monopoly capital. The immigrant is made to feel the transience and humbleness of his condition. His residential permit may be withdrawn on most unlikely pretexts: protection of 'national security,' 'law and order,' and the like. This keeps foreign workers in a state of continuous 'motion' and 'replacement.'

Police abuses

The authorities have set out to block all action by foreign workers in defense of their rights, and often act hand in hand with the reactionary regimes of the workers' native countries. Barontini called attention to the fact that consulates are busy among im-

migrants in France, fanning nationalism and alienation from the country they are living in, and steering them away from the economic and political struggles of the French workers. The French authorities approve, and maintain close contact with the fascist and reactionary governments of Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey. Spanish police agents and functionaries of Franco's vertical trade unions, Segura said, are posted in consulates abroad as cultural, labor, and other attaches. They spy on their countrymen, exert pressure, and threaten forcible deportation to Spain if they fall out of line. More, of late they have been employing arm-twisting tactics to force emigrants to join the vertical unions, failing which they threaten reprisals against members of their family at home.

Belgium's security agencies have a special police unit to deal with foreigners. Its official function is maintenance of public order, but this formula (Moins said) can be interpreted in many ways. The Swedish government has framed an anti-terrorism bill, allegedly designed to curb the criminal activity of Ustashi immigrants (Croat bourgeois nationalists - Ed.). But its deliberate vagueness could well be turned against foreigners in general. The definition of 'terrorism' is blurred, and practically all immigrant organizations, compelled to exist unofficially, may come under its head. Meanwhile, the treatment of Ustashis has been more than generous. They were accorded political refugee status, and are not specifically mentioned in the new bill. This is why, Olsson said, the Swedish Communists will vote against the bill in the Riksdag.

To round out the picture, mention should also be made of the plight of the illegal, 'underground' immigrants. Lacking even a modicum of rights, they are compelled to accept jobs on any terms, and are the prey of suppliers of 'slave labor' and purveyors of 'dormitory space.' Their cheap labor prompts authorities (e.g., in France and the FRG) to turn a blind eye on their illegal entry.

Europe's stokers

Stokers is how the bourgeois press styles foreign workers, implying that they are prevalently used on unskilled jobs.

Apart from skilled jobs, the scientific-technical revolution has created a large number of easy monotonous operations in production (performed by so-called specialized workers). The demand is met with cheap foreign labor, freeing the more highly-paid 'home' labor for other purposes.

Migrant workers, said H. Muellhaus, provide the cheapest manpower, which West German companies employ on the worst jobs requiring no skills and minimal expenditures for vocational training. According to the Federal Labor Bureau, as of the end of 1968, 80 per cent of all foreign workers in the FRG were employed as odd-job men or low-skilled labor. Mercilessly exploited, they are a source of huge additional profit.

Kostas Tsolakis (Political Bureau member, CC CP Greece) noted that skilled workers accounted for hardly seven per cent of the

hundreds of thousands of Greeks abroad. However, imported labor, he said, is extremely profitable to West German monopolies, it is cheap, immigrants are paid much less than natives, often even below the minimum stipulated by collective bargaining, and it is easier to make them work overtime in sweatshop conditions. We estimate, he said, that every year West German monopolies gain 107,000 million drachmas (3,500 million dollars) of surplus value produced by Greek immigrants.

Hasim Ercan (CP Turkey) pointed out that the provisions of an agreement on the equal rights of Turkish and German workers signed between Ankara and Bonn remain unfulfilled. More than half the Turkish workers in the FRG (63 per cent in 1971) are employed on arduous jobs the only requirement for which is physical strength. Although nine-tenths of the migrant workers are under 45, they are soon exhausted by hard work, and some 200,000 daily seek medical aid.

Figures presented by *Catarina Mendes* (CP Portugal) indicate that half the Portuguese workers in France are odd-job men or apprentices.

In France, the Employment Commission of the Sixth State Plan officially records that 72 per cent of the migrant workers are engaged in unskilled jobs. Less than 5,000 persons (out of 2.5 million) are able to attend trade courses every year. At the same time, according to the Commission, foreigners receive an average of 10 to 20 per cent less pay than French workers of the same skill. Citing these figures, Barontini added that the state and monopolies also reap huge bounties by 'saving' on social security, with around 600 million francs remaining in the treasury every year for the simple reason that most immigrants do not enjoy the social security rights of French workers. With all this in mind, the aforementioned Employment Commission provides for an influx of 600,000 more migrant workers to France. And when crises phenomena begin to develop immigrants act as a 'buffer' that cushions the effects of unemployment for French workers. As M. Drancourt, one of the leading ideologues of state-monopoly capitalism, wrote coolly in *Le Figaro*, 'In an economic crisis immigrants may become a safety valve and be shipped back home.'

Some of the immigrants in Britain, V. D. Sharma pointed out, have problems which are only slightly different from those of many poor English and poor Irish workers.

Although race is still a factor in poverty, class is still an over-riding influence in Britain. The problems from which both colored and white workers suffer derive from the same source—the class system. However, the colored worker constitutes a scapegoat for many of the social troubles and ills of society. They are also aimed to be used as a cheap labor force. It is not accidental that the percentage of laborers among colored workers is more than double the percentage of this category in the general labor force.

Victims of the 'quiet war'

Dino Pelliccia (functionary of CC CP Italy) pointed out that West European monopolies have evolved a sophisticated system of exploitation of foreign workers, from humiliating employment rules to abominable living conditions. Immigrants living away from their families, crowded in *bidonvilles*, barrack townships, 'hostels' and city slums, are virtually outcasts. Driven by despair and insecurity, they grab at any work they can to alleviate their plight.

Statistics reveal that with a high accident rate, migrant workers make the greatest sacrifices on the altar of capitalist profit. The major industrial countries of Western Europe record up to 1.5 million industrial accidents a year, 3,000 of them fatal. Italy alone accounts for a million accidents yearly, and the General Confederation of Labor has qualified the situation as an undeclared 'quiet war,' a barbarous massacre in which workers, mostly emigrants, are killed and maimed in the name of capitalist profit.

Industrial accidents and deaths among migrant workers are double the national average. They are highest in the industries employing migrant labor and involving higher risks - mining, metalworking, chemicals, building. Their main cause is exhaustive overtime. The Chemical Workers' Union, an affiliate of the German Trade Union Association, has characterized exploitation methods as 'pre-capitalist.' One West German magazine wrote that Turks employed by the Torfwerke company work an 80-hour week, and by the Mannesmann group 13 hours a day.

H. Muellhaus pointed out that migrant workers are forced to agree to overtime by the fear of dismissal and subsequent deportation. Employers take advantage of the fact that, not knowing German, foreign workers remain ignorant of the intricacies of rates and quotas. Also, they do not understand the safety instructions, a consequence of which is that out of every thousand insured migrant workers (and this excludes those working illegally, most of whom are not covered by insurance) 222 are involved in industrial accidents, as compared to 88 out of every thousand German workers.

'Underground' children

Temporary status is one of the means whereby state-monopoly capitalism seeks to remain free of any obligations with regard to migrant workers. And to ensure the steady rejuvenation of the work force the authorities limit their residence. Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein (FRG) plan to 'rotate' migrant workers by expelling foreigners after five or more years. 'Forced rotation,' the Presidium of the GCP declared in a statement, 'reaffirms that Big Business regards migrant workers as no more than slave labor which can be expelled from the country at will.'

In spite of all the legal and practical difficulties that confront them (participants in the symposium noted), there are hundreds of thousands of immigrant families in foreign countries. They have a million and a half children. In the FRG alone there were more

than 430,000 children of foreign workers in the early 70s, and although they pay taxes like all wage-earners, practically nothing is done to provide adequate education for their children. As a consequence most either do not attend school at all or are at a disadvantage as compared with their German coevals.

M. Segura noted that inadequate schooling places migrant workers' children at a disadvantage not only today but in future as well. Most of them finish elementary school and go to work, where, like their parents, they are employed as unskilled labor. The situation is the same in Switzerland, where the inhuman 'season-worker status' bans families from entering the country. So there is a great number of 'illegal' children whose parents do not send them to school out of fear of being expelled, as has often happened.

If the education problem is not solved (Segura concluded), the children of migrant workers will become the 'sub-proletariat' of West European capitalism.

The problems of immigrant families are aggravated by abominable housing conditions. Many facts were cited of rent discrimination and exorbitant rates. That is why, K. Tsolakis said, it is common for families to find shelter in attics, basements, barracks, dilapidated buildings, former laundries, old railway-cars. In the FRG a room with a small or shared kitchen, shared bathroom and central heating costs 250-300 marks, a third or more of an immigrant's wages, and few people can afford it. V. D. Sharma pointed out that, being at the bottom of the scale economically, immigrants find it very hard to get mortgages and settle mostly in the less desirable parts of towns which are, furthermore, often slated for reconstruction. This is the reason for their so-called 'concentration' in certain areas.

Boon or 'national blood-letting'

One of the myths cultivated by Big Business is that mass migration of workers facilitates a more equitable distribution of the economic wealth and is practically a new form of 'aid' by developed capitalist countries to their fortunate brothers in Europe. Common Market apologists declare that the flow of manpower from one country to another implements the agreement on the free exchange of goods, capital and human reserves essential for the creation of a federated Europe, and the economic and financial cohesion of the EEC. Migration is depicted as a source of enrichment for both workers and exporters of manpower and a means of resolving unemployment and demographic problems.

In actual fact, the reverse is true. In the supplier countries the main winner is the big bourgeoisie, which receives new sources of hard currency for speculation, and reactionary regimes, which see it as a deferment of the solution of such national problems as employment and the need for faster development. But these advantages are of relatively short duration. In the long term, the 'muscle drain' (like the 'brain drain') disastrously affects economic development. For these countries emigration as a rule means an irreplace-

able depletion of manpower, the main element of the productive forces.

D. Pelliccia told of a study carried out three years ago by the Doxa Institute of Italy to determine the cost to the nation of every emigrant seeking work abroad. Later the Ministry of Labor and Social Security estimated that every worker aged 20 leaving the country could be valued at six million lira in 1965 prices. Since the annual emigration rate has been around 200,000, this would mean that *Italy is spending more than 1,200 billion lire a year to meet the manpower demand of richer countries.*

It is said (D. Pelliccia continued) that the emigrants' home countries also benefit from money transfers. This is only partly true: in 1971, Italian emigrants mailed home 956 million dollars, or about 550,000 million lire, and in no preceding year was the sum over 500,000 million lire. This is another fact exposing the policy of the Italian ruling classes, which are squandering the most productive human energy. The burden of this policy falls on the shoulders of migrant workers.

K. Tsolakis said that the sale of migrant labor abroad has not helped to solve a single fundamental problem of Greece's economic development. In fact, it as often as not creates new difficulties. The Communist Party, he said, has characterized the large-scale emigration as a *national blood-letting*. As 70 or 80 per cent of the emigrants are country folk aged 15 to 35, Greece's rural population is ageing. The population of some villages has been halved and those that have remained are often incapable of work. With a population growth of one per cent and a 10 per cent reduction in the rural population, the country is facing a demographic disaster. The shortage of manpower has driven the Colonels and the monopolies to import workers from Asia and Africa. Of the 130,000 seamen in the Greek merchant marine 30 to 35 thousand are Africans or Asians.

M. Segura noted that more than half a million Spanish families are dependent on money transfers from emigrant workers. Yet this important source of hard currency, second only to tourism, is not being used to create new jobs in areas of mass emigration, which would have made possible the return of their natives. In 20 years (1950-1970) the active rural population in Spain has been halved. Mass emigration and outflow to cities has already turned the Duero and Ebro river basins and Northern Andalusia into the country's poorest, depleted regions.

Mass emigration spurred by economic and political causes, is leading to grave social consequences in Portugal, said Mendez. One progressive economist, Armando de Castro, estimates that in the last few decades at least 1.2 million people have left the country. This has produced 'major demographic dislocation in a wide zone of inland regions of continental Portugal extending from North to South and aggravated the already acute imbalance of social and economic development.' Emigration now exceeds the natural increase of the population. Because of this the authorities began to

encourage the immigration of African workers, the number of which quickly swelled to 40,000 and is continuing to grow. In an analysis of this new development, the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party noted that the ruling classes were acting 'exactly like the bourgeoisie and governments of developed countries with regard to Portuguese immigrants,' namely, they seek to get cheap manpower, to split the workers and inject them with chauvinism. Communists denounce this policy and work for the united action of immigrants and Portuguese workers.

Data supplied by H. Erean indicates that Turkey, which joined the international manpower market ten years ago, has not rid itself of the sores of unemployment: today there are more than two million wholly unemployed and 11 million semi-employed. In their drive for hard currency, the ruling circles plan to continue to export manpower. This year alone another 100,000 Turks will go into a far from voluntary exile. . . .

Emigration, which may be a way out for someone who has lost all hope of finding a reasonably well paid job at home, is evidently no solution for a nation's economic problems. Indeed, countries of emigration ultimately find themselves in a vicious circle. The mass exodus drains them of manpower, they can no longer do without the foreign exchange remitted by their emigrant nationals. The monopolies of Western Europe are plainly set on taking advantage of this situation for many a year to come. A meeting of the labor ministers of 17 Western European countries (Rome, autumn 1972) estimated that the proportion of foreign workers would grow by another three million towards 1980. At the back of this estimate must be the assumption that the areas supplying labor power will stay underdeveloped.

The Communist position

The Communist parties and numerous trade union organizations of Western Europe uphold the interests of the millions of foreign workers. After all, the exploitation of immigrants is part of capitalist exploitation of the working class.

Sustained effort by Communists and trade unions has lately made it possible in some countries to end certain crying discriminatory practices and win more tolerable living and working conditions for immigrants. Discussion revealed that most Communist parties are very active among immigrants, whom they help to organize and fight, and that they have concrete programs for solving the immigrants' problems.

In exposing the immigration policy of official France, said Barontini, the FCP advanced in parliament the following demands: equal pay for equal work, with a minimum monthly wage of 1,100 francs; equal social rights for immigrants; the right to decent housing as well as to education and vocational training, to scholarships for immigrants' children; equality in trade union rights; the right to association; the right to form national unions and publish news-

papers in the mother tongue; unhindered prolongation of residential and work permits; no arbitrary deportation; the right for immigrants to participate in elections in their homeland.

These demands, the speaker added, are set out in six bills submitted by the FCP group in parliament since 1967. One of them provides for granting immigrants equality with French wage-earners in democratic and social status. Besides, Communist MPs have tabled 100 questions in the National Assembly regarding foreign workers' demands.

Communists on municipal and departmental councils carry on similar work. The Communist mayors of the Paris area published an appeal in a million copies to eliminate *bidonvilles* and provide immigrants with normal housing. Numerous meetings were held to this end. This and campaigning by the General Confederation of Labor and other democratic organizations forced the authorities to begin building houses for immigrants.

In February 1972 two of the major trade union centers of France, the GCL and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, held an Immigrants' Rights Week. Both regard foreign workers as a contingent rather than a competitor of the French working class. The Week helped win broader rights for immigrants in the enterprises and hastened the passing of a law condemning racism. The fact that the joint government program advanced by the Left in the latest general election called for far-reaching steps to improve the condition of foreign workers in France played a notable part.*

The Communist parties of the FRG, Britain, Belgium, Sweden and other developed capitalist countries of Europe have programs of demands aimed at improving the living and working conditions of foreign workers and largely analogous to the FCP program.

We believe, said H. Muellhaus, that foreign workers employed in our country are an important component of our working class, irrespective of whether they hold temporary or permanent jobs. This was pointed out by our Party's Duesseldorf Congress and re-emphasized by the resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the GCP Executive 'On Solidarity and Cooperation with Foreign Workers in the FRG.' The resolution urges all trade unionists - Socialists, Communists and people belonging to no party - to resist Right extremist and conservative attempts at setting German and foreign workers against each other, and to foster proletarian solidarity.

The British Communist Party, said V. D. Sharma, combats racial discrimination and hatred in any form. It campaigns against discriminatory legislation, in particular the 1971 Immigration Act. Its 32nd Congress (November 1971) passed an important resolution to win greater trade union commitment to the fight against racism, for the unity of Black and white labor. The Party has a Council for Race Relations and Immigration, whose function is to study all

*In May the Messmer government announced - obviously because 45 per cent of the electorate had voted for the joint program of the Left - a series of laws extending the immigrants' right to vocational training, housing and social insurance. On the other hand, it introduced more rigid immigration controls. The Premier admitted by implication that these measures were forced, and voiced his misgivings over the inflow of foreigners, which he described as a 'trap set for us by history.'

these problems and submit recommendations. We now have similar councils at district level. There are black-skinned immigrants on the National Executive of the Communist Party and some district committees.

The Italian Communist Party's program for full employment, a radical turn in the trend towards emigration among millions of working people, and better living and working conditions for emigrants and their families, said D. Pelliccia, enabled the Party to maintain a solid link between the struggle for social progress and democracy at home and initiative and political action in host countries.

While Italy's first emigration law was enacted as far back as 1888, the ruling classes have never tried to protect the interests of migrant labor or remove the fundamental causes of the mass outflow of population. It was not until recently that the National Economic and Labor Council (NELC), on the one hand, and parliament, on the other, acknowledged the urgency of change in this respect under the influence of the working people, and as a result of the Communists' political and parliamentary initiatives and the intervention of major trade union organizations. The NELC resolved that 'it is necessary to make the decisive choice, proposed at the turn of the century and delayed much too long: encouraging the employment of Italians at home by effecting reforms which will make it possible to dispense with emigration as an inevitable way out of unemployment and a necessary factor in economic development.'

The ICP representative voiced his appreciation of numerous manifestations of internationalist solidarity with Italians compelled to work abroad. He listed some facts showing that the workers of the host country and foreign workers have common interests. This is reflected in the decision to call an international meeting of the trade union confederations of emigration and immigration countries; the progressive stance of the Trade Unions Association on the issue of revising the Aliens Act in the FRG; the joint statements of the Federation of Swiss Trade Unions and three Italian confederations in support of Italian workers in Switzerland; the action of the Belgian General Federation of Labor in support of immigrants; the Swedish trade unions' efforts to improve the working conditions of Italian immigrants, and lastly, the highly important agreement between the French GCL and the General Italian Confederation of Labor on more effective and coordinated advocacy of the union rights and demands of Italian workers in France.

The effort to improve the conditions of foreign workers is beginning to produce notable results due to working-class solidarity and proletarian internationalism. Italian emigrants belonging to the ICP have invariably enjoyed the solidarity of the working people of other nationalities and fraternal Communist parties, a solidarity which is particularly effective against imperialism and fascist dictatorships.

M. Segura gave much of his attention to an exposition of the

Spanish emigrants' social, economic and political demands. Prominent among these is the demand for the right to maintain cultural and political relations with the home country and distribute publications of its political parties. Emigrants also want Spain to budget – in compensation for their contribution to the national economy – funds for the social, cultural and professional needs of emigrants and their families, and for the creation of new jobs in the emigrants' home towns, ensuring their employment on their return. All repatriation expenses in case of illness or industrial accident should be defrayed by the emigration authorities. Pending assignment of a job according to their qualifications, repatriated emigrants should be entitled to enjoy various social benefits.

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain, the speaker said, dealt with activity among emigrants, for as a working-class party it felt its responsibility for their problems; it follows a policy of protecting their interests, supports the struggle inside Spain and fights to transform 'monopoly Europe' into a democratic and socialist continent.

Backing demands common to all host countries, the Left Party – Communists of Sweden is also demanding that foreign workers should come under the same pension scheme as the Swedes (at present, immigrants forfeit their pension on returning home). Moreover, the Party insists on granting immigrants the right to vote at communal level. This, too, is very important, said S. Olsson. Immigrants make up about nine per cent of the population in Stockholm and 18 or 19 per cent in other communes. It is manifestly unfair that they should be denied a say in decision-making on education, the upbringing of children and other matters. The Party tabled a motion in parliament to grant immigrants the right to vote in communal elections after two years' work in Sweden.

Allies and class brothers

Participants in the symposium repeatedly spoke of the impact of mass migration on the outlook for the development of the world revolutionary process. Moins noted that growing emigration has given rise to certain debatable theories about the role of foreign workers in the proletarian movement. 'Leftist' elements tend to see in them the main weapon against capitalism, because immigrant labor is subjected to super-exploitation. Others hold that since many immigrants are inexperienced in class struggle, their presence would weaken the organized labor movement. In reality, however, foreign workers can play a prominent role in social struggles, provided they are closely linked with the working class of the host country, and provided traditions and living conditions in both the host country and the sending countries are taken into account when choosing forms of activity and struggle. Hence the importance of being able to adapt to a given situation.

The problem of migrant labor, said Cox, is a sharp challenge to the whole working-class movement in Western Europe. It has been

aggravated by the growth of multinational monopoly firms. Unless effective steps are taken in the EEC countries to organize migrant labor into trade unions and to develop joint trade union action, these giant firms will be able to exploit divisions among the workers and depress their living standards. It is essential, therefore, that active trade unionists should strive even more strongly for the all-inclusive unity of the various trade union centers in the 14 countries of Western Europe. This is imperative, not only in relation to the problem of migrant labor, but also for international trade union unity to resist increased exploitation on the part of multinational monopoly firms. The joint token strike of British and Italian workers employed by the Dunlop-Pirelli monopoly last year was a big step forward.

Numerous facts cited by other participants in the symposium speak of the mounting militancy of immigrants, who take increasing part in the fight for the working people's common interests. More and more of them join in strikes in France, the FRG and Britain. Last spring, 40 per cent of the strikers at a Mannesmann plant in West Germany were Turkish workers who made common cause with their German fellow-workers although they risked deportation.

There is hardly any class action in Britain, Sharma said, in which immigrant workers, who identify themselves with British workers, have no share. M. Segura stressed that while Spanish emigration is a labor emigration and not a political one, and amounts to one-fifth of the country's industrial labor power, emigrants do not dissociate from political or social struggles carried on at home. Numerous emigrants were involved in them before going abroad. This is why Spanish emigrants, with very few exceptions, are highly receptive to Communist Party policies and Marxist-Leninist ideas. Emigration is a boomerang.

