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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1414

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WORLD ASSEMBLY OF BUILDERS OF PEACE PROCEEDINGS

First, Second Day's Proceedings

Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 7 May 77 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 7 May, PAP--On 7 May, the second day of the World Assembly of Builders of Peace going on here, the gathering got down to work in problem committees. Participants in the forum are also scheduled to take part in solidarity rallies in Warsaw's industrial enterprises.

On the first day of the event, many messages and letters with greetings and wishes of fruitful deliberations were sent to the participants in the assembly by leaders of political parties and governments around the world. In their messages, leading political activists voice the confidence that the Warsaw assembly will be a new, important stage of joint action by the progressive social forces to consolidate detente, security and development of international cooperation.

A message to the assembly participants was sent by the general secretary of the CPSU CC, Leonid Brezhnev and UN secretary general, Kurt Waldheim.

Messages were sent by: secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of Czechoslovakia, Gustav Husak; president of the Council of State of the GDR, Erich Honecker; 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov; general secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu; 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Janos Kadar; 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal and premier of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong.

Messages with greetings and wishes have been also sent by the leaders of a number of other countries, including the president of the Republic of Finland, Dr Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, and President Makarios of Cyprus.

Letters and messages have also come, among others, from the president of the Republic of Iraq, al-Bakr; the presidents of the Republic of Togo and the Republic of Niger, the chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the president of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

Letters have been also sent by leading personalities of many international and nongovernmental organizations.

The problem committees of the World Assembly of Peace Builders are discussing, among other topics, the question of the participation of social forces in the struggle for curbing the arms race and armaments, problems of security and cooperation in Europe and, in this context, the world significance of the Helsinki Final Act and problem of solidarity with the struggle against colonialism, fascism, and other forms of social injustice. The need for a social action promoting liquidation of the world hotbeds of crisis, including the Middle East crisis, was stressed.

Members of the committee discussing the problems of curbing the arms race and armaments--coming from all regions of the world--are trying to find an answer to the question of how to stop the armaments which cost some 300 billion dollars a year while millions of people are starving throughout the world. The arms race poses a serious threat to world peace because it undermines the feeling of confidence and trust in international relations. The members of the committee have been stressing the need to step up the effort to achieve a complete and universal disarmament as the most effective way to remove the threat of war.

Another commission dealt with the role of nonalignment as a factor of peace and independence.

The participants in the discussion centered their attention on economic problems, problems of accelerating the rate of growth of young states, their liberation from under control of foreign monopolies and national corporations. They stressed the need for bridging the gap between developed countries and the developing ones and creating a new, more just economic system. It is also important to ensure unity and harmony of actions of the nonaligned movement, said the speakers.

In the work of the Commission for European Security and Cooperation representatives of the peace movement not only from the signatory countries to the Helsinki Final Act are engaged.

The commission discusses problems of deepening all-round cooperation among states in the spirit of Helsinki which can contribute to building lasting peace and developing friendly relations among nations.

The Commission on Development and the New International Economic Order discussed problems connected with the implementation of the progressive principles of the charter of economic rights and duties of states and of the programme of action towards the establishment of a new international economic order adopted by the

UN in 1974. The implementation of these principles is of great importance in the struggle of the developing countries for the consolidation of their economic independence. The participants in the discussion assumed that the consolidation of peace creates better prospects for development for the developing countries and better living conditions for their communities.

Solidarity with the struggle against colonialism and apartheid and for national independence was the subject discussed by another respective commission, which reviewed problems of particularly topical significance for the Southern African region.

Peaceful coexistence and detente in international relations is the basic condition for the effectiveness of the struggle for respect for human rights, it was stated in the assembly's commission dealing with questions of human rights. On the other hand, one cannot speak of lasting peace in those countries where elementary human rights are violated and which are ruled by racist and fascist dictatorships. The connection between these two vitally important problems were the starting point for the discussion in which the floor was taken by representatives of countries with different sociopolitical structures and at different stages of development.

Lasting and just peace in the Middle East cannot be based on partial steps or the politics of small steps but on the basis of a just solution of the Middle East problem [and] above all of the Palestinian question. This was the key-note of the speeches in the Commission of Peace and Justice in the Middle East.

The speakers pointed out that it is necessary, above all, to respect the inalienable right of the Palestinian nation to its own statehood. The expansionist policy of Tel Aviv and the armaments of Israel aggravate the situation in the Middle East, hampering the restoration of peace in this crucial region of the world. The 350 members of the commission dealing with various aspects of the struggle against fascism and neofascism, among whom here were veterans of the struggle against fascism on all (?fronts) of the Second World War and former prisoners of Nazi concentration camps, expressed the view that a determined opposition against any manifestations of fascism in all regions and countries--the deepening of unity and solidarity of democratic forces in this struggle--is one of the most important duties of the movement of peace builders.

On the second day of the Warsaw assembly several solidarity rallies were held in the capital of Poland, to mention one: the rally held in the Nowotko works attended by representatives of several Arab countries participating in the Warsaw assembly--a rally held under the motto "solidarity with the struggle against racialism in South Africa." In addition to that, rallies were held in the FSO Car Factory, attended by fighters for the liberation of African nations, and in "Warszawa" Steel Mill, a rally of solidarity with the struggling Chilean nation, attended by a delegation of the Chilean peace movement and representatives of Latin American and socialist countries. A rally held in the Warsaw Technical University was attended by representatives of peace movements of Chile, Finland, India, and the Soviet Union. In POLAM Works a rally was held under the motto of "solidarity with the nation of Uruguay."

Role of Nonalignment

Warsaw PAP in English 0849 GMT 8 May 77 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 8 May (PAP)--During the discussion at the World Assembly of Builders of Peace, now debating in Warsaw, representatives of all the continents pay a lot of attention to the problems of Latin America--the struggle of the nations of that region of the world for national and social liberation, for full political and economic independence. Members of some of the problem commissions, debating within the framework of the Warsaw assembly, dwelt on these questions.

The debaters taking part in the discussion going on in the Commission of the Struggle Against Fascism and Neofascism stressed that the hotbeds of neofascism existed wherever imperialism felt threatened. Therefore, world public opinion must watch closely and decidedly counteract the processes of revival of fascism, racial discrimination and the violation of human rights.

The participants in the discussion pointed to the situation in Latin America, stressing the role played by monopolies, big international corporations, and industrial-military complexes in poisoning the atmosphere in international relations and promotion of fascism in various Latin American countries. This can be manifested by the Chilean brand of fascism.

The participants in the Commission of Solidarity with the Struggles Against Colonialism and Apartheid, and for National Independence received in appeal sent it by the Scottish Committee for the Defence of Chile calling for extending international support to the protest campaign against the soccer match Scotland vs Chile, scheduled for June 15 in the Santiago stadium, [which had been] changed into a concentration camp by the Chilean military junta after the overthrow of President Allende.

Speakers who took the floor in the forum of the Human Rights Commission recalled that fundamental human rights to live without fear and hunger were still brutally trampled down in many countries of the world. The speeches by the delegates of the countries where fascist dictatorships and racial regimes still govern and where the struggle for independence is going on were a dramatic appeal to the nations of the world for solidarity and moral support. The right to work for every man--irrespective of race, sex, and political sentiments--was basic for the implementation of other civil, social and cultural rights.

The debaters in the Commission on Nonalignment as a Factor for Peace and Independence and the Struggle Against the Imperialist Policy of Destabilisation, stressed that for over a dozen years the idea of nonalignment, which turned into a political movement on a mass scale (embracing almost 90 states), has played an important part in accelerating the decolonization processes and in foiling many attempts made by imperialism to suppress national liberation movements.

In their speeches the delegates of many countries pointed to the role of the nonalignment movement in the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and the threat of the outbreak of a new war. They stressed that apart from political problems, also economic questions, [such as] problems of how to speed the liberation of young states from the control of foreign monopolies and multinational corporations and how to create a new and just economic order were in the focus

of attention of the nonaligned countries. The nonaligned countries, most of which are now developing, have huge resources of mineral riches. However, the revenues from the exploitation of mineral resources go to rich capitalist states, while the Third World countries make a scant profit from this.

The participants in the debates of the Commission on Development and the New International Economic Order stressed the great importance of the struggle of the developing countries for the strengthening of their economic independence and the creation of favourable external conditions for speeding up their socio-economic development. They pointed out that the present instruments of economic cooperation, based on the market mechanisms, often widen the gap between developed and developing countries. The need to curb military budgets and the trade in arms and earmark a part of the means thus released for assistance to developing countries was stressed during the discussion.

Conferences Discuss World Problems

Warsaw PAP in English 1630 GMT 8 May 77 LD

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 8 May (PAP--The World Assembly of Builders of Peace is continuing its debates in Warsaw today. Parliamentarians; trade unionists; activists of women's, youth and students' movements; delegates of religious organizations and religious circles; scientists; intellectuals; writers and artists are meeting in seven roundtable conferences.

The conference held with the participation of women activists from all the continents and with the participation of representatives of trade union organizations and youth and students' organizations is discussing the problem of equal rights of women. The mobilization of public opinion against armaments and all forms of racism and colonialism, is, in the participants' opinion, one of the most important aims to be achieved.

The role of the younger generation, youth and students, in the struggle for lasting peace, detente and international cooperation is discussed by a roundtable conference held with the participation of the youngest delegates to the world peace assembly. The conference is reviewing the hitherto initiatives launched by young people to promote peace and consolidate international solidarity of the youth in its struggle for social progress and disarmament.

The role of parliaments and of their individual members and deputies in the struggle for peace and fruitful international cooperation is discussed by another roundtable conference.

Its participants are accentuating the importance of international and bilateral cooperation of parliaments, especially between parliaments of countries with different systems. Such solidarity enhances detente and consolidates international solidarity of the struggle for happiness of mankind and against cold war forces and forces of reaction.

A roundtable conference, attended by writers and painters, discussed the role and tasks of artists in the world peace movement. It was recalled that the first congress of intellectuals who wanted to defend peace had been held in Wroclaw. Since that time the world intellectuals have actively participated in all initiatives of the world peace movement. Writers throughout the world did a lot to awake the nations' conscience at the time of the war in Vietnam. Also nowadays, when civil liberties are brutally destroyed and facsimism is beginning to reign in Chile and in some other countries of South America and Africa, the writers have much to do to change the situation.

During a roundtable conference scientists taking part in the Warsaw assembly are discussing forms of active participation of the world of science in the process of building lasting peace. They are discussing relations between various spheres of science and social life and the contribution of science to the improvement of human living conditions. The scientists are also discussing the forms of utilization of science for aims contradictory with peace and human progress.

The topic of a successive conference is the role of the believers in the global struggle for peace, justice and advancement. The representatives of various religious organizations and circles from many European, Asian, African, and American countries stress that believers constitute an important and integral part of all these forces which strive for the consolidation of peaceful order in the world and free development of every man (?regardless) of race, social membership and religion. The delegates point out the necessity of uniting all Christian efforts and those of other creeds in the realization of the lofty ideals of contemporaneity.

Trade union activists of varying affiliations and political orientations came together for a roundtable conference to take up issues of vital importance to the working people in various parts of the world. Despite the divisions in the world trade union movement, the participants in the conference said, this movement is united by the goals of the struggle for peace and disarmament, social progress, democratic freedoms and respect for human rights.

On the third day of the Warsaw meeting of the world assembly, further international commissions resumed work. One of them deals with the consistent combating of all manifestations of racism and discrimination. This is one of the chief directions of actions of the world peace builders' movement. The participants in the discussion, referring to concrete examples, firmly condemned racism and called on world public opinion to decisively oppose this shameful phenomenon of our times.

The commission on natural environment also started work today and discussed problems of the preservation of world natural resources and the conservation of man's environment. These problems cannot be viewed and solved on one country's or even a regional scale. They must be solved on the global scale, which calls for cooperation of all the countries of the world.

Intercontinental meetings of the participants in the world assembly started in Warsaw today. A meeting of representatives of peace committees and movements of the Asian continent, Australia, and New Zealand was held. After the conclusion of war in Indochina and the creation of a unified, socialist Vietnam, stressed the participants in the meeting, the possibilities of consolidation of peace in that part of the world and expansion of all-round regional cooperation have become real. But forces of imperialism continue to strive for maintaining their positions of the Asian continent. The liquidation of foreign bases, the transformation of the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and the extension of the process of detente onto the Asian continent would constitute an important factor towards ensuring lasting peace and security in that part of our globe, stressed the participants in the meeting.

Problems of deepening the process of detente and development of cooperation between state signatories to the CSCE Final Act were discussed at a meeting of delegates from Europe, Canada, and the U.S. The discussion centered on the ways of all-round realization of the Helsinki Final Act and the necessity of complementing political detente with military detente. The delegates spoke of specific tasks facing peace organizations and public opinion on this continent in the process of consolidating confidence in international relations and tightening friendly cooperation among nations.

The participants in a continental meeting devoted to problems of Latin America stressed that the struggle for peace and social justice in countries of that continent is for them, above all, the struggle against imperialism, economic penetration and domination of foreign monopolies and the struggle for full national sovereignty and economic independence.

Representatives of African countries discussed during another continental meeting a draft resolution condemning the schemings of imperialist forces against various countries and nations of that continent. They also discussed the current situation in Zaire and in the Sahara Zone.

Present-Day Key Questions

Warsaw PAP in English 2116 GMT 8 May 77 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 8 May (PAP)--The World Assembly of Builders of Peace has discussed key questions of the present day: checking of the arms race and disarmament, development of economic cooperation, European security, problems of peace in the Middle East, solidarity with the struggle against colonialism and apartheid and the role of the nonaligned states in the consolidation of peace, human rights, and the struggle against neofascism. Taking the floor during the discussions, representatives of national peace committees, scientists, artists and activists of international organizations expressed support for and approved of everything that promotes the betterment of the world atmosphere and the consolidation of the processes of peaceful coexistence. They also spoke about troubles and concerns of the inhabitants of our planet, about the fears aroused by the arms race, international conflicts, attempts to check the progress of detente and interference into internal affairs of states which have just gained independence.

The most important question of the present day is how to put an end to the arms race, which not only eats up some 300 billion dollars per annum but also--undermining mutual confidence in international relations--poses a serious threat to world peace.

The many-year experience of disarmament negotiations shows that the conclusion of agreements on halting the arms race is possible despite the difficulties encountered before every successive agreement. The constantly growing activeness of social forces in favour of the construction of international security and peace is an important factor in overcoming these difficulties and of advancing disarmament negotiations.

Special stress was put on the importance and necessity of disarmament solutions in Central Europe, where large forces are concentrated. Their reduction would exert a positive influence upon the strengthening of security not only on a regional scale but also all over the world.

Many of the delegates spoke with appreciation about the role of the USSR and other socialist countries, which, over the recent years, forwarded over 70 proposals concerning detente and [related issues] corresponding to the real needs and strivings of mankind.

It was stressed that the task of builders of peace was to make efforts to reach universal and complete disarmament and to isolate forces opposing disarmament.

International economic development is impossible without lasting peace--this was also the leitmotif of the (?deliberations). The participants spoke about the crisis of the capitalist economy which at the same time affects the development of world economy as well as about economic relations among all the countries.

The capitalist system of economy caused (?raging) inflation of currencies which play a key role in international payments. This caused sudden fluctuations of prices on world markets and seriously disturbed world trade. International trade can hardly gain by all kinds of limitations and artificial barriers, which slow down the development of international cooperation.

These phenomena have an adverse influence on the economic situation in many countries, especially in the developing ones. For this reason it is necessary to establish a new international economic order. The economic situation of the developing countries is, after all, the result of long-lasting colonial rule and imperialist exploitation.

The liquidation of economic backwardness calls for the elimination of the influence of imperialism and neocolonialism. That is why numerous developing countries established close cooperation with the socialist countries. It was pointed out that a rational and just division of labour is the basic condition of the introduction of a new international economic order. This would offer every state an opportunity to participate in world trade on the basis of full equality.

Peace must be the key to interhuman relations, said one of the speakers, and this statement could be the motto of the discussion. Peace (?is) connected with the process of detente and is a difficult construction.

The participants in the debate quoted many examples of proper implementation of the decisions of the CSCE. However, it is still a long way to the goals. It was pointed out that some Western circles want to disturb the spirit of Helsinki and launch anti-Soviet and antisocialist campaigns. However, the intensification of the activities of the reactionary forces should not put one into a pessimistic frame of mind--instead it should stimulate all the progressive people to greater activeness, to taking up new initiatives towards making detente irreversible.

Peace is indivisible, and without a just and final regulation of all the Middle East problems there can be no lasting peace worldwide. Most speakers were of the opinion that the resumption of the Geneva peace conference was the best means to achieve this aim.

Attention was focused on the current national-liberation struggle of people of various continents and on various forms of violence perpetrated by the world imperialist forces. On behalf of Africa, torn by conflicts, the floor was taken by representatives of the countries which have already gained independence and of those which still have to fight for it.

The speakers emphasized the immense importance of the moral and material assistance granted to the struggling peoples by the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular. They also pointed to the common interests of the African people and the fighting people of Latin America and Asia.

The idea of nonalignment, which turned into an important, mass political movement embracing some 90 states, played a significant part in the acceleration of processes of decolonization as well as in nipping in the bud many imperialist attempts to strangle national liberation movements.

Delegates pointed to the role played by the movement of nonalignment in the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, against the threat of the outbreak of another war. Beside political problems economic questions were also in the focus of attention of the nonaligned countries--the speeding up of the process of liberating young states from the supervision of foreign monopolies and multinational corporations and the establishment of a new international economic order. The delegates stressed the necessity to oppose imperialist policy of destabilization and [?to support a policy] of resting international economic system on the principles of equality and partnership.

They also stressed the convergence of interests of the socialist and nonaligned states in the struggle for detente, peace and disarmament.

The course of the discussions demonstrated strongly how much remains to be done on our planet in the realm of the basic, the most elementary human rights. It demonstrated that the countries in which the people really enjoy the rights and liberties due to them are few and far between.

Shocking instances of terror, torture, breaking down of minds and characters, taking away of rights and land and deprivation of work--cited by delegates of Senegal, Chile, Haiti, Palestine, Northern Ireland, West Germany, Bolivia or Australia--make it clear who, where and what social forces are responsible for those inglorious practices. These facts are a resolute accusation of colonialism and neocolonialism--the present-day varieties of fascism--they accuse imperialism.

At the same time, the discussion has shown the magnitude of falsehood and hypocrisy and cold-blooded anticommunist calculation behind the rapid campaign of slanderous charges about alleged violations of human rights in the countries of the socialist community recently launched by some Western circles.

The speakers in the debates, dealing with various aspects of the struggle against fascism and neofascism, voiced unanimous opinion that decisive opposition to all sorts of attempts at fascistization of life, and at the same time the deepening of the unity and solidarity of the democratic progressive forces, was one of the most important imperatives of today.

It was no coincidence that at the time of the 32nd anniversary of the victory over Hitlerism and Japanese militarism, the speakers, including veterans of World War Two and former inmates of Nazi concentration camps, pointed to the immensity of the tragedy brought to mankind by fascism. It was recalled that--mainly due to the powerful socialist commonwealth--Europe, being for centuries a hotbed of armed conflicts, has been a continent of peace for 32 years.

The hotbeds of neofascism emerge when imperialism feels especially endangered. For this reason world public opinion should carefully observe and decisively counteract the processes of rebirth of fascism, racial intolerance, reactionism and outright violation of human rights.

The speakers pointed to the situation in Latin America, stressing the influence of monopolies, large international corporations and industrial-military complexes on poisoning international atmosphere and fascistization of life in various countries of this continent. Chilean fascism is the best example of this.

The debates concentrated also on the diversity of forms in which fascism manifests itself today in various parts of the world as well as on historical, political-social economic-cultural background, from which neofascist tendencies, perilous for all mankind, stem. Thus, of growing importance is today a consistent struggle for social progress, development of international cooperation and the struggle for durable and irreversible peace all over the world.

African Peace Committees, Movements

Warsaw PAP in English 2330 GMT 8 May 77 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 8 May (PAP)--At the World Assembly of Builders of Peace, held in Warsaw since Friday, a meeting was held today of representatives of peace committees and movements from Africa.

Discussing the situation on the continent, the participants condemned imperialist forces which seek, by all means, to stifle the struggle by nations for peace and progress. It was stressed with satisfaction that colonialism suffered a historic defeat in Africa owing to the rise of social and political movements fighting for full independence of the nations.

The participants pointed to the threat peace created by increasing involvement of imperialist forces in Zaire. They condemned those Western and African countries which sent troops to Zaire and they also called for putting an end to foreign intervention in Shaba Province.

The recruitment of mercenaries for direct intervention against progressive countries of Africa and other continents was strongly criticized at the meeting.

An appeal was launched to organize African unity for comprehensive support for the people of the French Territory of Afars and Issas in their striving for independence.

The conspiracy of reactionary and imperialist forces which try to destroy the achievements of the revolutionary authorities of Ethiopia was condemned by the participants. They expressed their solidarity with the people of Ethiopia in their struggle against feudalism and imperialism and they appealed for opposing those forces which seek to violate territorial integrity of Ethiopia.

Social and political activists of Africa expressed their support for the struggle of the front for independence of Western Sahara (Polisario).

Detente, Cooperation Discussed

Warsaw PAP in English 2336 GMT 8 May 77 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 8 May (PAP)--At the World Assembly of Builders of Peace, held in Warsaw since Friday, a meeting was held today by delegates from Europe, Canada and the U.S. devoted to questions of deepening detente and developing the cooperation between 35 countries--signatories to the CSCE Final Act.

The discussion focused on concrete issues of strengthening the security on our continent, which had twice been a hotbed of world war and which today serves as an example for other regions. It was the European nations, together with the U.S. and Canada which, by signing the Helsinki act, created institutional bases for peace and cooperation between countries with different social systems. However, at the same time, there is the greatest concentration of troops and armaments in Europe, it was stressed. That is why it is indispensable to supplement and enrich political detente with military detente. The special attention was drawn in this context to the Vienna negotiations on reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The need was stressed in the discussion for further development of economic and cultural cooperation among the European countries, Canada and the U.S. so as to create a lasting, material infrastructure of detente and peace. The participants spoke with appreciation about the Soviet proposal to convene all-European conferences at which to take concrete steps in cooperation in energy, transport and environmental protection.

The tasks facing the organizations fighting for peace and European public opinion in the process of strengthening the confidence in international relations were also taken up during the discussion, several resolutions were adopted, one of them on Cyprus.

Peace Forum Review

Warsaw PAP in English 1600 GMT 9 May 77 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 9 May (PAP)--Reviewing in an all-round way the current situation in various parts of the world, the participants of the World Assembly of Builders of Peace stressed that the most important task of the forces of peace was to make detente irreversible.

The elimination of war as a means of solving problems in international relations--said participants in the assembly referring to the 32nd anniversary of the victory over fascism--will be a realization of the political will of millions of people who perished in World War Two.

Delegates heard a loud voice of all those representatives of the world nations, who understand well what a priceless good to mankind lasting peace is and who are fully aware of the immensity of responsibility shouldered in this connection by members of national representative assemblies--by those who "make laws." This latter question was thus commented on by deputy to the Polish Sejm (parliament), vice-chairman of the Polish Peace Committee, Michal Grenda: "Your electors entrusted us with mandates and confidence that we will spare no effort for the cause of peace, detente and international cooperation.

It was proposed to convene a world conference of parliamentarians in favour of arms reduction and universal disarmament and to organize in world parliaments--wherever necessary--"peace pressure groups" which would come out especially against nuclear armaments and against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and which would make the public opinion of their countries aware of all the ominous consequences of the unbridled arms race. Another, extremely important, line of parliamentarians' activity in favour of peace is the creation of a suitable international climate serving for better mutual knowledge and understanding of nations.