Many participants in the symposium spoke of the collective discussion of international migration sponsored by *World Marxist Review* as a timely initiative. The parties which contributed to the discussion had an opportunity to exchange information and compare notes on various aspects of organizing and political work.

Closing the meeting, Paul Courtieu, member of the CC FCP, Chairman of the journal's Commission on Problems of the Class Struggles in Developed Capitalist Countries, noted that it had revealed both considerable diversity in the brother parties' approach to migration problems and the existence of common guiding principles. All parties are of the opinion that working-class unity and alliance against monopoly are unthinkable without foreign workers. They all maintain that the demands of immigrants – both those they share with other working people, and their specific demands – can be met only by tearing down national barriers between groups of working people, eliminating all that isolates immigrants from their class brothers and accentuating what unites them and helps foreign workers to fight side by side with the masses of the host country.

Loyal to proletarian internationalism, the parties hold that immigrants and the working people of the host countries have the same class interests in fighting against monopoly capital, their common enemy.

Resolve of the people

Ministers and a trade union leader of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam comment on economic rehabilitation, education and culture, the development of transport, the health services.

Comrade NGUYEN VAN HUEN, Minister of Education:

One of the basic tasks in our postwar development is the education of the new man. Our educational system is geared to raise the cultural level of our young people and all working people, so that they can master the fundamentals of science and technology, and be able to put them into practice.

We attach considerable importance to instilling in the younger generation the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and teaching them to be true to communist ideals. Their outlook should blend patriotism and a clear understanding of their country's history and the realities of today with a sense of internationalism, with the feeling of being a part of the family of socialist nations, of the world Communist and workers' movement.

In accordance with the teachings of Lenin, the Party and the government intend to raise the level of the people's education and cultural attainments still further. Socialism cannot be built, nor can we advance to higher stages of social progress, unless people acquire knowledge and are able to display initiative and creativity in applying their knowledge to solving industrial, technical, socio-economic and political problems.

Even during the war, these problems were not forgotten by Vietnamese Communists. In anticipation of peace, personnel were trained at home, and sent for training to many socialist countries. Recently 600 specialists graduated from the Hanoi Building Institute, and all went to various provinces to lead the work of new construction. Numbers of young people are returning home who have been educated abroad. They are full of enthusiasm and eager to do their bit for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the economy, for building a peaceful life.

Young people are keen to learn as much as they can. There will be new schools, colleges, libraries, laboratories, and so on. Of course this will need considerable capital investment. There can be no doubt that the money spent on education and enlightenment will be repaid a hundred-fold and, of course, we shall take every ad-

vantage of opportunities to send our young men and women for training in the USSR and other socialist countries.

There is another aspect to this matter which has been emphasized by Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC of the Working People's Party of Vietnam. In his article, 'Some Problems of Cadres and Organization in the Socialist Revolution,' he wrote that the greatest scientific-technical revolution in the history of mankind is developing rapidly, and that we must take every advantage of its achievements so that socialism may be built quickly and successfully. A sceptic might say that for the DRV this is not the cardinal question. Our approach, however, is different. We are not content just to satisfy our present needs, but bear in mind our long-term perspectives, and try as far as lies within our means to create the conditions essential for the solution of tomorrow's problems.

Comrade PHAN TRONG TUE, Minister of Communications and Transport:

The Party and the Government of the DRV regard the reconstruction and development of communications and transport as of the utmost importance, and restoration must be completed earlier than that of other industries.

The movement of goods in the country and from abroad is continuously increasing. All the signs indicate that this year we will come much closer to the goal set by the Working People's Party of an average annual per hectare rice yield of 50 centners. Therefore, plans must be drawn up to provide for the additional transport required to take the rice to the government granaries.

As people's needs grow, provision must be made for a greater variety of goods to reach every corner of the country. Lastly, we cannot ignore the complexity of the international situation and the maneuvers of Washington and Saigon to sabotage the Paris Agreement. Therefore, our industry will need to make far greater efforts so that the defense potential of the Republic is assured. The role of transport in giving full and timely assistance to the struggle for the unification of the country, is enormous.

Communication and transport workers recognize that a great deal depends on them. Road, river and air transport are already functioning and more than 1,000 kilometres of railway lines extending in various directions are in use. Already, the magnificent 2,300-metre-long Hanoi Bridge, Longbien, destroyed by bombing, has been rebuilt. Many other bridges and routes have been restored.

Gradual mechanization and modernization of communications and transport are vital. We shall need more and more diesel locomotives and to increase the number of large cargo ships and the length of our motorways.

This is no easy task, especially for a country ravaged by war. But we are confident that the army of transport workers, steeled in many years of battle against a brutal enemy, will overcome all difficulties, and with the aid of the fraternal socialist countries, will

make an honorable contribution to the reconstruction of the economy of the Republic.

Comrade VU VAN CAN, Deputy Minister of Health:

The health of the people has been seriously undermined during 30 years of struggle against colonialism and imperialism; tens of thousands of people are now invalids. The health services set up in the early, comparatively peaceful, years have been disrupted, and the country is suffering from a serious lack of medical supplies and equipment.

As a result of many years of American bombing, 11.3 per cent of medical stations in the villages, 30.3 per cent of rural district and 61.0 per cent of provincial hospitals suffered various degrees of damage or destruction. The large leper hospital in Quanhlap (Nghean), with 2,600 beds, was levelled to the ground back in Johnson's days. Partially rebuilt for 1,000 patients, it was again completely destroyed in 1972. Also completely destroyed or severely damaged were the 500-bed tuberculosis hospital, the Institute for Malaria, Parasitology and Entomology, as well as Bachmai, which has been the country's largest medical center. Other hospitals, too, built with the aid of socialist countries: Soviet, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak and Chinese, as well as the medical faculty in Thaibinh, etc., were either damaged or destroyed.

By destroying the hospitals and medical institutions, the Americans hoped to make it impossible for help to be given to the wounded, and thereby to sow panic among the population. But there was no panic. Aid to the sick and wounded did not cease for a single moment. The day will come when books and songs will be written about the fortitude and heroism of all our medical personnel during the war. Undoubtedly, the experience of Vietnamese doctors and nurses under extremely severe front-line conditions will be most earnestly studied in many countries.

Now we must look to the future. New tasks face the doctors and health services: the people must be restored to health; tens of thousands of invalids must be helped to return to work; the environment has to be improved, epidemics stamped out. Much has already been done in the fight against epidemics; diseases such as cholera, plague, and smallpox have long since been eradicated in the DRV. There is a perceptible decrease in the incidence of typhoid, dysentery, diphtheria. The doctors are busy combatting such viral illnesses as influenza, encephalitis, measles. In 1959, we started a concerted, coordinated and largely successful country-wide campaign to conquer tuberculosis. However, many of the gains were lost during the war, and we are now faced with the enormous task of again eradicating tuberculosis, and doing away with trachoma, leprosy, and nervous diseases.

And all this will require more and more trained medical personnel. After the Revolution, the Republic had only a handful of doctors. Now there are two or three doctors and 10 ancillary

medical workers for every 10,000 inhabitants. This, of course, is quite insufficient. We must hasten the training of medical personnel, and expand the network of specialized medical institutions.

The Committee for Mother and Child Welfare has worked out a series of measures, which, besides birth control, provide for an expansion of the nursery and kindergarten network, and for more gynaecological centers.

The health workers themselves will have to do a great deal to restore and equip many health centers, polyclinics, hospitals and other medical establishments destroyed by the Americans. To carry out these plans for reconstruction and the first stages of modernization of the health services will, of course, involve considerable expenditure, and without the aid of the socialist countries and other friendly nations it will be difficult to achieve our aims. For some years now there has been a broad, worldwide movement of solidarity and medical aid to Vietnam, including essential medical equipment and specialists. Doctors from abroad voluntarily worked side by side with ours, defying the dangers from the skies. From the bottom of our hearts we thank them for their practical demonstration of internationalism, and for the selfless aid shown to our country in the postwar period.

Comrade LE DUY KY, Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Haiphong Trade Unions:

The signing of the Paris Agreement is a great victory for the Vietnamese people and for the whole of progressive mankind. It was welcomed with joy by the working people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Peace is essential for laying the foundations of a socialist society, for raising the people's living standard and assuring a happy life for every family.

Our first task is to heal the wounds of war. The territory of the Republic has been subjected to massive aerial bombardment, resulting in great damage to its economy. One of the worst casualties was housing, and the ensuing problem of helping the homeless is an extremely difficult one.

In Haiphong alone, during twelve days in December 1972, 15,000 bombs were dropped by B-52's on its port, factories and densely populated areas. One of the largest enterprises in the country, the Haiphong Cement Works, was completely destroyed, and its housing estate razed to the ground by the pirates of the air. Nearly 4,000 people were killed and approximately 30,000 families left without shelter. During those twelve days of mass bombardment more than 100,000 people were made homeless in Hanoi. The homes of approximately 15 per cent of the entire population of the Republic were destroyed. And however much we would like to, we cannot possibly provide all the homeless with good accommodation at once.

But time does not wait, and people must live somewhere. Temporary housing is being built which, while lacking in many

necessities, does give the homeless a roof over their heads. The municipal authorities and the Federation of Haiphong Trade Unions are working jointly on a project for building new housing estates, kindergartens, clubs, hospitals, rest homes and stadiums.

Through the unparalleled heroism of the workers, we had been able to save factory equipment by removing the machinery to rural areas. Now enterprises evacuated during the war are starting up again. No effort is spared by our people to complete reconstruction in the minimum of time, and commence the building of the technical basis for a socialist society.

Recorded by V. Pukhov

Hanoi-Haiphong-Prague

Nationalism is contrary to national interests

Carlos Alba

Member CC, CP of Bolivia

(FROM THE SERIES 'POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA')

In cell No. 4 of the Viacha Prison, not far from La Paz, a daughter was born to the young patriot, Judith Duran. Her mother named her Libertad Bolivia (Bolivian Freedom). This was symbolic of the situation in our country, where patriots are imprisoned and freedom is kept under lock and key.

The government of the so-called Nationalist Popular Front,* now in power for two years, has finally revealed its political colors. It

Republic of Bolivia. Area in sq. km. 1,098.6 thousand. Population – over 5,000,000. Official capital – Sucre; actual capital – La Paz. Chief natural resources: tin, zinc, lead, copper, gold, silver, oil – totalling 60 per cent of the country's exports. In August 1971, the democratic government of Juan Torres was overthrown and replaced by the dictatorship of Hugo Banzer.

is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, imposed and supported by North American imperialism and Brazilian militarism in order to suppress the working-class and people's movement, creating international tension in the middle of South America, and contain the revolutionary upsurge of the continent's working people.

*Formed after the August 1971 coup by right elements including the Bolivian military, reactionary circles of the National Revolutionary Movement (NRM) and the Bolivian Socialist Falangists (BSF).

Terror is the main political weapon of the bourgeois nationalists, and through it they hope to maintain power and achieve their aims. It takes the form of secret, cold, calculated murders and the open, primitive violence of the 'Death Squadrons,' 'Capucins,' 'White Shirts,' and other fascist-type bands consisting of striplings from the propertied classes and the dregs of society.

Just as in Brazil, Haiti, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Paraguay, persecution, arrests, tortures, exile and murder of people in opposition to the regime are normal procedure, and regarded as 'tasks of state importance.' Not only Bolivian security forces engage in these activities, but also U.S. 'specialists,' Cuban counter-revolutionaries, Brazilian and South Korean thugs. All of them, of course, are CIA agents, who not only act as 'advisers,' but carry out the dirtiest crimes.

The dictatorship pries out the more dynamic areas of people's resistance; it isolates, and then destroys them. The counter-revolutionary terror is, therefore, directed firstly, against the leadership of the Left parties, prominent worker, peasant, and student leaders, progressive teachers, writers and journalists.

Countless numbers have fallen victim to government terror. Many Communists, workers and students have been murdered, tortured behind prison walls. One victim was the University Professor, Roberto Alvarado, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia. Hundreds of patriots and revolutionaries are exiled. Thousands of men and women of all ages, and belonging to various social strata and groups, have been in prisons and concentration camps. Children and old people have not escaped either.

To say that the present regime is a brutal and bloody dictatorship is far from an adequate description, and only emphasizes its more odious features. For the bourgeois nationalists the abolition of civil rights, the suppression of Left parties and of the workers' and people's movements was essential for their reactionary plans in the socio-economic field. Here, as nowhere else, the enormous gulf is to be seen between the words and deeds of the ruling circles, between their narrow class interests and the interests of the country.

The monopoly comeback

As soon as they took power the bourgeois nationalists proudly promised to provide new jobs, to improve the workers' living standard, put the financial system to rights, and stimulate a 'powerful development of the country.' But when Banzer, Paz Estenssoro, Gutierrez and Co. presented the so-called Emergency National Action Program of the President of the Republic,* everyone could see that there was no intention of pursuing 'in a responsible manner' the economic development of the country. This program or

*The so-called Plan of Government Measures produced by President Hugo Banzer after the 1971 coup. The plan was supported by Victor Paz Estenssoro (who had been President on three occasions), and Mario Gutierrez (head of the Bolivian Socialist Falange)

'leap,' as it is called, merely meant introducing some insignificant measures, such as building a number of administrative buildings, houses and some repair work, etc. Although conceived on a sound financial basis,* the scheme proved unproductive due to the particular orientation of investments, and brought only temporary relief to the unemployment problem. Once the projects envisaged in the program had been completed, unemployment reached catastrophic dimensions, with the number of so-called 'redundant' workers increasing annually by 50,000. More than 20 per cent of the working population is either wholly or partially unemployed.

At the time of the coup the economy included a considerable state sector. Legally, the large resources of iron, lead, copper, gold, radioactive elements, etc., were the property of government enterprises or designated as 'government reserves.' The national interests would best be served by a policy of developing government enterprises, such as the Corporacion Minera de Bolivia, Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales Bolivianos, Empresa Nacional de Fundiciones, Banco Minero de Bolivia and others. However, bourgeois nationalists could not care less for the country's problems. They are concerned only with their class interests. Not only do they deny help to state enterprises, but, on the contrary, assist private capital in eliminating them.

The first decisive step of the dictatorship to promote the private sector was the law on capital investment which gave many privileges to investors, exempting them from taxes and similar obligations. This really amounts to legalization of unrestrained plunder of the natural resources, and shameless exploitation of the Bolivian working people. This law, however, also has other objectives. From now on, state enterprises can combine with private capital to form 'mixed companies.' Outwardly innocent, this opens the way to *denationalization of the entire state sector*. Today, for instance, Corporacion Minera de Bolivia can no longer engage in the iron-and-steel industry. The limited company 'Siderurgia Boliviana' has taken over and is empowered to 'execute its programs with the aid of mixed enterprises.' And Banco Minero has been stripped of its monopoly in marketing the products of the mining industry; this has been handed over to private enterprise. There is no need to add that the same lot awaits other state amalgamations. Surely this is a betrayal of national interests.

In accordance with the Investments Bill, the dictatorship has granted corporations such as United States Steel and Minerals and Chemicals Philips compensation to the tune of \$13.4 million for the expropriation under Torres of the mine 'Matilde' and the zinc deposits, though the companies themselves admit that they invested only \$11 million. The International Metal Processing Company expropriated by the Torres Government is now a partner in a mixed company. It received 45 per cent of shares and nearly one and a half million dollars compensation.

*The USA was pledged to provide \$32 million in a short time, and a cheque for \$2 million was handed to General Banzer by the U.S. Ambassador in La Paz before Washington had officially recognized the new regime.

The efforts of the bourgeois nationalists have borne fruit. The Gulf Oil Company is back on the scene, having changed its name to the Union Oil Company of Bolivia. Work is already going ahead in line with the 'operational contract' signed in March of this year, which gives the Company the right to prospect and develop oil fields covering an area of more than 1,000 sq. km. in the next thirty years.

The credo of economic dependence

Facts again and again demonstrate the falsity of the promises made by the present government. The gross national product scarcely reaches one billion dollars, the value of exports, mainly of minerals and oil, is no higher than \$200 million, with 13 per cent of this amount spent on import of foodstuffs. The colossal national debt adds to the chronic deficit in the balance of payments. On the plea that there is 'little opportunity for accumulation and investment' and that it is essential to combine 'internal efforts with foreign capital,' the dictatorship has assumed obligations considerably beyond its capacity. At the end of 1971 the national debt was \$591 million and in 1972 it increased to \$645 million. In 1971 the balance of payments deficit was \$10 million, while in 1972 it reached \$22 million. The dictatorship concluded credit agreements amounting to more than \$400 million, and a considerable portion of these loans are being used to cover the cost of denationalization.

The mounting debt, the squandering of government funds, and the increased bureaucratic apparatus* – all due to the economic policy of the dictatorship – have made it impossible to balance the budget and have intensified the inflationary process. Ten months after the coup, the circulation of money increased from 1,535 million pesos to 1,777 million. When in October 1972 the peso was devalued by 68 per cent** the result was galloping inflation. This step need not have been taken, considering the possibilities for improving the financial situation without harming the interests of the working people and the country. The peso was devalued on the insistence of the International Monetary Fund and foreign investors to facilitate a speedy conversion of state enterprises into 'mixed,' cheapen labor power and so attract more investors, and enable Bolivian exports connected with foreign monopolies to increase their profits.

The dictatorship describes its activities as 'stabilization.' In practice, it is an attack on the national economy and on the lives of the people. The living standard of the population in the two years of Banzer's rule has on average gone down by half. The leaders of the Nationalist Popular Front try to justify the government's policy. Despite contradictions within the ruling bloc, its ideologists prate in unison about their 'historic services' and about having 'saved the state and the nation.'

*It is estimated that thousands of administrative posts have been created in two years in order to provide sinecures for the leaders of the ruling parties. Almost 95 per cent of the state budget is spent to cover the cost of the apparatus.

**This is the most drastic devaluation in Latin America during the recent period.

In common with bourgeois-reformist trends such as 'neo-liberalism,' 'desarrollism,' 'democratic tercerism,' and so on, the Bolivian nationalists peddle the theses of the 'historical peculiarity' of the paths of development of the nations of Latin America, about the 'non-viability' of socialism on the continent, and the need to form a 'national state' in opposition to the 'destructive plans of international communism to destroy the treasures of Western Christian civilization.' To cure this ill it is proposed that energetic measures be taken, with the help of private indigenous and foreign capital in order to achieve speedy socio-economic development 'in conditions of freedom.' This is portrayed as the only way to deliver the country from the 'chaos and anarchy' brought about by the Torres Government.

Such is the credo of the Bolivian bourgeoisie which is dependent on imperialism, and of all those who, hiding behind the words 'freedom,' 'democracy' and 'the supreme interests of the state and nation,' overthrew a progressive government whose only 'crime' was that it 'dared' to adopt some measures which would eventually lead the country to economic independence and limit the predatory activities of foreign monopolies.

The dictatorship is blind to the social consequences of its activities, although it is already clear that the role of the petty and middle bourgeoisie is declining and will ultimately disappear under the pressure of the monopolies. The so-called 'Brazilian miracle' confirms that the inevitable consequences of such a policy are economic disproportions, over-exploitation of labor power, mass poverty and police terror.

The search for 'social peace'

The apologists of the dictatorship explain and act on their credo quite differently from the Bolivian liberals of former times. Not for nothing are they bourgeois nationalists, chosen by fate itself to 'glorify the Bolivian State.' The motto, 'Order, Peace and Work,' has an especially noble and exalted meaning. This is the basis on which they allegedly strive to build 'a modern national state' which 'former ruling classes' were unable to do, and which the Communists 'prevented.'

We have already referred to the methods of achieving 'order and peace' adopted by the supporters of the 'national state.' But if they hold the whip in one hand, then in the other they dangle a carrot in front of the workers by granting concessions, and creating political apathy, conformism, and disarming them ideologically. In line with the 'Program of the Armed Forces Civil Action'* and resurrecting the notorious military-peasant pact which had been elaborated by General Barrientos's** government, they use paternalistic

*This program provides for army participation in building houses, schools and hospitals.

**Agreement on collaboration between the Barrientos Government (1964-69) and the leaders of the National Confederation of Bolivian Peasants. According to this agreement the army assumed supervision of the agrarian reform in return for support of the Government's policy. One of the conditions is not to permit 'Communist agitators' in villages.

tactics in order to isolate the peasantry, who comprise 60 per cent of the population, from the working-class movement.

The bourgeois nationalists also try to 'tame' the workers, win them over with the aid of social demagoguery. Hence, although their activities are limited, the unions of miners, factory and railway workers, oil and bank employees have been permitted to function.* The theory of 'revolutionary polyclassism,' in other words, class collaboration, is being sedulously propagated amongst the workers. This is allegedly the only way in which backwardness and dependence can be eliminated, and a 'national state' created. The most ardent proponents of this type of propaganda are ORIT** trained trade union leaders.

The middle strata are subjected to particularly aggressive propaganda on class collaboration. They are told that free enterprise ensures the progress of the individual and society itself. The whole armory of anti-communist and anti-Soviet ideas is used to the hilt.

The bourgeois nationalists are particularly concerned about the students. Last year, after a closure of twelve months, universities ('the centers of communist subversion') were reopened. This followed the dismissal of progressive teachers and employees, and the imprisonment or exile of a vast number of student leaders. There is now limited admission to higher educational establishments, whose autonomy too has been curtailed. There is no student self-government. The students' unions, and primarily the Bolivian Students' Confederation, the stronghold of the students' struggle for the country's independence, have been severely restricted. Only the propagation of the ideas of class reconciliation is permitted.

A similar attitude is displayed towards political parties. Opposition parties which are 'permitted' to function, such as the Christian Democrats and other minor bourgeois organizations, are allowed to publish timid critical comments on the regime, but the Communist and other Left parties are categorically banned.

While propagating 'social peace' the Bolivian nationalists try to inculcate in the people a specific world outlook, because in place of the 'classical' Latin American dictators such as Arana Osorio and Duvalier, Somoza and Stroessner, many of whom could not even write, there are now *fuehrers* who wave the banner of 'popular' nationalism, and present it as government doctrine.