Most of the trade unionists focused their attention on local problems of the trade union movement. All the speakers stressed, however, a great significance of international solidarity of trade unionists for the building and preservation of world peace. All peace-loving working people of Western countries should exert a stronger pressure on their governments to make more vigorous efforts towards disarmament and isolation of fascist and racist regimes.

In the face of a common threat of war and a common goal of preserving peace in the world, the international trade union organization should concentrate on that which unites them.

The necessity to increase the vigilance of trade unionists against all forces of aggression and cold war was also stressed.

The representatives of women from all the continents participating in the Warsaw assembly regard themselves as spokesmen not only for the rights of their sex but also for the rights of the people in general as well as the rights of children whom women are the first to defend. They blame unanimously imperialist states and superpowers for inequalities existing in the world, for hotbeds of cold war, and for outright violence. They voiced unanimous solidarity with the women of all nations and of all continents in opposing forces hostile to mankind till complete victory of world peace [is achieved]. They believe that progressive movements will not permit the world to turn into an arsenal of arms and that the voice from Warsaw will be taken under consideration in all discussions on international security.

Several dozen youngest participants in the assembly took up in their contributions weighty issues concerning the younger generation. All of them spoke for peace, security, and international cooperation.

Stressing that there exists an active tie between the cause of peace and the issues relevant to the younger generation--such as access to education, the right to employment and an active participation in social and political life--the speakers outlined the achievements scored along this road by the progressive youth movement and formulated the tasks facing this movement in the future.

It followed clearly from the statements by all the speakers that the struggle for political and social rights of the youth is inextricably connected with the activity in favour of building durable peace and international cooperation.

The participants in the assembly also deliberated on how to unite all the believers of various denominations around the common cause of international detente and disarmament. The believers, the speakers stressed, have a common groundwork on which to build peace. This groundwork is love for the human beings which unites all. Another topic discussed was, how to cooperate with laymen in order to better use all the available means and forces in favour of detente and peace.

The participants appealed to the believers around the world to take an active part in the struggle for durable peace, security, and the development of international cooperation.

The scientists from various continents debated on the forms of active participation of the world of science in the process of building lasting peace. They deliberated, among other matters, on the relations between various fields of science and social life and the impact of science on the improvement of living conditions. They spoke with concern of the potential threat connected with exploitation for goals incompatible with goals of peace and progress.

Knowledge is an all-human good, it was stressed in the debates. The sense of responsibility for the fate of one's country should be connected at present with

the sense of coresponsibility for the destinies of the world at large. This responsibility is and has to be a prerequisite of the attitudes taken by all the scientists in their choice of problematical research ways of solving it and ways of employing the results of the research.

The participants in the assembly pointed up that the development of science and technology had furnished a material groundwork for social progress. The world of science should do all in its power to prevent the use of research results against mankind. Science, they stressed, should serve man and not aim at destroying him.

All statements by the writers, artists, painters, people of the theatre and musicians reflected their deep sense of responsibility for the social and political shape of their motherlands and for the relations existing in the world. Art is an effective weapon in consolidating progressive ideas, but it has not been used sufficiently yet, it was stated.

The debaters put forth several proposals which could, in their view, contribute to expanding the beneficial influence of art, by pooling the efforts of the people of good will. They proposed to hold a world competition of poetry named after the great fighter for peace and social justice, Pablo Neruda, and to open a permanent fine arts exhibition salon named after Pablo Picasso.

The artists need a permanent confrontation on a world scale to involve works representing all disciplines of art from literature to music, works which convey humanitarian contents in the most suggestive and perfect form.

A detailed proposal was made to set up a world cultural centre, The World Unity Act. It was also proposed to establish a world periodical to provide a forum for discussions on progressive literature, arts and culture and to publish the best examples of such creative activities. The language of art is a universal language which facilitates cooperation and exchanges of experience, it was underscored.

CSO: 2020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSSR PRESS CHIEF ON FULFILLMENT OF HELSINKI PRINCIPLES

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 20, 18 May 77 pp 6-7

[Interview with the chief of the press department of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Milan Kadnar, by Michal Stasz: "Our Contribution"]

[Text] In recent weeks it has been said often--and legitimately--that the process of detente was progressing successfully, peaceful cooperation of countries with different social systems was being consolidated and the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki was proceeding in essence successfully in Europe. In the priority area--in the solution of the question of mankind's life or death, i.e., the problem of peace or war--the socialist countries, among them also Czechoslovakia, have been doing everything to make the years after the Helsinki Conference the first years of a really lasting peace. Those are the fundamental facts and the development, considered from the global viewpoint, is unambiguously favorable.

However, in Europe's symphony, whose first measures sounded when the ministers of foreign affairs agreed on the convocation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation, many disturbing tones are penetrating into that initial harmony. They have been sounded primarily by the Western mass communications media, as well as by some Western politicians, who, by their twisted interpretation of the spirit or of the letter, or of the spirit and the letter of the Final Act, are fabricating and spreading false accusations against the socialist countries.

As is known, they have not spared Czechoslovakia, either. In order to present the situation as accurately as possible, we requested an interview with the chief of the press department at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the CSSR, Dr Milan Kadnar, ScC, in which he explained, on the one hand, the background of the anti-Czechoslovak campaigns and the fallacy of Western arguments, and, on the other hand, he outlined the initiative steps of our foreign policy, which is contributing toward the implementation of the Final Act in its daily political and diplomatic practice in the spirit of the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, as are other fraternal countries.

[Question] Lately one cannot complain that the bourgeois press is ignoring the CSSR. Last time M. Seeger, the Bonn correspondent of the U.S. daily INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, which is published in Paris, "noticed" us early in April. He wrote in his article, among other things, that in contradiction to the Final Act, the work of foreign journalists in the CSSR was being obstructed, in his words, even more than in other socialist countries. Well what is the real story? Whose work is being obstructed in our country?

[Answer] Let the facts speak for themselves: 6,000 foreign journalists, 2,000 of them from the capitalist countries come to our country every year. I am familiar with comparable figures from the other socialist countries, and I can say that we are in the forefront among the socialist countries as concerns the number of persons visiting our country as journalists, or of those who claim to be journalists-tourists, which by the way is in contradiction to the regulations valid in our republic. Also, the trend of entry visas issued for visits of foreign journalists in our country is increasing. For instance, as I mentioned, in all of 1976 we admitted 2,000 capitalist journalists and in the first quarter of 1977 already roughly 1,000 journalists; however, only about 250 of them presented themselves as journalists, while the rest came as "tourists." Again we stress that more of them abused their tourist visa; we had to expel some journalists from France, Sweden and the German Federal Republic for falsifying data in their passports and in filling out the visa questionnaires. As for their complaint that their opportunities are limited here more than in other socialist countries, I can say that in every socialist country they have made the same allegation. That has been their old, notorious strategy to attempt to stir up antagonism among socialist countries.

The opportunities for obtaining information in the CSSR are extensive. Our policy is the open doors policy. Naturally, there are restrictions for those of whom we know that they are coming with special assignments, upon the authorization of secret service or other organizations.

On principle: the Helsinki Conference was not held so that a few journalists could create sensational news or so that the subversive centers could operate unhampered. It took place in order to consolidate the cause of peace, to put an end to World War II, and to prevent the creation of preconditions for another war. If we put on one dish of scales the interests of subversive centers and on the other the interests of stability in Europe, they will tip clearly in favor of such stability and in support of our activity aimed at the liquidation of all efforts to subvert our social system and of the attempts whose purpose is to provoke unrest.

[Question] If one follows the Western press, one could get an impression that the foreign press from the capitalist countries is writing nothing but negative reports about us. Is that impression correct or accurate if the coverage of our country is considered in its entire scope?

[Answer] No. First of all: in our country sometimes the impression that the world is writing only about Czechoslovakia predominates. Of course, it is not so. We are a country of an average importance but far from foremost significance. Secondly, we are monitoring the coverage and broadcasts about the CSSR from all over the world and one must keep in mind there that in absolute figures, the West, the so-called Western world, is in the minority among mankind. Following an analysis made with the assistance of our representative agencies and various published materials from all over the world, we may say with complete responsibility that four-fifths of approximately 150 countries in the world have been reporting about us positively or--if we are too distant for them--have not written about us. Moreover, we have a great amount of positive materials about Czechoslovakia published, for instance, even by the press in the North Atlantic Pact countries, when responsible commentators, who were not obligated to other masters to sling nothing but mud at our republic, visited our country. There are many favorable statements, such as, for example, in Italy's PAESE SERA, that the CSSR is "an island of happiness and prosperity" or that "in the last 50 years in Czechoslovakia the Czechs and Slovaks never lived as well as they do not," as an Austrian journalists reported in SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN. Or, following his visit in Czechoslovakia late last year Alfred Mayerle of BAYERISCHER RUNDFUNK broadcast a program in which he stated that "the life in Prague and in Bratislava is pulsating as in any other large European cities--those cities have something to offer to their visitors. In Prague one meets Germans from the German Federal Republic who once used to work in Prague as representatives of West German enterprises and institutions; then they retired and settled in Prague permanently because they would not give up the life in that city." Mayerle further stated that "all the citizens of Czechoslovakia are employed and receiving regular income; much has been done for them. Sometimes, at least so it may seem, it may be entirely too much." He enumerated great many advantages of all sorts enjoyed by our citizens, which our people are taking for granted but which, on the other hand, are far from being granted to the citizens of a capitalist country. Another example of positive coverage of the CSSR is the article "From Prague to Kosice" by the West German journalist Hans Dietz of DIE BRUECKE magazine: "The living standard in the CSSR is relatively high in comparison with most other countries. Social benefits, beginning with fabulously high allowances for children up to the age required for retirement which has been reduced to 60 years and everything in between, do not appear to be imperiled. Expectant mothers and small children have determined the character of the street. They are speaking of a population explosion here, and rightly so. One of the symptoms of the development in the CSSR is this specific characteristic: Slovakia's progress as an equal partner of the Czech lands. The visitor is quite surprised at the high level of the unified agricultural cooperatives, no matter whether it is a cooperative in Moravia or one far behind Kosice on the Soviet border. Any visitor to such a cooperative is surprised at the efficiency and achievements in the area of production as well as the cooperative farmers' wages. However, 'farmer'--that is not an accurate expression; this concerns workers and officials with narrow specialization and qualification for their work." I could continue in presenting quotations which highly praise the socialist development and our achievements.

[Question] Despite such examples, when one travels in West European countries one gets the impression that the residents there are much less informed about the life in our country than our citizens are about the situation in the West. Therefore, are the critics right when they allege that Western journalists are lacking an access to information in our country?

[Answer] We are not obstructing their access to information. On the contrary, many of our responsible partners agree that we offer them interviews on such a level and of such a quality as are rarely accessible on a reciprocal basis to our journalists in the West. However, this concerns a tendentious policy of publishing houses and editorial boards as well as the style of coverage. In the West an adverse, negative piece of information about socialism means in essence a good story from the viewpoint of publicity. Moreover, the kind of periodical press which cannot be called newspaper but rather tabloid is most widely read and sold in those countries. Such tabloids on principle and intentionally do not include any serious information about our countries. One cannot say that all of them are uninformed, because many foreign visitors are coming to our country. In general, however, the correct answer will be that the so-called average citizen in the West is basically much less objectively informed about our realities than our citizen is about the West, which is a result of such an extended anticommunist policy of most of the mass communications media and of the forces behind them.

[Question] You mentioned foreign visitors in our country. One of the methods of direct information about the actual life in our country is precisely the passive type of tourism--the visitors from abroad. What is their number at present? As we may recall, their number increased in recent years, so to say, disproportionately. Has there been any decline in the number of visitors?

[Answer] As accurate figures indicate, the trends of travel to our republic as well as of our people's travel abroad are increasing. The latest available data concerning about 13.5 million visitors in the CSSR--which set a record some time ago--are already inaccurate, because in 1976 17 million visitors came to our republic, which is more than its total population, while the number of our citizens traveling abroad was over 7 million; which in essence means that every other citizen traveled abroad once a year.

However, because I am also aware of our opponents' arguments, I must add immediately that the flow of Western visitors to our country and vice versa is considerable. About 1,500,000 persons come annually to our country from the West and 300-400 thousand of our citizens travel in the West. If we compare, for example, the 60 million population of the German Federal Republic and the 15 million population of the CSSR with the number of travelers in those countries on reciprocal basis, in other words, 350 thousand of the GFR citizens in the CSSR and 80 thousand of our citizens in the GFR, we can see that if we convert that in the so-called "person-day" our citizens spent twice as many days in the GFR than vice versa.

[Question] Increased tourism and personal exchange are interpreted differently by different countries. As is known, however, a reunion, that has

very little in common with tourism, is being organized in the neighboring Austria. It concerns a so-called traditional meeting of the members of the Sudeten German national organization. On the ground of the Federal Assembly, Comrade Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs of the CSSR, assumed an unequivocal position to such a revanchist reunion when he pointed out that threats addressed to the CSSR had always been uttered at previous reunions. What is the attitude of the Austrian democratic circles to that reunion, which might become a serious obstacle to the favorable development of our neighborly relations?

[Answer] The democratic and progressive circles unambiguously expressed their attitude against organizing such an action which would impair good relations, aid the germs of neofascism and resurrect the spirit of the brown plague. The official circles issued some time ago a definite statement, which, in a way, attempted to diminish the significance of the organization of that reunion.

[Question] Neighboring countries should strive for the best possible mutual relations, although just the opposite frequently occurred in history. How could our mutual relations with Austria be defined? It appears that Austria is one of those few countries, if not the only country, with which no joint solution could be reached.

[Answer] It is true that at one time, for a period of about 20 years, no joint solution could be found. However, after the ascension of the new leadership in the CSSR in 1969 and because of the coordinated peace policy of the socialist countries which has led us also to Helsinki, Czechoslovakia participated actively in the process of relaxation in Europe, developed new initiative and, even as Austria is concerned, some historical breakdowns and changes for the better took place. Let us mention the visit of our foreign minister in Austria and the agreements signed there, Austrian chancellor, Bruno Kreisky's, visit in our country upon Comrade Lubomir Strougal's invitation and the signing of several agreements which contributed to the development of improved relations and understanding, satisfaction with common borders, and so on. Of course, the attacks by the communications media against us continued and still are going on. At present it may be said that our relations with Austria have cooled off to a certain degree. Nevertheless, I believe that the positive development, the balance of the forces in the world, realism and statesmen's wisdom, which cannot be denied to the leading representatives of Austria, will be able to push certain opportunistic matters into the background.

[Question] After the years of crisis, the circles of our enemies maintained that nobody would shake hands with any Czechoslovak diplomat for the next 20 years. What would you say about that now, as you are preparing for the meeting of the signatories of the Final Act in Belgrade? Shall we go to Belgrade, which, by the way, is a result of our own initiative in Helsinki, as some kind of diplomatic and international political outsiders?

[Answer] As a solid part of countries of the socialist community and an advanced country of 15,000,000, Czechoslovakia cannot be an outsider in international relations, because those realities in themselves are extremely

important. Moreover, I would rather reply with the language of facts to those who are feeling "uneasiness" over the fate of the Czechoslovak foreign policy and to those who predicted international isolation. In 1968 we had diplomatic relations with 81 countries, in 1970 with 90 countries, in 1973 with 94 countries, and today we are maintaining diplomatic relations with 119 countries on all continents. That is a specific expression of our country's international prestige, because countries have mutually recognized each other diplomatically after they had recognized each other's prestige. Also, the number of international agreements concluded by the CSSR is rising. For example, in 1968 142 bilateral and multilateral agreements were concluded, while in 1975 there were as many as 305. In the 20 years of its existence the bourgeois Czechoslovakia signed about 240 bilateral and multilateral agreements, which means less than the socialist Czechoslovakia has signed now in one single year. And again for comparison, in the 26 years after the war Czechoslovakia concluded 1,200 bilateral and multilateral agreements, but in the last 3 years 1974-1976 we have signed as many as that. That proves the intensive and dynamic development of that activity. A similar situation is evident also in the area of our contacts. Whereas once we had approximately 120 political visits and consultations in 20 years, now we have the same number of such actions in one or two years. This proves how intensively our republic has participated in the creation of a solid cloth, of the web of international relations which would provide a base, a support and a solid building that might be extended even further.

[Photo caption] Our policy is the policy of open doors: last year 6,000 foreign journalists and more than 17,000,000 foreign tourists visited our country.

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ALBANIA

SHORTCOMINGS IN THE STUDY OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Feb 77 pp 41-52

[Article by Sevo Tarifa: "The Study and Application of Marxism-Leninism in Close Conjunction With the Party's Teachings and With Life Is a Principal and Permanent Duty"]

[Text] The creation of our new man with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and revolutionary consciousness is one of the greatest victories won the epoch of the party.

The party has always devoted the greatest care to this problem because the arming of party members and the working class and all the working masses with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism--their revolutionary annealing--is an indispensable condition for the uninterrupted development of the revolution and for bringing it to its conclusion. Invincible revolutionary men with a deep conviction of the revolution's righteousness and ultimate triumph are needed to make this revolution. And they become invincible by properly mastering the ideological weapon, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory: The ideas, principles and teachings of Marxism-Leninism illuminate the path of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party so that they may move forward incessantly and emerge ever victorious in the long and difficult struggle for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of a new classless society.

Marxist-Leninist theory arms our working class, its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, and all the working masses with a knowledge of the general laws of the development of society, the revolution, and the construction of socialism. By studying and assimilating as much as possible the laws which Marxist-Leninist science illuminates for us, we are properly armed and enabled to understand, apply, and conduct correctly and resolutely the all-around class struggle against external and internal enemies, against imperialism and revisionism, so as to become inflexible fighters for the defense of Marxism-Leninism. The better we are armed ideologically as revolutionaries, the more difficult will it be for our enemies to find ground for sowing the bad seeds of their ideology, against which no one is or can be immunized, for although socialist ideology prevails with us on the national scale, this does

not mean that we are guaranteed against every evil. The struggle between the two courses of development--the socialist and the capitalist--continues, and that struggle is going on in the consciousness of men, which is not something petrified, immobile, or shaped and worked out once and for all. Consciousness undergoes either positive or negative changes, but it is never shaped in an ideological vacuum, nor can it be. It depends upon which ideology nurtures and anneals it. Only if it is nurtured daily, at every moment, with proletarian ideology will the consciousness remain revolutionary and the possibility be created for laying the foundation of an active immunity against alien ideology.

Marxist-Leninist science blends the materialistic world outlook with the dialectic method of viewing and interpreting the phenomena and processes of development taking place in nature and in society. Therefore, "the study of Marxist-Leninist science," Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "is the only way to explain correctly the phenomena and facts of life, the only way to clarify the present and illuminate the prospective future." (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches," 1970-1971, p 110). Through this study we learn to judge the phenomena of social development from a materialistic position and in a dialectical manner, to see them always in movement, in development and in constant change, and to fight actively against the old and reactionary and open up ways for the new and revolutionary.

The Seventh Party Congress posed a number of important problems relating to the present development of the class struggle on the national and international scale, to the full construction of socialism in our country, and to the defense of the fatherland the victories of the revolution. It also set a number of objectives to be attained. The correct solution of these complex problems which we face, the attainment of the objectives set at that congress, and the successful handling of the great tasks entrusted to us require all of us, communists, cadres, and workers, to study, assimilate and apply continually Marxist-Leninist science in close conjunction with the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, and in close conjunction with the problems raised by life, by our revolutionary practice.

Our Party's Teachings Are Marxism-Leninism in Operation

The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are an incalculable treasure for the communists and workers of our country. They reflect the revolutionary world outlook of the proletariat, the revolutionary theory of scientific communism, and the general laws of Marxism-Leninism. As such, they form the basis for shaping the new man. Hence, our party has constantly taught us to study the classics of Marxism-Leninism, since we find in them the fundamental ideas and principles and the scientific Marxist-Leninist methods which orient us and inspire us in the fight for socialism and communism. In the future, too, the direct study of the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics remain an inexhaustible treasure for us. Comrade Enver Hoxha enjoins that "you must absolutely study Marx and Lenin, even keep them under your pillow, consult them constantly so that they too may help you" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches," 1967-1968, p 101).

When we say that Marxism-Leninism is our compass we do not mean that we should find in it readymade recipes for solving the concrete problems of our country. Marxist-Leninist theory lights the way for us, teaches us the universal laws and fundamental principles, gives us keys, while for the solution of our problems, which are dictated to us by reality and by our life, the party enjoins us to be creative, wrack our brains and act in conformity with our country's real conditions. From the Marxist-Leninist classics our party draws lessons and conclusions, and works out problems and tasks that are capable of execution under the concrete conditions of our country. This testifies, among other things, to the creative character of Marxism-Leninism, which has originated in, and is developing and being enriched by, revolutionary practice; and, on the other hand, to the creative ability of our party, which successfully applies Marxism-Leninism on Albanian soil by taking into account the work of our people, their feelings and world outlook, and their political and ideological level.

Precisely therein lies one of the peculiarities of our party and one of the merits of Comrade Enver Hoxha; namely, that they have never considered Marxism-Leninism as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Ever since its founding the party has clearly understood that it could not wait to study theory until after it had acted. On the contrary, it launched at once into revolutionary actions and, in the midst of them, in the flames of battle, it has assimilated Marxist-Leninist theory more thoroughly, applying, enriching and developing it further in a creative manner.

Our life and revolutionary experience are full of facts that show that our party's teachings and documents and Comrade Enver Hoxha's works are Marxism-Leninism in action under our country's concrete conditions. We see this in the various directions taken by the revolution and our socialist construction. Our party has advanced and is advancing over untrodden paths, elaborating and carefully applying Marxist-Leninist science, the laws, principles and demands of which have always been the foundation of our party's documents and activities. As Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized once more at the Seventh Party Congress, "Our party has marched and will march along this road. It has not placed, nor will it place, anything ahead of Marxism-Leninism." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 284). Because it has always done so, our party's documents, synthesizing the great experience of our revolution, the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, the fight for the construction of socialism, and the uncompromising and principled fight against imperialism and modern revisionism, especially the Yugoslav and Soviet kind, are pervaded from end to end by unbounded loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, by the consistent ideological fight to defend it against bourgeois and revisionist distortions, and by thorough scientific analyses in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory in close conjunction with our revolutionary practice.

It is for these reasons that we study with special care not only the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also the materials and documents of our party and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. This is necessary because, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the Seventh Party Congress, the study of

the classics "is full and fruitful when done in close conjunction with our party's teachings, with the study of its documents reflecting the creative application of the universal laws and principles of Marxism-Leninism under the conditions of Albania..." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 186), since it is our party, its experience, and its knowledge that teach us how to fight for the full construction of socialism and the defense of the fatherland so as to advance the revolution ever further. The knowledge of this revolutionary experience, the knowledge of our party's theoretical and scientific thinking reflected in its documents and in Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, is a prime task for all communists and workers of our country's young generation. Our party has gained this experience by applying Marxism-Leninism, assimilating in a critical manner the best of the revolutionary experience of the Bolsheviks and all Marxist-Leninists; it has gained it in a number of great class conflicts, especially in the struggle against modern revisionism. It is all-around experience that illuminates our way in all fields: political, ideological, economic, cultural, and so forth. The analysis of this colossal wealth and the studies, research, and actions on the basis of it, promote our development, which is illuminated by Marxist philosophy, and serve to educate us in the requirement to ground our work and activity in our party's experience, its teachings, and those of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

It is a fact that everywhere in our country a great and persistent effort is being made to study and assimilate the basis of the infallible theory of Marxism-Leninism. As a result, there are a good many party members and workers who have assimilated the theory well, orient their life by it, apply it carefully, and yet re-study it, learn throughout their lives to serve the party ever better, and thus become vanguards with respect to the raising of the political and ideological levels. Central in their concern are Comrade Enver Hoxha's words that "The party card obligates you morally, ideologically, and politically to be a man of the vanguard at work, in struggle, and especially for the cause which concerns us, the assimilation of knowledge" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches," 1965-1966, p 21). These communists and workers see the study of the party's teachings as a daily duty, as an indispensable necessity, as their permanent nourishment. Therefore, they do not wait for a task to be assigned to them or an order to be given them to study, but they study regularly both the current materials of our party and its other publications, and also the volumes in the series of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works which relate to the problems confronting them at work and in life. This has become a component part of their method of work.