Words and deeds of bourgeois nationalists

The apologists of the regime claim that their ideology is 'a concept of life, society and the individual,' 'a great theoretical weapon of millions of people, whose consciousness becomes stronger during the struggle for their national interests, for self-determination, for social progress and transformation.' What noble-sounding words, and what a pack of lies!

Of course, the danger of this twaddle must not be minimized.

*The dictatorship has not dared to make legal the Trade Union Federation of Miners, the most militant core of the Bolivian proletariat, and the Workers' Center, which combines all the trade unions and people's organizations in the country.

**Regional workers' organization, a section of the ICFTU.

But facts speak for themselves and make even the most politically backward see the light. Supporters of the regime had scarcely formulated their postulate on the 'defence of the nation,' when their flirtation with the Brazilian dictatorship commenced, spelling danger to Bolivia's sovereignty. One of the parties of the ruling bloc, the Bolivian Socialist Party, is already quite openly proclaiming the goal of federalization,* and in effect advocating the creation of 'one more Bolivian state,' i.e., the separation of the Department of Santa-Cruz. It is not difficult to understand this scheme: this territory has the world's richest natural resources of iron (Mutum area), vast reserves of gas, oil and radioactive elements. Forests abound which supply excellent timber and the soil is fertile. The monopolies in Brazil have close ties with the bankers, large-scale cattle breeders, sugar and cotton producers of the Department of Santa-Cruz. So, yielding to their pressure, the Bolivian Falangists are prepared to hand the department over to Brazil. Curiously enough, they see not the slightest contradiction in this step with 'the great theoretical weapon of nationalism.'

Nor has President Banzer hesitated to demonstrate his nationalist beliefs. 'Strong nations,' he said, having in mind Brazil, 'must exercise regular hegemony over the weak.' These words are almost identical with the ideas of President Nixon, who considers that Latin America will follow the road taken by Brazil. It is not a surprising coincidence; the slave repeats his master's words. That is how the Bolivian nationalists 'strengthen consciousness' in 'defending the interests' of a national state.

Simultaneously, in 'energetic and patriotic terms' the dictatorship demands that the Chilean Government of Popular Unity speedily accommodate Bolivia's claim for an outlet to the sea and supports the Chilean counter-revolutionaries who have fled to our country. It is no accident that the 'geopoliticians' of Brazil say that after the August 1971 coup, the borders of Brazil moved to the western ranges of the Andes.

The Banzer dictatorship is not only ready to sell the country's economy and its rich natural resources lock, stock, and barrel. It is prepared to forego part of its territory, so long as it is allowed to retain power. All this enables us to give a fuller description of the present regime: *the country is governed by a brutal, bloody, anti-popular and anti-national dictatorship.*

Bolivia will be free

Obviously, bourgeois nationalism is not a phenomenon confined to Bolivia only. It is present in different countries, and its character varies according to their socio-economic development, political traditions, etc. But everywhere it is against the people, anti-com-

*The federalization slogan calls for complete autonomy of departments, not short of secession from Bolivia. But it does not mean national autonomy for Quechuas, Aimoras, Moxos, Chiquitos and other Indian nationalities. At the root of the slogan are the separatist tendencies of a section of the Bolivian bourgeoisie.

munist and anti-Soviet. We consider that in our era, bourgeois nationalism is a form of bourgeois-reformist ideology of the most demagogic and radical variety.*

The events of the past two years have proved that the so-called 'Bolivian experiment,' the attempt by North American imperialism and the Brazilian dictatorship to establish a powerful ultra-nationalist regime, has by no means been crowned with victory. The regime is not stable, it is corrupt to the core and there are deep splits within the ruling bloc. The middle strata of the population saw some hope in the bourgeois nationalists at first, but are now becoming disillusioned and dismayed. The ruling parties are losing a considerable number of their supporters and there are continuous inter-party squabbles. Although the leaders, with their instinct for self-preservation, manage to come to terms, as a rule 'on all points,' it is inevitable that the struggle for power will sharpen and can only be put off for a while.

Nor do the armed forces present a monolithic bloc. There are innumerable ambitious leaders and caudillos amongst the military thirsting to occupy higher positions. While this article was being written the press reported that an attempted putsch by one of the groups claiming the right to overthrow Banzer, had been averted. This situation prevents the army 'strategists' from carrying out the maneuver of withdrawing to barracks, implying a formal refusal by the armed forces to participate in the administration of the country.

All this struggle 'higher up' does not signify any serious change in the balance of political and class forces. The North American imperialists and the Brazilian militarists who play an extremely big part in the political and economic life of the country, can support one or other camarilla. But they know perfectly well that it is impossible to preserve the power of the bourgeoisie if the present two-party alliance collapses. Therefore, for strategic reasons, the USA and Brazil support Banzer, and his coalition government.

Meanwhile, the people's opposition grows. After the 1971 coup, the revolutionary movement had for a time to adopt the tactic of organized retreat. Later came the re-organization period. A rise in the strike movement was to be noted, risings of the poor peasants became more frequent, and the protest of the Bolivian people more insistent.

The regrouping of forces within the Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front, a combination of Left forces created after the coup, takes place in conditions of sharp ideological battle which must end in the victory of the Marxist-Leninist outlook and the unification of all Left parties, of all progressive forces on the basis of a clear, revolutionary program. To achieve this, it is imperative to rid the

*Bourgeois nationalism must not be confused with revolutionary nationalism, or the ideology of the non-proletarian sections of society. In Bolivia, nationalism of the democratic anti-imperialist circles of the petty-bourgeoisie, of the patriotically inclined sections of the armed forces and the 'rebellious' Catholic priests, is progressive in nature. It can be identified with anti-imperialist patriotism. Communists and other Left forces in Bolivia consider that the stream of revolutionary nationalism can and must merge in a single popular anti-imperialist front led by the working class.

movement of pseudo-revolutionaries, anti-Communist and anti-Soviet elements, who play into the hands of the dictatorship and are the purveyors of undisguised opportunism.

Despite repressions and the recently enacted anti-Communist security law, despite the difficult conditions of clandestinity, we Communists are working to unite progressive forces and elaborate a common program and tactics of struggle. We support the vital demands of the working class, raising its revolutionary spirit and promoting the worker-peasant alliance. Our goal is to turn popular resistance to the dictatorship into a united mass political front of working people which will by rights take over power in the country. Bolivia will be free.

Bangladesh: the making of freedom

*Bistra Avramova, rep. of
Bulgarian CP,
S. Mitra, rep. CP of India,
R. Sevortyan, staff member.*

A nation in revolution—that is how we remember the People's Republic of Bangladesh, often described as the world's youngest state. Its citizens measure their modern history by just its several months of freedom, crowded with events and achievements, and stamped indelibly on the nation's memory.

It was on March 26, 1971, that the underground radio station Swadhin Bangla announced the birth of the new state. And though Pakistani generals were still in charge, the people of East Bengal had obtained a clear view of their goal. The national movement, in which democratic slogans had predominated for years, developed into an open battle against the military bureaucracy of the West Pakistani monopolists and landlords. With help from India and support from the Soviet Union, from all progressive forces, the Bangali national liberation movement triumphed. Following the surrender of the Pakistani command in December 1971, the independence of Bangladesh became an accomplished fact.

Always with the people

Nowadays, everybody knows them. But many knew about them also during the dictatorship, the time of brutal repressions, for the Party they represented was always in the thick of the battle. The many years of working underground have not aged the Communists. The CP of Bangladesh is a splendid alloy of experienced and tempered revolutionaries from before the Second World War, and young people who recognize the Communist movement as the most consistent, effective and radical force in the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Comrade Moni Singh, the Party's chairman, is 72. He is one of its founders, who set out on the Communist's thorny path in a backward country where communalism – a policy of inciting enmity between Muslims and Hindus – reigned. To be of Hindu origin, and moreover a Communist, was to be hated twice over – to be the object of at once the religious and class hatred of the reactionary elements in the Muslim community. He, too, was spurred by hatred – a class hatred of oppression and exploitation. Opposing reactionary rule, he stood up for the toiling masses, Muslim and Hindu alike, for his people.

And in these first euphoric months of freedom he is rejuvenated, performs much Party work, speaks at meetings, addresses students. A veteran of the Communist movement, a legendary figure of the Te-Bhaga movement, the peasant uprising which shook the feudal system in the mid-40s, Moni Singh now also heads the Party's peasant organization.

It was thanks to the amazing energy of this veteran, of the other Party leaders, not least its General Secretary, Comrade Abdus Salam, that we were able to learn and see so much of Bangladesh and its many problems.

Comrade Abdus Salam is also of the Old Guard. In the underground, he was involved with the whole Party in some of the main battles against the reactionary rule of landlords and big capitalists. 'Ever since Pakistan was constituted,' he told us, 'we have fought for the national rights of all the peoples in the country, as well as our own.'

Young people, recent students, who have dedicated their lives to the working-class cause, hold many responsible offices in the Party's mass organizations. They are shaping close ties, weakened by the many years of illegality, with the proletariat. The end of illegality posed many new problems, one of which was the relationship to other organizations with similar aims, and to communist-influenced mass organizations.

The Party leaders are studying the experience of the past several months. The country's difficulties – natural for the period following liberation – are many. In a way, they resemble those experienced by other Asian countries after the Second World War, when the 'multiformity' of the poverty of ex-colonies surfaced so

distinctly as the legacy of centuries of foreign rule and the immediate result of foreign occupation. The hardships of the first months of independence are aggravated by the consequences of the 1971 war, the damages of which are estimated at \$4,000-\$5,000 million. Flocks of homeless orphaned children in the streets of Dacca and hovels hastily built by returning refugees are evidence of its ravages. There are shortages of fuel, electricity, food and medicine. Factories are idle due to lack of raw materials and spare parts. And the question of what must be done to cope with the difficulties, to eliminate the dangers, requires a clear and unerring answer from the Communists.

'The main thing now,' Comrade Farhat, member of the CC CPB Secretariat, told us, 'is to consolidate independence. Forget your own benefit for the time being, think of how to raise production, to cope with the difficulties. This is what we say to the workers and peasants.' Party activists are working for higher industrial and agricultural output.

The Communists are promoting unity of the democratic forces and the masses around a program to improve the people's life and to advance in unison to socialism. The alliance of patriotic forces that evolved in the struggle for liberation must have an organizational shape. The Party supports Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman and his government, but demands consistent implementation of the government's plan and offers its own solutions for various problems. 'For example, if the ruling Awami League calls for higher farm output, we support its call,' Comrade K. Roy, a member of the CC CPB Secretariat said. 'But in our opinion, reliance should be placed most of all in the working peasants, and they should therefore get seed and implements.'

The awakened peasant

The outskirts of Dacca are the beginning of the real Bengal, a country of green land and water. The mighty Ganges waters the endless rice fields, and connects different parts of the country. But it is also a source of calamities. Following the monsoon rains, the river floods the fertile lowland, and only islets of human habitation dot the watery desolation.

The village we visited did not fear flooding. It suffered from drought. Several months before, Communists organized an irrigation scheme society. The land was surveyed, and tube-wells were sunk on money collected from the villagers. Irrigation equipment was acquired from the state.

Societies are the initial form of cooperation. Its simpler forms seem to be more natural and viable at present. The Party's peasant organization has helped form several dozen irrigation scheme societies, and peasants are also pooling resources to buy equipment, fertilizer, and stock seeds from the state.

True, the state has not got enough to go around. All too often, local administrators tend to give aid to the more prosperous farms,

rather than the most needy. And the channels of state aid are also being used in villages by certain local elements to boost their political influence for selfish purposes.

One of the crucial imperatives for the country with its limited land resources and dense population is to introduce modern farming techniques. Nur Alam, an activist of the CPB's peasant organization and an agricultural college graduate, told us that mere redistribution of land will hardly solve the agrarian problem. Doubly so because, unlike other Asian states, Bangladesh has not many large landed estates.

However, the process of land concentration is visibly under way. The holdings of prosperous peasants and lesser landlords are considerable, and the urban petty bourgeoisie is also investing in land. Feudal practices survive. Sharecropping and usury are widespread.

The government's agrarian reform is already being put into effect: some 200,000 hectares have been distributed to landless peasants and farm laborers, small holdings are exempted from taxes, and a ceiling of 100 bigha (13.4 hectares) has been set. But the prosperous peasants still have many advantages in obtaining credit and implements from the state. The local agrarian development committees consist mainly of richer peasants, who appropriate a substantial portion of the modest help sent to the villages by the government.

The villager is subjected to many hardships – this is a heritage of the past, but also an effect of the present complicated conditions. But he is willing and determined to cope with them. The liberation war of 1971 has aroused his patriotism. The peasantry has become one of the main driving forces of the national-liberation struggle. Workers, students, and Party functionaries who directed the armed resistance in the countryside have contributed greatly to the villager's political enlightenment and acceptance of patriotic ideals.

The peasant regards the government as his own. He is proud that it is a government of his countrymen, and not of Punjabi capitalists from Western Pakistan, whose language and culture are foreign to him. People in the villages pin their hopes on the agrarian reform, and are looking forward to the completion of government programs.

Government aid to farming holds out the promise of deliverance from the usurer. 'This is why I voted for Banglabandhu in the recent elections,' a young peasant named Ali told us. 'We fought together against the "Paks," and are now fighting together for a better life.'

The prime minister's position

Banglabandhu (friend of Bengal) is what the people here call Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman, Chairman of the ruling party. A man of varied experience, he personifies Bengali nationalism, and is a statesman typical of many national-liberation revolutions. Regard-

less of their class origin, such leaders embody the democratism of the national-liberation revolution, and the masses identify with them their hopes and aspirations.

Mujibur Rahman is busy from morning to night, yet he finds time to receive the many petitioners, to fulfil what would seem insignificant requests, and also to meet foreign guests. Towards evening, he also received our delegation.

'Growth of capitalism must be curbed,' he said to us at the beginning of our talk. 'We want democracy for the oppressed.'

His words express the sentiment that we observed throughout Bangladesh. For most Bengalis the bankruptcy of the Pakistani military bureaucracy was tantamount to bankruptcy of the idea of capitalist development. During over two decades, Bangladesh had been an object of capitalist exploitation by West Pakistani and international monopolies. For the people their ever mounting wealth meant poverty, illiteracy and political abuse. Not surprisingly, anti-capitalist views are widespread in the post-liberation period, and are reflected in the social slogans issued by the ruling party, most of whose leadership is of petty-bourgeois background.

However, though the stranglehold of Pakistani capital has been broken, the danger of imperialist penetration remains. The numerous foreign relief organizations are very conspicuous in Dacca. And not all by far are dedicated to the functions they publicly profess. The Americans, for example, are using relief as an excuse for contacting anti-national elements in the bureaucracy, and collecting all manner of information. Many people told us about the danger of subversion behind this screen of Western aid. The imperialists are working to influence the students and win over unstable petty-bourgeois elements, whose anti-Pakistani feelings are not always accompanied by anti-imperialist sentiment.

'There are countries that gave us aid. But this does not mean that they have changed their political philosophy,' Mujibur Rahman remarked in the course of our conversation.

And we saw for ourselves that the patriotic movement is alarmed over the designs of imperialist agents, who are trying to incite anti-Soviet and anti-Indian feeling. CIA-linked clandestine ultra-Right Moslem organizations are trying to build up a slander campaign against the USSR and India, restore the reactionary system and drag the country back into the pro-imperialist orbit. However, the government's foreign policy is preventing that.

'Ours is a policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality,' Mujibur Rahman emphasized. 'My people need peace and we stand for peaceful coexistence, for security.'

That policy is supported by all the progressive and peace-loving forces on the subcontinent and by most countries of the world. But there are people, and not only in the imperialist camp, who do not like it.

'I do not wish to be harsh,' the Prime Minister said, 'but I deeply regret China's position. What harm have we done China? My long-

suffering country won its freedom in a hard-fought struggle. Everyone knows that. Then why should a state that also owes its origin to the liberation struggle, want to deny us UN membership by using its veto?

What annoys Peking most are Bangladesh's ties with India and the Soviet Union. But try as it may, Maoist propaganda cannot belittle the value of this friendship forged in the battle for national sovereignty of Bangladesh. Everywhere, we heard expressions of friendship for India and the USSR. Zillur Rahman, Secretary-General of the Awami League, who also received us, referred in the warmest terms to their contribution to Bangladesh independence.

Difficult job

There is much talk in Bangladesh of plans for the future, some of them hazy and controversial. But there are grim problems that have to be faced now. Leaders of the Left-oriented Student Union told us: 'In a country with about 80 per cent of the population illiterate, students must help defeat illiteracy and spread progressive ideas among the masses.' They have already picked out the district where they will send students to work during their vacations.

Students have started a model farm near the capital to teach peasants modern cultivation methods. Now there are requests for several more such farms. In fact, the arrival of students in any village is always a great occasion—the peasants learn from them what is happening and how pressing problems are being solved.

In general, student prestige is high. Young intellectuals have always been an important driving force of the national movement, the initiators of mass actions against the reactionary Pakistani regime.

Students can do everything—that is the feeling among part of the youth. But this sincere youthful idealism has its reverse side. Some young people, among them some former freedom fighters, resort to anarchist actions, disorganize the work of institutions and factories. The emotional changeover from war to peaceful labor is not easy to make.

In fact, adaptation to the post-liberation period with its need for more efficiency and discipline, both so important today, is a very acute problem. Especially in nationalized industries. Re-starting factories is complicated not only because of shortages. Independence has radically changed the economic structure. There is now a public sector, accounting for more than 80 per cent of industry, rail, air and sea transport, banking and insurance. But management of public enterprises and services leaves very much to be desired. The bureaucracy is out to discredit the idea of nationalization, and engages in economic sabotage. Bureaucracy must be combated, and firmly, said Zillur Rahman, General Secretary of the ruling party.

Some former liberation fighters, we were told, are making a good thing for themselves out of government jobs, trying to knock together some capital for an eventual business venture. In the autumn of 1972, several Party functionaries, members of the Constituent Assembly,* were expelled from the ruling party for various abuses.

Another reason for difficulties in organized production is the weakness of the working class – there are about one million industrial workers (in a population of 75 million) concentrated in jute, textiles, leather and transport. But there are more than 27 million seasonal workers, owners of tiny plots who eke out a living by work in the plantations or by casual jobs. Many industrial workers, too, have small plots and live in villages. Their psychology is akin to that of peasants.

The working class took an active part in the East Bengal national movement and held strikes and demonstrations against the military dictatorship. Some 10,000 volunteer workers fought shoulder to shoulder with the regular forces in the 1971 liberation war. But with factories closed during the war, many workers went back to the villages and gradually lost their class identity.

Leaders of the Bangladesh Trade Union Center, which is associated with the Communist Party, told us of factories being looted, sometimes even by trade union officials – men who had attached themselves to the national-liberation movement – and sometimes by workers. The extremist and adventurist elements in the trade unions advance patently unfeasible demands – for instance, payment of back wages for all the nine months of the liberation war. They cultivate consumer sentiments among the workers and there is the disquieting symptom that some workers took part in the mass actions organized by the extremists.

'The workers are the patriotic class and in these difficult times they cannot concern themselves only with their own interests. For what is at stake is a strong independent state,' leaders of the Trade Union Center told us. Their attitude is shared by most Bangladesh workers. And in the present difficult and complex conditions they are working selflessly to restart industry, are repairing equipment and finding more economical ways of work organization.

A Communist trade union official told us how spare parts were procured for his factory, the Bhawani Jute Mills. The Communist leaders of the local trade union persuaded the workers to start making the spares on their own. A decision to this effect was passed at a mass meeting, and the factory could resume operation.

Or this example: management decided that costly cable equipment had to be replaced, but the workers repaired it, saving both time and money.

We were told that worker initiative is not always welcomed, let alone supported, by managers of state-owned enterprises.

*Prior to the adoption of the Constitution of Bangladesh (December 1972), the Constituent Assembly was the country's legislative body.

Communist-associated unions are concerned for the future of nationalized industry. The Communist slogan, 'save the national industries,' has been taken up by the more politically minded workers who realize that efficient operation of these industries is a guarantee against possible reversal of the revolution. At the same time, however, progressive labor organizations are campaigning for fixed wage levels, and for 30 per cent of profit to accrue to the workers. The working class is determined to stand up for its rights and have an active part in solving the country's vital problems.

Prevailing sentiments

Communist Party, trade union and peasant leaders told us of symptoms of disenchantment in some sections of the population. People are disappointed for different reasons: the well-to-do because imported consumer goods are in short supply, the petty and middle bourgeoisie because nationalization has dashed their hopes of getting in on the ground floor when West Pakistani property would come up for distribution. But there is another kind of disenchantment: the long-suffering people want to reap the benefits of real independence now, whereas post-liberation reconstruction requires the exertion of every ounce of strength. And so the less stable elements see everything in a very pessimistic light. The extremists – the pro-Pakistani ultra-Rights and the pro-Peking ultra-Lefts – are trying to exploit this feeling of discontent, for they are obsessed with one idea – to overthrow the national regime.

Against this background one does not immediately sense the dominant sentiment, the optimism that seems to have concealed itself, but is the over-riding element in the public mind. It is this sentiment that animates the country. The people of Bangladesh are proud of their hard-won freedom and look forward to a better future.

'The founding of Bangladesh,' the Student Union declares, 'is an important stage of the social revolution. Our aim is to build socialism, found a society of social justice.' These and similar revolutionary ideas and sentiments are born of the upsurge of the national-liberation movement and are expressive of the people's urge for democracy and social equality. 'He who does not see the mass democratism of our people, its reaction to every manifestation of injustice, its dream of a just society, does not understand our country,' Prof. Muzaffar Ahmad, President of the National Awami Party, told us.

Democratism born of the national-liberation revolution imbues the behavior and the thinking of the people. And one of its most important manifestations is the feeling of responsibility for the country's destiny, the energy with which workers, peasants, intellectuals contribute to the solution of the complex problems of post-liberation.

Nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism are the fundamental principles of Bangladesh policy. They are set out in the preamble to the Constitution. Secularism represents a radical turn in this Moslem country where not so long ago Islam was the state religion. And for the first time the law has put an end to the bankrupt policy of communalism.

The Constitution reflects the present stage, the general democratic stage of the national-liberation revolution. But it also proclaims the social ideal of the masses – socialism. Its inclusion in the Constitution testifies to the popularity of the ideas of socialism and democracy in a people that has won through to national freedom. And with the growth of class consciousness, this social ideal will acquire real content and from a general slogan will become the concrete aim of the working class, peasantry and progressive intelligentsia. That is why Communist veteran Moni Singh's words ring with so much confidence: 'The Communist Party, the party of socialism, has a great future in our country.'

Dacca-Prague.

Turning point in battle for labor unity

Bruce Magnuson
Member CEC, CP of Canada

Deepening contradictions within Canadian bourgeois society are broadening the scope and character of the class struggle. Extended social conflict and involvement of new strata of the population in the anti-monopoly struggle have narrowed the gap between the traditional trade union preoccupation with immediate economic aims and the broad and more long-term democratic struggles facing the Canadian people.

Last November, General Secretary William Kashtan, reporting to a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, enumerated three major confrontations reflecting the central issues facing the country and the people. They are: the confrontation between the working class and democracy, on the one hand, and monopoly, on the other; the confrontation between French and English Canada, and the confrontation between Canada and United States imperialism.

Canadian workers fought significant strike battles during 1972. The trade union movement took a large step towards trade union unity, including the 'legalization' or restoration of the rights of

Communists within the unions and central labor bodies. Canadian members of unions with headquarters in the United States sought more autonomy and independence.* The demand for steps to reduce U.S. economic penetration and control of the Canadian economy grew. A third provincial Social Democratic government was elected in British Columbia on the Pacific coast. Trudeau's Liberal government was set back in the federal election, and remained in office as a minority government.**

Events in Quebec

The wish for unity, which is ever more strongly felt in Canada's trade-union movement, yielded fruit most visibly in Quebec, or French Canada, where over 80 per cent of the population speaks French. At the end of 1971 and beginning of 1972, a Common Front of three labor federations came into being there, consisting of the Quebec Federation of Labor, which takes in U.S.-based unions as well as Canadian unions who are affiliated to the Canadian Labor Congress; the Confederation of National Trade Unions (formerly Catholic Syndicates), and the Teachers Corporation of Quebec.***

This Common Front entered into a campaign for a minimum of \$100 per week wage or salary for all public service employees. This aim was achieved, but not until after first one day and then 11 days of strike by 210,000 public and para-public employees, the adoption of anti-strike legislation by the Quebec Bourassa Government, and the arrest and imprisonment of the three main Common Front leaders and 41 others. Eventually the government had to release the main leaders and negotiate an agreement with unions involved.

During this phase of the Common Front and the largest strike ever in Canada, support for the Quebec workers mushroomed throughout Canada. The Canadian Labor Congress, at its ninth biennial convention in May, 1972, voted unanimously to support the economic demands of Quebec workers, condemned the anti-strike legislation passed by the Quebec Government, called for its repeal and the release of the arrested leaders and unionists.

Prior to the strike, Montreal businessmen bought a full-page advertisement in the bourgeois press calling for one million telegrams to be sent to Federal Prime Minister Trudeau and Quebec Premier Bourassa demanding that they withdraw the right to strike from public employees or resign. This action was denounced by Donald MacDonald, President of the Canadian Labor Congress, as 'a contemptible attempt' to deny a basic democratic right to public employees. 'If strikes were eliminated,' he said, 'it would deny a basic civil liberty and replace it with terms and conditions arbitrarily imposed by the employers.'

*Most Canadian unions are branches of U.S. so-called international unions. — Ed.

**See W. Kashtan, 'What the Canadian Barometer Indicates,' WMR, No. 4, 1973.

***The two last union centers not in affiliation with the Canadian Labor Congress.

The historic and massive struggle between Quebec public service workers and their government was the largest strike ever to take place in Canada. But it included the basic issue, namely the workers' right to collective bargaining and the right to strike to make such bargaining meaningful, same as did the Winnipeg General Strike 53 years earlier, in 1919. Moreover, the support expressed throughout the country was also unprecedented.

On the same day that the Canadian Labor Congress Convention declared the solidarity of its 1.7 million members with the objectives of the Quebec workers, the president of the National Farmers Union, Roy Atkinson, wired Quebec Premier Bourassa demanding the release of the arrested leaders and the return to 'reasoned bargaining and negotiations.' The NFU also sent telegrams to the three imprisoned Quebec labor leaders complimenting them on their 'courageous efforts on behalf of Quebec workers to obtain social and economic justice which are much admired and respected. Your imprisonment is symbolic of the injustice against which you and your colleagues struggle and will act as a torchlight to eventual victory . . .'

It was a great step forward for the main body of Canada's organized workers, the Canadian Labor Congress, to extend its solidarity to the Quebec Common Front, which embraced not only its affiliate, the Quebec Federation of Labor, but also two other labor federations that are not affiliates of the CLC. It mirrored the class solidarity between the workers of English-speaking Canada with the workers of French-speaking Canada.

The Communist Party of Canada never fails to stress the importance of working-class unity and warn against the grave consequences of separatism. As Comrade William Kashtan stated to the Central Committee in May, 1972: 'There is no future for the working class in French Canada becoming the tail end of the Parti Quebecois (a petty-bourgeois neo-separatist party - B.M.), as there is no future for the working class and the country in separatism. Its future lies in strengthening its class unity in Quebec and on an all-Canadian scale, and in uniting its allies on an all-Canadian scale around a national and democratic alliance for fundamental change.'

Political storms in British Columbia

Early in March of 1972, while the Quebec Common Front was gearing up for a showdown, the working people of Canada's westernmost province of British Columbia served notice through their trade unions they would not stand idly by while their Social Credit government moved to impose a compulsory wage freeze on teachers and other public employees. A conference of five unions directly affected planned a fight-back against the arbitrary freeze and to gain full collective bargaining rights, while the 160,000-member B.C. Federation of Labor pledged its full support to the unions directly under attack.

Involved in the B.C. government's laws to cut back social expenditures for health, education and welfare, were nurses and hospital workers, teachers and other sections of the government services. B.C. public school teachers approved a levy of one day's pay to establish a \$1 million fund to fight discriminatory legislation. The B.C. Teachers Federation also provided for a strike vote and a political action fund. Construction workers forced the government to retreat by withdrawal of a bill aimed to provide penalties for workers refusing to cross picket lines.

As a last resort the B.C. government turned to intimidation. Dozens of policemen (RCMP) swooped down on 52 construction union offices throughout the province seeking evidence to convict union leaders of failure to notify their members to return to work under government order, after the employers had declared a lock-out. However, the solidarity of organized workers in defiance of compulsion by a government-appointed so-called Mediation Commission paid off. Employers were forced to negotiate settlements in good faith, rather than to rely on coercion.

Finally on August 30, 1972, the Social Credit administration in B.C. was decisively defeated in a provincial election by the New Democratic Party.

Rise of the mass movement

The leftward trend of the early 70s, the trend for unity, is not an isolated development confined to Quebec or British Columbia. It has taken hold of the entire Canadian labor movement.

The deepening crisis in Canadian society, mass unemployment, rising prices and inflation, with zooming taxes as well as living costs, is the result of highly monopolized control by a handful of corporate giants, both U.S. and Canadian owned and controlled.

Monopoly capital in Canada makes enormous profits out of its partnership with United States imperialism. This does not mean that there are no contradictions between the two. There is no doubt that Canadian capital would prefer to be promoted to *equal* partnership with the U.S. rather than be merely a junior partner with some sort of so-called special relationship. But ever since August 15, 1971,* everything indicates that any dream about any kind of special relationship is simply a fiction of the imagination and nothing more. Today the profit-hungry corporations want the working class of Canada and of all capitalist countries to bear the burden for state-monopoly capitalist economic and social policies for which the working class is not in the least responsible.

A substantial number of Canadian industrial and financial tycoons act as directors of U.S.-controlled corporations. It is these forces who seek the integration of the U.S. and Canadian corporate structure. It is they who *subordinate* capital generated in Canada to the control of U.S. capital and for whom this is the way to participate

*The day when the U.S. President introduced 'emergency measures.'

in larger and more profitable industrial and commercial undertakings. U.S.-owned corporations have increased their share of Canadian manufacturing industry from 49 to 52 per cent in the past six years. In 1970, in manufacturing industries alone, 551,000 Canadians were working for U.S.-controlled companies. It is these robber barons who bleed the country white for their own private gains. For them nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of their own selfish aims. For them, our federal and provincial treasuries are sources of fat subsidies, while hard working people and middle income businesses in both towns, cities and in the countryside pay the ever-increasing prices and taxes.

Following the autumn election of 1972, and the resulting minority Liberal Government, a new 1973 budget has been brought down in which certain concessions have by force of circumstances been granted to low and middle income taxpayers and consumers. But even here, most of the tax concessions accrue again to the corporations.

In this present period the trade unions are constantly confronted with new problems to solve and new tasks to perform in all their activities.

One of these problems presently is an 'incomes policy' so-called, or a wage and price freeze policy. The purpose here on the part of monopoly and state is to get the trade unions to acquiesce in a policy of reducing workers' living standards on the excuse that by so doing they are 'fighting inflation.' This lie aims to convince public opinion that the working class through its trade union movement is responsible for creating inflation with concomitant hardships for the majority of the people.

Most union leaders tend to retreat from facing this struggle head-on by mere denunciation of this policy, or by protests to the effect that any sacrifice in this direction has to be based upon some mythical 'equality,' instead of mobilizing their memberships to compel governments to change the direction of state and monopoly policies which are the cause of inflation, unemployment and its attendant miseries.

It is this situation which accounts for growing strike struggles; the following are some statistical evidence of the escalating strike movement in Canada during the past five years, with only preliminary and incomplete figures for eight months of 1972.

Year	Number of strikes:	Workers involved:
1967	522	252,018
1968	582	223,562
1969	595	306,799
1970	542	261,706
1971	569	239,631
(10-months) 1972 ¹	933	882,382

1. Estimate.

Beginning of a new stage?

It has always been the historic role of the Communist Party to unite the working class, to bring class and political consciousness to the working people, and to strengthen the trade unions and the broad labor and democratic movement.

After the Second World War it was above all the Communists, working in closest harmony with other Left-wing forces within the organized labor movement, who gave substance and leadership to the great postwar battles of the working class to improve its economic and social position relative to the capitalist class and the big monopolies. It was the latter who utilized, in the most selfish and unpatriotic way, the no-strike commitment of labor during the anti-fascist war to enrich themselves at the expense of the working people.

It was the extreme Right-wing in the North American trade union movement, above all the top leadership of the American Federation of Labor and some elements in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), that made common cause with United States imperialism to mount a counter-offensive against the anti-fascist wartime alliance on the basis of anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism. The result was the cold war, the chief aim of which was to make the trade unions pliable instruments for the implementation of U.S. imperialist policy and aims throughout the world. As in the United States, this policy brought devastating internecine witch-hunts, expulsions, strike-breaking, raiding and fragmentation of unions, all in the name of anti-communism.

But after 20 years of cold war and the struggle against it within the ranks of the main sectors of the Right-wing and reformist-led trade unions, the Toronto Convention of the Canadian Labor Congress in 1968 signaled that a turning point was approaching. It adopted a more progressive orientation on international policy questions, and also moved to do away with the anti-Communist clause in its constitution.

By the time of the Edmonton Convention in 1970, the growing demand for all-inclusive trade union unity made itself felt in nearly 100 resolutions submitted by affiliated unions. Prodded by the Left forces at this convention the CLC also adopted minimum proposals concerning Canadian trade union autonomy, to guide its affiliated unions that have their headquarters in the United States. But it was at the Ottawa Convention of the CLC in May, 1972, and in the midst of growing strike struggles in both the private and public sectors of the economy, that a turning point in policy orientation for unity appeared. This reflected basic changes in relationships of class forces both in Canada and in the worldwide arena of class struggle. The convention delegations rejected all attempts to block support for all-inclusive trade union unity to fight the bosses and their governments. For the first time, a CLC convention debated foreign ownership and control of the Canadian econ-

omy, alongside issues of economic policy and the rights of the workers.

A policy statement on organization presented to the convention showed that the membership in terms of a percentage of the Canadian labor force stood exactly at the same point as it did when the Congress was founded in 1956.* It proved that the cold war policy of anti-communism had brought only stagnation and decline to the power and prestige of organized labor. It showed by experience that a change in orientation of policy within the Congress was urgently required.

This fact also proved that the Right-wing leadership had failed in its efforts to completely dismember and destroy unions under Left and Communist leadership. Further, that when this did not bring the aimed for results, they sought to force these unions to surrender their jurisdictions and to join with other and already affiliated unions, as the price of entry into the CLC. This policy, aimed at liquidation of these unions in a more sophisticated way, had also failed.

It was consequent upon the realization of these failures, and faced with a decisive mandate for unity, that the Executive Council of the CLC came to a momentous decision early in December 1972.

The admission into Congress affiliation of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union with national jurisdiction, and the B.C.-based United Fishermen and Allied Workers,** signified much more than the re-admission into the main house of labor of two Left-led and progressive trade union organizations. It undid a grievous wrong which had crippled and weakened labor for nearly a quarter of a century. Moreover, it proved the correctness of a policy of fighting tenaciously for unity of all unions within one house of labor on the basis of a principled class approach.

Let us hope that this victory for policies of inner-union democracy and equality of rights within the trade union movement, is the beginning of a new stage. Unity must now be extended to embrace all organized labor, to put an end to internecine warfare and senseless jurisdictional quarrels. Any restructuring required in such a process must be undertaken on an equitable, voluntary and democratic basis.

The chief instrument of mobilization for a struggle against the main enemy – the united forces of the monopolies and their state – must be an independent and sovereign Canadian trade union movement; a movement firmly united in fraternal solidarity and cooperation with labor of all nations, whether socialist or capitalist, on the basis of working class internationalism; a movement united on a firm class basis.

For Canada and Canadians the road to progress lies in firm labor, democratic and people's unity against state-monopoly policies and

*The CLC resulted from the merging of the Canadian Congress of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress in 1956. – Ed.

**See *World Marxist Review*, No. 4, 1973.

aims. It lies in an anti-monopoly coalition that can defeat monopoly and open the way to fundamental transformation of our society and a socialist future. What is coming more and more to the fore is the leadership of the nation and of society by the working class.

Reactionary intrigues and ultra-leftist maneuvers

As long as monopolies hold sway they will continue to do everything to disunite labor and intensify the exploitation of the working class. For this, they capitalize on the real and imaginary differences and contradictions in the labor movement. This became evident in Quebec where the Common Front of Labor was the greatest thorn in their side.

First a Right-wing group defected from the Confederation of National Trade Unions. Secondly, international building trades unions affiliated with the Quebec Federation of Labor and the CLC raided other construction workers unions belonging to the CNTU. As a result of this plot on the part of the enemies of labor unity, a schism has developed between the CNTU and the QFL, two of the main federations within the Quebec Common Front. One of the great problems to overcome in this situation is that neither the Quebec Teachers Organization nor the CNTU, which are exclusively Quebec trade union centers, are, as previously stated, affiliated to the CLC.

Emboldened by the success of Right-wing forces to split the Common Front, the Quebec Government has again incarcerated the main union leaders who were sentenced to a year in jail for 'contempt of court' last year during the general strike of public employees. What is now under way in Quebec is a campaign for amnesty for these union leaders, a campaign in which Quebec Communists and progressives are actively engaged.

A factor which assisted the reactionaries in Quebec in their nefarious plot to divide the Common Front was the petty-bourgeois radicalism and pseudo-revolutionary position advanced by its leaders which ignored the realities of the situation, the mood and political preparedness of the workers and called upon them to topple the system of private ownership of the means of production, thus misrepresenting the limited economic struggle started by the Common Front as a struggle for the fundamental social transformation of Quebec society.

The most dangerous situation for the working class and democratic forces in Quebec is the absence there of a viable political vehicle, such as a mass federated party of labor including all genuine Left forces, through the medium of which the working class can advance its economic, social and political aims. This is a most urgent need in conditions of breakdown of faith in the parties of monopoly capitalism, and particularly the Bourassa Liberal Government.

What is needed more than ever at this stage to defeat monopoly

attacks on labor and the people, is an intensified effort to extend trade union unity to include all organized workers of Quebec. The criteria for this must be equality of rights, which recognize structural and organizational differences as well as the need for solidarity and unity.

Coupled with this struggle for all-inclusive trade union unity, there must be full recognition of Canadian workers' right to autonomy and sovereignty in decision-making respecting all matters pertaining to the functioning of an independent Canadian trade union movement. Only in this way can Canadian workers become fully united in a common purpose to advance the interests of the working class both at home and abroad, working on a principled class basis, and in fraternal solidarity and cooperation with trade unions of all countries – capitalist or socialist.

The present organic structure and constitutional rigidities of most international (read U.S.-based) unions in Canada, do not allow for any meaningful recognition of Canada's separate economic, social and political identity. With few honorable exceptions, they have historically and traditionally acted as vehicles or instruments through which the U.S. Right-wing trade union leaders have sought to impose their will on Canada's trade union movement. An example of this was a conference of international building trades unions in Ottawa at the time of the CLC Convention/72, where international representatives, officers and business agents discussed and planned raiding and internecine warfare on CNTU-affiliated construction workers' unions as a means of smashing what they considered a rival.

This reactionary and Right-opportunist stance gives birth to 'Left' opportunist forces who advocate secession and dual unionism as the answer. In Canada today there is a coming together of dual union advocates with Maoists, Trotskyites, Left-wing social-democrats who engage in pseudo-radical posturing and New Left theorizing, the sundry ultra-Lefts. These forces, while ostensibly campaigning for 'Canadian Unions for Canadian Workers,' engage in rhetoric that repels the very forces which condemn and fight against Right-wing policies. In fact these 'Leftists' become the allies of the extreme Right forces and find support among bourgeois nationalists, employers and governments who are out to weaken and divide the ranks of organized workers. They are given wide publicity in the media, that bears no relation to their role, influence or importance in the general scheme of the class struggle.

Urgent issues

The main issue facing Communists and all other progressive and anti-monopoly forces is to organize, unify and activate the Left forces within the trade unions, to promote class and political consciousness, to pursue class struggle policies, and to defeat those who are out to disunite, confuse and defeat the workers and their unions.

New groups of people are joining the working class and more white collar workers and professionals are joining the trade unions. Presently in Canada the CLC has undertaken a drive to organize one million white collar workers out of the two million in the labor force.

As the crisis of the system grows, and as monopoly alienates ever larger numbers by its anti-popular policies, ever wider strata of the population are brought into the political, as well as economic, struggle in which the decisive moods and movements are leaning decidedly in a leftward direction. The conditions for the unification of the forces of the Left are rapidly developing and maturing in Canada.

The Communist Party of Canada is actively and untiringly working within the trade union movement for a politically independent labor movement, for the restructuring of the trade unions in keeping up with technological change, for organization of the unorganized, for a shorter work day, for the right to a job and for a redistribution of our national income to end poverty and want. It seeks to broaden the scope of this struggle to include:

- Economic development based upon our abundant resources, which must be repatriated and made use of by and for Canadians, under public ownership and control.

- Canadians as masters in their own house. An end to United States monopoly control and domination of our economic and social life.

- A united Canada based on the right to self-determination and an equal and voluntary partnership of our two nations - French and English speaking.

In fighting thus for a broad-based democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist coalition, Canadian Communists seek a new direction in Canadian politics and national policy, and a new alignment of Canada with the world forces of peace, progress and socialism.



Sri Lanka united front program

S. A. Wickremasinghe
General Secretary, CP Sri Lanka

COMMUNISTS FIGHT FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND DEMOCRATIC OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION

Three years have elapsed since the formation of the United Front Government of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. It came to power on the crest of an anti-imperialist wave in the midst of general disenchantment with the Rightist United National Party's pro-imperialist rule. The basis of the United Front was the agreement by the three parties on a common program, to be placed before the country for its acceptance at the general election in May 1970. Inspired by the program of the Left coalition, the masses expressed their mistrust of the Right cabinet that had directed the country for five years (1965-1970).

Repulsing reactionary offensive

The socio-economic policy of the UNP government was designed to strengthen the capitalist economy, which had been in a state of stagnation in the mid-60s. There was an increase in paddy production, and imports of investment goods were increased. The existing state sector continued to function despite the UNP's avowed opposition to state enterprise, and despite its hostility to socialism it was compelled by circumstances to maintain trade relations with the socialist countries.

However, its economic measures failed to make a substantial impact on the total situation, for the regime relied mainly on foreign monopoly capital. The five main imperialist powers – the USA, UK, France, FRG and Japan – formed a consortium to collaborate with the Rightist national government. With the grant of short-term commercial credit and commodity aid on terms most unfavorable to Ceylon, the unstable condition of the dependent colonial economy was further aggravated during the five years of the Rightist regime. Extensive borrowing from abroad caused the foreign debt to jump from Rs.447 million in 1965 to Rs.1,337 million at the end of 1969. The annual interest and debt service payments rose to

over 30 per cent of the annual export earnings. Though the amount of aid received each year increased, the deterioration of the balance of trade continued.

Throughout the 60s the condition of the masses kept declining. The trend could not be reversed either by the first government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike (1960-1965), which had enacted some measures of a progressive nature, nor, not surprisingly, by the UNP. And the Right regime tried to stem the popular discontent by repressions. Many Communist and other progressives were victimized.

When the UNP came to power in 1965, the Communist Party redoubled the struggle against reaction, for a closer alliance of all anti-imperialist forces. The Right wing of the SLFP, which was opposed to a United Front with the Communists, had to retreat in face of this popular pressure. The upshot of these developments was the agreement signed in 1968 by the three parties, the SLFP, Socialist Party and Communist Party, to form a United Front. The Left coalition accused the UNP regime of betraying the fundamental national interests, and promised to resolve the country's problems at the expense of imperialist monopolies and local vested interests.