The practice of thorough study is an example that must occupy an ever larger place in the daily activities of our workers, and particularly the communists, since in life we also encounter some cadres and some communists and workers who know theory, but do not get to the bottom of it; although they make inadequate attempts to enter more and more deeply into theory so as to assimilate it properly. Among them are also some who content themselves with what they have studied at school, and who feel self-complacent and even boast about what they know. But being content with little, with what has already been learned, keeps you at the same level, and consequently leaves you trailing behind in life.

Ideas such as "We have studied the party's documents and materials once; there is no reason for us to go over them again," which we find in some cadres, even communists, show that they suffer from intellectual conceit and a lack of ability to connect the new directives of the party with earlier ones. This has a negative effect both on their ideological molding and on their work, since it reduces their ability to confront and successfully solve their problems.

Also suffering from such weaknesses in their work are those who, in mastering the party's teachings and its theory, content themselves with a few things that they know superficially, which they have heard or picked up here and there, and yet do not strive to broaden their ideothoretical horizon and do not try to increase and deepen their knowledge. Such comrades do not progress beyond the surface of things, and fail to see things in their development; they display shallowness in judgment and appraisal, always say the same words, repeating themselves, have only practical knowledge, and are unable to make generalizations. Therefore, even when they encounter events and phenomena, they do not penetrate to their core, link the phenomena with one another, or draw conclusions. For example, they perceive alien ideological manifestations, but are unable to detect their causes properly, to foresee what course they will take, or to find ways and means to combat and remove them. Let us recall the harsh criticism which Comrade Enver Hoxha directed especially at this category of comrades some years ago in analyzing the problem of understanding and performing the task of paring down inflated staffs, in the fight against manifestations of bureaucratism. Depending upon the different ideothoretical levels of cadres and communists, some have understood this matter correctly and in time; some have not. Indeed, some of the latter have endeavored to put up "arguments" against making staff reductions. But there have also been cadres and communists who have associated themselves with the party's orientation towards the reduction of inflated staffs, but in discussions have been unable to treat the problem theoretically, and argue why unnecessary workers who have produced no material goods ought to be weeded out of our apparatuses and why we should constantly have as few nonproducing workers as possible in our administration, or to explain not only that those workers are producers of bureaucratic papers and all kinds of obstacles, but also that keeping them needlessly is a very great danger for the future of socialism. This is often also the case in practice concerning other urgent problems, where some cadres and communists, contenting themselves with the practical knowledge that they possess, do not go deeply into problems, and do not illuminate them from the theoretical perspective. But problems cannot be solved by people who are only practitioners, who possess some practical knowledge gleaned here and there, for this, as Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasizes, "...prevents them from making generalizations, drawing conclusions and inventing new forms and methods of party work, as a worker who knows his trade well innovates in a factory." (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches," 1965-1966, pp 332-333).

Much worse is the behavior, in particular, of those party members and workers, although few, who refuse to interest themselves at all in studying theory. Among these are individuals who do not touch books under various pretexts, such as "I am too busy," "I have passed that age," "I find it hard to study,"

and so on. These concepts are as detrimental as they are harmful. It is true that there are also difficulties in studying theory, but under our conditions these difficulties are greatly relieved by our socialist reality, by the innumerable means which the party has placed at the disposal of all people, and by our daily work and revolutionary practice, which equips one with the experience necessary to make the theory of Marxism-Leninism easy to grasp and comprehend. He who works well and does his duty with the fewest mistakes also knows well the laws, rules and norms of our society, which are leavened with Marxist-Leninist ideology. But this does not mean that we should content ourselves with practice only. It is necessary for everyone to increase his efforts to learn, and learn continually, the theory and teachings of our party, since errors in work will thus be avoided and we will not be taken by surprise by events, however unexpected, but will understand them and orient ourselves correctly in every situation.

Nothing can justify neglect of study, of work to raise the ideo-theoretical level. All, without exception, have the duty and need to learn, regardless of age, of standing in the party, of educational and cultural level, of vocation, of the sector in which they work, of their responsibility, and so forth. Some vainly attempt to justify themselves by bringing up lack of time as a pretext. As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "everyone can find time to study." But the reasons why some do not study differ. Many are characterized by a weak will to study, some others by practicality, while still others study and act in a dogmatic manner.

The vanguard, as ordered by the Seventh Party Congress, must strengthen their will to study individually, to raise continually their ideological and cultural level, understanding this as an imperative necessity. The party has created quite good conditions for communists and all the working masses to assimilate its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and the light-giving teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. But along with these conditions, which must be exploited as much as possible, the steeled will to study is also required, especially on the part of communists. It is incumbent upon them to be an example here, as in everything, for, as Comrade Enver Hoxha told the Seventh Party Congress, "the communist who is not interested in learning and broadening his horizon, who does not try to acquaint himself with and assimilate the party's rich experience, will fizzle out and not be equal to his duty as a vanguard fighter" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Congress, p 169).

Communists and cadres who do not study the party's teachings lag behind with regard to their theoretical level. This causes them to develop a narrow focus on practicality. As a consequence, at a time when great and urgent problems face them, they collapse before the wave of events and current questions of the day, do not stop to study the key problems and generalize from the experiences of the masses, do not notice the changes that occur, do not see far ahead, lose their perspective, fall into routine, and fall into ideological vacillation in certain situations. As they suffer from narrow practicality in their work, there is no longer any room for responsible activity, well studied and thought out in advance, but casualness,

subjectivism, solution of matters by "administrative" methods, the treatment of the party's directives and orientations as orders, and so forth--actions which do harm to the party work--result.

The problems and tasks set by the Seventh Party Congress and, in general, the problems raised by the present stage of our socialist construction cannot be dealt with in an empirical manner, merely with the experience gained, without associating it with serious and systematic study of theory in close conjunction with practice. The problems of the scientific management of the economy, and those of understanding and correctly conducting the class struggle in all fields, of coping with the fierce imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of self-reliance, of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, of augmenting the leading role of the party and the hegemonic role of the working class, of the party line, of the uncompromising fight against imperialism and modern revisionism, and so forth, make it more necessary than ever, not only for cadres and students, but for every worker, to be thoroughly familiar with these questions from the scientific side, to see how they appear under our concrete conditions, and to draw conclusions and tasks for the successful advancement of our work. This occurs when everyone arms himself daily with the party's ideology and the light-giving teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Study of Theory Is Not Done for the Sake of Erudition, but To Apply It in Life

The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made it clear to us that the study of theory is not an end in itself, that it is not done for the sake of "culture," or of "intellectual embellishment." It serves, and must serve still better, to strive practically in life, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to defend the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism.

Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed to the Seventh Party Congress, "...is learned in order to be applied in life, so that we may be guided by its principles in every action and judge everything in its spirit" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 167). It is clear from this injunction that the ideas of our party, its teachings and ideology, are not learned in order to satisfy one's curiosity, or merely to enrich and develop the intellect, but to be as useful as possible in life, to assist in performing the party's tasks as successfully as possible, and to develop conscientious revolutionaries capable of advancing the cause of socialism and communism in our country. The same is true of the value of the ideas and principles of Marxist-Leninist science when we convert them into material forces, being guided by them in life and using them as a basis for solving the problems confronting us. This occurs when the laws of Marxism-Leninism and the history of our party are not learned in an abstract, academic and bookish manner, but in close conjunction with life, with the revolutionary practice of the masses.

This has always characterized our party, which in all its activity has assimilated and creatively applied Marxism-Leninism in solving the great problems dictated by life, the revolution and socialist construction.

Similarly, it has constantly seen to it that its members, and all the masses, learn theory, but not in a dogmatic manner.

In dogmatism, as also in narrow practicality, the party has seen and continues to see a manifestation of subjectivism which does not allow one to see real life and base one's actions on it, but causes one to lean to abstract quotations and formulations, a mechanically copy and repeat phrases taken from books. It undoubtedly leads one to have a dogmatic conception even of the problems and phenomena encountered in life, to seek ready-made solutions, and to anticipate unrealizable things.

Taking the party's teachings in isolation from one another, various party and government cadres, for example, sometimes have interpreted and applied dogmatically the correct orientation that "the cadres are a party monopoly," violating the line of the masses and deciding themselves, without asking the collective, about the movement, appointment, and replacement of cadres.

A dogmatic interpretation of the party's correct orientations is also indicated by the cases of erroneous attitudes held by some in the conduct of the class struggle, who treat in a dogmatic manner the party's orientation that distinctions are to be made without losing vigilance toward the class enemy, and assume opportunistic attitudes toward enemy elements and their activity, just as they treat in a dogmatic manner the party's orientation about increasing revolutionary vigilance toward the class enemy, assume sectarian positions, and take to suspecting even those persons in their ranks who have some small, unimportant blemish in their biography, treating them as enemies along with some of our people who retain vestiges of alien ideologies.

The one-sided notions of some persons about their rights also indicate a dogmatic viewpoint. Mentioning them at every opportunity, with or without reason, and demanding fulfillment of them without reference to the conditions in which they work and live, to the real possibilities, or to the duties that they have to society, these persons do not link properly the party's teachings and Marxist-Leninist principles regarding the relationship between centralism and democracy, rights and duties, freedom and discipline, which they have learned from books, with the situations and the new requirements set by the present stage of the revolution.

To avoid these manifestations of dogmatism and successfully perform the tasks, the study of theory and the teachings of our party must be closely tied to practice and serve the purpose of launching into action, into revolutionary operation. This is what our party has always done; it has never separated theory from action. Another clear expression of this is the many revolutionary movements and initiatives that have burst forth within the working class and our working masses. Our people, in launching the fight to perform tasks on the various production fronts, in learning and teaching, and so forth, are inspired and guided by the party's teachings, and, having immersed themselves deeply in them, undertake revolutionary drives and actions, display innovation and heroism, exceed their tasks, and forge ahead with more courage.

In the wave of revolutionary action and daily practice, the communists and the masses are understanding and assimilating ever better the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, our party's ideology and teachings, and the revolutionary method used by the party in solving problems. This is the most favorable and fertile terrain for assimilating Marxist-Leninist science. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that theory is not learned solely from books or in school; it "...is learned and assimilated by taking an active part in the daily struggle to build socialism, by carrying on the class struggle without interruption, by fighting resolutely against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 168). This is so because our socialist life, the daily activity of our party and the masses, is quite rich and filled with problems and tasks whose successful solution is nothing but the application of principles and theoretical scientific knowledge in practice. Theory is confirmed and best assimilated where one works, fights, and creates.

Work and practical struggle strengthen our people as revolutionaries and equip them with new conviction, with socialist consciousness. Meeting in practice with alien bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological manifestations, with antisocialist attitudes toward property and labor, with alien views in the field of literature and the arts, in the way of life, and so forth, with bureaucratic and liberal inclinations, with opportunistic and sectarian attitudes, the communists and the masses, in the fight against these things, have at the same time been armed with the party's ideology, with Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideas. This has been made possible because, in order to face this struggle, they have had to confront the party's teachings, enter into debates, and counter with argumentation every alien concept by reference to the party's materials and Comrade Enver Hoxha's works. Thus, by active participation in the class struggle being carried on in all fields, our people have been armed with the proletarian ideology, with the Marxist-Leninist scientific world outlook, thereby molding their revolutionary character and strengthening their high moral-political features.

Proceeding from the party's teachings that we need the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory not only for "adornment," but for a great cause; namely, the construction of socialism and its defense, we are obliged to go ever deeply into the "why," the ideological content, and understand that they are needed in order to launch into the struggle, into concrete activity for the performance of tasks. The question is not to bog down, as is the case with some cadres, in insubstantial theorizing, in scholastic study, or in the formal development of certain forms of education, in which what is read in books is merely reproduced mechanically and no debating is done for theoretical-practical clarification and analysis of the problems, the weaknesses, and the experience of the collective.

Experience shows that the best study of the party's teachings is that which starts from the concrete problems of the local organization, the enterprise, the cooperative, institution, school, military unit, and so forth, and then proceeds to clarify and explain them on the basis of the laws and principles of Marxist-Leninist science, to form convictions and shift at once to concrete

action in solving those problems in practice. The lack of a thorough knowledge of the party's ideology and of its teachings, and also a lack of skill in examining those teachings in close conjunction with concrete tasks and situations, are reasons for the appearance of shortcomings in practical activity, for going so far as to make mistakes and create situations which the class enemy can exploit to his own advantage.

We emphasize this because, although the continual teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have been in the hands of every local organization and every communist, there are cases where they have failed to act properly in assimilating and analyzing their ideas in close conjunction with life, applying them in the concrete conditions, which bespeak bureaucratic method and routine injurious to the Marxist-Leninist education of communists and workers and to the whole work of the party. Such a harmful attitude is also manifested by those communists and cadres who conceive the handling of the party's materials, directives and decisions chiefly as an act of "taking cognizance of them" and "solidarizing" with them.

The party line and its teachings are meant to be enforced, to be put into practice, and not simply to be approved and "solidarized with" in words. The theoretical formulations and directives found in them must not be taken merely as theory and correct orientations, but must constitute for each one of us the objects of profound reflection, in order to assimilate and apply them correctly in practice, in a creative manner, in accordance with the present tasks, with the conditions under which we work and live, and with the problems demanding solution. These formulations must be analyzed and converted into reality, into concrete acts. This requires that everyone have a firm conviction about the party's theoretical formulations and directives, understand more thoroughly both the ideological and political content and the organizational-technical side of them, using for this purpose a revolutionary method of study and analysis, such as comparison of them with the real state of affairs, with the consciousness of men. A thorough analysis of the facts is necessary in order to draw correct conclusions about the real possibilities that exist, about the difficulties and obstacles that will be encountered in applying the directives, and in order to take all the necessary organizational and controlling measures to insure their full enforcement.

The lessons which we draw from the experience of these last few years are such as to make us see how necessary and important for every local organization, communist, and worker are the thorough study and assimilation of the party's materials in close conjunction with life, in order to launch into revolutionary drives. The handling of the important tasks on which the Seventh Party Congress has laid stress requires that everyone, without exception, strive individually and collectively to understand and apply the party's teachings and orientations. It is important that, in the light of them, the problems engendered by the class struggle, in concrete terms for each organization, each collective, and each individual; the realization of the plan; the resistance to the fierce imperialist-revisionist encirclement; the elevation of the leading role of the local organization; and so forth, shall be viewed in their development

and dynamics, with their opposite sides, connections, interdependences and mutual interactions. Only by a thorough class analysis of the problems, illuminated by party theory, can we arrive at correct conclusions, at effective measures and revolutionary actions.

Assimilation of Marxist-Leninist Theory Is Accomplished in Combat With Our Ideological Opponents

The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have continually oriented us to the effect that we must regard tasks of our education in Marxist-Leninist theory as fulfilled when we accomplish the work of assimilating and applying it creatively and linking it closely with the uncompromising fight against the falsifications and distortions of our doctrine by the modern revisionists and the other ideologs of the bourgeoisie. This is a duty with which we must live every day and every hour, since it has to do with the defense of Marxism-Leninism, against which enemies of all colors have stormed, especially in recent times.

Our party has waged, and is waging, a hard, consistent and principled fight against modern revisionism, especially against Soviet revisionism, which, by its pseudoscientific theories, which are profoundly unscientific, opposes Marxism-Leninism and strives to prevent it from becoming, as it is, a strong weapon and an infallible guide for action in the hands of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in the fight to destroy capitalism from the ground up and to build in its stead the new socialist society, and then communism. In this intense ideological struggle, our party has defended, and is defending, the purity of Marxism-Leninism and has mercilessly unmasked the revisionist campaign to cast a shadow on the most fundamental questions of the strategy and tactics of the revolution, to create ideological confusion in the ranks of the workers' movement.

All the undermining of Marxist-Leninist ideology by modern revisionism aims at deforming basic principles. Therefore, our party, when speaking of the Marxist-Leninist education of communists and workers, stresses the need to develop criticism of revisionist views even when studying individually, when discussing questions (in the form of instruction) in the party, and when writing for the press and propaganda, in addition to analyzing and assimilating revolutionary theses and principles. It is necessary to do this in order to clarify the reactionary essence of revisionist views so that they may not exercise any influence on our people, create illusions, or confuse them. It is also necessary to do this because the Marxist-Leninist principles are best and most thoroughly assimilated in this manner.

The great problems treated by the Seventh Party Congress in the field of the fight against modern revisionism, and in the light of the international situation, requires a further deepening of scientific criticism of bourgeois-revisionist views regarding these problems. Therefore, in analyzing the problems, it is not sufficient to transmit in a mechanical manner the formulations of the congress, but, with pencil in hand, one must study how the problems appear in reality, what the bourgeois-revisionist ideologs say about each

of them, what aims they have, what the core of their counter-revolutionary and unscientific views consists of, where they speculate on those views, and so forth. But the main thing is for us to refer to the documents of our party and the Marxist-Leninist classics and find sound theoretical arguments to refute the revisionists' views and distortions of Marxist philosophy, so that we may render those views ineffective, unmask their falsity, and controvert them.

By waging, as in the past, an intense ideological fight, every communist and every cadre and student will assimilate the teachings of Marxism-Leninism still better and more thoroughly, will learn to recognize our friends and enemies still better, and will distinguish still more precisely between good and evil, between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary. Therefore, all communists and workers are faced with the task of acquainting themselves with the history and the course of the open and uncompromising struggle chosen by our party to unmask the Soviet revisionists and to defend the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, so that we may promote that struggle, since this will also make it possible to assimilate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism thoroughly and vitally, and to form lasting Marxist ideological convictions.

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STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM, SECTARIANISM NEEDED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Feb 77 pp 63-73

[Article by Naun Guxho: "Correct Conduct of the Class Struggle Requires That a Principled Attitude Be Held Without Lapsing Into Opportunism or Sectarianism"]

[Text] In developing its political line, and in all its practical work, our Workers' Party has been, and is, guided by the great Marxist-Leninist principle that the class struggle is an objective phenomenon, and a principal motivating force in society during the entire period of the construction of the socialist society, until the complete victory of communism on a world scale. Adhering always with determination to this principle, and elaborating on and applying its revolutionary line concerning the conduct of the class struggle in accordance with the conditions of the popular revolution and socialist construction, our party, in the process of the concrete class struggle which it has conducted and led, has not only confirmed the correctness of the theses of Marxism-Leninism concerning this great and vital question, but, at the same time, has defended and further enriched them with its own rich experience, thus making a valuable contribution to the theoretical wealth of Marxism-Leninism.

At every step the party has conducted the class struggle correctly and without mistakes, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, against the invaders of the country and against the exploiting classes; against the remnants of those exploiting classes after their disappearance as classes; and against the new bourgeois elements, degenerate and antiparty, capitulationist and opportunist, which have emerged within our society, both within the people and our own party ranks; against "invisible enemies" and against the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideologies; against imperialist-revisionist encirclement and pressure; and against the undermining activity of external and internal enemies. In all these fields the party has gained important victories, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Seventh Congress, are connected with the fact that the party has always adhered resolutely to the line of class struggle.

The party has drawn attention to the fact that the successful conduct of the class struggle on our party requires that we have a full, correct and broad

understanding of it, so as to see it as a struggle continuing during the whole historic period of the transition from capitalism to communism; as a struggle taking place not only against external and internal enemies, but also among the people and within the party, as a struggle that must be carried on without interruption on all fronts by everyone. Such a correct understanding of the class struggle in theory is an indispensable condition for conducting it correctly in practice; for holding a principled attitude at all times; as well as for preventing such deviations as manifestations of opportunism and sectarianism, which, as shown by practice, constitute not only a potential, but also a real and concrete danger. Cases of such deviations have not been lacking, and have appeared now and then in the activity of some communists, cadres, and workers, and even in the work of some organs and apparatuses of the government, the economy, and the mass organizations; indeed, even in some local organizations and organs and apparatuses of the party. The party has treated and combated these manifestations as expressions of a voluntary or involuntary action contrary to its Marxist-Leninist line and policy in the conduct of the class struggle. At the same time, it has presented arguments stating that the "rightist" or "leftist" stands in the conduct of the class struggle have one and the same axis, are expressions of opportunism, and are intertwined, one with the other. The party has also stated that such manifestations are fraught with danger and with quite serious consequences for the activity of the party, the government, the mass organizations, and the working masses, and that the maintenance of such attitudes is solely in the interest of the class enemy, who instigates and cultivates them for the purpose of disorienting, derailing, and finally suppressing our class struggle, thus creating favorable conditions for the realization of his counterrevolutionary aims.

The whole history of more than three decades of our country's development under the party's leadership has confirmed that all the class enemies, external and internal, and the various deviationists from the party, beginning with Ymer Dishnica during the War of National Liberation, Sejfulla Maleshova and Koci Xoxe immediately after the country's liberation, and a good many others in later stages, down to Fadil Pacrami and Todi Lubonja, Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Cako, Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi, and Kico Ngjela in these past few years, have exerted pressure and sought to strike at the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, as well as the party line and its leading role, and to cause our people to abandon their resolute class positions, and their fight against imperialism, revisionism, and internal enemies, as well as to propagate harmful opportunistic and sectarian views and attitudes which obstruct the correct development of the class struggle.

But our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, holding high the banner of the class struggle and conducting it correctly in all fields always have exposed and defeated those views, the action and aims of the class enemies, and, within this framework, also their views and actions aimed at disorienting our class struggle. As the cadres and the broad working masses have been widely involved in this struggle, it has at the same time become for them a great instrument of instruction and education in conducting it correctly. But the class struggle is extraordinarily complex, and its correct conduct requires a high degree of

schooling and all-around political and ideological preparation, as well as an astute sense of class, which are qualities that not all communists and workers possess in equal degree; thus, that there are still cases of opportunistic and sectarian attitudes. It is for these reasons that the party has never diverted its attention and care from the correct conduct of the class struggle.

Alien opportunistic and sectarian attitudes in the conduct of the class struggle have their origin, in part, in a misunderstanding of the character of the two types of contradictions existing in our socialist society; in the confusion of antagonistic contradictions with non-antagonistic contradictions, and the ways of resolving them.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in the socialist society there are two types of contradictions: antagonistic and non-antagonistic; contradictions between us and our enemies, and those among the people and within the party. Lenin's very significant revolutionary thesis that the transitional period between capitalism and communism "cannot but combine in itself the traits or properties of these two orders of social economy" and that "this transitional period cannot but be a period of struggle between dying capitalism and rising communism," represents the basis for explaining the existence, in socialism, of antagonistic contradictions between the two paths of development, the socialist and the capitalist, and between two opposing ideologies, the Marxist-Leninist and the bourgeois-revisionist. Recognition and acceptance of these, and of the nonantagonistic contradictions which characterize the whole process of the development of our socialist society, is of great theoretical and practical importance for the successful conduct of the class struggle, for the defense of Marxism-Leninism from the distortions of the modern revisionists, and the defense of our socialist society from the dangers which threaten it.

Our party has adhered and will always adhere to the teachings of Marxist-Leninist science, according to which reality cannot be conceived without the existence of contradictions, as seen through their resolution. This is also the case with the socialist order, in which, though private property has disappeared and society develops in a conscious manner, we encounter various interests, aspirations and ideas; a number of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. The reasons for the existence of these contradictions are that here, too, people live and act under various conditions and circumstances; even after the construction of the economic base of socialism and the disappearance of the exploiting classes as classes, elements of those classes continue to exist and new capitalist elements arise which will not give up their efforts for restoration; the imperialist-revisionist encirclement exists, exerting all-around pressure and influence; and essential differences exist between friendly classes, between town and country, between physical and mental labor. Hence a hard class struggle continues to be waged in all fields.

In contrast to the infamous pseudotheories of the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviets, who preach that under socialism antagonistic contradictions no longer exist after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as classes our party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle that, although they are not in the nature of socialism, but a consequence of the existence of the

capitalist and revisionist world, and the existence of remnants of the former exploiting classes and their ideology, antagonistic contradictions do continue to exist under socialism, not only before but also after the liquidation of the exploiting classes in general. As long as capitalism exists, the danger of reversion to capitalism, of a capitalist restoration, will also exist, and hence the fundamental contradiction between the two paths of development, socialist and capitalist, the contradiction between us and our enemies, which underlies the all-around class struggle waged during the whole period of socialism, until the full construction of the communist society, exists as well. Contrary to what the Soviet revisionists, who deny the existence of antagonistic contradictions in order to conceal the profound antagonisms which exist in the present-day society of the capitalist Soviet Union, and to deny the basis of the class struggle, say, these contradictions have an objective character. They are to be found in reality itself, and not only do they fail to disappear in the transitional period from capitalism to communism, but they also dictate the waging of a hard and incessant class struggle on our part.

Faithful to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on this very important question of revolutionary theory and practice, our party has constantly stressed and argued the need to avoid denying, neglecting, and underrating these contradictions, and the need to understand and appraise correctly our enemies, the political situation, and the fierce double imperialist-revisionist encirclement, as well as the pressures of old and new enemies from within. It has accompanied this with all-around ideological work to convince our people that the way to resolve antagonistic contradictions is to use revolutionary force, to constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat under the party's leadership, to maintain and promote a high degree of revolutionary political and ideological vigilance, to continuously heighten class consciousness, and to conduct the class struggle against internal and external enemies with determination and consistency until the complete worldwide destruction of the system which engenders those contradictions; that is, the capitalist order.

In the socialist society there also exist non-antagonistic contradictions, contradictions among the people and within the party ranks, which have as their objective basis all the essential economic and social distinctions of the period of transition from capitalism to communism and therefore exist objectively, while their nonantagonistic character is determined by the nature of the socialist order.

Our party, recognizing and accepting the existence of nonantagonistic contradictions in the socialist society, has viewed and continues to view them not as contradictions having their origin in "human nature," as something eternal and forever insoluble, as the bourgeois ideologies preach, or as something tragic, evil, and abnormal that allegedly holds socialism by the throat, as the Yugoslav revisionists like to represent them, but as concrete realities in our socialist society which when they are recognized, revealed, and resolved in a conscious, organized, and correct manner, promote development and strengthen and advance society. Our socialist order creates great

opportunities for the resolution of these contradictions, while the party and our state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, find efficacious ways and methods of resolution, beginning with administrative-economic measures for transformations in material conditions themselves and for the narrowing of the various gaps, proportions, and differences, extending to criticism, self-criticism and methods of persuasion, which is the principal method accompanying all the others. The resolution of the nonantagonistic contradictions in the socialist order is a real possibility, since the differences which underlie them are being gradually narrowed in the various stages of the construction of socialism, and also because the party seeks to resolve the contradictions correctly and in due time.

Bearing in mind the two types of contradictions, our party has tolerated no errors in the practice and concrete conduct of the class struggle. It has always taken principled stands both toward the class enemies and their activities on all fronts--in policy, ideology, the economy, the army and elsewhere--and toward remnants of the exploitive classes and the influences of their ideology. But under the conditions of the deepening and sharpening class struggle, at a time when that struggle is being waged not only against the class enemy, but also among the people and within the party, and when it is being waged from above and below with the participation of the broad working masses, narrow and erroneous conceptions and attitudes about the class struggles have also been noted in the activity of the party organizations in the Fier district. An analysis of these erroneous attitudes shows that they have their basis partially in the fact that not all communists and workers have correct concepts about the two types of contradictions, and not everyone is in a position to recognize them, to make distinctions, and to draw a clear boundary between them, and, at the same time, to be able to determine correctly the ways and methods of resolution suitable for each contradiction. Without a proper recognition of the contradictions, one cannot avoid cases of deviation to the right or to the "left" in the enforcement of the class struggle, and lapses into opportunism or sectarianism caused by forgetting or underrating the contradictions, or mixing up and confusing contradictions of the antagonistic type and those of the nonantagonistic type.

Properly recognizing and distinguishing the two types of contradictions, the party and Comrade Enver teach us, means, on the one hand, not confusing enemies and friends, treating enemies like our people, but correctly setting the boundary between them and us viewing them and their ideology and actions, from a class viewpoint, as real dangers for the revolution and socialism. It is necessary to do this because, regardless of the tactics they use and the blandishments they offer us, the enemies remain at all times enemies who have nothing in common with our people. Regardless of whether they have declared themselves to be on our side of the barricade, they are, to the death, opposed to our ideology, the government of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the liberty and wealth of the people, and socialism and revolution.

The existence of the two opposite roads of development, socialist and capitalist, and our experience, cause us to believe that on the road to communism

we have, and will have at all times, enemies who will not stand by with folded arms, but will act against us and fight us openly or secretly in diverse forms and with diverse means, from within and from without. Their aim is to return in force, to establish their rule and their domination, and hence dig the grave of socialism. Therefore, no illusion should be entertained with regard to them, in the erroneous belief that "they have learned their lesson," "they see our victories and are convinced that there is nothing that they can do to us;" on the contrary, it is necessary to sharpen our revolutionary vigilance toward them to the utmost; when they dare to lift their hands in opposition to our victories, the blows from the iron fist of our dictatorship of the proletariat, the blows of revolutionary force, must be instant, powerful, merciless, unhesitating, and without sentimentality or softheartedness.

During its whole history our party has acted in this fashion. The contradictions between us and our enemies have been resolved by the party through the use of revolutionary force, smashing resolutely all the counterrevolutionary plans and attempts of the imperialists, revisionists, and their agents. It has striven, and is persistently striving, to develop a class sense and heighten the revolutionary vigilance of the communists, the cadres, and the working masses, so that they may ever stand in the vanguard of our victories, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolution, and socialism, and expose and put in his place every enemy that dares to raise his head or lift his hand against us.

But life has shown that in our Fier District, too, there have been cases where certain local organizations, communists, cadres, and workers, in spite of the fact that the views, behavior and actions of some individuals have had hostile overtones, have not persisted in seeking and finding the class enemy, exposing him as such, and putting him in the place he deserves. This shows that now and then the class enemy is forgotten by some; that he is confused with our people, underrated, and considered as non-dangerous and as powerless to act, to fight and harm us. This results in a lack of predisposition to keep him continually under the gun of merciless class warfare, under scrutiny and control, so as to strike him before he strikes us and does harm to us. Hence, it has also happened that some individuals, including communists, in failing to analyze thoroughly enemy activities and the persons who engage in it, weaken class hatred for the enemy and, as a consequence, have manifested opportunistic vacillations, a lessening and even extinction of the struggle against them.

Such attitudes on the part of our people are only in the interest of the enemy. The formation of such a psychosis, and the maintenance of liberal-opportunistic attitudes toward the class enemy, were also the aim of the enemy of the party and the people, Fadil Pacrami, and his followers, with their liberal-bourgeois and revisionist views and their theorizings to the effect that we had engaged long enough in the struggle between "us and the enemies," and that from now on we should speak mainly of the struggle "among us." The purpose of their profoundly hostile action is quite clear. Leaning primarily to the right, like the opportunities that they were, they artificially narrowed the scope and extent of the antagonistic contradictions between us and the enemy, declared

those contradictions to have been overcome, virtually preached conciliation with the class enemy and his ideology, and abandoned the fight against external and internal enemies. On the other hand, like the opportunists and enemies of the party and people that they were, they confused contradictions among the people with contradictions between us and our enemies and, again from a liberal standpoint, under the label of the so-called fight which they were allegedly waging against conservatism, artificially instigated non-antagonistic contradictions among us. Thus, they attempted to strike at the correct party line in regard to the conduct of the class struggle, to create confusion in the waging of that struggle, and to divert it now to the right, now to the "left."

The party organizations of Fier District, guided by the ideas and conclusions of the recent plenums of the Party Central Committee and by the thorough scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis made by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Seventh Party Congress concerning the question of the correct conduct of the class struggle, have drawn, and are drawing, a number of important lessons and conclusions by comparing the concrete attitudes held in the practice of the class struggle in the district with the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. In the process of making this comparison, they found evidence of fluctuations toward the right and the "left," reasons for these fluctuations, and opportunistic and sectarian stands in the conduct of the class struggle. At the same time, efforts were made, and are being made, to work out and define the proper, principled attitudes in the conduct of that struggle. Stress has been laid, and is being laid more and more on, the necessity of subjecting every phenomenon or concrete situation to a concrete class analysis, paying special attention to the discovery and determination of the character of the contradictions involved, viewing them in the dynamics of their development, so as to discover how they are intertwined and interact in different instances, and to distinguish and fix a sharp dividing line between the enemy and our people, in order to overcome every shortcoming and weakness in the conduct of the class struggle.

The treatment in this manner of the problems in the conduct of the class struggle has placed the local organizations, the communists, and, under their leadership, the working class, the cooperativist peasants, the cadres, and all the other workers of the district in a sound revolutionary position in the conduct of that struggle. A heightening of vigilance and more intense application are evident, especially in the exposing and combating of the invisible threads left by the activity of the enemy groups which operated in our district, especially in the economic sector. Greater efforts are also being made to root out the feelings of fear and mistrust that had been sown by the now routed enemies. Meanwhile, no effort of any follower or victim of their deception to reassert himself is escaping the vigilance of the masses.

A strengthened fight is also being waged against the spirit of calm and opportunism often noted in the attitude toward elements declassed or denounced by the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as against any new hostile element--a spirit which was expressed in the form of the passive

and non-militant attitudes held by some local party organizations, cadres, and communists in the petroleum sector toward enemy activity, and went so far as to tolerate the violation of the party norms, as well as in the form of the tendency of some, especially, in the Roskovec region and some other areas, to approach declassified or denounced elements and contract close relations with them in the form of association, friendship and even marriage ties, and so forth. Such cases have now been subjected to the fire of all-around revolutionary criticism, not only by the communists, but also by the broad masses of workers. In the Roskovec or Ballsh region, a good many local party organizations, through lively mass discussions, confrontations, and revolutionary debates on the basis of the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have gone to work to find out where certain phenomena of this sort, such as ugly gossip, quarrels, acts of spitefulness, and wrangles and brawls, which damage the unity of the people, come from, and so on. In these discussions and confrontations it has been discovered that not infrequently the class enemy has had a hand in manifestations of this sort, among other things.

Declassed elements of doubtful makeup, exconvicts, and degenerates have instigated phenomena of this sort. This resulted in heightened vigilance, an active stand and resistance by the masses, who, when faced with such cases, publicly unmask the activity of the enemy in the squad or brigade, in the city ward or the country, in broad mass meetings and in open trials. However, we cannot say that broad and correct concepts about the conduct of the class struggle are deeply rooted in all of them.

It is quite wrong to believe, as some do, that there is no disquieting problem in the district now that the enemy groups have been liquidated, or that now all our attention should be devoted to the job of increasing production and over-fulfilling the plans everywhere. It is clear that those who think this way have a narrow conception of both the class struggle and the job of performing economic tasks, and artificially separate these from each other, giving the former the character of a campaign. They forget and underrate the fact that the group of enemies has indeed been liquidated, but the struggle to liquidate fully the traces which they have left in the form of views and methods of work continue, as does the influence which they had exercised upon our people through compromise, corruption, and intimidation of various persons. Therefore, the action of those party organizations which do not fall into simplistic positions and separate the struggle to perform the plan tasks from the job of waging the class struggle correctly and in an all-around manner is very correct, for, in addition to carrying on extensive work with the entire mass of workers to heighten their political and ideological vigilance, they keep close to, and do special work with, some others who have been most influenced by the views and methods of operation of the enemy elements, in order to purge them as quickly as possible of the bad things that may have affected their consciousness.

Within the framework of the task of correctly conducting the class struggle in all directions, the local party organizations of the district have also made the object of their criticism those cases in which communists and cadres in

practice hold underrating, liberal, and opportunistic attitudes toward the alien concepts existing in the consciousness of our people as well. In seeking the causes of those attitudes, it has been concluded that such positions are held by those who mistakenly believe that the class struggle is directed solely against class enemies as individuals, against their openly malicious activity, and not also against their ideology. Another consequence of this mistaken notion is an attitude which tends to under estimate the blemishes of alien ideology, that of those "invisible enemies," in the consciousness of our people, so that they are minimized as "remnants," are not viewed as wholly dangerous, and are judged as unimportant things without negative consequences. Hence, in practice we find a good many cases in which passive and opportunistic attitudes are held in the local organization, collective, or society toward such alien manifestations as the damaging of socialist property, the manufacture of products inferior in quality, the focus on narrow personal interest, the tendency to take as much as possible from society and give as little as possible in return, breaches of proletarian discipline at work, indifferent attitudes toward manifestations of bureaucratic, intellectualistic, technocratic, and other types of behavior, which have their origin in so-called "remnants" and, if not combated, become bourgeois philosophical world outlooks and guides to action, social diseases fraught with dangerous consequences.

This is the reason why the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha call our attention to the need to delve deeply into the nature of these manifestations and their negative consequences, and to wage the struggle against them with the utmost severity, since holding such attitudes, remaining indifferent toward the offenses of one's comrade, or mitigating their effects due to petty bourgeois sentimentality, the interests of a harmful association, or a lack of revolutionary courage in the criticism of anyone who errs means lapsing into liberal, opportunistic positions, and failing to wage the class struggle correctly.

In view of the admonition of the Seventh Party Congress that rightist opportunism, revisionism, has been and remains the chief danger and enemy to our party, a danger that is ever a threat to our country under the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, the party organizations in Fier District are striving to put more fully into effect the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha that "...opportunism cannot be combated successfully unless sectarianism has been combated at the same time" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress", p 138).

The party has constantly made it clear to us that great damage to the conduct of the class struggle is caused not only by rightist opportunistic attitudes, but also by sectarian, "leftist" attitudes, which, having the same source, namely non-recognition of the character of the two types of contradictions, and confusion and failure to distinguish a sharp boundary between them, are likewise alien to Marxist-Leninist theory and to the line and practice of our party in regard to the conduct of the class struggle and damage its correct development on the "left." Therefore, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us that to distinguish well the two types of contradictions means that in theory and in practice one must not only refrain from treating enemies as

friends from the rightist position of opportunism, but, on the other hand, neither must one--from the sectarian position of "leftist" opportunism--treat as enemies those persons among our people who, bearing vestiges of alien ideology, may commit some error. Sectarian attitudes also strengthen the enemy's position and damage the correct conduct of the class struggle. By looking suspiciously for some hostile activity behind every shortcoming and weakness, and exaggerating and speaking abusively of them, the sphere of action of antagonistic contradictions is artificially widened. By treating non-antagonistic contradictions among the people and within the party also as antagonistic, unreal situations are created, and artificial worries are created for people, creating discontent among them, thus giving rise to opportunities for the enemy to lay his hands on them and use them for his purposes.

In order to put a stop to sectarian attitudes, it is necessary to master the essence of the party's viewpoint that, while the contradictions between our Marxist-Leninist ideology and the alien ideology or its manifestations are always antagonistic, and we therefore must combat that alien ideology and its manifestations with no tolerance whatsoever, regardless of who is their exponent, our attitude toward exponents must always be differentiated. It sometimes happens that a person who bears manifestations of alien ideology is the exponent, loyal to the party and people, but with some bad manifestations along with many good ones. For example, there are a good many of our people who have been exponents of some manifestations of bureaucratism, liberalism, or conservatism. The party teaches us that in these cases, while we must condemn their erroneous concepts and attitudes severely, we must also try to cure the bearers of these concepts and attitudes, and make them understand their error and strive to correct it, so as not to fall into error again.

In view of these things, the local party organizations in our district, in addition to taking care to eliminate and overcome the manifestations of liberal-opportunistic attitudes in the class struggle, are attaching special importance to exposing and overcoming sectarian and extremist attitudes in that struggle.

Good experience in this respect has resulted, especially in some rural and education-sector local party organizations, which, by their all-around efforts at persuasion and clarification, have endeavored to check the harmful tendencies of some persons who, allegedly for the sake of waging the class struggle, have denigrated the biographies of some cadres, workers, and communists; have nitpicked and pointed out only their shortcomings and weaknesses, even exaggerating them and leaving their good aspects in oblivion; and, in some cases, have harped merely on someone's peccadillo in the past, without judging also on the basis of his very good attitude at work and in life over a long period of time, and at present. Similarly, the local party organizations of the petroleum sector, on the basis of a concrete class analysis of the situation and the work of persons in the sectors where they operate, have not agreed with the attitudes of some who, claiming to be "principled, consistent revolutionaries," look dubiously at every shortcoming and weakness, inflate and exaggerate them, seeing only the class enemy behind these shortcomings and

weaknesses, and create doubts about every failure that may occur in some study or scientific research; and so on. Also being combated as sectarian are the practices and attitudes of some who exploit a person's shortcomings and weaknesses in order to take revenge or attain their own careerist and selfish goals.

As a result of the effort to maintain a principled attitude in every case, it has been possible to check, to a large extent, the tendency of some to hold sectarian attitudes under the guise of the fight against opportunism, and of some others to hold opportunist attitudes under the guise of the fight against sectarianism. To combat such waverings, the local party organizations are taking care to ensure that all communists and workers are encouraged from the theoretical standpoint to understand thoroughly and solve correctly these complex problems, especially by making the proper distinction between the two types of contradictions, and between the exponents of concepts and manifestations of the alien ideology.

All these things are helped appreciably by the direct, active participation of the masses in the fight against alien ideological manifestations, by the organization of popular discussions of various problems, such as the maintenance and protection of property, quarrels, grudges, and gossip; through confrontations and debates, aktivs for the exchange of positive experience and the stimulation of pride and revolutionary ambition, and the undertaking of a number of successive drives and revolutionary movements of a political, ideological and economic character. Within this framework, special attention has been paid to stimulating and correctly developing open verbal criticism, using flyers also, against every shortcoming and weakness, as well as the most correct organization and combination of the activities of worker and rural control groups with the state control [organ], and so forth. All this activity is being effectively combined with the great task of assisting communists and all workers to assimilate the materials of the Seventh Party Congress and, within this framework, to assist them in assimilating thoroughly the Marxist-Leninist theory of our party concerning the conduct of the class struggle, so that this struggle may be conducted, as Comrade Enver Hoxha directs us, frontally, without vacillation, and continuously; both against liberalism and against bureaucratism, against the remnants of the ideology of the old exploiting classes as well as against the influences and manifestations of the present bourgeois-revisionist ideologies, and against both opportunistic attitudes and sectarian attitudes.

10002

CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

VACULIK, RUML, HAJEK, MUELLER PROTEST HARASSMENT

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, May 77 pp 39, 40, 49, 50, 53

[Text] Report by Ludvik Vaculik

Prague, 9 January 1977

District Department of Public Security
Fr. Krizka 24
Prague 7

Re: Report of a criminal act

On 9 January 1977 after 9 o'clock P.M. a man who refused to identify himself called my telephone number (377-123) and with a reference to my activity which he would not further specify threatened me by saying that I would be flown on an airplane wing abroad or that they will get me and I will end up in the gutter. He repeated these threats even after my wife took the telephone receiver; he asked her to give me his message.

Therefore, I am reporting a criminal act of blackmail pursuant to section 235 of the Criminal Law.

I do not think that the caller would be able to make good his threats of his own volition and with his own airplane, nevertheless I emphasize that it is possible that criminal acts of murder (Criminal Law section 219) or of kidnapping to a foreign country (Criminal Law section 233) are being prepared.

Finally, I should like to mention that I have reasons to believe that my telephone is being tapped; if that could be confirmed, it would facilitate the investigation.

Respectfully yours,

Ludvik Vaculik
Veletřzni 21
Prague 7

Prague, 9 January 1977

Administration of the National Security Corps
of the Capital City of Prague and of the Central Bohemian Kraj
Bartolomejska 7
Prague 1

I hereby submit my complaint against the resolution to search my apartment which was delivered to me a day after the search took place on 6 January 1977. Grounds:

1. I was not born in Bruntal but in Brumov!
2. Bruntal is not located in the Gottwaldov okres as stated in the resolution!
3. The grounds do not contain reference to any initiated criminal prosecution. If it has not been initiated, the search then was illegal (Section 158, par. 6 of the Criminal Order).
4. If the house search was illegal, it must then be regarded as a violation of the right to privacy (Section 238 of the Criminal Order), or else as blackmail pursuant to Section 233 of the Criminal Order because it was carried out under the threat of a weapon.
5. In any case, even the condition under which a house search may be conducted without the prosecutor's warrant has been violated: I was detained while carrying a legal petition to the post office and from the established evidence, from the contents of that petition and from my deposition it must be obvious that thereby my action was concluded and nothing more was going to happen nor could happen. Thus, there was no danger of delay.

Furthermore I protest against the manner in which the house search was conducted:

1. The confiscated written material is listed collectively in the record, without any further identification, for example: item 3--"8 pcs of various writings," item 26--"5 folders containing correspondence," item 36--"10 various envelopes with correspondence," item 21--"19 pcs of correspondence," item 31--"80 manuscripts in cloth cover"... etc. I protested on the spot, I repeat my protest here and I refuse to be responsible for anything that may be used to implicate me from the nature of the confiscated materials.
2. Confiscated were materials which even at a mere glance had no connection with any criminal activity, such as a folder with a list of remunerations and taxes, a folder with inscription "Dobrichovice" which contained documents pertaining to the maintenance of my house and garden in Dobrichovice; furthermore, 6 bank deposit books, some with Kcs 100 children's deposits, etc. According to my experience in 1975 I know that the

purpose of the confiscation of such materials is nothing else but to exert psychological pressure, intrigue and blackmail.

3. Some of the confiscated materials do not appear on the list. Because I was not permitted to take a good look at anything nor to make any explanations on the spot, I was able to ascertain the discrepancies only later: for instance, the manuscript of my book "Cesta na Praded" [A Trip to the Praded Mountain] has been confiscated for the second time but it is not included in the list (black covers).

4. On the other hand, two items designated for confiscation have been left behind. I shall not yield one of them because it is a literary-science study; however, I am willing to exchange the other one which from the confiscator's viewpoint may be considered as an anti-state printed matter (which objectively it is not) for my manuscript or "Cesta na Praded" (black covers).

5. Also, a folder containing Sbirka Zakonu [Compendium of Laws] (item 12) was confiscated and upon my inquiry as to why I was told: "We are interested in what you have underlined in it." That is a totally flagrant contempt of the law, a mockery of rights, and arrogance of a big boss who is not subordinated to anyone.

I hereby request that the errors be remedied or justified and that the arbitrary acts perpetrated against me be rectified. If that does not happen soon I shall defend myself by every means I can think of.