True, the Common Program, advanced by the SLFP, Socialists and Communists, did not include a concrete and comprehensive economic plan for development in order to bring about radical structural and institutional changes in the economy. Nevertheless the program declared the resolve of the three parties to establish a socialist democracy in Ceylon and, after coming to power, to break from economic dependence on imperialist monopolies, make anti-capitalist changes, nationalize foreign banks and foreign trade, rapidly develop the state sector, democratize the state apparatus and the armed services, raise the living standard of the working people, tackle the problem of unemployment, including among the educated youth.

A particular feature of the anti-UNP election campaign were the high expectations and hopes given to the masses both in the matter of improving living conditions and in promising to carry out anti-capitalist measures. The participation of our Party in the Front gave the people faith that the election pledges would be kept. With the mood in the country growing more radical, even the bourgeois partners in the United Front spoke out in favor of socialism.

Although it had no illusions as to the possibility of socialism being ushered in by a United Front headed by the SLFP, a bourgeois party, the Communist Party failed to make a sober appraisal of both the economic situation and the character of the composition of the United Front and its capabilities.

Left coalition in power

In the general elections of May 1970 the United Front won more than two-thirds of the elected seats in Parliament, administering a

resounding defeat to the UNP. The SLFP won 92 seats, the Socialist Party 19, and the CP 6. Although the SLFP alone or together with the Socialists could have formed a government, they could not ignore the Communist Party not only because of the signed United Front agreement, but also on account of the popular pressure from the masses. Having already had the experience of the first Sirimavo Bandaranaike cabinet, the masses expected a more progressive government that would include the Communists. However, the Communists were given only one out of 21 ministries, and could fortify their position only by developing their extra-parliamentary influence.

The United Front Government started off by honoring election pledges in the sphere of foreign policy – the establishment of full diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and the recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. One of the highlights of government activity during this period was the adoption of the Republican Constitution, ending the former dominion status and marking a further stage in the consolidation of Sri Lanka's political independence.

There were also some economic advances: a number of state corporations were established in the fields of import and export trade (tea, and marketing of precious stones), and in shipping, oil bunkering and graphite mining. A dozen large private plantations were nationalized. A Business Undertakings Acquisition Act was passed in 1971, permitting the take-over by the state of any major business or commercial enterprises. However, the government was pressured to assure the businessmen that it would be applied only to 'errant' entrepreneurs. The government plans to convert the sterling companies into national ones, and to acquire shares of foreign and local firms. An 'income ceiling' was established recently, in order to limit non-productive consumption and induce the local bourgeoisie to invest in government-approved projects.

The government has given certain benefits to the working people: political rights have been granted to certain categories of public servants, and Workers' Advisory Councils have been set up at state enterprises.

The Land Reform Bill, an important piece of legislation passed in August 1972, imposes a ceiling on privately-owned land of 50 acres for dry land and 25 acres for wet (paddy) land per family and per child over 18 years. All holdings over 50 acres in extent and registered as public companies are exempt from the land ceiling. It has been estimated that as a result of this Bill, about 400,000 acres of land will be available for redistribution among 'middle class' individuals, peasants and cooperatives. The compensation to landowners whose surplus will be taken over, is rather high. This land reform, though carried out from above and bound to be both

slow and limited in scope, will relieve to some extent the land hunger among the peasantry.*

Land Reform and the setting up of the Land Reform Commission is the other most important strategy for agricultural development set out by the five-year plan (1972-76). This will mitigate to a limited extent inequality of land ownership and of income distribution. Benefits of land reform in the matter of increased productivity, and self-sufficiency in food production will not be evident until successful coordination and implementation of the whole series of agrarian reforms is completed. This includes extensive work, community development schemes and training facilities.

Unkept promises

A factor which had to be reckoned with was the shift in attitude of the Socialist Party and the Left wing of the SLFP soon after the government came to power. They argued that the economic difficulties and the very dependence on imperialist financial institutions are compelling the country to restrict the scope of the anti-imperialist struggle. The United Front Government immediately on coming to power became dependent on short-term commercial credit and commodity aid to offset the unfavorable balance of trade and foreign exchange crisis. The Five-Year Plan envisaged the overcoming of the balance of payments situation by diversification of exports. An Export Promotion Council was established to remove shortcomings arising from the lack of unified national export promotion policies. Inducements were offered for the production of non-traditional goods and export-oriented industries with low percentage of import content, and monetary and fiscal measures were effected, though, as the Central Bank Report for 1972 notes, such measures alone could not prevent serious balance of payments deficits.

The continuing trend of falling prices of our exports has not been arrested. Absence of demand for non-traditional exports has defeated the theoretically sound policy of diversification of exports. Currency realignments in the imperialist countries have contributed to the increase of the price of imports from these countries and aggravated our already heavy debt servicing burden. Ever increasing rise in import values has impaired the import capacity for raw materials needed for industry. This has especially affected the import substitution industries. After one and a half years of the Five-Year Plan, designed to achieve economic independence and stability, the cabinet is still unable to generate adequate current account surpluses to finance the major portion of development expenditure.

The vacillation and inconsistency of the United Front Government's policy is the product of several factors. The main one of

*Land reform has not been able to offer a solution to excessive fragmentation of land into uneconomical holdings. Over 65 per cent of land holdings covering 15 per cent of all cultivated land are below 2½ acres.

these is the desperate situation in regard to foreign exchange, which foreign and local vested interests have skillfully used to exert pressure and blackmail the government taking advantage of the specific relation of class forces within the United Front government, where the national bourgeoisie continues to occupy the leading position and the working class still plays a secondary role.

Up to the end of the 60s the SLFP and the Socialist Party were either hostile or indifferent to inviting foreign capital into the country. Now this has changed: against the background of the economic crisis the matter has been resolved in favor of foreign capital. A series of concessions has been offered foreign investors, including guarantees against nationalization. One of the main objectives is to solicit foreign investments in mixed enterprises, involving the state or local private capital. The first substantial response was from Japanese businessmen, a powerful delegation of whom visited Sri Lanka at the end of last year to negotiate with the government, but mainly with the private sector.

Much less enthusiasm is shown by the government for turning to the socialist countries for economic cooperation. The worsening economic crisis had had an unfavorable influence on our trade turnover with the USSR and Eastern Europe. The total trade-turnover has dropped from 12 per cent in 1969 to 5 per cent in 1972, while imports from USA and some other countries of the Consortium increased considerably.

Experience clearly confirms that what is fundamental to the promotion of planned long-term growth is the solution of the external problems created by foreign imperialist control. While short-term commercial credit and commodity aid from the Consortium have aggravated the balance of payments crisis, such bilateral trade agreements with socialist countries can effectively help the implementation of the Five-Year Plan and contribute to the easing of the balance of payments situation. The socialist countries are able to export machinery and other development goods vitally essential for our industrial and agricultural advance and in exchange import traditional and non-traditional goods from Sri Lanka.

The present economic policy of the government favors essentially the development of capitalism. This is borne out by the undue reliance placed on the private sector and lack of initiative in expanding the public sector. The commercial firms' maneuvers have resulted in indirect taxes to cover the growing budget deficit, in a higher cost of living, and in greater unemployment. The United Front government has failed to live up to the expectations of the masses, and there is an erosion of confidence in it. Even many of the most active proponents of the Left coalition are beginning to lose faith.

The working class and its organizations, which supported the United Front to come to power, find themselves in a complicated situation. Bourgeois spokesmen in the United Front tell the working class to accept fatalistically the rapid decline in real wages which, they insist, is brought about by circumstances beyond their

control. Workers are also confronted with the argument that if they were to clash with the government, the UNP may come back to power with worse consequences. Although none of the trade unions are happy over this turn of events, there is no common agreement as yet regarding the course of action they should follow.

The opposition

The violent armed assault on the government in April 1971 by the ultra Left Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (People's Liberation Front) was a symptom of the acute social crisis.

The Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) had its beginning in the disintegration of the Maoist Communist Party in the latter half of the 60s. The Maoists preached revolution through armed struggle and chanted the slogan that 'political power flows from the barrel of the gun.' Some followers who took this Maoist slogan seriously soon began however to doubt the sincerity of their leaders and decided to form their own revolutionary organization. The break-away group exploited the frustration of the youth, particularly the rural youth. It was also supported by students, many of whom suffer from unemployment or under-employment after completing their education. For their campaign against the United Front, the JVP received certain support from Right reaction. The working class, on the other hand, denied the rebels any collaboration or aid.

Like the Maoists, the JVP accused the Communist Party of revisionism and betrayal of revolution. Its leaders had little or no faith in the revolutionary potentialities of the working class and alleged that the working class and the established trade union movement were concerned only with minor immediate economic struggles. The rebels called their own program the 'Lanka Line,' parading it as a new adaptation of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of Sri Lanka. Yet the anti-government nature of the insurgency and the behavior of the rebels showed that the youth in the JVP had fallen prey to petty-bourgeois revolutionism. Thousands lost their lives in the armed insurrection, but no authentic figures are available. Another 16,000, who were either taken into custody or had surrendered, were placed in detention camps.

The immediate aftermath of the insurgency was the strengthening of the Right wing in the country. Armed forces and the police were given wide powers and democratic liberties were severely curtailed under the Public Security Act. This restricted also the political activity of the working class and other democratic forces. Certain legislative and other measures taken during the insurgency are still strengthening the hand of the reactionary forces. In case the social contradictions become aggravated, they could use these newly adopted measures against the working class.

The Right opposition is trying to mount a counter-offensive. The vested interests are not happy over even the limited restrictions and control measures imposed on them by the government. The UNP is following the dual tactics of discrediting the government,

on the one hand, by exploiting its weaknesses and the worsening conditions of the masses, and, on the other, is endeavoring to influence the government, in collaboration with the Right-wing, to adopt UNP's own policies. Since Government spokesmen often declare their allegiance to socialism, the UNP has found a new method of discrediting socialism and fanning anti-communism by claiming that the present difficulties and inefficiency arise from the 'socialist policy' of the government.

The domestic reactionary forces are not slow to exploit the erosion of mass confidence in the government. At the by-elections held in four constituencies in September 1972, the SLFP lost three to the UNP and retained only one seat, where the influence of the Communist Party had been considerable.

Our shortcomings

As early as September 1970, the Central Committee of our Party noted in its resolution on the current situation that there is a rightward shift in the government's economic policy and decided to launch a mass campaign for the nationalization of foreign banks, and certain foreign and local firms in the sphere of foreign trade and production. Similar objectives were set in a CC resolution of July 1971, calling on Communists to unite the progressive forces around a series of demands that would strengthen the United Front and pave the way to a solution of the economic crisis. The basic lines of the proposals put forward by our Party found response from the Joint Council of Trade Unions, as well as from the rank-and-file members of Parliament of the United Front. However, the campaign did not get off the ground. This was due to the fact that in the post-election period mass activity at the lower levels of the United Front gradually died out (prior to the Emergency Regulations introduced in March 1971). The Communist Party was reluctant to take independent initiatives to keep alive the activity of the masses and mobilize the people for the anti-imperialist and democratic program. The leadership was of the opinion that such action would disrupt unity or serve the Right wing and the reactionary forces. This was a serious shortcoming in the work of the Party. The working class was deprived thereby of its independent political perspective, and was unable to exercise any visible influence on the course of events. This situation created a political vacuum which was taken advantage of by the JVP to alienate the youth, especially the students, from the Communist Party.

The Eighth National Congress of the Party, which was held August 20-24, 1972, after an interval of eight years reviewed the situation in the country both before and after the United Front government was established. The debate centered around the nature of the United Front and the role of the Party within it. While acclaiming the success of the democratic forces in the formation of the United Front and reiterating the correctness of the decision

of the Party to enter the government after the victory of 1970, the Congress pointed out a number of shortcomings in the Party line during this period. Most of the criticism at the Congress was leveled at the Right opportunist tendencies in the Party leadership, which expressed itself in its failure to preserve the independence and identity of the Party within the United Front. The Party's activity did not always conform with its political line. Having failed to define the nature of the United Front and to anticipate possible changes in the behavior of its partners in the coalition against the background of the economic crisis, the Party leadership failed to use the highly intensive activity of the masses on the eve of the parliamentary elections. Yet it was only through mass activity that the vacillation of the government could be combatted, compelling it to fulfil its election pledges. The political report of the Congress noted shortcomings in the Party's work among the masses, including the youth.

While uniting with other anti-imperialist forces in furtherance of common aims, the working class and its party should be always vigilant to safeguard organizational, political and ideological independence and the basic right to lead class struggles of all types, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, for these aims. The Party's role in influencing the policies of the government will depend on the strength of its position among the working class and the broad masses, and the ability of the Party to mobilize them to support its positions within the government. Experience has shown that attempts to influence the policies of the government solely from 'above,' are futile.

The tasks of the Communist Party

A broad exchange of opinions, a thorough analysis and criticism of mistakes enabled the Eighth Congress to work out a general line, which sets the following main tasks:

- to work actively for a shift in the relation of class forces within the United Front in favor of the working class, while the Party retains its independent political identity. The Party must avoid both the Right opportunist and the Left sectarian deviations. One of the most important aims of the Party's work is to safeguard and strengthen the United Front, working for a gradual consolidation within it of the positions of radical elements, principally the working class, and for the consolidation of their initiative. It is only to the extent to which they can exercise their initiative in the coalition that the anti-imperialist democratic revolution can be successfully completed along a path of non-capitalist development;

- to mount a vigorous campaign for socio-economic reforms outlined in the United Front's Program. The Party must work for a new radical course in national affairs, which would win response among the masses, members of the Left coalition, and the progressive elements in its leadership. Propaganda and educational work among the population should center on mobilizing forces in

support of our long-term program of socio-economic changes. The struggle for the completion of economic independence and the creation of an independent, multi-branch and viable economy, in which the public sector will grow and the private sector is controlled, is a vital aspect of the Party's work;

- sustained work should be conducted to raise the political consciousness and activity of the workers and to strengthen their class organization. This requires firm ideological opposition to all attempts by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders of trade unions to restrict the struggle of the workers within the narrow bounds of economism. The Communists must use their influence among workers to mobilize them for active political struggle to end the power of the foreign and local vested interests, for the take-over by the state of the commanding heights of the economy, for workers' control of state enterprises;

- the firm alliance of the working class with the peasantry is of the utmost importance in the struggle of the working class for a leading role in the anti-imperialist democratic revolution. Special care and attention should be devoted to work among the youth, who form an absolute majority in Sri Lanka's population and are an immense potential source of support for the working class. One of the main tasks before the Party is to fight ultra-Left and anarchist ideology and to educate the youth in the principles of scientific socialism, and mobilize them for joint anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist action together with the workers;

- to display vigilance against the Right-wing bourgeoisie, which is trying to concert efforts irrespective of party affiliations in defense of its common class interests. Having examined the balance of forces in the United Front, the Congress noted that a struggle is under way within it between the powerful Rightist national bourgeoisie, which is ready to compromise with imperialism, and the progressives, who wish to see more fundamental and radical social change. It is obvious that imperialist intrigues, the penetration of foreign capital, and the aim to place the burden of the economic crisis on the working people, to mount an offensive on democratic freedoms on the pretext of combatting rebels, must be resisted. Suppression of democratic freedoms only serves the designs of the dark forces of reaction.

The Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka expressed its determination to eliminate past shortcomings and weaknesses to enable Communists to play their role more actively and resolutely than before in upholding the interests of the working people in the course of the struggle for economic independence and in advancing towards socialism. The Party can play such a role and perform its class mission only if it emerges strong and united. Only a strong and an ideologically mature party is in a position together with other Left and democratic forces to cope with the difficult problems facing our country and our people, and take the country forward along the road of social progress.

Structure of society – structure of the Party

Sybotin Genov

Member CC, Bulgarian CP

Revolutionary leadership by the Marxist-Leninist Party, a new type of party heading the working class and directing it and the other laboring strata, is essential in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism and communism. This has been irrefutably proved by the history of the international Communist movement.

For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day, Marx and Engels emphasized, it must form a separate party distinct from and opposed to all other parties, a conscious class party (Engels to G. Trier, Dec. 18, 1889). Elaborating on these ideas, Lenin created a harmonious theory of the new-type party, the political leader and organizer of the proletariat.

The Bulgarian Communist Party was founded, and grew up, in the midst of bitter revolutionary battles and in building socialism. It has always been the vanguard of the working class, its main social base, which determines its class character. 'The key issue of socialist power,' Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary CC BCP, points out, 'is the leading role of the working class, *the leading role of the Communist Party as the highest form of its class organization*. There can be no socialist society without the leading role of the Communist Party; this has been proved by the successful and unsuccessful, positive and negative, experience of the past half a century throughout the world.'

The working class is the main and decisive productive force, the architect of the material and technical base of socialism and communism. So, naturally, it plays the leading role.

The Party's future, the Central Committee report to our Tenth Congress says, depends in many ways on its composition. The Party's role in building socialist society is the greater, the report stresses, the better its activity is organized, the more cohesive its ranks, and the more active its organizations and members.

The membership question is a central issue. And the Party deals with it creatively, suiting its policy to the objective conditions. Just after the socialist revolution, with industrialization only getting under way and the working class still small, the bulk of our members were peasants. When fighting against fascism and capitalism, seeing the level and character of Bulgaria's economy, the Party had concentrated on arousing the poor and part of the middle peasants. So, in the early post-revolutionary years it recruited

the foremost peasants who had espoused socialist ideas. For almost 10 years they were the most numerous group in the Party. Yet at all times the workers were the revolutionary core; the peasants joined the Party to fight for *the historic aims of the working class and its vanguard*.

Over the past quarter of a century, rapid socialist development has altered the social-class structure of our Republic. The bourgeoisie has long ceased to exist as a class. The working class and the cooperative farmers have begun building a new Bulgaria. As our five-year plans succeeded one another, it grew from a backward agrarian country into a developed industrial state with cooperative farming. The working class increased in numbers.

In capitalist days, workers accounted for about 17 per cent of the population; in 1965 they constituted over 42, and in 1969 over 50 per cent of the gainfully employed. The intelligentsia and the white-collar groups have also been growing steadily, and by 1965 comprised 17 per cent. Not so the peasants, artisans, and other social groups. Before the revolution, working peasants comprised nearly 70 per cent, but by 1965 only 37 per cent of the population. This is a progressive evolution, and under socialism creates no danger of unemployment.

The changing class structure reflected on the growth and social background of the Party. In 1948 it had 496,000 members, with workers 26.5 per cent and peasants 44.7. By 1956, however, workers comprised the majority with 36 per cent, while peasants totalled 34. And 10 years later, with a membership of 611,000, the Party had 38.4 per cent workers and 29.2 peasants.

Now BCP membership is 732,000. Every twelfth citizen of our Republic is a Party member, with workers accounting for 40.3 per cent, peasants 25.5, other employees (including specialists, and science and culture workers) 28.6, and the rest 5.6. Every fourth Party member is a woman.

Numerical growth of the workers' core in the Party is a permanent and stable tendency, and a dependable guarantee of the Party's functional efficiency, and capacity to perform its historic mission.

The deep-going changes in the structure of our society, Todor Zhivkov told our 10th Congress, are paving the way 'for a further merging of social groups, accentuating the common social features of our working people.' The process is geared to 'the historic aims of the working class. This has an important bearing on the Communist Party. Though it is gradually becoming a Party of the whole people, it retains its class character and the working class retains its leading role in building developed socialism.

Our Party Program, centered on building developed socialism, stresses that 'the consolidation of the unity of society, the merging of the interests of other social classes and groups with those of the working class, are objectively creating premises for the gradual development of the Communist Party of the working class into a Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the people, a party of the whole peo-

ple,' while continuing to follow a clear-cut proletarian class policy.

The Party's composition is controlled in two ways: by regulating admission, and by expelling undeserving elements. Party committees examine the rosters of their branch, pinpoint faults, and take steps to remedy them. The Party does not hesitate to expel members who either lack the qualities of a Communist, are ideologically unstable, commit anti-Party actions, or use their Party status for personal gain. Many were expelled for these reasons during the exchange of Party cards in 1967-1969; this strengthened the Party branches, increased their efficiency and added to the prestige of Party members and the Party as a whole.

The Party augments its ranks chiefly with young people. This assures cohesion and continuity, blending the knowledge and experience of the older members with the enthusiasm and energy of the young.

This rejuvenation has been especially pronounced in recent years. Between the Eighth and Ninth Congresses (1962-1966) newly admitted members of 30 years and under comprised 67 per cent, and 73.8 per cent between the Ninth and Tenth (1966-1971).

The cream of the Dimitrov Young Communist League are admitted first of all. In fact, it is an established practice that all applicants of age 18-22 must be YCL members.

The 1969 CC BCP membership drive among YCL members, marking the 25th anniversary of our socialist revolution, yielded splendid results. Observing Lenin's principles, primarily that of a strictly individual approach, we recruited 40,000 new members in the course of the year.

As a result, 71.6 per cent of our membership are under 50, in the most active age brackets.

Growth and quality of its ranks are still highly important for the Party, because 'the stage of building developed socialist society,' our Program says, 'witnesses still greater heightening of the role and significance of the Communist Party as the leading and directing force.' This is due to several objective factors: the growing scale and greater complexity of socialist construction; the higher tempo of social processes under the impact of the scientific-technical revolution; the greater complexity of social relations and the greater role of social guidance; the greater activity of the masses and the further development of socialist democracy; the growing significance of the theory of scientific socialism; generalization of new practice and the major aims of the people's communist education; the class struggle between socialism and capitalism on the world scene; the need for a correct line in international relations, and the internationalist responsibilities of our socialist state.

The Communist of today must be a match for the tasks flowing from all these factors. Our Party adheres to Lenin's basic membership principles, which he defended against opportunists. We develop them, complement and enrich them, depending on the concrete historical situation, the situation in the Party, and the specific

tasks of the nation as a whole. The greater requirements that a Party member must meet these days are reflected in the amendments and supplementary clauses of the Party Rules adopted by the 10th Congress. One amendment says, for example, that a Party member is expected to be active in combatting bourgeois ideology and religious prejudice, departures from Marxism-Leninism and all manifestations of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and must contribute to the consolidation of the world Communist and working-class movement, and the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Formalizing an already accepted practice, the Rules make all members accountable to their branch and respective Party bodies for their assignments and obligations.