Finally, I should like to stress that the next time anyone comes to take away anything from me by force they must bring their own bags and not borrow my suitcases.

Ludvik Vaculik

Complaint by Journalist Jiri Ruml

14 January 1977

Minister of Interior of the CSSR

Re: Complaint

Mr Minister:

I hereby submit my complaint against the manner in which my wife Jirina Hrabkova and I, Jiri Ruml, were taken as witnesses for a deposition concerning Charter 77.

My wife was awakened by your agents on 13 January 1977 at 4:45 am; she was handed a summons which had not been filled out properly in all its

sections and was ordered to follow your agents immediately. As her husband I cautioned them that my wife was suffering from a heart ailment and that it should be taken into consideration. Your agents took her away on foot while it was still dark (one of them walked alongside, the other five steps behind her) to the district department in Vrsovice where she was kept waiting for a long time. Then she was driven in a police emergency automobile to Ruzyne where she had to wait again for a long time. After her deposition no transportation back to Vrsovice was provided for her. I repeat, this concerns a 52-year-old woman suffering from a cardiac ailment, which has been brought to your agents' attention. If this is our customary way of summoning witnesses for a deposition, then do forgive my complaining.

On 14 January 1977 I was visited by your agents at 5:30 am. A summons was handed to me to appear as a witness for a deposition. Since again it was not duly filled out in every section I refused to follow your agents and I wrote in my own hand on the summons the reasons of my refusal. I was ordered in the name of the law and informed that if I failed to obey, force would be used against me (the witnesses: my family). I insisted that the summons must state at least the time when I was to appear for the deposition as a witness. I was told that I had to appear immediately. In view of the fact that this information was not included in the summons, one of your agents left for the district department where the word "immediately" was added. Your department characterized my demand as obstruction. Upon arrival at Bartolomejska Street, while looking for the building where I was to appear, we encountered a young man in civilian clothes on the stairway of one of the buildings (he was about 27 years old, height 170-175 cm, curly brown hair, under his jacket he wore a sweater or a body shirt with knitted cuffs on the sleeves); in a friendly manner he greeted one of the agents escorting me (it was the driver of the Volga automobile that had brought me down from Vrsovice) and in the course of their conversation he complained to him: "I've been here since 6 o'clock yesterday... They need a whip and a good thrashing." At that time I had no idea whom he meant; I could only assume that he was in charge of police dogs' training, but I am not sure that a whip would be used on them. After a little while during which he had time to divulge that he had not gotten married yet he turned toward me: "A client? Another one from that Charter? As I say: you need a whip and a beating!" I said that I will not reply to such statements and will not make a deposition to him on the stairs. He burst out: "You are a regular anti-state group. You make me puke. As I say: just to take a whip at you..."

While being transferred to the appropriate department for interrogations I asked your agent (the driver) whether he would be willing to testify what his friend had said to me on the stairway in the opposite building. He replied that he knew him only by sight and that he could no longer remember anything (this was roughly 5-10 minutes later). Another agent arraigning me who, however, was not present during the conversation on the staircase because he went looking for the appropriate office said in my

direction: "From the very beginning he is doing nothing but obstructions."
I replied that I was only demanding my rights.

In the office where I was brought for the deposition I asked if I could present my complaints which I had mentioned above, and asked whether they would be included in the record. The polite reply (by 2d Lt Kinkal?) was that it was not the subject of my summons. When the dictation of the record was completed but prior to the signing, I asked once more whether my complaint would be considered because I regarded the act of the unknown (?) man on the stairway as intimidation of a witness and threat with force, but again I was politely advised to press my complaint somewhere else and before someone else. I said that I would complain in writing to the minister of interior, which I am hereby doing.

Unfortunately, I am not sure that some honest man could be found among your agents who would confirm all this, nor do I expect that I shall achieve any "results" with this complaint, nevertheless, I am writing this to you to make you realize whom you are employing in your organization, while it has been made entirely clear to me after such an experience.

Jiri Ruml
Kremelska 104
Prague 10-Vrsovice PSC 100 00

Police Surveillance

Dr J. Obzina
Minister of Interior of the CSSR
Prague

Dear Mr Minister:

I am forced to turn to you as the competent constitutional functionary with a request to inform me of the legal basis for my harassment since 25 February of this year by several individuals who have made it clear that they are members of the State Security, without of course, having identified themselves in any way to me or without having presented their official identifications. Since 25 February from about 7:15 o'clock in the morning until night, a Tatra 603 automobile bearing state license plate ABB-86-38, with a crew consisting usually of three persons, has been parked right at the gate of house No 11 Kosatcova Street where my family is residing. Whenever I step out in the street I am followed very closely by two of those men and moreover, the car also follows me although this is a matter of a distance of a few dozen or at most hundreds of meters--the shopping center, post office, polyclinic. As long as they limit themselves to escorting me in this way I am not complaining; I am not responsible for the impression this makes in the neighborhood. However, it seems that the aforementioned persons do not intend to limit themselves to said tasks only. They even may be authorized to do this and hence, my inquiry.

Because of my legitimate effort to keep physically fit, for the past 25 years I have been taking almost daily walks combined with jogging for several kilometers along the track between Zahradni Mesto and the Hostivar dam, where similarly scores of other citizens usually walk or jog anyway. When on 25 February at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon I went out for my regular walk I was followed by the car and then by two individuals who first walked and then stepped in the aforementioned automobile. Several times on the track of about 2 kilometers they overtook me, tried to prevent me from continuing my jogging and finally they categorically forbade me to jog. To my question about the legal grounds for such an arbitrary prohibition they replied that I had to comply with their orders; they threatened that they would "trip my legs" or "I'll see" and finally, one of them whom I could identify sprayed in my face some stinging liquid which left an unpleasant sensation on the retina of my eyes which in my case are extremely sensitive because on several occasions since my imprisonment by the Nazis (1940-1945) I suffered from extensive hemorrhage in the retina. Several persons who happened to be walking by and automobile drivers on the Zahradni Mesto-Hostivar highway have witnessed this conduct by persons who are presenting themselves as agents of the State Security. On Saturday and Sunday 26-27 February the surveillance continued. I went with my family to the country house I own in Krhanice in the Benesov okres. In addition to my escorts on the train, the same car was parked, except at night, at the entrance to the lot which belongs to the house.

On Saturday afternoon a Danish tourist who referred to the recommendation by my former Danish and Norwegian fellow prisoners and fellow underground fighters in 1941-1944 came to see me in my little house. Shortly after his arrival VB [Public Security] automobile appeared at the entrance to my land and two Public Security agents entered my property without my permission, demanded that they be admitted in the house without presenting a warrant from the prosecutor or any other document that would justify such an encroachment. Against my own and my guest's protests they detained him after identifying him and drove him allegedly to Prague for a hearing, without being able to state any legal motives for holding him. If the public abroad and the representative authorities of my detained guest's country were supposed to learn on an explicit example how the international pact on civil and political rights, articles 12 and 13 and the pertinent part of the Final Act of Helsinki are being implemented in our country, or perhaps shown how lenient in comparison to reality is the criticism expressed in Charter 77, it could not have been done in a more persuasive manner. I regard this as regrettable; I hereby inform you about this incident and repeat my request for information about the legal basis for the aforestated acts by the security apparatus. The perpetrators of such acts remain anonymous and ignore any inquiry concerning legal motives of their action. For that reason I am forced to regard their conduct as arbitrary and illegal, to request protection against such arbitrariness and to defend myself by every legal means guaranteed to me by our legal system.

Dr Jiri Hajek

cc: Presidium of the Government of the CSSR
Presidium of the Federal National Assembly

Prague, 6 March 1977

Letter by Jiri Mueller

Brno, 23 February 1977

Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain

Dear Comrades:

On 20 February 1977 after preceding surveillance I was detained for 3 hours by the Czechoslovak security forces, physically attacked and subjected to a search of my person, during which, among other things, also four copies of the MORNING STAR daily of 9, 10, 11 and 12 February 1977 were confiscated from me, as well as translations of several letters from its readers concerning the Czechoslovak authorities' campaign against the signatories of Charter 77 and a translation of the Declaration by the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain concerning the same case.

The aforementioned documents were confiscated because of their "character pertaining to the security of the state," i.e., as explained to me-- because they are in conflict with the CPCZ policy.

I am a signatory of Charter 77 who was released in December 1976 after 5 years of imprisonment for my political activity. I consider it my duty to inform you that your party's documents have been a motive for the persecution of a Czechoslovak citizen.

Jiri Mueller
Street Jana Babaka 3-5
616 00 Brno

9004
CSO: 2400

FAST DEVELOPMENT OF SLOVAKIA DESCRIBED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 May 77 p 3

[Article by Jozef Duris: "Plan for Slovakia's Advancement--On the 40th Anniversary of the All-Slovak CPCZ Conference in Banska Bystrica"]

[Text] Four decades ago--on 16 and 17 May 1937--the delegates of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from every area of Slovakia met in the hall of the workers' building in Banska Bystrica. The All-Slovak Provincial Conference of the CPCZ, which took place there, entered our party's history as an important landmark in the struggle against fascism, for the defense of the republic and for the Marxist-Leninist solution of the Slovak national problem.

The conference adopted and approved the Plan for Economic, Social and Cultural Advancement of Slovakia. This offers a significant proof of the creative Marxist-Leninist approach of the CPCZ to the immediate demands of Slovakia's social and political life also in the statewide framework, with particular attention to the solution of the national problem during the period of the struggle for the defense of the republic against fascism.

From its very beginning the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was the first political force in our history to wage a systematic struggle against all forms of social and national oppression, for equality of the nations and nationalities, for a thorough solution of the national problem and for the republic's socially just development oriented toward socialism. Since its founding, it linked that struggle with the preparation of the socialist revolution. It was interested in making the broad masses of the oppressed nationalities in the Czechoslovak Republic allies of the workers' class in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Birth of the Plan for the Development of Slovakia

The Slovak national problem played a special role in the implementation of the party line in the defense of the republic. The communists in the Czechoslovak Republic and especially the Slovak provincial CPCZ leadership were facing, in all its urgency, the need to prepare a program for the

solution of the most pressing economic, social and cultural needs of Slovakia. It was necessary to oppose the nationalistic demagoguery of the Slovak Populist Party leaders (for whom the Slovak problem was just a side-scene, behind which they intended to accomplish their anti-national, reactionary plans) by such a programmatic conception that--as stressed in the party document--"...could be fulfilled in the nearest future and under the existing conditions." Thus, a specific and realistic plan for Slovakia's economic, social and cultural advancement was created and approved by the All-Slovak Provincial CPCZ Conference in Banska Bystrica on 16 and 17 May 1937.

This plan, based on a profound Marxist analysis of the Slovak economic and social reality, creatively applied the conclusions of the 7th Congress of the Communist Internationale and the decisions of the 7th CPCZ Congress.

Consolidation of the Union With the Fraternal Czech Nation

The plan for Slovakia's economic, social and cultural advancement put forth very expressively the demand to eliminate the differences between the economically more backward Slovakia and the more developed Czech lands. There is no need to stress in particular that such a demand not only agreed with the most intrinsic national interests of the Slovak nation and of other nationalities in Slovakia but at the same time also corresponded to the interest of the Czech nation and our common state. As a matter of fact, the elimination of the differences which were intensified by the "...ruthless approach of the Czech financial capital and of the economic policies of the preceding administrations" was the basic contribution to the consolidation of the union of the Slovak people with their fraternal Czech nation and to the consolidation of their joint statehood threatened by the aggressive reactionary forces. In fact only an advancing Slovakia, Slovakia with a developing industry, modern agriculture and vital culture could become a strong and indestructible bulwark of our common state resisting the brutal force, intrigues and plots of the foreign and domestic reaction.

One of the fundamental postulates of the plan, which was to secure the victory over the backwardness, was industrialization of Slovakia. In this basic demand one may perceive the ideological harbinger of Slovakia's industrialization and its further systematic development, which is celebrating its great victory in the new, socialist era of our republic. The document stressed: "If Slovakia is not to remain forever the republic's Cinderella, it is necessary to promote the development of metallurgy, of the mining and processing industry, of the lumber industry and of other branches for whose production Slovakia is offering advantageous conditions, which are downright inviting to be exploited. To leave them lie fallow would mean that Slovakia could never achieve such a degree of material prosperity and cultural development as an industrial country may achieve."

According to this document industrial development approved by the All-Slovak Conference was to be supported by a system of proposed inter-related measures in public investments, public works, communications and electrification.

The communists correctly discerned Slovakia's industrialization as the main tool for the reduction of its unemployment. At the same time they demanded a wage balance in the two parts of the republic, an elimination of the situation where the average wages of the workers and employees in Slovakia were 20 percent below those in the Czech lands.

Against the Backward Agricultural Production

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia paid considerable attention to the agriculture on which more than one-half of Slovakia's population directly depended. The conference pointed out that the basic cause of the disadvantageous situation in that branch was inherent not in its poor natural conditions but in the general backwardness of its agricultural production and in the gloomy economic and social situation of the farmers and village poor. In its plan the party proposed a system of measures to support the development of the agriculture and to improve the situation of the farming population. Particular attention was focused on a proposal for an increased vegetable and animal production, the use of agricultural technology and a relief of indebtedness for farmers. It also presented a proposal for a new land reform by which the ownership of land properties over 50 hectares would be eliminated, as well as a concept for a planned construction of agricultural research and education.

Culture, Science and the Educational System

The document of the All-Slovak CPCZ Conference also pointed out significant programmatic principles for the areas of culture, science, education and enlightenment. It called for the organization of an institutional center for the development of Slovak sciences, democratization and material and personal security for the development of the basic, secondary, vocational and higher education. At the same time it demanded, among other things, that specific measures for a further development of culture of national minorities be implemented, also.

The plan for Slovakia's systematic advancement was based on the existing social conditions and thus, it was not a project of socialist changes. However, it was oriented toward democratization of the social life and toward an increased participation of the nation's masses in the administration of public affairs.

Such a concept did not ignore the aims for the future. It was directed toward the creation of proper initial positions for the further progress and struggle for the revolutionary socialist objectives.

The ruling bourgeoisie together with the reformists assumed a negative attitude to the communists' proposal even in that period, which was so fateful for the republic. A similar fate struck also this significant proposal of our party.

Only in the Conditions of Socialism

In the new conditions, after the defeat of fascism and after the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army, the party approached the preparation of a new program for Slovakia's systematic development. In the process of the national democratic revolution expanding into the socialist revolution Slovakia stepped forth on the side of its fraternal Czech nation to develop jointly their economy, culture and the whole social life. Gradual industrialization changed Slovakia into an area of developed economy, which was one of the decisive factors in balancing the differences between the Czech lands and Slovakia. In the years of socialist building Slovakia has become a country of modern factories, fertile cooperative farm fields, dams, a land of steeply ascending culture, a convincing proof of the superiority and advantage of socialism. Slovakia's constitutional and legal position was successfully resolved on the principle of socialist federation.

The socialist reality surpassed the demands expressed by the All-Slovak Conference in May 1937. Nevertheless, the Plan for Economic, Social and Cultural Advancement of Slovakia will serve as a proof of the creative approach by the CPCZ to the solution of the Slovak problem in the intricate conditions of the struggle for the defense of the republic against fascism. Even now, 40 years later, it still serves as a historic document of the communists' tireless struggle for Slovakia's prosperity and happiness of its people in our common Czechoslovak socialist country and in the community of the great family of socialist nations led by the Soviet Union.

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EAST GERMANY

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ANALYZED

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[Article by Alexander Martin: "On the Relationship of Economics and Politics in the Implementation of Peaceful Coexistence--Correlation Between Economics and Politics--The New Basis for the Interdependence of World Economics and World Politics--Main Economic Task and Peaceful Coexistence--Power Ratio and Main Trends in International Relations." This article is followed up by an analysis of the same author published in the May 77 issue of IPW-BERICHTE under the title, "International Economic Relations and Peaceful Coexistence," a translation of which is also included in this JPRS issue]

[Text] This analysis deals with the nature and functional correlation between economic and political relationships in the area of international relations as well as the socioeconomic bases of peaceful coexistence. The author thoroughly describes the methodology used by the founders of Marxism in dealing with the relationship between economics and politics and also refutes the concepts bourgeois theoreticians have about it. He demonstrates that the ever more prevailing tendency of a peaceful kind of juxtaposition between socialist and capitalist states is socioeconomically determined and is rooted in the economic interests and the economic position of the workers class as the leading force in our epoch.

The chief element in the currently proceeding change in the system of international relations is the "turn from the cold war to peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders," the "turn from explosive tension to detente and to normal, mutually advantageous cooperation."¹ These changes conform to the substance of the world historical peace program announced by the CPSU during its 24th Party Congress, which has become the foreign policy guideline for the community of the socialist states. Indeed, the system of international relations is changing as the outcome of a process which shows socialism, in close cooperation with the other chief revolutionary trends of the present, determine world developments more and more strongly

and persistently. The situation predicted by K  rl Marx, in which "the workers class enters the arena of history no longer as a servile retinue but as an independent force aware of its own responsibility and capable of commanding peace, while those that want to be its masters clamor for war,"³ that situation has turned into reality.

A proud balance sheet on the struggle for permanent peace was drawn at the 25th CPSU Congress, the Ninth SED Congress, and the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties in Europe. The SED Central Committee report states that the peace concept adopted by the Eighth Party Congress has been met in all its points. Essential foundations have been established for a stable order of peace, whereby a broad field has been opened up for mutually advantageous cooperation among states with differing social orders. In the interest of all peoples is the goal to implement all round the principles of peaceful coexistence despite increasing resistance from enemies of detente, to turn these principles into everyday norms of conduct in the relations between states with different social orders, and to implement in their entirety the accords reached in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

Practical problems of interstate relations are involved here, of course, above all. But they have their theoretical sides too. There is taking place, in direct connection with the practical implementation of the relations between socialist and capitalist states, the confrontation between bourgeois theories on international relations and Marxist-Leninist science. Today certainly more or less all governments in the imperialist countries have to recognize that peaceful coexistence brooks no alternative. The theoretical debate, shaped by opposing class interests, is concerned, however, with the roots, essence and prospects of peaceful coexistence. One of the central issues in this is the relationship between economics and politics in international relations. And this is by no means a "purely" theoretical problem only. By denying the overriding influence the socioeconomic order of a state has on the substance of its politics, bourgeois theoreticians blur the inseparable connection between the socialist economic and social order and the socialist peace policy. The misrepresentation of the connection between economics and politics, or even the denial that there is such a connection, is one of the "theoretical" foundations of anticommunist ideology and of the distortion of the content and goals in the socialist states' foreign policy. With it, the attempt is being made to cloud the fact that the aggressiveness of imperialism stems from, and is inseparably connected with, its socioeconomic nature. It is thus of the greatest and most topical political importance to examine the actual correlation between political and economic relations in the implementation of peaceful coexistence.

World economics and world politics are such vast fields of interdependent factors that those multilayered sets of problems cannot be dealt with here completely. The present investigation, based on the fundamental insights by the founders of Marxism-Leninism and some Soviet research,³ will confine itself to a few problems, that of the nature and function of economic and political relationships and that of the socioeconomic bases for peaceful coexistence. A further contribution will then deal with the socioeconomic

and political structure of international relations and with the role of economic relations within the system of the totality of international relations.

Marxist Methodology in Opposition to Bourgeois Theories

The correlation between economics and politics has become highly intensive in our time, and all social life is becoming more and more international. What Karl Marx defined as the "bourgeois society's transcending the state"⁴ can be seen in many respects today at a new quality. In addition to the exploiter system of the capitalist world economy there exists the tempestuously developing socialist world economic system. There is furthermore the global economy as a domain of struggle, contest and cooperation between the two opposing systems. World economics and world politics bear the mark of the epoch of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism. This has lend their reciprocal interconnection an entirely new character and new dimensions. And that is the reason why what is new in the interconnection between economics and politics must be examined in concrete terms.

The Heart of the Matter

Whether or not there are close connections between economics and politics in international relations is not subject to disagreement between Marxist-Leninist science and bourgeois theories. That economic and political factors are intertwined and affect each other more intensively than ever before can easily be made out in the time of "rooster," "wine" and "cod-liver" wars, and especially in the "petroleum," "currency" and economic crises in the capitalist system, so that there is not one bourgeois scientists who could seriously place in doubt that there are connections between economics and politics.

They cannot deny the fact of course that economic pressure continues to be one of the preferred means of imperialist politics. One may only recall the announcement by FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt that it had been agreed between the United States, the FRG, France and Great Britain, at the Puerto Rico summit conference in July 1976, to refuse Italy any further economic aid in case the PCI would join the government. Much along the same line is the strategy which the then U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz announced in early 1976, that one would want to make use of the dependency by many states on steady supplies in basic foodstuffs from the United States for "gaining friends."⁵

Similar events in the past induce Klaus Knorr, a U.S. scientists concerned with the relationship of economic, political and military potentials of the states, to reach this general conclusion: "Governments use political and military means for economic as well as political and military ends; they use economic means for political and military as well as for economic ends."⁶ For Knorr and other bourgeois scientists, this is all that needs to be said about the interrelation between economics and politics; it is always the same to them, regardless of the type of states involved. However, any more

penetrating analysis, eschewed by the bourgeois theoreticians, will show the problem cannot simply be reduced to the relationship economic, foreign and military policy have to one another. The heart of the matter rather is the essence of economic and political relationships and interconnections. The clarification of that problem only makes possible an all round understanding of the actual, profound interconnections between those two areas, the ways in which their complicated interrelations function.

Especially in the area of international relations there is a most multi-layered reciprocal relationship between economics and politics. Each area has a great number of components. In economics one should in particular consider: the socioeconomic relations in the various countries, in the two world systems and at a global scale; the stage of development in the productive forces; the economic power ratios between the states and systems of states; the concrete economic situation in the states; the economic interests of the classes and so forth; and the economic relations between the states within the framework of the two world systems and the global economic relations.

The political area in turn comprises above all the following components: the sociopolitical relations in the various countries, in interstate relationships within the world systems and within the global system of international relations; the power ratio of the classes and their political organizations and so forth at a national scale and on the various levels of international relations; the concrete political situations at a national and international scale; the political interests of the classes, states and so forth; the nature and the concrete goals of the foreign policy of the states; and the character and developmental tendencies of international relations.

How is one, in view of such variety, to approach the interrelations between economics and politics in international relations? No doubt one must study the entire, finely meshed network of interrelations among these components, which themselves are made up of a wealth of specific factors, if peaceful coexistence is to be promoted and if the anti-detente tendencies in the system of international relations are to be analyzed. Wrong though it would be to consider only one or a few of the components referred to as the sole cause for the process of detente, one would not meet the actual situation either, were one to regard them, all without exception, as of equal rank. It is rather that the socioeconomic processes that are taking place in the depth of society -- the consolidation, strengthening and development of the new mode of production in the socialist states and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism -- ultimately form the basis on which the international power ratio has changed. This change is the decisive cause for the change of the system of international relations.

The Social Essence of Economic Relations

The inner connection between economics and politics can be revealed only if the basic Marxist-Leninist insights are creatively applied to international relations. Marxism teaches that society is the "product of men's reciprocal

acts."⁷ It "expresses the sum total of connections and relationships individuals have with each other."⁸ With all their great variety, these connections and relationships make up, not an arbitrary accumulation of contacts, but social systems. The internal and integrating cohesion among the economic, political, ideological and legal relationships is brought about by one area in social development playing a dominating, decisive role. That area is "the ultimate cause and the decisive motive power." In the antagonistic class societies it consists "in the economic development of society, the changes in the modes of production and exchange, the splitting of society into various classes resulting therefrom, and in the struggles of these classes among each other."⁹

So it is not "economics" per se that forms society and its international relations. What makes some bourgeois theories so unrealistic is precisely that they pick out some economic factors at random and attribute to them a decisive role. The doctrine of the "consumer society," for instance, makes the consumption of economic commodities the decisive criterion. The theory on the "industrial society" announces that the industrial states are equal in kind, regardless of the prevailing property relations. That is why it divides the world into industrially underdeveloped and developed, into "poor" and "rich" states. Not that the socioeconomic factors are merely being minimized. Either they are being ignored or -- and this is true of those sociologists and political scientists who acknowledge their "extraordinary importance" -- superficially placed in quotation marks as "socio-economic" factors, that is, only such partial aspects are being examined, in various degrees of distortion, as can be derived from the core of the production relations.

For an analysis of property and class relationships they are substituting a merely empirical processing of data, of the GNP, for example, of foreign trade, capital movements, various degrees of dependence on raw materials and balances of payments. For example, one of the leading U.S. foreign policy experts, Zbigniew Brzezinski, used a table for "computing the socioeconomic structure" in the world today which gave no other information but the per capita income of the citizens in 150 states.¹⁰

Such factors, no doubt, do affect international relations in one way or another -- but always only on the basis of property and class relationships. If they are, however, not assigned a place in the analysis of international relations that accords with reality, the result will, at best, contain nothing but half-truths.

Marxism-Leninism regards the "relations men enter in their social process of life"¹¹ as that element which determines the character of the overall system of social relations, that is to say, the totality of the production relations the social nature of which is defined by the property relations, and they in turn develop in reciprocity with the productive forces. "Economics does not deal with things but with interhuman relations and, ultimately, with class relations."¹²

Only by uncovering the social essence of the production relations and by isolating that production relation within a form of society which determines the content and developmental trend of all production relations, and thus of all social relations, can we succeed in understanding the dialectical connection between economics and politics at depth and within the complexities of international relations.

The following remark by Karl Marx summarizes his research result on the dependence of the political on the economic structure: "It always is the direct relationship between the owners of the production conditions and the immediate producers -- a relationship of a form that naturally always conforms to a given developmental stage in the ways and means of labor and thus, of its social productivity -- wherein we can find the inner secret, the hidden foundation of the whole social design and thus also of the political form of the sovereignty and dependency relationship, in short, of the specific form of state prevailing."¹³

That defines the class character of any given political system and state. States of one form of society have common basic features caused by what they have in common in their economic base and their class structure. States of an opposing socioeconomic structure are totally and fundamentally different from them, and from this comes the antagonism of interests. And therefrom also derives the decisive influence the socioeconomic relations exercise on the system of international relations of the classes, states and nations.

Distortion of Marxism by Bourgeois Science

Under the impact of the general crisis of capitalism, which also is a crisis of bourgeois ideology, increasingly more bourgeois theoreticians are finding themselves compelled to give the impression they did not deny at all that socioeconomic development in the world "affected" the international situation. To be sure, so they are telling us, the socioeconomic conditions were "only one, even though of course an extremely important factor"¹⁴ along with many other factors. Marxism, they say, was confusing "one cause among others, not to be denied as such, with the sole cause that could adequately account for everything."¹⁵ "Confinement to economic explanation models -- and the reduction of all phenomena to it -- would then lead," so they claim, "to so narrow an analysis that could not fully account for international complexity."¹⁶

In their presumption of being "beyond" Marx the bourgeois sociologists and political scientists have failed to take account of what the founders of Marxism-Leninism have actually said about the relationship between economics and politics. Their analyses of world politics are models for a complex comprehension of economic, social, national, political, ideological, religious, legal, geographic and demographic factors.¹⁷ Each individual treatment demonstrates that Marxism rejects any schematic one-sidedness in the evaluation of those factors that determine politics. Karl Marx always gave the greatest attention to those factors which affect the concrete form and

development of a political system. He emphasized that "one and the same economic base -- as far as the main conditions are concerned -- might show infinite variations and gradations in appearance, due to innumerable different empirical circumstances, natural conditions, race relations, outside historical influences and so forth, that can be understood only through an analysis of these empirically given circumstances."¹⁸ Whereas bourgeois sociology confines itself to studying merely these empirically given circumstances, Marxist science undertakes their investigation based on the analysis of socioeconomic conditions.

The work of U.S. sociologist M. Haas is typical of the methods by which bourgeois theory approaches the relationship of economics and politics.¹⁹ He seeks to "prove" that social changes do not significantly affect international conflicts. For the period from 1900 to 1960 he selected the following data and computed their correlations: (a) Type of national government, status of economic development, urbanization and population density; and (b) scope of external conflicts.

Even the equal importance attributed to the evaluation of such factors as urbanization and population density on the one hand, and of political and economic data, on the other, distorts the whole subject matter. But the main trick is that the socioeconomic and sociopolitical conditions in those states are not taken into account at all. Constitutional, authoritarian, totalitarian -- those are the cliché criteria Haas is using for the "type" of government. In the anticommunist manner, socialist and fascist states go into the same rubric. For the "status of economic development" he employs a scale ranging merely from "very underdeveloped" to "developed." No question is raised about the substance of conflicts or their causes, about aggressors and the victims of aggression, only the scope of the conflict is given (important, moderate, limited and insignificant). A truly perfect recipe to "prove" that on the international stage everything has remained unchanged between 1900 and 1960!

Inevitable Interconnections

Bourgeois theories are incapable of exploring the correlation of economics and politics in its entirety. That can only be done by Marxist-Leninist science, which has uncovered mainly the following inevitable interrelations between economics and politics:

(1) The substance of politics and political relations is what is given by the economic relations.²⁰ The "various elements of the superstructure," however, "in many cases determine principally their form."²¹ The decisive influence of economics on politics concerns its essence, its main motives and goals and its main developmental trend.

(2) The interconnection between economic relations and politics is brought into effect primarily through class interests. "The economic relations of a given society appear first in the form of interests," Friedrich Engels

wrote.²² In other words: these interests are "production relations in action."²³ The objective and subjective sides of social life connect with each other in them. "Every human activity," Erich Honecker has emphasized, "gets started by some economic, political, ideological interests and needs working together in some form."²⁴ The basic economic interests are expressed (even if of course not directly or automatically) in political interests. The economically predominating classes seek to enforce and defend their proprietary interests within the country and at an international scale. The chief instrument for it is the power of the state, and it is in their hands. The suppressed classes, on the other hand, can achieve no fundamental changes in their economic situation without political struggle.

Politics therefore is above all the relationship among the classes with respect to power. And power questions are questions that contain as their substance the relationship between the classes and the overall social process. Politics concerns the question as to which class will shape the overall social process in accordance with its interests -- for therein precisely lies its power -- and which classes are prevented from it.²⁵ And so politics, as Lenin has formulated it, is "the most concentrated expression of economics," its generalization and completion. Which, as far as this goes, gives it pre-eminence in comparison with economics.²⁶

(3) When Friedrich Engels described the relationship of economics and politics, he spoke of politics as "endowed with a movement of its own," of its "inherent, that is, once transmitted and gradually further developed relative independence," and of the "political sphere's own laws which lie in the nature of the new factor." The general dependence of the political struggles and events on the economic movement is no argument against the "special role" they play. In the relationship between economics and politics "nothing is absolute and everything is relative." We are concerned with an interchange of "very uneven forces, with the economic movement being the far stronger, original and decisive force."²⁷

Political relationships and political activities are not a mere reflex, no photographic copy of economic connections and relations. They do not determine politics directly but (a) channeled through the social structure of society, the class setup and the power ratio among them, and (b) under the various influences from ideology, the national composition of society, the political traditions, the concrete international situation, geographic factors and so forth. With it, politics itself creates conditions that retroact upon it.

V. I. Lenin resolutely opposed the idea that "politics always follows economics obediently."²⁸ That is why it is not always possible to relate politics to economics directly. It is typical especially of the domestic and foreign policy of capitalist states that the political manifestations often misrepresent their very nature. The class struggle appears "no longer directly but indirectly, not as class struggle but as struggle over political principles."²⁹ The campaign that has heated up considerably in recent times, which engages the political representatives of international capital against the socialist states under the slogan of "liberalization," actually is directed against the socioeconomic and sociopolitical principles of socialism.

(4) In the relationship of economics and politics the economic situation is not only the cause. Politics, being the most active part of the superstructure, also affects economics and is an "economic power." There is a reciprocity based on the ultimately always prevailing economic necessity.³⁰ Over the long run, politics is at the mercy of economic exigencies. It does not follow from that, however, that the concrete economic conditions in the national, regional and global areas could not by themselves be caused by "purely" economic factors, it only means they emerge out of the reciprocal effects of economics and politics (and of other social factors).

Socioeconomic Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

The starting point in the Marxist-Leninist method for exploring international relations is given by the fact that they are essentially class relations, that they have been shaped by the socioeconomic structure of the world and that changes in this socioeconomic structure of necessity bring about changes in the social content of international relations.

In his analysis of international relations, V. I. Lenin resolutely opposed replacing the question about the substance of the struggle and the accords reached among internationally working social forces by that of the form of their interrelations. His analysis of imperialism turned out to be correct -- in contrast to Kautsky's "dead abstractions" -- because he proceeded from the proposition that the "change in the forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle" that was characteristic of this society took place "on the very same ground on which imperialist relationships and interconnections in world economics and world politics" took place.³¹

The characteristic of today's international relations is that that ground has contracted and imperialism has lost, not only its monopoly, but its predominance in international relations as well.

The New Basis for the Correlation

The global system of international relations has no unified base any longer. Ever since the triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution, which initiated the epoch of transition in the world from capitalism to socialism, the system of international relations has been marked by two simultaneously existing opposite types of production relations, by the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist modes of production in the form of an economic contest between the two social systems, and by the struggle of the workers class, which eliminated the capitalist exploitation conditions in a part of the world, against international capital.

This constitutes the new premise for the relationships and interrelations between world economics and world politics forming the social content of the global system of international relations in the present epoch. Only on this basis can one understand the changing forms of struggle in the international arena -- the change from a system of international relations typified by the

constant change between war and peace to a system in which war as a form of confrontation has been banned and the relations among the states proceed in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The bourgeois sociologists are keeping quiet about the change in the social content of international relations since the Great Socialist October Revolution. In reducing the relationship of economics and politics to a relationship of economic and political interactions among the states they are ignoring their class character. The system of interstate relations is supposedly to be explained out of its own terms. They are trying to make us believe it stays as it is -- a system, allegedly, with characteristics received from capitalism. The yardstick of bourgeois categories is applied to account for the confrontation between socialism and capitalism, which is being distorted into a rivalry between the superpowers.

At a time when detente has become the main tendency in international relations, the political scientist Wettig in Cologne has come up with the hypothesis that, as an international system, the European aggregate of states would be "defined, not by the criteria of individual statehood but those of interstate relations." It presumably did not matter at all which conditions predominated in the European states; it only mattered "what relationship they had assumed to each other." Consequently, as the reader is led down further on the path of erroneous premises, the determinants of Soviet foreign policy would have to be sought exclusively on the interstate level. An analysis of socioeconomic relations in the Soviet Union would thus remain "either immaterial or unsuccessful." The interstate relationship in Europe, which determined the Soviet policy in general, and its struggle for European security in particular, was "determined by the global rivalry between the world powers, the United States and the USSR, with the factors of competition in power politics playing a decisive role."³²

This is the way in which the deepest roots of the Soviet peace policy, the class relations in the USSR and also the key problem of European security, the peaceful coexistence among states with opposing socioeconomic systems, disappear in the thicket of deceptive argumentation marked by open anticommunism. This clearly reveals that the problems of the structure of international relations and of the relation between the socioeconomic system in the various states and international relations are anything but "purely theoretical" issues but are matters of great political substance.

The Social Essence of Peaceful Coexistence

What are the socioeconomic bases of peaceful coexistence?

The peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist states, first of all, is socioeconomically conditioned inasmuch as it follows inevitably from the uneven economic development of the capitalist countries and the unevenness of their political development in consequence of it that socialism did not triumph in all states simultaneously and that an epoch in which states with

different social orders would exist side by side would become unavoidable. During this epoch it is no longer possible to explain the fundamental processes of international events primarily from the laws that inhere in the capitalist order. They rather reflect those laws that are characteristic of the world in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. No longer the rivalry and cooperation of exploiting states of identical social quality, but the confrontation between states of opposite types is now the law of world politics, effective throughout the entire epoch and recurrent in every form of their reciprocal relations.

In his penetrating analysis of international development, General Secretary Erich Honecker stated, in his SED Central Committee status report to the Ninth Party Congress: "With all the variety of international relations among states in the world today, the confrontation between the two social systems remains the central axis of international development."³³ The confrontation between socialism and imperialism, which follows from the basic contradiction in the current epoch, forms the social essence of peaceful coexistence. This cannot amount to peace between the classes, for the social contradictions between the liberated workers class and the capitalist exploiter class cannot be bridged. Nor can it amount to maintaining the socioeconomic status quo, since it cannot suspend the developmental social laws.

Second, socioeconomically determined likewise is the ever more prevailing trend that lends a peaceful character to the socialist and capitalist states in their juxtaposition, war being banned as a method in this unavoidable confrontation, and cooperation in the economic, political and other areas receiving stable features.

The development of relations between the socialist and capitalist states has refuted Raymond Aron, one of the leading representatives of the bourgeois theories on international relations, who wrote this: "The heterogeneity of the regimes favors the outbreak (Author: of conflicts) more than any regime per se."³⁴ The faulty premise itself invalidates his account. The relationship between the states in the world today is not marked by a mere heterogeneity but by the antagonism in their socioeconomic and political structures. From the nature of this antagonism, ultimately the opposition between socialist and capitalist production relations, comes the opposition in the interests in how the unavoidable confrontation between states with different systems is to be carried out. The source of war danger lies in the imperialist system; it has not changed its inherent aggressiveness. The outbreak of international conflicts is not "favored" by its being opposed by the socialist system. Rather, this forms the foundation for constructing a new international order in which interstate conflicts are settled peacefully.

V. I. Lenin has pointed out that "the deepest roots in the domestic as well as foreign policy" of a state are determined "by the economic interests and the economic position of the ruling classes" of this state.³⁵ The deepest roots of peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist states lie in

the economic interests and economic position of the workers class as the leadership class in socialist society. Production relations in socialism are such that there is no longer any class that could derive any economic advantages from enslaving and exploiting other peoples or the conquest of foreign territories. The same is true of armaments production and the upkeep of enormous armies, which in capitalism have the monopolies gain enormous profits, whereas in socialism there simply do not exist any conditions any interest group could use for gaining wealth.

The economic interests of the GDR workers class find their expression in the main task, confirmed by the Ninth SED Congress, of further raising the people's material and cultural standard of living on the basis of high speed of development and increased efficiency in socialist production, scientific-technical progress and growth in labor productivity. It is the same direction in which the party congresses of our fraternal parties have likewise defined the main task in their countries. The ambitious targets set down on this basis in the five-year plans up to 1980 can be realized only in times of peace. The socialist states' struggle for peaceful co-existence with the capitalist states is dictated by the interest in peace as a fundamental condition for the further construction of socialist and communist society. "As we let ourselves be guided by the basic interests of socialism and communism," Erich Honecker emphasized at the Ninth SED Congress, "our rigorous advocacy of the policy of peaceful coexistence is not of a tactical nature."³⁶

The monopoly bourgeoisie, on the other hand, being in its social nature an exploiter class depending in its rule on force and suppression, seeks to solve international conflicts by war. Domination relations and violence, that comes with it, is what V. I. Lenin said was the typical element to emerge from the formation of omnipotent economic monopolies; and so it has been, inevitably.³⁷ Aggressiveness is a quality that inevitably follows from monopoly rule, being inseparably combined with it; so it has been from the very beginning. It is a characteristic feature of imperialism caused primarily by the search for monopoly profits, the primary condition for the existence of monopolies. That, however, is not possible solely within the national framework. And so the unalterable nature of imperialism itself gives rise to the drive for expansion, conquest of foreign territories, raw material sources, capital investment spheres, and the enslavement and exploitation of other peoples. After the world had been divided up among the big imperialist powers, the expansionist drive of necessity turned into the struggle among those power with each other. Peace among them lasted only as long as the correlation of forces at any time did not allow for war. "But let the correlation of forces change, and how could then, under capitalism, their conflicts be settled by any other means but by force?"³⁸ The constant change between war and peace is the inevitable consequence in a system of international relations in which imperialism is predominant.

Whereas formerly the aggressiveness of the imperialist states was principally marked by their mutual rivalry, their struggle of competition in the distribution and redistribution of the world, its chief thrust has changed in the new epoch. Without having given up the struggle against their old rivals, their aggressiveness is now chiefly directed against the socialist states.

The Role of the International Power Ratio

In a system of international relations marked by class opposition, by the conflict and competition between opposing economic and social systems, the political element of course sets the tone. In a society that is divided into classes, V. I. Lenin said, the struggle between the hostile classes at a certain level of development inevitably turns into political struggle. In international relations every issue becomes more or less political. The economic contradictions congeal into political contradictions which involve the fundamental interests of the classes, nations, states and socioeconomic systems. For that reason the opposition between the socialist and the capitalist modes of production is most acutely reflected in the main problem of our times -- in the question whether it is the trend toward war coming from imperialism or the peace policy that is inherent in socialism which will ultimately prevail at a world scale.

Wars have their roots in the economic conditions of capitalism. Yet they are not economic but political phenomena. They are not created directly from the production relations of capitalism and do not emerge from them unavoidably like economic crises.

This relative degree of independence on the part of politics is found in that (1) wars are the result of an act of will by those classes, and their governments and states, that make use of war; and (2) wars are subject to the inevitabilities of the political struggle, for which reason their outbreak greatly depends on the international power ratio.

The prevention of nuclear world war therefore is a real political task. This is a possible task even under the conditions where the rule of imperialism has not yet been eliminated in a part of the world and in spite of its incessantly nurturing the drive for expansion by means of military force.

The increasing strength of socialism is the decisive condition for neutralizing the aggressiveness that inevitably follows from the socioeconomic foundations of the exploiter system and for forcing imperialism to respect the principles of peaceful coexistence. This is the only basis on which one can make sure that a great number of other factors, such as pertain to economics, politics, military technology and international law, will in the long run also be moved toward peaceful coexistence.

The system of international relations changes as the revolutionary transformation process advances which embraces the world as a whole. The fundamental interests of the classes which are bringing those socioeconomic changes into effect induce them to struggle for such international conditions as would be the most favorable ones for constructing the new society. This in turn produces the resistance from those classes that favor the preservation of the old order, the old system of international relations. The process for reorganizing this system therefore does not proceed without conflict, nor is it an automatic process. It can become reality only through the struggle of the new against the old tendencies in world politics. And so the depth, intensity and scope of the change in the system of international relations are achieved as result of the international power ratio of the classes and their political activities.

The history of international relations demonstrates how much the forms and methods of the international class conflict, of the possibilities, the strategic and tactical goals and actions taken by the classes depend on the international power ratio. One of the laws of the conflict between the systems is that the conflict goes on objectively, that is, regardless of whether those who carry the action know that they do.

Economic Potential and Political Power

The conflict between socialism and imperialism is the world historic contest between two socioeconomic forms of society and the classes that are holding the power in them, a contest in which the new order struggles for supremacy and ever more clearly demonstrates its advantages. The contest goes on in the economic, technical, social, political, military and ideological fields. It also extends to education, science, culture, the fight against illness and the protection of the human environment. But the decisive battle comes in the sphere of material production. For this is the place where those processes are occurring which ultimately cause humanity's transition from capitalism to socialism.

Development in the socialist states and the advance of the world revolutionary process are not two separate matters that happened to take place at the same time. Socialist economic development has for its main goal the further improvement of the people's material and cultural standard of living. But at the same time it is in competition with capitalism, consolidates the foundations of peace and encourages the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces in the world. The development of the socialist countries, the increase of their power, the strengthening of the positive influence their international politics have constitutes the main direction in the social progress of mankind, as was stated during the 25th CPSU Congress.³⁹

A superficial view on the relationship of economics and politics is also found, among other things, in the excessive importance attributed by bourgeois ideologues to the economic potential of the various states as the "determinant" in the structure of international relations. Yet the growth in economic

potential by a state does not automatically give it a stronger political influence. In the '60's, for example, the FRG gained considerably in economic potential, but its influence on world politics -- even within imperialist state relations -- remained behind. In consequence of its openly revanchist basic position, it became actually more and more isolated, and it could get out of this isolation only when it began moving toward detente. There is an analogy with the international position of the United States too; it worsened in the '60's, not only because of its slump in economic growth and its structural crises, but also, primarily, because of its policy of aggression.

There is a fundamental difference in the effect of the enormous economic growth of the socialist states. The CEMA states today constitute the most dynamic economic region on the earth. While 25 years ago the CEMA countries produced only one-fifth of the industrial output of the developed capitalist states, today they have already reached 73 percent of it, that is more than the European Community and more than the United States. That is an enormous success for the economic contest between socialism and capitalism, all the more so in that the political influence of socialism has always exceeded its economic potential. The problem is that the importance of the economic potentials of a state, or a system of states, can always only be judged in connection with the social and political conditions, internally and on the international scale, and with the goals and methods of the prevailing policy.⁴⁰ The effect which the economic consolidation of socialism has had on the world political situation is so very high for the reason that in the new society the antagonistic contradictions of capitalism were surmounted and the world at large is found in the revolutionary process of transition toward socialism.

The CPSU Central Committee General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, speaking before the workers in the Likhachov automobile plants in Moscow, lucidly explained what is specific in the interdependence between socialist economics and socialist foreign policy: "Reinforcing the international positions of the Soviet land is not only the business of politicians and diplomats. It concerns the whole party, the whole Soviet people. Through your work on the work benches, the presses, the assembly lines, you are taking part in implementing the foreign policy of our great homeland. And if we have succeeded in pushing back the danger of war, with our country's international position today being as firm as never before, behind all this stands its great moral and political authority and its economic and military strength, the achievement of the workers class, the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia."⁴¹

Supremacy of Imperialism Broken

The system of international relations has entered a new phase of development. This change cannot be properly assessed as long as one has the wrong idea of the international power ratio that produced it. Dieter Senghaas, engaged in peace research in the FRG, is certainly correct in saying that we find "an antagonism fundamental in nature" in the relations between socialist and capitalist states. But he has the wrong idea of the developmental stage of

this antagonism if he describes it merely as "the defense and challenge of the supremacy of the capitalist metropolises in international society, which was, to be sure, greatly confined yet still has not been entirely broken in its zones of influence."⁴² By saying that the undivided sovereignty of imperialism has been broken and that its economic and political zones of influence have been greatly confined because socialist and capitalist states exist side by side, one has only partly described the international scene. The revolutionary world process has reached a stage where the "capitalist metropolises" no longer enjoy supremacy.

The former U.S. Secretary of Defense Henry Kissinger sees the change in the international power ratio as follows: "Commanding resources of continental scope, the USSR has developed its enormous economic strength and technology to a point where it now equals the West in numerous sectors of industrial and military power."⁴³ Remarkable also is his admission in a speech on 22 March 1976 before the World Affairs Council in Dallas: "We cannot prevent that growth."⁴⁴

Granted, imperialism continues to command a strong potential which should, in view of its undiminished aggressive nature, by no means be underrated. From it, imperialism gains the possibility to disturb international detente significantly. It no longer has, however, the decisive influence on the system as a whole, on the main developmental trend in international relations. An unbridgeable contradiction exists between its aggressive aims and its possibilities for implementing them. This growing contradiction is caused primarily by the strength of socialism and expresses those penetrating revolutionary changes in the world political situation that have caused the continued weakening in the positions of imperialism. Today, as was emphasized at the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, imperialism "can neither reverse the historical achievements of socialism nor stop the advance of the progressive forces, the movement for the liberation and independence of the peoples."⁴⁵

The main tendency in world politics, the enforcement of peaceful coexistence, is determined by socialism in community with the other revolutionary trends in the world. That is one of the results and, simultaneously, one of the forms through which the general crisis of capitalism finds its strongest expression. Under these conditions the successful struggle continues for the formation of a new quality of international relations at a global scale.