The principle of individual selection and admission of new members is of the utmost importance, because, as Lenin stressed, 'it would be better if ten who do work should not call themselves Party members . . . than that one who only talks should have the right and opportunity to be a Party member' (Vol. 6, p. 503).

The Rules require an applicant to be recommended by three members of not less than three years' standing. This, and discussion of the application by a general meeting of the Party branch (whose decision is then subject to endorsement by the Party's commune, town, district or regional committee) is the individual selection principle in action.

The requirements that Party members have to meet, are growing. But also growing is the concern shown for them. We assure the fullest possible exercise of democratic centralism. The 10th Congress has amended the procedure of admission and expulsion. Prior to that, an applicant was admitted to the Party if a majority *attending* the meeting voted for him. An expulsion required a qualified majority of two-thirds of *attending* members. As a result, it could well be a minority that settled the issue. Now, the Rules require, the vote of *more than half the members* of a Party branch in either case.

Good selection is only one of the many factors designed to fortify the Party ranks. The education of newly-admitted members is no less important. Theoretical and political study is, therefore, a permanent concern of Party committees and organizations. Many different forms have been devised. At the one- and two-year schools and courses of town and commune Party committees, members learn the history of the Party and of our country's revolutionary movement, the Program and the Rules of the BCP. New members meet Party veterans, and attend lectures and talks on current policy, the international situation, and the like. This provides political and theoretical knowledge, and spurs young members to greater activity.

The historic achievements of the People's Republic of Bulgaria are intimately connected with the activity of the Communist Party, the recognized leading and directing force of our country. Under

its tested leadership the nation is now building developed socialist society. And Party members, the foremost sons and daughters of the working class, cooperative peasants and people's intelligentsia, are marching in the van. This is one of the Party's main sources of strength, and a dependable guarantee of success.

Signs of the times

*A report from
German Democratic Republic*

At the invitation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany a group of Party representatives on the journal visited the German Democratic Republic. They were: **L. Padilla** (CP of Bolivia), **E. Glueckauf** (SUPG), **M. Rossi** (CP of Italy), **K. Pafitis** (AKEL), **T. Wrebiak** (Polish United Workers' Party) and **A. Masyagin**, Department Head. They went to acquaint themselves with the experience of the SUPG which is at present engaged in fulfilling the decisions of its Eighth Congress held in June 1971. They visited one of the largest enterprises of the Republic, the Leuna-Werke, and the agricultural cooperative Jahna in the Meissen district. They had meetings with the Dessau Party District Committee and Regional Committees of the Party in Halle and Dresden, and visited a number of central ideological institutions and organizations. They also had interviews with member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SUPG, Comrade H. Axen, and member of the Secretariat of the CC SUPG, Comrade H. Dohlus.

As we set out on our tour we wanted to find out: what is the main sign of the times in the GDR? Our observation and meetings speedily gave the unequivocal reply: the sign of the times lay in what is briefly and colloquially termed 'the main task,' namely, a visible turn towards the needs of the individual.

Greater satisfaction of the workers' needs is, of course, a basic axiom of socialist production, and has always been the foremost concern of the Party. But at the Eighth Congress of the SUPG the specific nature of the present period was emphasized. 'Naturally, our Party has always been guided by these principles,' said Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC. 'However, to the degree to which socialist society and its economic possibilities develop, this natural relationship between production and the people's needs can and will make itself felt ever more directly and effectively.'

What is meant by linking production 'ever more directly and effectively' with the satisfaction of people's needs, we learned at enterprises, in Party organizations, and the central agencies.

The 1972 economic plan has been overfulfilled. There was a

maximum growth in housing, in kindergarten and nursery accommodation. The country had a bumper crop (an average of 36.6 centners per hectare)) and the highest ever increase in retail trade. Millions of workers had wage increases, incomes rose, and improvements were made in social insurance. The 1973 plan envisages that consumer goods output will grow more rapidly than purchasing power.

In our talk at the Dresden Regional Party Committee, its Second Secretary, Comrade Stamnitz, remarked:

'The line of the Eighth Congress that the people's needs must be satisfied to the maximum degree, means, I would say, that some Party comrades have to alter their approach.'

We saw how this was being put into practice in Dessau, an industrial center, where the birth of its one hundred thousandth citizen had just been celebrated. Almost completely destroyed during the war, the town had risen from the ruins. Naturally, we were told how industry works and plans are fulfilled. But possibly there was a special satisfaction in showing us new housing estates, streets, shops, and the plans for further development.

'We Dessau Communists,' said Comrade Haertel, First Secretary of the District Committee, 'when discussing the results of the Eighth Congress, asked ourselves what we could do for the city and its people? We decided to concentrate on housing, and found the necessary resources. We also consulted the people, who voted for a hotel to be built first (for they have many friends and relatives visiting them) rather than a town hall. They wanted it completed in time for the anniversary of the founding of the GDR in October this year, and not, as originally planned, by the spring of 1974. On the advice of the deputies, we are also hastening the construction of a health and rest center.'

In a talk with us, Comrade H. Dohlus, member of the CC Secretariat, stressed that this approach was typical.

'Every Party organization,' he said, 'is expected to make its own proposals, to consider how best to improve the conditions of life and work of people.'

Naturally, there exist detailed programs of social development for the GDR, and local initiative supplements the plan.

Obviously, the volume of consumption depends on how much is being produced. The main essential for the improvement of people's life is economic development, and this is now being achieved through intensive growth of production.

This process, characteristic of the economy of many socialist countries, has special features in the GDR. Statistics show that there are 2.8 million persons engaged in industry, a figure that has not changed since 1965.

They told us in Dresden that the age structure in the area was such that an inflow of manpower could not be expected before 1978.

In these circumstances, raising labor productivity was of paramount importance. That was why, we were told, there had been

criticism of those people who favored the construction of new huge enterprises requiring an enormous labor force and large capital investment. Now it is the rule to allocate resources in the first place for reconstruction of enterprises, rather than new construction.

In this context, we noted that special importance is attached to rationalization on a mass scale.

Comrade Stannitz told us that there had been 2,000 conferences in enterprises where rationalization methods had been discussed. Out of the 360,000 engaged in local industries, more than 200,000 took part. To a large extent it was thanks to these conferences that the annual plan was overfulfilled by a total of 540 million marks.

'Tremendous forces are released,' Comrade Haertel emphasized, 'when people can clearly see working and living conditions improving. Last year, one out of every three engineering workers—our chief work force here—and every fourth worker in the region made one or more rationalization suggestions.'

The picture for the country as a whole is most illuminating. In 1972, 1,260,000 workers made proposals for improvements in production; of these 463,000 were accepted, which is a third higher than in the previous year. This meant an estimated saving of 3.25 billion marks—quite a considerable sum!

Higher productivity and the shift to more intensive methods also applies to the countryside. We were told about this in the agricultural cooperative Jahna, in the Meissen district. This cooperative had started with 240 hectares of land in common. Now it has 2,600 hectares, although the number of members of the cooperative has declined from 550 to 360, a process natural to villages today. But last year's results show there is still an increase in production: an average of 45.1 centners of grain per hectare, 3,700 litres of milk per cow annually (the total of cows is 270).

'The changeover to industrial methods in agriculture,' said Comrade Muehle, the Secretary of the Party organization of the cooperative, 'is a strategic task set by the Eighth Congress. We try in a number of ways to introduce these methods in fieldcrop cultivation, animal husbandry and vegetable-raising. But it is obvious that within the confines of a single cooperative it is difficult to do this, so we are developing cooperation between the agricultural cooperatives.'

There are two main trends in this cooperation: between the agricultural and market gardening cooperatives and state farms, on the one hand, and socialist enterprises producing, processing and marketing agricultural products, on the other. The Party considers that every step in the development of cooperation must be well prepared, discussed in the cooperatives, and be economically viable.

Closer links with other CMEA countries, all Party workers stressed, are an important element in economic upbuilding.

In the Halle Party Committee we were told that practically every

enterprise and research establishment is in one way or another involved in this international economic cooperation. One hundred and fifty combines and enterprises have close contacts with similar units in the USSR and other socialist countries. Cooperation is developing at all levels, with the participation of government offices, scientists and workers . . .

It was pointed out that thanks to economic integration, enterprises gain a great deal from exchanges of experience. And such exchanges are facilitated by workers visiting kindred factories in other countries: comparisons make for critical analyses of their own work and encourage introduction of new work techniques.

Let us try to summarize the foregoing. We saw efforts to solve social problems more effectively to satisfy the needs of the workers through raising the effectiveness of social production, and developing and perfecting it still further, and not only efforts, but also the ability to back them.

It is the conditions in which citizens live that determine more than anything else the traits of man in socialist society, as the Eighth Congress pointed out. But continued attention is required all the same to the moulding of socialist consciousness.

At the largest chemical enterprise of the GDR, the Leuna-Werke where there are 32,000 workers and employees, we discussed people's motivations in their work. Comrade Vekenstedt, First Secretary of the Party Committee, told us that a sociological investigation undertaken at the factory showed that the workers set great store on being able to use their initiative and to participate in decision making.

This type of investigation, a study in depth of social processes, helps to determine which are the most important factors that contribute to the development of socialist consciousness, of a socialist attitude to work. The vital factor is the involvement of workers in management, in the planning and adoption of decisions in the economic and social spheres. And not surprisingly the people we spoke to devoted a great deal of attention to it.

At our request, the Secretary of the Leuna-Werke Party Committee explained to us how the workers and employees participate in the running of the factory. Here is an example. The general guidelines of the 1973 plan were received from the Ministry in the spring of 1972. They were discussed at several levels; on a descending line (June and July) and then on an ascending line (August and September). The discussions took place at workers' meetings and in the trade unions, in the youth and Party organizations; generally speaking, both 'vertically' and 'horizontally.' It was a difficult and lengthy process, but the size of the enterprise has to be borne in mind, as well as the multiplicity of problems discussed – economic, technical, organizational. The result is valuable in two ways: the enterprise made fuller use of its potentialities, and the workers quite rightly regard the plan as their own and actively work for its achievement.

'The creative nature of labor under socialism,' said Comrade Boehme, Secretary of the Halle Regional Party Committee and alternate member of the CC, 'means that our work must be organized so that all workers can see and understand the economic processes, and the general unity of all productive processes.'

We were told in considerable detail how the regular system of information and economic education operates and enables the workers to know about the economic situation of the enterprise and the whole country. We noticed that the kiosks always displayed a brochure entitled 'The GDR Economic Plan for 1973.' Incidentally, it states that 'next year's economic plan is the product of enormous collective effort.' Indeed, never before had there been such a wide, thorough discussion amongst the workers of a current economic plan as took place during 1972.

We live in an age when the quantity of information available is enormous. But the notion that this avalanche of information swamps man, that it overwhelms him, is doubtless somewhat one-sided. Everyone strives to be well-informed on matters which to them are important, otherwise they could not be active in management and social affairs; in short, they would be unable to exercise their rights to the full.

'Never before have people . . . thought so intensively about the meaning and aims of life and society as in our times.' These words seem to us most appropriate and are taken from a speech made in November 1972 at a conference on agitation and propaganda by Comrade W. Lamberz, a SUPG Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CC. Central Committee comrades pointed to the deep-going reasons for this: increased political awareness, the higher educational and cultural level of the people, more leisure time, and improvements in material conditions. The fact that the GDR has been recognized by so many countries of various continents has generated interest in politics and international questions.

This problem of information is difficult and complicated, and is closely allied to the ideological struggle. In conversations with the Head of the CC Department for Agitation, Comrade G. Modrow, the question of its specific features in modern times, of the difficulties and weaknesses in this sphere, was touched on. We also discussed it during our visit to the State Television Committee and in other meetings.

No matter what aspect of life in the Republic one comes up against, said our informants, one always has to bear in mind the presence on our doorstep of an imperialist state – the Federal Republic of Germany. It is especially important to remember this when considering the question of providing the people with accurate information. It is sufficient to say that every day three TV programs, and tens of radio programs from the FRG are specially beamed to the GDR; in one month these total between five and six hundred commentaries.

The programs are hostile. But at the Committee for Television

we were told that, nevertheless, bourgeois propagandists have to count with the realities of life. Consequently, they are beginning to employ a more 'flexible' approach. For instance, there are variations on the theme that 'despite the Party,' Germans are achieving successes in the GDR!

There is a constant endeavor to achieve effectiveness, accuracy and a high standard in the information provided. It is realized that, generally speaking, the first reports that people hear remain more firmly fixed in their minds, and for this reason effectiveness is so important. Developing cooperation with the mass media of the socialist countries and progressive international agencies; increasing the number of correspondents abroad, and a wider use of modern technology and techniques in ideological work – these are just a few ways in which information and agitation and propaganda can be made more effective.

It was generally noted that it was essential to put matters on a sound, theoretical, scientific basis. For this reason, partly aided by sociological research, a careful study is being made of the effects of different means of mass communication on man, and of the best times for different media (for instance, in the morning – radio, during the day – newspapers, evenings – television).

One of the paramount tasks of ideological work is to show the achievements of socialist society.

The reaction of visitors from the Federal Republic of Germany helps us to see and understand more deeply the advantages of socialism, we were told in the Leuna-Werke Party Committee. They say that, unlike the West, we have all-round social security, free medical aid, stable prices, low rents and, moreover, that are not afraid to go out after dark, as in the FRG where there is a high crime rate . . .

This testimony is valuable, but the reality is much richer, more diverse. Here it might be worth giving our impressions of a meeting we had in Halle.

We met with regional leaders of the National Front parties. What did they think of the socialist transformations? The reader will know that there are several parties in the GDR. They recognize the leading role of the SUPG, and all work together within the National Front.

Seated around the table were people of different views and backgrounds. One, an artisan, another a professor, an air pilot, an ex-officer of the Wehrmacht, now a white-collar worker, and a Communist. They spoke about unity.

Professor Kuehne (Chairman of the Regional Committee of the National Front, Member of the Presidium of the Christian-Democratic Union of the GDR): 'The National Front is a socialist people's movement which unites all who, although for different reasons, work for socialism . . .'

Professor Ullmann (Chairman of the Regional organization of the Christian Democratic Union): 'We consider that the principles of

Christian ethics can be fully implemented under socialism. We recognize the leading role of the working class, this is the law of the socialist revolution. Of us you can say that we are socialist citizens of the Christian faith.'

Kurt Anklam (Chairman of the Regional organization of the Liberal-Democratic Party, member of the GDR State Council): 'We know that when things were bad for the workers they were bad for the petty bourgeoisie too. We follow the best traditions of the revolutionary strata of the bourgeoisie of the last century and assist our Party members spiritually to pave the way to a socialist society.'

Georg Boehm (Chairman of the Regional organization of the Peasants' Democratic Party): 'We are concerned about the vital interests of the peasantry which, in these times, means assisting the cooperatives to make the change to industrial methods of work and to bring village standards closer to those of the towns.'

Erhard Lonscher (Chairman of the Regional Organization of the National-Democratic Party): 'Our social composition: employees, independent and cooperative artisans, and shopkeepers. Briefly from our past: we felt someone had to see to it that people who had been politically deceived (including officers) should gradually be turned towards socialism . . . In this society every honest citizen has a perspective in life.'

Hans-Joachim Boehme (Secretary of the Regional Committee of the SUP): 'We have representatives here of parties having close ties with specific sections of the population. We did not attempt to monopolize, and tried to avoid sectarianism . . . Our collaboration has been a long one and has not always been easy. But as you can see, now at our meetings there is a completely comradely atmosphere and we work together well.'

Both our talks and personal impressions are of the sketchiest nature. But even so, the picture is clear: we can see that socialism has deep roots spreading out into society, into people's consciousness. That being so, it was natural for our friends to confirm that the process of building a socialist nation in the GDR has made great strides.

This question is not related to 'pure' theory; it is a question of real importance and daily practice, and understandably so. Next door there is another German state and relations with it have during the past period reached a definite stage of normalization. What is the future of these relations?

'We have no illusions, but reckon with actual historical development,' said our German comrades. 'We can no longer speak of a divided nation. There are two German states on German soil – the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG – two German nations, socialist and bourgeois. Each develops in its own way. Our future lies in still closer bonds with other socialist nations.'

In a talk in Halle this point of view was expressed graphically.

'In the final analysis,' we were told, 'our working class pays more

attention to what is taking place in the Soviet Union or Poland, or in Cuba, in the working class movement and world progressive struggle than to what is being said or done in Bonn. They started the division—let them reap the results. Proletarian internationalism is our basic principle in education. For more than 20 years now we have many close links with other socialist countries, with the Soviet Union. This does not only mean common oil or gas pipelines or railways. Many people visit each other, meet, exchange industrial experiences, cultural achievements, all that is of value in spiritual and ethical attitudes. Our bonds develop on the most durable basis of all—on an ideological and class basis.

'I remember how in the early 30s we talked a good deal about the meaning of socialism. Everything seemed very simple. All that was needed was to win power and give all workers work. That was socialism. But now, is there anyone who doesn't realize how complicated it all is . . . These are the words of Hanna Wolf, Director of the Karl Marx Higher Party School, a member of the CC.

And, indeed, is there anyone who still imagines that socialism can be built through some simple and compact schemes? But to the extent that these processes are difficult, the Party has greater responsibilities and its activities are more varied. That is why the Eighth Party Congress set the task of the further all-round strengthening of the Party, and raising its leading role in society.

The fundamental problem is that of the Party and the working class. The working class role is strengthened due to the fact that 56.6 per cent of Party members are workers, 76.5 per cent of Communists are of working class origin, and out of new members to the Party 75 per cent are workers.

In the Dresden region, Comrade Stamnitz told us, 75 per cent of the leading cadres come from the working class; 49,000 out of the 56,000 Party activists are workers, and so are 60 per cent of the Party group organizers.

What are the forms of contact between the people and the leading bodies? Here is what Comrade Haertel of Dessau said on this score: 'We try to see to it that everyone holding positions of responsibility, and in the first place, of course, Party cadres, are in constant contact with workers at specific enterprises. I, for instance, am in touch with a brigade of the Railway Repair Works, and know all the workers by name. I must admit that at first our relations and conversations were somewhat strained, but now the workers are used to me and say what they think about things. It is important for us to know how the workers see and understand the policy of the Party.'

Earlier in this account we tried to throw light on the problem of information. Naturally, within the Party itself this problem receives special attention and improvements are constantly made. The basic organizations and district committees provide the CC with information. There is research into public opinion (for instance, about the development of socialist rationalization, the influ-

ence of television, the activities of deputies in the enterprises, etc.). This is accomplished by channels of information going from the lower to the higher organs. The CC also devotes considerable attention to the system of direct information 'from above,' organizing meetings and seminars for secretaries of regional and district committees, Party branches and for Party group organizers. The Political Bureau systematically reports its activities to the CC, and they are reported by the mass media.

Every level in the Party, from the CC to Party groups, has its own system of studying opinion and utilizing this information in policy-making and in practical activities.

There are hundreds of thousands of people in the GDR carrying out Party work voluntarily. There are more than 50,000 basic Party units and 95 per cent of the secretaries are not full time. The quality of Party work must rise continuously. In speaking of this, Comrade Wolf said that the term of training in the Higher Party School has been growing to meet the higher requirements—from three months originally, to three years now.

The stability of its cadres is a feature of the SUPG. At all levels there are opportunities for further study, even for specialization. More than 96 per cent of district secretaries have higher political and specialized education. Generally speaking, the system of political education for Party workers, including higher and specialized training is worked out in detail and is of an all-embracing character.

Our meeting with Comrade H. Axen was of extraordinary value in helping us understand the policy and work of the SUPG following its Eighth Congress.

Our visit took place during a historically significant and unique period. The tasks being solved by the Party, the achievements in the economy and spiritual life, the people we met and talked to—all this is not merely a sign of the present, but the result of past effort and a portent of the future.

Berlin-Prague.



The news business

Judith Todd

British journalist

AN ASSESSMENT OF BOURGEOIS RESEARCH OF THE MASS MEDIA

A small island off the North-west coast of Europe may seem an inadequate vantage point from which to survey so world-ranging a subject as the mass media. But the situation is in some ways a favorable one for the purpose. Britain is the country where, as all historians of the mass media agree, a truly mass medium of communication first came into existence. There may be observed here many of the stresses and contradictions inherent in the mass media wherever they exist. Britain is in the throes of transition from being a world imperial power to becoming a client-state, a hanger-on of West Europe's concentrated capitalism, or, as we Communists must hope to make it, a truly democratic nation worthy of the fighting traditions of the British working class.

The media as commodities

A mass-circulation popular press emerged in Britain towards the end of the 19th century. This arose from the discovery of the Harmsworth brothers that printed matter could be sold as a commodity and there was a fortune to be made from the publication of nationally-circulated newspapers and periodicals of a popular nature, bought for their entertainment value in the first place, and sold primarily as a means of making profits, and only secondarily as a means of promoting a specific political viewpoint. The qualification 'specific' is important, because those who control a medium which is flourishing within a given framework of society are not likely to question the values of the society which gives them the opportunity to flourish. The content of what they produce will assume the validity of that society's aims even when it is not specifically promoting them.

The new forms of mass communication (radio, television) made mandatory government intervention in their functioning. For even when the content of what is communicated is perfectly acceptable

to a ruling class, there must be some regulation of wave lengths, some spacing out along the band, to prevent an anarchy of reception which will defeat its own ends.

In conditions of legality, where expression of dissent from the ruling norm is permitted to a greater or lesser extent, depending upon the historical development of a given society, access to the means of production of mass communication is theoretically governed only by the question of cost. In earlier days this would have been interpreted as the financial capacity to operate a printing press, a not impossible task. But the development of mass communication by radio and television has compounded the problem. An authorized television transmission presents technical problems which have so far never been successfully overcome. The potentialities of the increased use of cassettes, which are inserted in a video player and viewed on a spare channel of the television set, may open up interesting prospects for the development of independent programs.