FOOTNOTES

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13. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 3, loc. cit., pp 799 f.
14. E. O. Czempiel, "Internationale Beziehungen" (International Relations), Cologne, 1973, p 27.
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EAST GERMANY

SOCIALISM'S NEED FOR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH CAPITALISM ANALYZED

East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE in German Vol 6 No 5, May 77 pp 13-20, 72

[Article by Alexander Martin: "International Economic Relations and Peaceful Coexistence--The Role of Economic Cooperation Between Socialist and Capitalist States in the Reshaping of the International Relations System--Detente--Basis for Further Progress in Equal International Exchange." This article is a follow-up to the same author's analysis published in the Jan 77 issue of IPW-BERICHTE under the title, "On the Relationship of Economics and Politics in the Implementation of Peaceful Coexistence," a translation of which is also included in this JPRS issue]

[Text] The article analyzes the role of economic relations between socialist and capitalist states in the reshaping of the international relations system. In it, the influence of the productive forces and the production relations on this system as well as the reciprocal relations between world economics and world politics are treated. The author refutes the bourgeois theoreticians' distortions of economic relations between East and West and deals with the reasons for the development of the international division of labor, bringing out, in particular, that the detente policy is the foundation for security and cooperation.

The "program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples," as issued by the 25th CPSU Congress, places a great emphasis on the matters of interstate economic relations. First, they are implied in the requirement with which the program starts out -- as the most important prerequisite for the further consolidation of peace -- on steadily strengthening the unity of the fraternal socialist states and developing their cooperation all round in the construction of the new society. Second, they are a fundamental component of the course this program announces toward completely implementing the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and consistently further developing, in conformity with the principles of peaceful coexistence, the relations of long-term, mutually advantageous cooperation with the capitalist states. Third, the reshaping of world economic relations is a fundamental element in the program on the "elimination of all residues of the system of colonial suppression,

and of the encroachment on the equality and independence of the peoples." Fourth, the program demands that discrimination and any kind of artificial barriers in international trade be abolished and all manifestations of inequality, coercion and exploitation be liquidated in international economic relations.¹

These aims are organically connected with the proposals on stopping the arms race and for a world treaty on the renunciation of force in international relations. In its entirety the program contains the most important, the indispensable prerequisites for creating a democratic system of international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The problems of economic relations between socialist and capitalist states have been analyzed repeatedly and from the various points of view in IPW-BERICHTE.² The present contribution, based on those investigations, seeks to contribute to clarifying the specific role these relationships play in the reshaping of the total system of international relations.

Productive Forces and International Relations

In his well known letter to Annenkow, Karl Marx pointed the way toward exploring international relations: "What else does the internal organization of the peoples and do all their international relations amount to but an expression of a very definite division of labor? And must they not change when the division of labor changes?"³ This change in the division of labor, in the national as well as international framework, which ultimately sets in motion the whole system of international relations, takes place in reciprocity with productive forces and production relations which are also developing.

First, the rapid development of the productive forces in our time authoritatively demand a constant expansion of interstate economic relations which, in turn, stimulate more intensive diplomatic, international law and other relations. The influence economic needs exercise on any country's foreign policy increases as much as does the role foreign policy and international relations play in economic development. The internationalization of economic life has reached a stage where one state alone -- not even the most powerful one -- can any longer carry into effect the decisive elements of the social reproduction process, nor can it any longer be done by any group of states. Continental, even universal cooperation among the states has become an objective necessity today, and it will ultimately prevail over any political obstacles. V. I. Lenin called the general conditions of world economics "a greater force than any wish, will or decision by any hostile governments or classes."⁴

The development of the modern productive forces inevitably causes a growing reciprocal economic dependency among all countries, creating thereby an objective tendency toward peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems.

Second, the rapid development of the productive forces is pushing ahead not only the expansion, increase and intensification of the interactions between the states but mainly also the qualitative changes in the international relations. Primarily the development of the productive forces exercises this influence as being the ultimate cause of the changes in the international power ratio: It sharpens all contradictions in the capitalist system, above all the basic contradiction in the capitalist mode of production but also the contradictions between the imperialist states and the developing countries and the contradictions among the imperialist states. Under the conditions of the new society, the scientific-technical revolution, however, makes it possible to prove still more clearly the superiority of the socialist mode of production and to give the socialist states a still greater influence on international development.

Third, modern technology has reduced the world in size. Communications have been greatly further developed in recent decades. That is true as much of the tempo and scope of commodity transports across the borders of countries and continents by land, air and sea, of the petroleum and energy pipeline systems, as of the possibilities and speeds in information transmission and dissemination.

Fourth, in the wake of the scientific-technical revolution, global problems have arisen which -- as L. I. Brezhnev has reiterated -- concern all mankind and the effect of which "on the life of every people, on the whole system of international relations,"⁵ will become still greater in the future. These are problems that can be solved only on a global level. They give rise to some, partial agreement of interests among all states, irrespective of their differing social orders. This is true in particular of humanity's natural conditions of existence which are threatened, above all, by the danger of nuclear war but also by the despoiling of the natural resources and the contamination of the natural environment.

The compelling need caused by those dangers for worldwide cooperation among the states regardless of their social orders is one of the most important objective stimuli toward a change in the system of international relations. But here too, one must fight politically for what is necessary so that it will turn into reality. In a class society even these problems take on the character of highly politicized issues and become an object of harsh class conflict. L. I. Brezhnev has clearly formulated the connection between those problems and peaceful coexistence: "Outside of a system of international relations that is based on peaceful coexistence, neither a thorough approach to the solution of the future problems of all mankind nor the successful fulfillment of many urgent tasks of the present is possible."⁶

Diverse Effects of the International Division of Labor

While emphasizing the enormous influence the productive forces have on the system of international relations, Marxism-Leninism emphasizes at the same time that the character of this system cannot be derived directly from the

productive forces but must be derived from the production relations as they depend on their state of development. Never in isolation and directly do the productive forces affect the system of international relations but always only through any given production relations.

Neither the internationalization of economic life and of the productive forces per se nor the trend toward increased international division of labor can be a guarantee for peace. On the contrary, under the conditions of the imperialist profit system they only cause increased aggressiveness, increase the urge of the monopolies for the exploitation of foreign peoples and intensify the rivalry among the monopolies. The contradictions of the capitalist mode of production appear as international contradictions -- as antagonism between international capital and the international workers movement, as antagonism between a handful of imperialist powers and the peoples in the young national states exploited by them, and as contradictions among the imperialist states. Therein lies the social content of the internationalization of production in the capitalist world economy, the essential aspect of the interactions between world economics and world politics in the imperialist system of international relations.

In his essay, "The Collapse of the Second International," V. I. Lenin examined the process of the "unifying and clogging up the various national capitals in one uniform international entity." He resolutely turned against the leaders of the Second International who thought that from that contradictory process world peace could arise. "To derive from it an economic trend toward disarmament would mean substituting, philistine-like, pious wishes that class contradictions might be blunted for what they actually are in the process of becoming: sharper."

An entirely new type of international division of labor has formed meanwhile in the socialist world system. Based on comradely cooperation and mutual aid, the rapprochement among the socialist nations is taking place through the process of socialist economic integration. Socialist production relations develop within the various socialist countries as well as in their interstate relations. In their international scope they embrace the totality of the economic relations among the socialist countries: the production, trade, distribution and consumption of material commodities. "The international development of socialist production relations thus is expressed in the increasing coordination especially of the production and investment programs, the international socialist production specialization and cooperation, in their joint planning, mainly of integration measures coordinated multilaterally within the five-year plan, in joint construction and the joint management of enterprises and economic associations, in scientific-technical cooperation, in trade and international traffic."⁸

Finally, international division of labor is developing on a global scale, in the relations between the states of the socialist and the capitalist economic systems. The foreign trade relations between the CEMA countries and the industrially developed capitalist states have increased considerably in recent years. Their share, up to 1975, in total foreign trade of Bulgaria

reached 17.4 percent, in Hungary 30.5 percent, the GDR 30.9 percent, Poland 44.4 percent, Romania 45.4 percent, the USSR 31.2 percent, and the CSSR 26.3 percent. In total, the foreign trade volume between the CEMA countries and the EEC states rose from \$ 7.5 billion in 1970 to approximately \$ 25 billion in 1975, that is, more than threefold.⁹ Furthermore, economic relations between socialist and capitalist states outside of trade are growing most rapidly in scientific-technical cooperation and in joint solutions for raw material, transportation and ecological problems.

Distortions by Bourgeois Theoreticians

Bourgeois theoreticians are distorting the economic relations "between East and West" into an "integration of the socialist countries with the capitalist world economy," which turns them into the very opposite of what they are. Their chorus also is joined by ultra-leftist ideologists who are accusing the governments in the socialist states of having betrayed socialism and the international class struggle.

The truth is that economic relations between socialist and capitalist states can have no bearing on there being the socialist and the capitalist world economic systems. Those economic relations rather form the kind of conditions that embody the special type of a global division of labor that typifies the epoch of the world's transition from capitalism to socialism. Here are states with opposite socioeconomic systems establishing economic relations. These are neither relations of exploitation of some nations by others or of capitalist international production relations, nor are they relations of mutual comradesly aid or of socialist international production relations, but these are cooperation relations for mutual advantage, with the element of compromise implied in them and based on the principles of equality. The world economy today is the sphere of economic competition between the two world systems and of economic relations between socialist and capitalist states.

How absurd the thesis is that the socialist states kept capitalism alive through their economic relations with the capitalist countries of the West. In the private capitalist society, one of the ultra-leftist theoreticians claims, there is less and less of a chance for surplus value; trade with the socialist countries would open up to the capitalists the enormous markets of the East for reaping their surplus value and thus, probably, for their one and only chance for continuing with the capitalist system.¹⁰

Apart from the fact that economic exchange with the socialist states amounts to merely a minute percentage of the GNP in the big capitalist powers, for which reason alone it could not decide the fate of the social order in those countries, the whole argument rests on the basic fallacy that external factors would make capitalism collapse. The advantages the bourgeoisie is deriving from the economic relations with the socialist states cannot prevent, or even seriously delay, the general decline of capitalism.

Also the claims that the socialist states could not intensify their economy at all without the goods, licenses and performances imported within the scope of cooperation with capitalist countries are complete fabrications. The socialist states do have adequate internal reserves. They regard the expansion of these economic relations as an extra measure for accelerating their intensification, for more rapidly applying to the socialist economy the achievements of science and technology and for more extensively bringing to realization the advantages that objectively inhere in socialism. But these relations are not the sole or most important means for it. It does not make the slightest sense to say the socialist states are the unilateral beneficiaries of some "technical intensification aid" from capitalist countries. No capitalist corporation or Western country ever approached the accords with socialist states from the vantage point of lending aid, nor will they in the future. Business profit is what counts to them. Only if both sides get an advantage from it can there be business relations between capitalist corporations and the socialist economy.

Reasons for the Economic Relations Between Socialism and Capitalism

The socialist states have two reasons, as Hermann Axen has said, for expanding their economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the capitalist states: "First, to make use of the advantages of international division of labor on behalf of the construction of socialism and communism; secondly, the expansion of economic relations creates a certain material foundation for the policy of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist states."¹¹

The importance economic cooperation has for peaceful existence is indirectly being confirmed by the fact that the enemies of detente also are bitter enemies of equal economic relations with the socialist states based on the nonintervention in the internal affairs of the other side. This gets them into conflict of course with entrepreneurs who are interested in doing business with the East. The military-industrial complex in the United States thus called on one of its most prominent spokesmen, former Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, to bring the interests of the armaments business to bear on and against the export interests. This is what he wrote in the exclusive journal FORTUNE: "Trade is no universal means for obtaining international stability. If the profit-and-loss balance cannot be fattened by the sale of some technology to the Soviets, it may well amount to a loss for some particular corporation; that it would be a loss for the West, however, seems unlikely. The sale of refrigeration equipment, nonalcoholic beverages and consumer goods will solve no political problems at all. It is hardly a substitute for a stable power equilibrium."¹²

A completely different view was expressed by the then U.S. Senator and current Vice President Walter F. Mondale in an analysis published in the October 1974 issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS. What mattered, he said, was to lead the protracted unstable detente "via unstable accords on a military power balance out into a worldwide awareness for joint economic interests, which constitutes a significant foundation for a relatively peaceful world."¹³

What, however, caused Mondale to state: "The time has come to face the fact that the basic security goals that are fundamental to the detente process now have to be connected with the world economic situation"? Which new world economic data urged him to speak of the indispensable need to "involve the Soviet Union and other communist nations in important spheres of international economic life"?¹⁴

His answer comes couched in the foggy concepts of bourgeois language. Yet it still contains the admission that with the advancing restraints and undermining of the economic positions of capitalism in the world, the fundamental conditions of existence of imperialism as an international system of exploitation and domination have irrevocably changed. And here one has to take into account that when he wrote his article, Mondale could by no means yet have an overall view on the scope, depth and effects of the capitalist economic crisis. Up to the early '70's, he says, the United States virtually took for granted that "international economics was Western world economics. To no significant extent did we depend on the economic position of the communist world, and by and large we kept on top of what we needed from the third world -- with all the claims its representatives raised to greater equality." But now there was "a new distribution of economic power in the world, and we have to learn to manage coping with it."¹⁵

It makes clear that the whole set of problems of world economic relations, as part of the overall system of international relations, must not be looked at by themselves and isolated from the fundamental changes in the socio-economic conditions and power configurations at a world scale.

International Relations as a System

The development of the community of the socialist countries into the most dynamic economic force in the world and the leading factor in world politics, the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the advances of the revolutionary world process in its entirety form the basis on which the system of international relations is changing. The CPSU Central Committee, in its resolution on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, has explicitly stated: "On the basis of fundamental changes in the power ratio in the world, a profound transformation of the system of international relations is taking place."¹⁶

Within the system of international relations, the impulses of social overall development, of a "process which, despite its enormous variety and opposition, yet is uniform and inevitable,"¹⁷ are working in specific ways, however. This system reflects the changes in the international power ratio "in accordance with the laws of the specific medium constituted by international relations."¹⁸

International relations have to be seen as a relatively independent system. This was once again pointed out in a systems analysis study on foreign policy by F. M. Burlatskiy, Vice President of the Soviet Political Science Association.¹⁹

If E. Krippendorff, for example, who thinks of himself as a "Marxist," poses the question: "Collective Security or International Class Struggle?" he clearly misses the whole point. He distorts the nature of the socialist peace policy by mixing together intra-state and international domains of politics and class struggle. Detente and peaceful coexistence, however, as stressed by L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress, belong in the sphere of interstate relations.

Specifics of the Class Struggle in Interstate Relations

What all interstate relations have in common is that in them the classes in power in the various states face each other as sovereign units. They hold the power within their states. But no highest political authority exists on the international level.

Something basic and specific for interstate relations follows from this in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism: Except for relatively brief transitional periods, incompatible socioeconomic structures cannot coexist within a given state. One type of production relations rules, so that normally every state belongs to a certain form of society. On the global scale, however, there are various, opposing, mutually exclusive forms of society. In the relations between socialist and capitalist states, workers class and bourgeoisie face each other as ruling classes, as owners of the means of production (in contradistinction to how things are in capitalist countries). Consequently the struggle between them assumes specific forms here; that which among them most suits the interests of the workers class is peaceful coexistence. The crucial realization here is: "Every revolution mainly is an inevitable result of the internal development of society."²¹ And that also means that the basic contradiction of our epoch, which marks the global system of interstate relations, could not possibly be resolved by letting some states impose their social order on other states.

The specifics of the interstate relations are such that there are considerable differences in the foreign and domestic policy of a state having a common class content and forming a unity. Foreign policy is a continuation of domestic policy by different means in a different domain. In their foreign policy vis-a-vis the capitalist states, for example, the socialist countries must deal with classes which they no longer have. The guiding principle of this policy is the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social orders, a principle the like of which does not exist and cannot exist domestically. And then again the capitalist states which in their domestic policy are brutally suppressing the workers class are forced, in their international relations, to acknowledge as equal partners the representatives of the workers class in power in the socialist states and conclude cooperation treaties with them.

That the subjective factors in the development of the international relations -- the coordinated strategy and tactics of the communist and workers parties, the foreign policy of the socialist states, the peace movement of the peoples, the general democratic basic principles of international law and the international law treaties concluded on their foundation -- play an especially great role is the result of the specifics in the objective conditions of the international class struggle.

The Structure in the System of International Relations

Based on these specifics, the question is: what are the structures in the system of international relations? In bourgeois theory, as one well knows, they often mention as decisive structural criteria either the bipolarity of the world, based on the predominance of two "superpowers," or the so-called "North-South conflict."

In contrast to this, Marxist-Leninist science considers the socioeconomic criteria the chief ones for structuring the total system of international relations.²² Consequently there are three main systems within this overall system: the relations among the socialist states, among the capitalist states and among the developing countries. On this basis the derived systems or subsystems, as far as their class content is concerned, have formed: between the socialist and capitalist states, between socialist and developing countries, and between the developing countries and the industrially developed capitalist states.²³

Lenin realized that in "every truly serious and penetrating political issue, there is a grouping according to classes, not nations."²⁴ This becomes clearly apparent in the epoch of the world's transition from capitalism to socialism in the area of interstate relations. Formerly it was a matter of relations among states that had the same social structure. Their class nature expressed itself predominantly in the opposition between ruling and suppressed as well as between ruling nations, whereas the class opposition between workers class and bourgeoisie did not manifest itself directly in the interstate relations.

International relations in the past, as Engels said, were "a system of primarily national states affecting each other and keeping each other in check."²⁵ Yet today the structure of international relations is principally being determined by the socioeconomic opposition of the states in both systems. The basic bipolar structure of the system of international relations does not come from two "superpowers" determining the course of world politics, as bourgeois propaganda claims it does. It is rather the socioeconomic polarization of the world that is basic to it. Only on that basis is established the concrete role each particular state plays in the world -- the special roles played by the USSR and the United States among them -- with the enormous variety of manifestations in international relations.

That the various states have a reduced role to play today does not, however, follow from this at all. In the past, the system of international relations was based principally on the rule of a few big powers. Excluded from its structure were the smaller and dependent states, with the colonial countries left out entirely. Today's system of international relations, on the other hand, proceeds through the struggle and the cooperation among approximately 150 states, most of them developing countries liberated from the colonial yoke.

Krippendorff claims "the North-South conflict is the actual axis of today's international system, its most important structural element."²⁶ That kind of notion can, as a matter of fact, come only from someone who will not abandon the idea that "the international system, for all intents and purposes, continues to be the system that was produced by the capitalist industrial revolution."²⁷ Not the Great Socialist October Revolution and the process started by it of the transition of the world from capitalism to socialism, but the bourgeois revolution is, to him, "the cardinal point of today's international system which alone provides the horizon for our orientation."²⁸ Krippendorff makes it appear as if he approached international relations from a "class point of view" by dividing the world into "rich" and "poor," "bourgeois" and "proletarian" nations. Thus he places the socialist and capitalist industrial states in one line, the developing countries in another. This has nothing to do with reality or, by that token, with Marxism.

The Hierarchy of Socioeconomic Relations

The Marxist realization that international relations form on the basis of socioeconomic relations within the states and that these are the ones that shape the character of international relations is deliberately being ignored. Already in "The German Ideology," Marx and Engels established the primacy of internal over external conditions: "The relations of various nations with each other depend on the extent to which each has developed its productive forces, its division of labor and its internal transactions."²⁹

The socioeconomic structure of the world, first and foremost, consists of the totality of the production relations controlling the states from within. Derived from these original, primary production relations, the international economic relations develop, being that international development of production relations which was defined by Karl Marx as "the relations of producing nations."³⁰ In them, not individuals, but nations face each other, represented by the power instruments of the given ruling classes, the states. International division of labor, the world market and interstate economic relations combine the national economies into a whole, the given world economic system. A general rule about this was stated by the Soviet scientist Viktor Tyagunenko: "Basically, world production relations are nothing else but the totality of the delegated national economic relations engaged in a complicated contest. They constitute the 'international production relations.'"³¹

International economic relations are production relations of a special kind. They are derived from, and are being determined by, the character of the original "national" production relations. A Soviet monograph on the capitalist world economic system explains this connection as follows: "Imperialism originated as the outcome of the monopolization and internationalization of capital and of production. While the transition from the so-called free competition to the rule by the capitalist monopolies forms its deepest, primary and internal basis, its secondary and external basis is the capitalist world market's growing into the world economic system."³²

That the international economic relations are of a secondary, derived character does not by any means make them insignificant. As a matter of fact, the imperialist stage of capitalism is inconceivable without the international economic relations that are typical of it. Capital export, the colonial system, international monopolies, the economic and political distribution of the world among the imperialist powers and their uneven economic and political development are characteristic features of imperialism.

Monopoly control in the imperialist states and the system based on it of international exploitation and suppression form the socioeconomic basis for the system of international relations in the capitalist world system. Three basic types shape the structure of this system: first, "the relation of the suppressed nation to the suppressing one"; second, "the relation between two suppressing nations, for the spoils, the division and so forth"; and finally, "the relation between a different, non-suppressive, national state to a suppressing state, to a state particularly reactionary."³³

Today's global system of international relations is known to have no longer any unified socioeconomic base. The socioeconomic structure of the world today is defined by the antagonism between the primary -- socialist and capitalist -- production relations in the various states; the economic relations without antagonism within the socialist world system; the antagonistic contradictions in the economic relations within the capitalist world system; and the economic relations derived therefrom between the states of the two world systems.

The totality of these production relations forms the socioeconomic structure of the world today, which shapes the world system of international relations in terms of politics and international law and as the sphere for the confrontation and cooperation among the states.

This provides the role economic relations between the socialist and capitalist states perform in carrying through peaceful coexistence. It would amount to a vulgarization of Marxism, were one to regard the economic relations among the states as the basis for their political and international law relations. The primary socioeconomic basis for the transformation of the system of international relations lies in the elimination of capitalist production relations and the creation and development of socialist production relations in one part of the world. The turn in international relations ultimately stems from the fact that in most countries of the socialist community socialism has entered a qualitatively higher phase of development.

The secondary production relations in the world have also reached a new stage of development. On the one hand, one finds the economic cooperation and integration of the socialist states and, on the other, the deepening crisis in the economic relations between the imperialist states and the developing countries, expressed in the struggle for a transformation of the international economic order. Within the totality of the socioeconomic bases for peaceful coexistence, the economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist states constitutes an important part.

Economic Cooperation and the Policy of Detente.

The role of international economic relations in the carrying through of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders can be understood only in conjunction with the entire political complex. As I have shown in my study in issue number one of 1977 in IPW-BERICHT, Marxism-Leninism rejects any one-sided, absolute dependency of politics on economics and, on the contrary, rather stresses the relative independence politics has, its preeminence over economics. As the concentrated expression of the economic interests of the ruling classes in the various countries, as they collide with each other in their international relations, politics remains the decisive element in any international situation.