In some countries it is permitted to 'buy' time on the air at a cost which makes its effective use impossible for a working class political party. In others time on the air is allotted only to those parties whom the broadcasting authority is pleased to recognize. In conditions of illegality the problem is naturally even more acute. It is one thing to operate an illicit flat-bed press and to distribute its output by bicycle, or to operate a clandestine radio transmitter of limited range from a constantly moving base.

Who does in fact at present have access to the most advanced forms of the media? A conspectus of the many different answers to this question is given in Timothy Green's recent book, *The Universal Eye* (The Bodley Head, London, 1972). Though the author deals exclusively with television, the book in a sense also covers the field of radio. From Green's collection of information about the structure of ownership throughout the world, two main patterns emerge: public ownership in varying forms, and commercial exploitation. Public ownership ranges from state-owned networks to 'independent' public corporations like the BBC, and commercial exploitation can include both the large and small networks of the USA, making profits from the amount of advertising they can attract (described in the early days of British commercial television as 'a licence to print money'), to the competing stations of certain South American countries where, according to Green, ownership is regarded as a status symbol by rich families who have made their money in rum, sugar, oil, cattle and newspapers, and added to it by the ownership of radio stations.

The ownership of a medium of communication will naturally determine the content of what is communicated. Before considering some aspects of content, however, it may be useful to consider a second factor in the communication process: to whom is it addressed?

Bourgeois 'objectivity'

The sociologists have recently been concerning themselves with the

vital question of the interaction between the mass media and their 'audience.' David Chaney (*Processes of Mass Communication*, Macmillan, London, 1972) points out that early writers on the subject tended to assume that mass communication was a one-way process, and to concentrate on the manifest intention of the communicators rather than on their effect on the audience which was supposed to be receiving their communications. Today researchers are more concerned with studying detailed aspects of audience reaction, the media's role as 'an agency facilitating social consensus,' and the degree of comprehension or miscomprehension with which their audiences receive their communications (see, for example, *The Processes and Effects of Mass Communication*, edited by Wilbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts, University of Illinois Press, USA, 1971).*

The pioneers of the mass media knew very well, without benefit of sociology, that the key to success lay in identifying the audience which it was desired to reach, and in providing an attractive 'package' as an inducement to 'buy' the commodity, either in the sense of actually purchasing a newspaper or in the metaphorical sense of remaining tuned to a wavelength.

Even the stern and unbending Sir John Reith, one of the pillars of the British radio service, whose biography (*Only the Wind Will Listen*, by Andrew Boyle, Hutchinson, London, 1972) has been published to coincide with the 50th anniversary of BBC radio, realized, according to his biographer, that the BBC had to win its audience through entertainment. As head of the BBC he therefore encouraged a 'package' of drama and variety to render palatable the doctrine of high thinking and plain living. This arrangement was wholly to the satisfaction of the establishment which Sir John served in spite of being technically independent of it.

In this concept of the 'package' mass communication differs from earlier forms of communication, where the message itself was regarded as all-important. The 'packaging' of communications as entertainment is the characteristic which emerges with the mass media.

Selectivity in determining what is and what is not news (for silence on a topic is as significant as the manner of its presentation) is specially influential since all enquiries have found that news programs and columns, and comments on them, are the items most regularly followed by audiences.

Like all aspects of the mass media, the selection and interpretation of news depends on the class nature of the society in which the medium operates. In the socialist countries, for example, news tends to show the true situation in their society. An American critic, Mark W. Hopkins (*Mass Media in the Soviet Union*, Pegasus, New York, 1970) writes that the Soviet press inclines towards an optimistic presentation of events showing the achievements of socialist society. The chief function of news is, in addition to report-

*This extensive work covers 964 pages (excluding appendices). The first edition was published in 1954, and the editors tell us that more communications research has been published in the intervening 16 years than in the whole history of communications study before 1954.

ing verified facts and events, to discover the interrelationship and mutual influence of phenomena and to show their essence.

The same approach might be claimed by some organs of bourgeois opinion, though their concept of the 'essence' of phenomena is diametrically opposed to that of a Marxist. They are also in competition with the popular media, where news and information are as directly part of the entertainment package as a Western or a comedy series, and in the non-socialist world it is axiomatic that good news is not really good entertainment, while reports of disasters and crimes will sell newspapers and rivet listeners and viewers to their sets. Hence the imaginary headline invented as the winner of a competition for the most boring news item of all time: 'Small Earthquake in Chile: Few Dead.'

Most organs of the media in the non-socialist world, in so far as they commit themselves to a statement of policy on their treatment of news, claim the virtue of objectivity, summed up in the famous phrase of a liberal editor, 'Facts are sacred, comment is free,' and contrast this with the approach of the socialist media, based on *parteinost* and the recognition of the class struggle. This pious aspiration ignores not only the need, for reasons of space, for the selection of facts, but also the emphasis which will be given in their presentation – the position on the page or in the program, the slant given by the choice of words used or tone of voice.

If the class basis of the treatment of news can be substantiated without difficulty, what about the entertainment and other elements of the media's package?

Even bourgeois critics have complained in detail and at length about the nature of the advertising material which is the basis of a commercial medium's profits and objected to the total lack of realism by which the stresses of an alienated society are shown as curable by the simple process of purchasing the commodity advertised. 'Most advertisers were selling magic . . . in the commercials there was always a solution as clearcut as the snap of a finger: the problem could be solved by a new pill, deodorant, toothpaste, shampoo, shaving lotion, hair tonic, car, girdle, coffee, muffin recipe or floor wax. The solution always had finality' (Erik Barnouw, *The Image Makers*, Oxford University Press, 1970). The ostensible effect of this anodyne approach is to reconcile the audience to the existing system of society, since any problems arising in it could find instant relief by one of the nostrums quoted.

Emphasis is placed in much of the research work on determining the value of audiences as consumers. For example, Green (*op. cit.*) describes the demographic service offered by the American networks to advertisers: 'The demographics of the network evening news . . . indicates that many of the audience are people in their thirties and forties of fairly good education and income. They turn on the news as soon as they come home from the office. So, what better time to promote the aspirin and the anti-acid stomach settlers that will soothe the harassed executive after a hectic day in the office and a three-martini lunch?'

The prime purpose of advertising is equally linked to the maintenance of the status quo, since its object is to encourage the mass consumption of goods for the profit of the owners of the means of production. Yet a dialectical effect occurs here, summed up in the phrase, 'the revolution of rising expectations': constantly pressed to acquire more and more goods to ensure the happy life, the consumer audience in its capacity as wage-earners tends to demand more money in order to obey the exhortations of the advertisers. Hence it may be at the same time invited, in the advertising slots and columns, to spend, and in the news and comments on the news depicted as immoderately grasping, and bringing its country to the verge of economic ruin, by its demands for higher wages.

The field of 'pure' entertainment attempts, in varying degrees of intensity, to reinforce the social system in which it occurs. The methodology also varies with the changes in balance between the class forces within a society. In the West, for example, we now see on the television screen fewer examples of members of the working class, or Negroes and other minority groups, treated as comic characters or butts, fewer portrayals of trade union leaders as blustering bullies, and other stereotypes of humor and drama.

But in the mass production of entertainment, churned out to fill hours on the air or the spaces between the pages of press advertisements, stereotypes are not only inescapable but positively useful. An extreme example of this psychological conditioning is the *tele-novela* of certain South American networks, critically described by Green (*op. cit.*): 'Every one has the same essential theme: a poor but beautiful country girl comes to the big city, is seduced, has an illegitimate baby, but prospers and opens a chic boutique or marries a millionaire playboy.'

Green describes these *tele-novelas* as the life-blood of Latin American television, occupying prime time daily, susceptible of infinite variation on the same theme – one specially successful one has already reached 400 episodes – at minimum cost, and quotes a Buenos Aires producer as saying, 'Novelas keep them mesmerized. For an hour or two they forget the conditions in which they are living – perhaps it even stops them making revolution.'

All these devices appeared together with the bourgeois information industry and have become an important feature of it.

The media cannot always hope to be so successful in commanding attention or in imposing their view of society on their audiences. Apart from the audiences' inherent right not to read a publication, or its ability to switch off a set (a possibility often overlooked by the assiduous collectors of circulation statistics and viewing figures) there are some factors in the media themselves which produce a reaction different from that intended. We have already mentioned the contradiction between the urge to spend and the demand for restraint in wage demands. While the media as a whole may wish to uphold the stability of a society, certain aspects of its output may be counter-productive. There has been much discussion, for example, about the portrayal of violence on television.

Does it encourage viewers to go out and practice such violence themselves?

Another example: scenes of protest – demonstrations, meetings, strikes – receive extended coverage if they are accompanied by violence, and indeed some claim that violence is encouraged by the presence of the cameras. More disciplined and numerically numerous forms of protest are ignored in favor of the punch-up and the riot, both for reasons of 'newsworthiness' and because the spectacle of confrontations between police and students or strikers is assumed to prejudice the audience against the protesters. This can have a two-way effect, as exemplified in the television coverage of police brutality at the Democrats' National Convention in Chicago in 1968: shown for its news-value, it did more to shake confidence in Mayor Daly's police than pages of descriptive writing in the progressive press could have done.

The relevance to the class struggle of these examples of counter-productivity in the mass media (for parallel examples could be given, did space permit, from press and radio) is that they are symptomatic of the use of the media as a commodity in a capitalist system. In that system those in command of the media will seek to maintain it not only by presenting it as the unquestioned natural order, but attempt to distract attention from its shortcomings by sensationalism, the cult of personalities like comedians and disc jockeys, and other forms of trivialization. Above all they will seek to present in an unfavorable light, and deny access to the media to those who seek to change the basis of the system.

In studying the mass media's impact one must remember that any audience receives their messages within a whole complex of existing attitudes, beliefs and prejudices. The reader, viewer or listener does not exist in nature by dint of the abstract modelling of a standard 'average' consumer of mass information. The audience should be regarded as a whole continuum of audiences in social interaction, and the effect of the communication on them influenced by the social groupings in which they exist.

Support for this view was provided in a study of the effect of election broadcasts by the major political parties in the British general election of 1964. J. G. Blumler and D. McQuail (*Television in Politics*, Faber, London, 1968) found that these broadcasts appeared to have no effect on voting intentions, but reinforced the beliefs of those who agreed with the speaker, and had their main effect in stimulating such supporters actually to go out and cast their vote for the candidate whom they had previously made up their mind to support. The denial of television time to a working class party, therefore, is significant, not so much in denying it the right to persuade viewers to its point of view, but in depriving it of the right to try to stimulate the viewers to take action on its behalf.

In carrying forward their policy, strengthening their bonds with the masses, the working class parties concern themselves mainly

with printed matter. A newspaper has greater powers of penetration: the reader can look back to check a point, or can continue undisturbed after an interruption. From the aspect of cost, the press, as has already been mentioned, is a mass medium within the capabilities of the working class movement.

Possibly one of the questions for the working class press to solve, after those of money and of any local restrictions, by legislation or discrimination, on the production and distribution processes, is that of determining what audience it is directed towards. How can it best preserve the correct balance between the serious appeal to the politically conscious, and the more popular appeal which enables it to compete with the bourgeois press for a wider audience?

Certain organs of the bourgeois press will give a limited platform for the expression of working class views, and will even themselves occasionally express a limited sympathy with those views in an industrial struggle, and spokesmen for the working class may obtain a hearing on radio or television. The main weapon of the working class in these circumstances must however be its own press, and the successful maintenance of newspapers like *L'Humanité*, *L'Unita*, the *Morning Star* and others, proves that it can be exercised.

The credibility gap

So far we have considered, for the sake of convenience, the processes of mass communication as concerning only two parties, the communicators themselves and their audience. Yet the communicators should be differentiated since the recurring process of putting out a radio or television program, or a newspaper, involves those who actually carry out the process, as well as those who own the medium.

Journalists, scriptwriters, producers, directors and technicians influence to a greater or lesser degree the form and content of mass communication. In any system, they are controlled by the basic aims and structure of the medium, but within these limits their power varies. They, and the owners of the media themselves, may be restricted by outside pressures: the editor of the *London Evening Standard* (Charles Wintour, *Pressures on the Press*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1972) defines these as, in Britain, 'news management' by Government bodies, the laws of libel and contempt of court, the Official Secrets Act and similar obstacles. They may be restricted by 'house rules.' Though Wintour denies that any British newspaper would temper its policy to oblige its advertisers, this happy state of affairs is not universal.

The giant Procter and Gamble firm in the USA is quoted by Green (*op. cit*) as having a written editorial policy to be followed by the networks with which it advertises: 'There will be no material (in programs sponsored by it) that may give offence, either directly or by inference, to any commercial organization of any

sort . . . [or] which could in any way further the concept of business as cold, ruthless and lacking all sentiment or spiritual motivation.'

Workers in the media may indeed be in sympathy with the outlook of its controllers. Whale (*op. cit*) considers that in Britain, with a mass press that overwhelmingly supports the Conservative Party, 'most' journalists (he does not quantify the claim) are on the side of the established order.

Yet in many parts of the non-socialist world a growing feeling of frustration has developed among workers in the media: the media become ever more commercialized, and competition between them for the largest audiences leads to a deterioration in social and creative standards as the controllers 'chase the ratings.' A conflict arises between the 'professionalism' of the workers in the media and the class structure within which they operate.

A classic example of this conflict has recently appeared in Britain, where for some time the National Union of Journalists has been demanding greater opportunities for its members to participate in shaping the policy of their papers, in order to correct the anti-working class bias displayed by so many of them.

The matter became a *cause célèbre* when the Chairman of the Labor Party Conference, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, attacked the editorial policy of *The Times* in calling for the formation of a center party composed of 'liberal' Conservatives and Labor Members of Parliament who, contrary to their party's policy, favored Britain's entry into the Common Market. As Benn put it: 'Last Sunday the Editor of *The Times* invented a new political party . . . He sent out his market research people to ask the public: "What sort of a party would you like? - . . . would you like it a bit to the left or a bit to the right?" as if he was designing some soap, detergent or beer.'

Benn then went on to make an appeal: 'I sometimes wish that trade unionists who work in the mass media - those who are writers, broadcasters, secretaries, printers and lift operators . . . would remember that they too are members of our working-class movement and have a responsibility to see that what is said about us is true.'

The reaction of the newspaper proprietors was immediate. Their Chairman, Lord Goodman, described as a 'pitiful fantasy' the notion that the proprietors of the media were prejudiced against the working class, and Benn's invitation to see that 'what is said about the working class is true' as a 'total absurdity.' Rupert Murdoch, Australian-born proprietor of the *Sun* and the *News of the World*, a daily and a Sunday paper specializing in crime, sex and sensation, saw it as a threat 'to control the content and views of newspapers and through them the thinking of the population.' Wintour, the *Evening Standard* editor previously quoted, saw the threat as mainly coming from journalists: 'The rest of the workers in the industry are apparently expected to look after themselves.' Unfor-

tunately for Wintour, the printers had already taken a hand. Richard Briggshaw, General Secretary of the National Society of Operative Printers and Graphical and Media Personnel (NATSOPA) circularized his members in support of Benn's criticisms of the press. He had in fact shortly before given an interview to the *Morning Star*, in which he called for reforms in the structure of the British press and expressed his misgivings that 'the credibility gap between the Press and the public in this country was increasing, and that while this was bad for democracy, it certainly was likely to be bad for the printers in the last analysis.'

The size of this credibility gap is the touchstone by which the mass media must be judged. If they do not reflect the true balance of class forces in a society, they will eventually endanger that society, since the more they seek to preserve it by portraying it as other than it is, the more obvious its contradictions become. The owners and controllers of the mass media seek to portray society by masking its contradictions, while the interests of the workers in the media and of the audience coincide in a need to bring out these contradictions and to obtain access to the media in order to do so. Their chances of success are determined, not only by the objective conditions in which they have to work, some more favorable than others, but also by the skill and determination they devote to, and their analysis of the possibilities latent in, every opportunity open to them to counter the efforts of the controllers and to hasten a transformation of the societies in which they live.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

A Seguranc e a Cooperacao Europeias (European Security and Cooperation). Lisbon, Seara Nova, 1973.

Never before have all the states of Europe, irrespective of their social systems, met in conference. The first such meeting is planned for 1973. Underlying it is a public movement which will undoubtedly influence the conference's decisions, write the publishers in their introduction. The book is based on documents relating to the history of the problem, describing the stages and significance of preparing for this important meeting of European states, and the Portuguese public's participation in the movement for the continent's peaceful future.

Included are the materials of the Public Assembly for European Security and Cooperation (2-5 June, 1972, Brussels), the session of the International Committee established by the Assembly (1-3 December, 1972, Brussels), the reports of its commissions and also materials (reports, communications, communiques) prepared by the national commission of the Portuguese delegation in Brussels.

Publication of such a book in Portugal is an extraordinary event displaying the growing strength of progressive forces in the country and their intention of contributing to the struggle for peace and the preparations for the conference on European Security and Cooperation.

Appealing to the public through this book, the publishers are confident that the desire for security and cooperation will unite all those who sincerely wish to effectively influence the march of history. European public opinion has shown its determination to make a worthy contribution to the triumph of the ideas of peace, security, cooperation and good-neighborly relations of peoples in Europe and the world. And just as the progressive public of the continent is working to place Europe in the hands of the people, so the people of Portugal are working to take the country's future into their own hands.

Catarina Mendes

Nordeuropa in der Gegenwart (Northern Europe Today). Berlin, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1972.

GDR and Soviet scholars examine post-war development in the Scandinavian countries. The accent is on the problem of European security and the attitude to the European Economic Community. The authors have avoided the fairly common mistake of viewing the North European countries as a single whole; the articles on Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden deal with the specific character of each of these countries.

Research on the economic and political situation in the Scandinavian countries is not a simple matter because big business, with considerable help from the Social-Democratic parties, attempts to hide its class policy behind a lavish show of sham democracy. However, its true class nature emerges at times of crisis, when the working people display strong opposition. The book's analysis of the situation in Northern Europe goes beyond the framework of this region.

The problem of 'Northern cooperation' plays an important role in the foreign policies of the Scandinavian countries (we believe the book could have included more material on this subject). The idea of such cooperation is supported by the population of this region, which is why it is often used by the ruling classes in their political scheming. The people, however, relate cooperation to a democratically independent and peaceful policy. Sharp public opposition to involvement in imperialist blocs affords added opportunities for action on a European scale for peace and security on the continent.

Ib Norlund

Anti-voyenniye traditsii mezhdunarodnogo rabochogo dvizheniya (Anti-war Traditions of the International Workers' Movement). Authors: G. Z. Lekomtsev, B. G. Tartakovsky, Y. G. Tyomkin and F. I. Firsov.

This study covers a period from the anti-war slogans of the Chart-

ists to the present-day peace movement. Its methodological base is the Marxist-Leninist idea of the inseparable connection between problems of war, peace and revolution. The anti-war traditions of the international working class were built up from the very start of the proletariat's class struggle. Stage by stage, the book shows the development and consolidation of proletarian solidarity in the struggle against militarism and colonialism, against predatory and aggressive wars.

Referring to historical events, the book demonstrates the irreconcilable stand of Communists with regard to anti-popular and reactionary wars, their resolute support of wars of liberation waged by oppressed nations against their oppressors (this, the authors note, is the basic difference between the workers' anti-war movement and pacifism).

Of especial interest are the closing chapters dealing with the historical lessons to be gained from the proletariat's anti-war struggle and analyzing the fundamental social causes and sources of imperialist aggression and the danger of a thermonuclear war, and discussing the present-day problems facing the worldwide democratic movement for peace and security. M. Shidi

G. BELLOIN, *Culture, personnalité et sociétés* (Culture, the Individual and Society). Paris, Editions Sociales, 1973. 223 pp.

Culture converted into a commodity and serving state-monopoly capitalism has a disastrous effect on the formation of the individual. The FCP offers a program to solve cultural problems through the socialist transformation of society and a cultural revolution allowing full scope for the harmonious development of the individual.

A. WIRTH, *Mi a tarsadalmi struktura?* (What Is Social Structure?). Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1972. 160 pp.

The author investigates the class structure of capitalist and socialist society, criticizes bourgeois concepts, reveals the revolutionary role of the working class in transforming the structure of society and presents the perspective of advancing to communism.

Georgi Dimitrov i profsazyuznoto dvizhenie (Georgi Dimitrov and the Trade Union Movement). Sofia, Profizdat, 1972. 389 pp.

The formation of the revolutionary trade union movement in Bulgaria and the Balkans is inseparable from the name of Dimitrov. It was under his leadership that the struggle for trade unions based on Leninist principles, for labor legislation and a trade union press was carried on. The book shows Dimitrov's role in establishing Bulgarian socialist trade unions under people's democratic rule.

E. LABARCA GODDARD, *Corvalan. 27 horas* (Twenty-Seven Hours with Corvalan). El PC Chileno por fuera y por dentro. Santiago de Chile, Empresa Editora Nacional Quimantu Limitada, 1972. 239 pp.

We shall overcome all difficulties. The people must act with deter-

mination if the revolution is to make headway. The struggle for socialism is not theory alone, but action as well. Never relax the fight against deviations. We must make the advance to socialism an irreversible process. We advocate social discipline. We stand for the Soviet Union. We are not extremists, but realistic revolutionaries. – These are the main points made by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, in an interview.

Persoenlichkeit und Kollektive in der Forschung (The Individual and the Collective in Research). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1973. 190 pp.

An analysis of the trends and prospects of sociological studies of scientific research; the leading role of the working class in linking science with production; relations between the individual and the collective in research; research problems and the facilities of socialist research centres.

A. RAMIREZ, *Leninismo y antileninismo en América Latina* (Leninism and Anti-Leninism in Latin America). Honduras, C.A., Ediciones Compol, 1972. 37 pp.

The author exposes "Left"-wing revisionism and demonstrates that it is theoretically untenable. He sees a solution to the problems of the continent in applying Leninist strategy and tactics in specific conditions.

USSR 1972 (USSR, 1972). Jahrbuch. Frankfurt-am-Main, Verlag Marxistische Blaetter, 1973. 367 pp.

Statistical data on Soviet economic, political, social and cultural progress in 1972. Prepared for Marxistische Blaetter by the Novosti Press Agency.

M. A. SUSLOV, *Marksizm-leninizm – internatsionalnoye uchenie rabochego klassa* (Marxism-Leninism: Internationalist Doctrine of the Working Class). Moscow, Mysl, 1973. 263 pp.

Articles and speeches by M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, dealing with topical aspects of Marxism-Leninism and problems of the world Communist movement. They reveal the main lines of the theory and practice of scientific communism, communist building in the Soviet Union, the Leninist Party's struggle to reinforce the world socialist system and the Party's ideological work.

B. N. TOPORNIN, *Politicheskaya sistema sotsializma* (The Political System of Socialism). Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnoshenia, 1972. 232 pp.

A survey of current development problems of socialist people's

rule, with emphasis on combination of the general and the nationally specific in the political system.

Tradiții de solidaritate internaționalistă romano-sovietică (The Tradition of Rumanian-Soviet Internationalist Solidarity). Bucharest, Editura politica, 1972. 430 pp.

A collection prepared by the Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Sciences of the CC, Rumanian Communist Party. It reveals the internationalist tradition in Rumanian-Soviet relations and the formation and expansion of political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural relations between the two countries.

J. WODDIS, *Time to Change Course. What Britain's Communists Stand For*. London, Published by Communist Party, 1973. 150 pp.

The author examines the class battles fought in Britain in 1971 and 1972. Expressing the Communist Party's point of view, he comes to the conclusion that the situation in Britain is becoming ever more favorable for struggle against the present system, for democracy and socialism.

W. HAENISCH, J. KRUEGER. *Europa auf dem Weg zu Frieden, Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit* (Europe on the Road to Peace, Security and Cooperation). Frankfurt-am-Main, Verlag Marxistische Blaetter, 1973. 112 pp.

This is the first book of the series *In the Limelight of World Politics* launched by Marxistische Blaetter Publishers. It examines the new stage in the evolution of relations in Europe; the contest between the forces of détente and those seeking greater tension; the Soviet Union as the foremost champion of European security; the present-day aspect of relations between socialist and capitalist countries; the European conference and the outlook for a continental security system.



Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was formed on May 15, 1921, at the Social-Democratic Party's 14th Congress (Left-Wing), which has gone down in history as the Constituent Congress of the CPC.

On January 1, 1973, the Party had 1,234,003 members and candidate-members.

The guiding principle of Party organization and activity is democratic centralism. The Party is organized on the territorial-industrial principle. The basic Party units are industrial or residential, and combine into district and regional organizations.

There are 41,931 basic Party units, 126 district and 12 regional organizations.

The supreme Party authority is the Congress, which is convened once every five years. Congress elects a Central Committee, and a Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The Central Committee elects a Presidium to direct the work of the Party in between plenary sessions of the CC; a Secretariat to conduct work and check on fulfilment of decisions. The Central Committee also elects a General Secretary and the CC Secretariat.

The territorial organization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Slovakia is the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS). Its supreme authority is the Congress, and between congresses its CC functions as the leading body.

The highest authority of the district and regional organization is its conference which elects the regional or district committees. The highest organ of the basic unit is its general meeting which elects the basic Party committee.

On January 1, 1973, the social composition of the CPC was (in percentage figures): workers (including pensioners) 44.1; cooperative farmers 4.7; intellectuals 31.6; others 19.6.

Members of working-class origin constitute 68.9 per cent of the membership. Women account for 28.1 per cent. Nearly half the Party members and candidate-members are below 40 years of age,

37.1 per cent of all members and candidate-members have had secondary or higher education.

Forty-six per cent of members and candidate-members are engaged in the productive sphere; the remainder in science, culture, education, and community services.

The national composition of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia corresponds to the national composition of the population. Percentages are: Czechs - 74.6; Slovaks - 21.9; Hungarians - 2.2; Ukrainians and Russians - 0.8; Poles - 0.4; Germans - 0.1.

The Party Press

Daily paper *Rude Pravo*, organ of the CC CPC. Founded 21st September 1920; daily circulation 850,000 copies; Saturday issue 1,080,000;

Zivot Strany (Party Life), journal of the CC CPC, published twice monthly;

Nova Mysl (New Thought), a monthly theoretical and political journal of the CC;

Tribuna, a weekly journal of the CC dealing with ideology and politics;

Tvorba (Creation) a weekly journal of the CC covering politics, scientific and cultural matters;

The daily newspaper *Pravda*, organ of the CC of the Slovak Party. Published in Slovak;

Uj Szo (New Word), a daily newspaper of the CC CPS, published in Hungarian.

Regional and District Party committees and district national committees also publish their own daily newspapers. The Party is responsible for the publication of 270 factory newspapers with large circulations.

The theoretical and educational Party centers are the Central Committee Higher Political School, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

The Communist Party of Canada was founded under conditions of illegality in June 1921. In February of 1922 it was reconstituted as a legal party, the Workers' Party of Canada. In 1924 it reassumed the name of Communist Party. In 1931, the Party was again outlawed and its leadership arrested. The ban against the legality of the Party was lifted in 1935. The Party was banned once again in 1940. In August of 1943 the Party organized as a legal party of Communists under the name of Labor Progressive Party. In 1950 the Party resumed the name, Communist Party of Canada.

The Party is organized on the basis of branches in industry, shops, areas and on a language basis amongst immigrant workers. Provincial Committees are established in the provinces under the direction of the Central Committee. In districts and cities where more than two branches exist regional and city committees of the Party are established responsible to the respective Provincial Committees.

The two-nation character of Canada is recognized in the Party's organizational structure and constitution. Communists in Quebec, the homeland of the French-Canadian nation, are organized in the Parti Communiste du Quebec which develops its policies and activities on the basis of the program, policies and constitution of the Communist Party of Canada.

The highest authority of the Communist Party is the Convention, held every second year. It elects a Central Committee, the highest authority of the Party between Conventions. The Central Committee from its ranks elects a Central Executive Committee.

The Party press includes the central organ, the *Canadian Tribune*; *Combat*, organ of the Parti Communiste du Quebec; the *Pacific Tribune*, organ of the Provincial Committee of British Columbia. The theoretical organ of the Party, *Communist Viewpoint*, is published bi-monthly. The Young Communist League publishes the *Young Worker*. In addition, Communists edit weekly progressive papers published in eight languages other than French and English.

Communists hold seats in local municipal governments, both in large urban centers and in smaller municipalities. The Party is presently preparing to contest a federal election, which is expected soon, with at least 50 candidates.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

Founded in January 1922 in Rancagua, when the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party (founded 1912) declared its affiliation with the Third International and changed its name to Communist Party of Chile.

In the beginning of 1973 it had over 200 thousand members.

Organizationally divided into cells, district and regional committees, and the Central Committee. The cells, of which there are nearly 10,000, are based on the industrial or territorial principles.

Supreme body is the national congress (convened once in four years). It elects the Central Committee, which elects the Political Commission, Secretariat, General Secretary and his deputy. Also elects a National Control and Personnel Commission.

Social composition: 65 per cent of working class background, many peasants, intellectuals, tradesmen and artisans.

The Party press: daily newspaper *El Siglo*; CC theoretical journal *Principios*. A local Party press in provinces.

Theoretical and study centers: Institute of Marxist Research in Santiago with branches in several cities (founded in 1967); Personnel-training Center; district and regional schools.

The CPC is one of the ruling Popular Unity parties, which polled 43.39 per cent in March 1973 parliamentary elections (in 1970 presidential elections Left forces polled 36.2 per cent). The CPC, which polled 17.14 per cent of the votes, holds 25 seats in Chamber of Deputies and nine in the Senate. In April 1973 Communists had three ministers and three deputy ministers in the cabinet.

International monopolies

Prepared by Department on Foreign Economic Problems of Capitalism, Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Science.

International monopolies are playing an ever greater role in the economics and politics of present-day capitalism. They involve many important spheres of the world capitalist economy, and the confrontations of monopoly giants on the world market have attained unprecedented scope and intensity. The mounting inter-imperialist struggle for markets and spheres of influence is accompanied by a tendency for monopolies of different countries to strike deals among themselves.

The leviathans of the capitalist world can be classified in three groups: national companies with foreign assets (transnational monopolies); multinational corporations, which are international not only in respect of their operations, but also in respect of capital and control; joint ventures (production and research between monopoly groups, etc.).

Multinationals also have subsidiaries in foreign countries and in this respect are similar to transnationals, but they are owned by nationals not of one, but of several countries. The number of monopolies of this type is not great as the merger of capital from different countries encounters many difficulties (different jurisdiction, double taxation, government opposition, etc.). Examples are the Anglo-Dutch-owned Royal Dutch Shell (oil) and Unilever (chemicals and food), the Anglo-American-Canadian International Nickel Company of Canada, the Belgian-French-Luxembourg Arbed (iron and steel), the West-German-Belgian Agfa-Gevaert (photographic products), the Anglo-Italian Dunlop-Pirelli (rubber), the Dutch-West-German VFW-Fokker (aircraft), the Swedish-American Svenska Taendsticks AB (matches).

According to some estimates, by 1970 total annual output of foreign subsidiaries and enterprises with foreign capital totalled 300,000 million dollars. After deducting the cost of raw materials and unfinished output, this accounted for about seven per cent of the capitalist world's gross product. Since the beginning of the 50s the volume of such 'international' output has been increasing at an average annual rate of 10 per cent, or double that of the GNP and 40 per cent ahead of exports from capitalist countries. American firms account for two-thirds (200,000 million dollars), and West-European firms for one-third (100,000 million dollars) of the aggregate 'international' output.*

*The Economist, January 22, 1972, p. XXI.

TABLE I
Number of transnational companies in USA and Western Europe with assets in 10 or more countries

Country, Area	Total	of which, with assets in							more than 40 countries
		10-12 countries	13-15 countries	16-20 countries	21-25 countries	26-30 countries	31-40 countries		
USA	268	92	59	39	37	18	14	9	
Western Europe	321	116	62	74	30	22	12	5	
UK	153	47	31	43	14	10	5	3	
FRG	42	18	10	9	1	2	2	—	
France	40	19	6	8	5	2	—	—	
Sweden	26	10	4	3	2	5	2	—	
Netherlands	19	8	2	4	2	2	—	1	
Switzerland	18	8	3	3	2	—	2	—	
Italy	10	—	2	2	4	1	1	—	
Belgium	6	3	2	1	—	—	—	—	
Denmark	4	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	
Austria	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	
Norway	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	
Grand Total	589	208	121	113	67	40	26	14	

Data compiled from: 'Yearbook of International Organisations,' Union of International Associations, Brussels, 12th Edition (1968-1969), pp. 1203-1214.

Table II shows the extent to which the production base of American monopolies is moving out of the country.

TABLE II

Some U.S. transnational companies (1970)

Company	Rank among world's 500 largest	Sales \$000,000	Net income \$000,000	Net income as per cent of sales	Employees 000	Per cent of total ¹	
						Sales abroad	Income from foreign operations
General Motors	1	18,752	609	3.2	695.8	14 ²	7 ²
Standard Oil (N.J.)	2	16,554	1,309	7.9	143	68	52
Ford Motor International	3	14,980	516	3.4	431.7	36	—
Business Machines	6	7,504	1,017	13.6	269.2	30	32
Mobil Oil	7	7,260	483	6.6	75.6	—	45
ITT	10	6,364	353	5.6	392	47	50
Gulf Oil	13	5,396	550	10.2	61.3	—	29
Du Pont de Nemours International	24	3,618	329	9.1	110.6	4	—
Harvester	48	2,711	52	1.9	101.9	17	10
Caterpillar Tractor	69	2,128	144	6.8	64	14	—
Singer	70	2,125	75	3.5	133	50	—
Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing	99	1,687	188	11.1	65.8	30	29
National Cash Register	123	1,420	30	2.1	98	44	51
American Standard	124	1,418	3	0.2	70.3	28	39
CPC International	132	1,376	61	4.4	44.4	46	49
FMC	138	1,330	59	4.4	47.4	90	—
Warner-Lambert	146	1,256	98	7.8	55.5	33	33
Colgate-Palmolive	155	1,210	40	3.3	23.5	55	—
Anaconda	204	977	84	6.5	30.8	32	57

1) Figures from *Fortune*, September 1968, p. 105. Later data not available.

2) Without Canada.

Source: *Fortune*, May 1971, pp. 170-189.

For comparison, Table III offers data on major West European transnational companies.

TABLE III

Some European transnational companies (1970)

Company, country	Rank among world's 500 largest	Sales \$000,000	Net income \$000,000	Employees 000
Volkswagenwerk (W. Germany)	15	4,314	111	190.3
Philips (Netherlands)	18	4,163	120	359
British Petroleum (Britain)	19	4,062	218	70.6
ICI (Imperial Chemical Industries) (Britain)	26	3,510	214	194
Siemens (W. Germany)	31	3,196	55	300.5
Hoechst (W. Germany)	34	3,027	108	139.4
Daimler-Benz (W. Germany)	36	3,019	66	144.3
BASF (W. Germany)	40	2,874	73	106.8
Montedison (Italy)	41	2,842	—	162.7
Renault (France)	53	2,529	1 ¹	155
Bayer (W. Germany)	55	2,502	85	101.8
AEG-Telefunken (W. Germany)	62	2,334	27	178
Nestle (Switzerland)	63	2,334	122	91.1
Rhône-Poulenc (France)	75	1,985	68	120.5
Cie Francaise des Pétroles (France)	77	1,950	88	24
British-American Tobacco (Britain)	82	1,912	181	120
Saint-Gobain- Pont-à-Mousson (France)	105	1,598	52	115
Courtaulds (Britain)	109	1,583	57	165
Pechiney (France)	113	1,565	51	62
Robert Bosch (W. Germany)	117	1,503	13 ¹	116.9
Brown, Boveri (Switzerland)	139	1,326	6 ¹	96.9
Michelin (France)	164	1,152	11 ¹	80
SKF (Sweden)	214	920	46	67.3
Solvay (Belgium)	238	840	37	42.9
L'Air Liquide (France)	419	447	21	22

1) Parent company only.

Sources: Internationale Konzerne und Arbeiterklasse, Frankfurt/Main, November 1971, S. 353-361; *Fortune*, August 1971, pp. 150-154.

Of the transnationals with assets in 10 or more countries, 42 West-European companies are full owners of all their foreign subsidiaries. In the U.S. there are 58 such companies (the data includes only companies with subsidiaries in Western Europe).*

As U.S. transnationals advance from participation in or control of European enterprises to full ownership American imperialism gains levers for greater influence over many aspects of both the economic and political life of capitalist Europe.

*Compiled from 'Yearbook of International Organizations.' Union of International Associations, Brussels, 12th edition (1968-1969), pp. 1203-1214.

A major economic tool of the internationalisation of production is the export and internationalisation of capital.

Investment of U.S. manufacturing companies in plant and equipment at home and abroad

Year	Home investment		Investment by foreign subsidiaries		Foreign to home investment
	\$ billions	%	\$ billions	%	%
1957	16.5	100	1.3	100	8.1
1967	28.5	173	4.5	346	17.3
1971	30.0	182	6.8	523	22.7
1972 ¹	31.2	189	6.9	531	22.1

1) Estimate.

Sources: Compiled from: 'Survey of Current Business,' Sept. 1965, p. 28; Sept. 1970, p. 22; Sept. 1972, p. 20; 'Economic Report of the President,' 1973, p. 240.

Direct investment, the share of which in the aggregate export of private capital from the main capitalist countries is now 75 per cent, as compared with 10 per cent on the eve of World War I, is not the only way of establishing and developing international monopolies. Among other things, the latter make extensive use of long-term loans in the countries where they are investing, which enables them to expand their foreign production capacities. For example, American subsidiaries in Great Britain draw on local resources for funding almost half their investments there.*

International monopolies with enterprises in different countries use every opportunity to increase their profits.

Earnings on foreign investment and profits of U.S. corporations at home

Year	Earnings on foreign investment ¹	Profits at home after taxes ²	Earnings on foreign investment to profits at home
	\$ billions	\$ billions	%
1950	2.1	21.7	9.6
1960	4.8	20.6	23.3
1970	13.3	28.2	47.2
1971	14.9	31.3	47.8

1) Including: a) Earnings on direct foreign investment;

b) Fees and royalties for patents and other types of technical information transferred to the parent company in the USA;

c) Earnings on portfolio investments transferred to owners in the USA.

2) After taxes only for non-financial corporations.

Sources: 'Balance of Payments,' Statistical Supplement, Revised Edition, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C., 1963, p. 184; 'Survey of Current Business,' June 1966, p. 24; July 1966, p. 33; October 1970, p. 31; June 1972, p. 30; July 1972, p. 21; November 1972, p. 24.

*Internationale Konzerne und Arbeiterklasse, s. 11

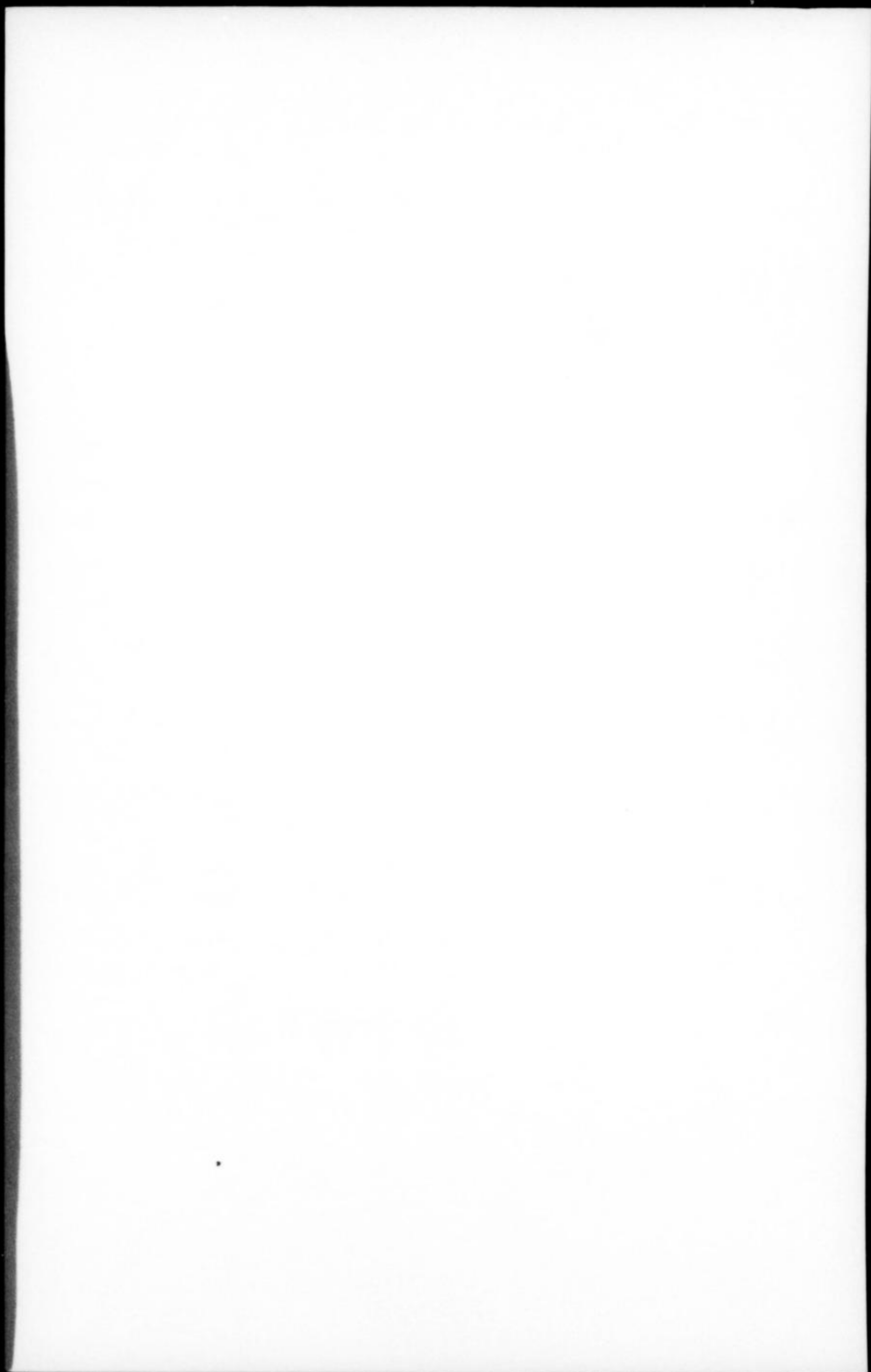
The branching of production and capital into several countries gives monopolies greater scope for maneuvering on an international scale, and internationalizes exploitation, so that constant pressure is brought to bear on the labor market at home and abroad. This confronts the labor movement in capitalist countries with new tasks calling for new methods of economic and political struggle and greater national and international unity of the working class and all working people. And the labor movement has been responding to the pressure of multinational monopolies by developing international forms of class struggle.

DIARY

Nathaniel Hill Arboleda, member of the CC, People's Party of Panama, who visited the offices of WMR, described the political situation in Panama and the people's fight to free the Canal Zone from U.S. occupation. There was a discussion of steps to promote relations between the PPP and WMR.

The offices of WMR were visited by Sarath Muttetuwegama, member of the CC Political Bureau, CP of Sri Lanka. He told members of the WMR commission on problems of the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa about the CPSL's struggle for the working people's interests and for more effective Left unity. During an interview with K. I. Zarodov, Chief Editor, steps to extend cooperation between the CPSL and WMR were discussed.

In connection with preparations for the fifteenth anniversary of WMR, members of the journal's Editorial Council—V. M. Shundeyev, Executive Secretary, of WMR, G. Banchemo, CP of Chile, and L. Nagy, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—met with readers in Hungary. Readers' conferences and meetings took place in Szeged, Csongrad and Szentes. The Editorial Council members appeared on TV and were received at the International Department of the CC HSWP.



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