In the area of economic relations between socialist and capitalist states, which always include the element of confrontation, of contest, economic and political interests are intimately combined. The intensity, scope and structure of economic relations greatly depend on the development of political-diplomatic relations, on the general political climate, and they in turn are stimulated again by the economic relations that have been developed. The political character of interstate economic relations finds its expression in the fact that they do have political premises, are tied up with political aims and produce political effects. "In foreign policy relations," as L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, "policy and economy, diplomacy and business, industrial production and trade are interlocked in unity."³⁴

The preeminence of politics in international relations can be seen in the fact that no transformation of international economic relations is possible without a change in political relations. That was also pointed out by the USSR representative in the general debate of the Seventh Special UN General Assembly session: "Without creating a new order in the field of international political relations there will be no new order in the international economic relations."³⁵ Carrying through the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations among states with differing social orders also amounts to creating the most important conditions for the further development of economic relations among them. Without consolidating peace and security no successful solution of the problems of world economic relations is possible.

Talking about economic relations with the capitalist states, V. I. Lenin said about the relationship between the economic and political aspects of these relations: "Concessions are important to us also of course for getting industrial products. That, no doubt, is correct. But the political relations are the main thing." And so he pointed out "that not only economic considerations and the business cycle in world economics must be fundamental to our trade, but also profound political considerations. Any other approach to this matter would be myopic."³⁶ He looked at establishing economic relations with the capitalist states from the vantage point "that thereby certain indirect guarantees for peace are connected."³⁷

The dialectical unity between detente and broad international cooperation lies in that detente broadens the possibilities for free, stable and equal international exchange. In turn, cooperation provides an indispensable part of the structures for firm and permanent peace, for those economic, scientific and cultural ties that objectively put the partner countries under the necessity to exercise restraint in their political controversies and seek peaceful settlements. At the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, L. I. Brezhnev said: "It also is immensely important to create the 'material web' of peaceful cooperation in Europe, a 'web' that would strengthen the ties among the European peoples and states and interest them from the outset, more and more, in preserving peace for many years. I mean here various forms of mutually advantageous cooperation: trade, production cooperation and scientific-technical relations."³⁸

The same conviction also forms the guideline in the pertinent section of the Final Act of CSCE. "Aware of the differences in their economic and social systems," the 35 participating states announced that "their efforts for developing cooperation in the fields of trade, industry, science and technology, the environment and other fields of the economy contribute to the consolidation of peace and security in the whole world" and that "cooperation in these fields would promote economic and social progress and the improvement of living conditions."³⁹

The development of economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist states in conformity with the Helsinki Final Act serves the effectuation of detente and substantiates the relations of peaceful coexistence. It is a necessary, if not yet sufficient, foundation for stabilizing the detente process and preventing a return to the cold war. The most urgent task in the continuing struggle for peace lies in obtaining progress in the field of arms limitation and disarmament and in halting the material preparations for imperialist war adventures. Supplementing political by military detente and substantiating it through worldwide economic relations on the basis of the principles of sovereign equality and nonintervention are basic conditions for securing a stable peace.

FOOTNOTES

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3. Marx' letter to Annenkow (28 December 1846), Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 4, Berlin, 1959 p 550.
4. V. I. Lenin, "About the Domestic and Foreign Policy of the Republic," "Werke," Vol 33, Berlin, 1962, p 138.
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10. Cf. A. Cordova, "Rosa Luxemburg e il mondo sottosviluppo" (Rosa Luxemburg and the Underdeveloped World), Caracas, 1973.
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38. L. I. Brezhnev, "Speech at the Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, Berlin, 29 June 1976," Berlin, 1979, pp 16 f.
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POLAND

NOWAK REVIEWS POST-CSCE PROGRESS IN PERSONAL CONTACTS

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 4, Apr 77 pp 7-24

[Article by Jerzy M. Nowak, adviser to the minister in the Department of Studies and Programming, Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "International Personal Contacts After CSCE"]

[Text] In addition to the problems of information, culture, and education, the problem of personal contacts was also a part of the third item on the agenda of the CSCE proceedings under the general heading of "Humanitarian and Other Issues." The debate on these issues that took place at the Conference and the extensive manner in which they were dealt with in the Final Act served, among other things, as an expression of the widening scope of international relations which has expanded to include the so-called third arena of national foreign policy activity (after the political and economic arenas)¹ or--as it is defined by some--the "fourth dimension" of international relations (after adding the military sphere).²

Specific Characteristics of the Realm of Personal Contacts in International Relations

The advancement of personal contacts is an objective process, the importance of which no one denies. However, in the name of CSCE certain circles in NATO and the EEC have been conducting a wide-ranging campaign aimed at presenting this problem area as an independent phenomenon that is divorced from the general process of detente; positive steps taken in this area are at the same time supposed to serve as a test of the real value and effectiveness of the Final Act. Experience has shown once again that this position was the inevitable result of tactical political considerations. Its purpose was to hinder detente (through attempts to influence the course of internal affairs in the socialist countries), and not to promote it. But in any event it is by now clearly evident that the consolidation of detente and international cooperation is encouraging the development of people-to-people relations.

In order to put humanitarian issues and personal contacts in their proper perspective within the overall context of problems pertaining to the implementation of the CSCE Final Act in individual areas it should be recalled that the Helsinki resolutions constitute an integral whole. Humanitarian issues should thus be viewed against the background of and in connection with progress toward the implementation of the provisions contained in the first and second sections of the Final Act, i.e., those dealing with political and economic matters.

In evaluating the extent to which the provisions of the third section of the Final Act, that is, the section dealing with humanitarian and other issues, have been carried out it can be said that on the whole the steps that have been taken so far, even though they pertained to minor questions, amount to real and sometimes significant progress. This appraisal is not altered by recurring instances of discrimination or attempts to restrict cooperation, since they are not representative of a general trend. By the same token, although the idea of promoting personal contacts has been and continues to be advocated most forcefully by the Western countries, there is little evidence to prove that they have really accomplished anything or taken serious action in this area.

Personal contacts are one of the instruments used to achieve cooperation between countries in the area of information, culture, and education. These fields are closely interrelated, and one might define them in general terms as encompassing problems of culture and civilization. The factor which binds all four fields together is their function in the area of government-to-government relations. It is emphasized as a matter of principle in Poland³ and in the other socialist countries that cooperation and relations in the area of human contacts, information, culture, and education should contribute to mutual friendship and understanding. In this way they will not only have a positive impact on relations between governments, by promoting lasting peace and increased cooperation, but they will also yield benefits for the citizens of the countries that take part in this process. This idea was expressed in the "mini-preamble" to the subsection on personal contacts in the CSCE Final Act, where it is regarded as "a major factor in the consolidation of friendly relations and trust between nations"⁴

In examining the problem of personal contacts on an international level there are two other factors which merit consideration, i.e., their relationship with the advancement of detente and with the development of all-round international cooperation, especially economic cooperation.

There is no doubt but that the development of personal contacts within the context of East-West relations is also an outgrowth of the process of

detente--and not the other way around. This proposition, in view of its obviousness and inherent logic, surely requires no further justification. This interdependence between the development of personal contacts and detente is also expressed by the aforementioned mini-preamble, wherein the countries concerned affirm their desire "to undertake additional measures, as further progress is made in the relaxation of tensions, aimed at achieving lasting progress in this area." It is interesting to note the emphasis that is placed on the collateral advancement of personal contacts, in pace with the progress of detente, and on the need for lasting progress in this area. Moreover, as is the case in other areas, actions undertaken in the realm of personal contacts should also be predicated upon strict adherence to all of the principles governing government-to-government relations as agreed upon at the Conference, including in particular noninterference in internal affairs and equal sovereign rights. Thus, all governments are obliged to see to it that any and all actions undertaken within their territorial jurisdictions--regardless of who may be the initiator of such actions--are compatible with these principles.

In pace with the evolving processes of establishing normalized international relations and broadly conceived principles of peaceful coexistence the economic factor will take on increasingly greater importance in the course of promoting personal contacts. As is well known, the development of cooperation in all of the four areas involving "humanitarian and other issues" requires certain financial expenditures. In the realm of personal contacts this refers in particular to the promotion of tourism on a larger scale, as well as to the promotion of cooperation between young people of different nations. Growing tendencies toward increased emigration, especially when it comes to the outflow of specialists or the so-called brain drain, also cannot help but to have an effect on the economies of nation states, especially those which are trying to accelerate their economic development. Even now the growing dimensions of this phenomenon constitute a serious international problem and make it necessary to initiate indispensable remedial measures.⁵

The imbalance that frequently exists in the area of international payments and the need to concentrate resources for the purpose of speeding up the rate of economic development lead to the imposition of temporary and understandable restrictions, for example, on the amount of foreign exchange that can be allocated for foreign tourist travel purposes. At the end of the 1940's and during the 1950's even the wealthier West European countries were unable to avoid these kinds of difficulties.

To recapitulate, one may agree with the opinion to the effect that, "the nature, the scope, and also the quality of international human relations will be determined to a major degree, at least within the immediately foreseeable future, by the nature, scale, and quality of international

economic relations."⁶ At the same time these relations should be understood in very broad terms as also covering scientific and technical cooperation, environmental protection, and other matters. In any event the mere fact that this kind of cooperation is being cultivated, especially in its higher forms, entails an increase in personal exchanges. There is no doubt, for example, but that the construction of the Transeuropean North-South Superhighway, which is to be carried out with the cooperation of the Development Program (UNDP) and the United Nations European Economic Commission, will have a great impact on both Poland and a number of other European countries.⁷ This undertaking should contribute not only to the growth of trade and economic contacts, but also to an increase in tourist traffic.

The all-round development of economic cooperation will therefore be naturally attended by an acceleration in the growth of contacts between people. Moreover, the upsurge in economic cooperation will be conducive to an improvement in the national balance of payments and will permit an influx of financial resources, some of which can be set aside for the promotion of personal contacts. This circumstance bears witness not only to the theoretical, but also to the practical substantiation of the position taken by Poland and the other socialist countries on the question of the integral implementation of all the provisions of the CSCE Final Act and their interdependence.

Still another thought comes to mind in this regard. Those countries with highly developed economies find themselves almost automatically in a more advantageous position with regard to the development of personal contacts, especially when it comes to personal travel. Under present conditions characterized by contrasting levels of economic development and by balance of payments difficulties it is inevitable that disproportions must exist in terms of the degree to which international personal contacts are being promoted. This matter has also been brought up in the work that is being carried out during phase two of CSCE. Some countries placed special emphasis on the issues of personal travel and the unification of families (often with a view to coming to grips not so much with difficult problems of a humanitarian nature, as with the emigration policy aspect of this question), while others stressed measures designed to make it easier for foreigners to enter their countries, cooperation between youth, athletic exchanges, the facilitation of group contacts, and so on.

An awareness of this objectively conditioned relationship should have an effect on appraisals concerning the degree of progress made toward the implementation of the CSCE resolutions by individual countries. In addition, all of the signatories of the Final Act should show as much good will and dedication as possible in the course of living up to the obligations they have undertaken.

It should be emphasized, however, that the different ways in which countries approach the question of personal exchanges, especially in the context of East-West relations, are not determined solely by financial considerations. The diversity of social systems is also a factor that influences the quality and nature of personal contacts preferred by individual countries. The socialist countries give priority to collective, organized personal contacts, while the Western countries give preference to spontaneous, individual personal contacts. This situation confronts the CSCE participants with the problem of searching for new ways in which to support the advancement of personal contacts under conditions of societal diversity.

Provisions of the Final Act Governing Personal Contacts

Another specific characteristic of the problems of personal contacts as presented in the third item on the CSCE agenda had to do with the fact that--unlike the issues of information, culture, and education--for the first time ever they were the subject of a wide-ranging debate in a multi-lateral forum. This refers in particular to measures designed to facilitate family meetings, the unification of families, and mixed marriages, as well as personal and professional travel. The process of drawing up the appropriate provisions on these questions during phase two of CSCE in Geneva could even be described as being quite innovative. Specific problems were identified which are of special importance in terms of relations between states with different social systems, problems which have arisen on more than one occasion as a result of the failure to reach appropriate settlements following World War II.

The countries participating in the Conference often reached mutual agreement on some very specific ways in which to promote and facilitate personal contacts between citizens from different countries. Nevertheless, the provisions of the Final Act dealing with personal contacts do not impose any direct obligations on the signatory countries. Rather they are more on the order of recommendations which--both in the spirit of the so-called mini-preamble on personal contacts and in keeping with the concluding provisions of the document--are supposed followed in practice on a uni-, bi-, and multilateral basis in the form of supplemental international agreements and accords. This approach was brought out in the statement whereby the countries concerned expressed their willingness to take steps "which they deem to be suitable, as well as to conclude amongst themselves--where necessary--treaties and agreements."

The mini-preamble to the subsection on personal contacts contains still another important statement, namely, to the effect that problems in this area "should be settled by the countries concerned under mutually agreed upon conditions." This statement implies the need for reciprocity when

extending privileges and also expresses the idea that nothing is possible in relations between states without the freely given consent of all negotiating partners. These conditions, as might be suggested by the wording of the appropriate provisions, are a function of the intention of the document's authors to see to it that any potential future disruptions in the area of personal contacts do not lead to complications in relations between governments, especially in the realm of East-West relations.

The categories of substantive problems regulated in the Final Act obviously do not cover all of the various problems at issue which might be ameliorated by arrangements made in order to facilitate cooperation between governments and contribute to the resolution of various problems of a humanitarian nature. For example, the Final Act does not deal specifically with such questions as searches for missing family members, legal aid in family, civil, and criminal matters, the acquisition and legal verification of documents, alimony disputes, and so on; these are problems whose importance in terms of international relations will continue to increase as further progress is made in the development of personal contacts.

On the whole then, the recommendations of the Final Act concerning questions of personal contacts have laid a solid groundwork for cooperation between governments. By relying on the guidance provided by these recommendations it will be possible--just as it is also necessary--to broaden the scope of and further develop this kind of cooperation.

The Record for 1975-1976 on Matters of East-West Relations

In the view of a number of countries--Poland included--the section of the Final Act devoted to personal contacts is above all else fulfilling the role of a factor designed to consolidate the existing level of cooperation with several countries, while, to a lesser extent, it is also intended to lend impetus to the further development of this cooperation. Nevertheless, in the case of all the countries which are signatories to the Final Act the substance of the provisions on personal contacts creates wide latitude for action aimed at extending the applicability of positive practices to relations with all of the CSCE participants.

A brief analysis of the progress achieved since Helsinki in the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act dealing with this subject area permits one to conclude that the problem must above all be narrowed down to one of relations between countries with different social systems.

Most Western countries regard the degree of progress made toward the implementation of the provisions of the so-called third basket--especially insofar as they relate to personal contacts and the free flow of information--as being a kind of test of the intentions of the socialist countries

when it comes to the broader questions of East-West cooperation. It is hard to accept this approach as being very helpful toward reaching general agreement as to how to interpret the overall meaning of the CSCE Final Act. Elements of this position were brought out in, among other places, the semiannual report of the president of the United States submitted during 1976 to the Senate Committee on International Relations. This report states, among other things, that, "an improvement in these areas (i.e., dealing with humanitarian and other issues--J.M.N.) will be necessary before East-West relations can develop in a positive direction."⁹ One can agree with this statement completely, provided that humanitarian questions are considered together with political (especially in terms of the principles of government-to-government relations) and economic issues and as long as this proposition is also addressed to the Western countries.

The position of the Western countries, especially the larger and stronger ones, is also characterized by elements of pressure exerted on the socialist countries when it comes to selected questions involving personal contacts, including primarily the unification of families and the easing of restrictions on emigration.

As far as the socialist countries are concerned, on a theoretical or interpretive plane they are engaged in justifying the urgent need for the simultaneous implementation of all of the provisions of the Final Act, which of course also includes the areas covered by humanitarian issues. On a practical basis, they are also playing a highly activist role, primarily in the area of providing more foreigners with easier access to their countries, promoting contacts between young people, and so on; they are also making a strenuous effort to urge the abolition of discriminatory practices directed against their citizens which have been resorted to on many occasions in the Western countries.¹⁰

The most convincing proof of a country's good will when it comes in a unilateral and positive decision on a given question. The socialist countries have already demonstrated their goodwill along these lines on a number of occasions, and one might hope that the West too will in the future take more action of a similar type.

To cite one example, on 1 January 1976 the USSR reduced passport fees and the related fees charged for processing passport applications. At the same time other procedural requirements were also curtailed, including waiting periods for decisions on passport applications. It was also announced that a specific action program would be initiated (especially in the area of building up the base of hotel and restaurant services) with a view to achieving a 50 percent increase in tourist travel to the USSR during the current five-year plan.¹¹ In all, the measures that have been undertaken by the Soviet government have definitely made a contribution to an increase in personal travel and are opening up favorable

prospects for the future.¹² The Hungarian government too has reduced by one-third the fees it charges its citizens for passports.

A number of decisions designed to facilitate the resolution of countries in their bilateral relations with Western countries. In November 1976 Czechoslovakia and the United States repealed regulations restricting the movement of diplomatic personnel in their countries; certain other problems were resolved in connection with the unification of families. Hungary is launching a number of initiatives in its relations with Western countries in the area of regulations on personal travel. Hungarian diplomatic representatives approached 18 Western countries who are signatories of the CSCE Final Act with packages of specifically spelled out issues which could be resolved on the basis of the Conference resolutions. Romania has also taken steps intended to promote the settlement of certain issues in the humanitarian field, especially in the area of family unification in its relations with the United States.

1976 also witnessed an expansion of personal contacts between religious affairs officials. This is attested to, among other things, by their frequent participation in international meetings devoted to the discussion of religious problems. Measures have also been enacted designed to make it easier for citizens to marry people of foreign nationality.¹³

Most of the socialist countries, including Poland, have presented proposals to the Western countries on the mutual easing of restrictions in the area of visa processing. It is presumably in connection with these proposals that the United States has announced its intention to conduct a general review of its procedures on the issuance of visas in order to determine whether they might be "made more efficient, giving due consideration both to the CSCE Final Act and to the requirements of U.S. law."¹⁴

And at this point it should be noted that instances of various discriminatory practices applied against citizens of the socialist countries are not isolated. Such practices include, inter alia, long waiting periods for visas, the issuance of visas which do not guarantee that the holder is permitted to enter the country of issue, unwarranted delays at border-crossing points for the alleged purpose of recording passports, the use of questionnaires that go into the various details of a person's private life, limits on the number of personnel that may be employed in diplomatic and other installations, police surveillance, and discriminatory employment practices.

In addition to these everyday, so to speak, difficulties of a pro forma-bureaucratic nature, other restrictions of an especially flagrant nature are also known to occur. For instance, there was the well known incident

in which the United States refused to issue entry visas to a delegation of Soviet trade union officials in May 1976. A peculiar line of reasoning was used in this case to justify this action. Namely, an appeal was made to a legislative act which bars entry into the USA by officials or sympathizers of communist parties (under the terms of the so-called Immigration and Naturalization Act, also known as the McCarran Act). At the same time the abovementioned report submitted by the president of the USA states that in signing the Final Act of the CSCE the socialist countries were aware of the existence of this legislation, and so they cannot now lodge any appeals against it.¹⁵ Thus, a double standard is being applied to a similar category of issues. That is to say, the socialist countries are being called upon to make changes in their domestic legislation, while the countries that make these demands regard such action to be unthinkable as far as they themselves are concerned.

In November 1976 the FRG authorities refused to issue visas to Sejm deputy Edmund Jan Osmańczyk and other persons in his party who wanted to attend the convention of the International Committee for Solidarity with the People of Chile which was being held in Nuremberg.¹⁶ No reason was given for this refusal, referring instead to the discretionary freedom of every state to make whatever decision it chooses regarding visa matters.

One might also recall the British refusal to issue visas to participants in the World Disarmament Forum, which was supposed to be held in York at the beginning of 1976. The ban against the entry of several of the participants--both from East Europe and from West Europe and the United States--was criticized in the British press and was also assessed by the World Council of Peace as being a violation of the spirit of the CSCE Final Act.

There are also a number of examples which point to the failure on the part of the Western countries to live up to the obligations that are placed on so-called host countries in connection with the unification of families. Persons emigrating to such host countries are often not provided with proper social, educational, and health care benefits. Moreover, in the case of the FRG persons immigrating to this country from Poland are subject to a special body of law created especially for that category of persons defined as having been "displaced." Handling the process of family unification in this way may give rise to specific political consequences, and it is incompatible with the spirit of CSCE.

These examples are especially telling when considered against the background of the deeply held conviction in a number of Western countries that when it comes to the so-called third basket, especially in the area of personal contacts, there is little or nothing that these countries

have to do, since what they have achieved already sets the standard that also must be lived up to by their socialist partners.¹⁷ The facts presented above show that, as far as the provisions of the Final Act dealing with personal travel are concerned, including matters of visa policy, there is still a great deal yet to be accomplished in this limited area alone.

The CSCE resolutions have been conducive to a certain revival of contacts and cooperation among young people. New opportunities have emerged for the expansion and activization of all democratic movements and for collaboration between various youth associations in the European countries.¹⁸ This has been confirmed, among other things, by the results of the European Conference of Young People and Students held in Warsaw in June of 1976. The achievements of this conference attest to the fact that the youth movement was ready to make the transition to a higher form of pan-European dialogue. The time has now come for other practical steps designed to facilitate cooperation and contacts among young people. Such steps might for example involve the broader organization of youth exchanges along lines that do not involve exchanges of foreign currency, joint meetings, student tourism (e.g., the introduction of youth discount fares for urban transit and rail travel, which is already the practice in Poland), and so on.

In the course of promoting personal contacts one also cannot overlook athletic exchanges. In this area we are witnessing a steady expansion of institutionalized pan-European cooperation, and discriminatory practices are a relatively rare occurrence. Various pan-European sports events, such as the championship matches in football, track-and-field, boxing, and in many other disciplines, are contributing to the establishment of closer ties between European countries on a regional scale and so a reinforced sense of cultural community on a continental scale.

This necessarily brief overview of the progress that has been made toward the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act in the area of personal contacts permits one to conclude, on the one hand, that there are many examples of positive progress, while, on the other hand, we have to contend with the survival of various practices which are inconsistent with both the spirit and the letter of the Final Act. However, the overall trend is toward the gradual realization of these provisions.

The Polish Experience in the Implementation of the Provisions of the Final Act

In speaking about Poland's active commitment to and experience in the implementation of the CSCE resolutions on personal contacts one should

mention first of all that a characteristic trait of Polish society, formed over the course of its historical development, is its high degree of mobility and openness. To a considerable extent, this trait played a role in the vicissitudes of the Polish state which down through history contributed to the emigration of masses of exiles and fighters for independence, freedom, and social progress. Difficult living conditions--especially in the time of the partitions and the beginnings of capitalism in Poland--led to a great deal of economic emigration, mainly to North America and West Europe. As a result a major phenomenon took shape in the form of the many millions of people of Polish descent living abroad [Polonia], who have lately been trying to reestablish contact with the land of their forebears. The geographic proximity of European Polonia is a factor which has made it easier for people to visit each other and engage in tourist travel.¹⁹

Poland's central geographic location in Europe is also helping to further the development of personal contacts. Poland is being criss-crossed by more and more transportation arteries. Maritime transport services are being built up, including ferryboat lines which are making an outstanding contribution to the easier movement of travellers and tourists. This holds true in particular for the 1970's when the development of a number of objective processes on our continent has led to a manifold increase in different types of personal exchanges and contacts.

There are two other factors which cannot be ignored in this regard, i.e., the expansion of economic contacts between Poland and the rest of the world and the promotion of cultural ties, which help to perpetuate the traditional openness of the Polish people to the highest values of world culture. Both of these factors are a major stimulus for personal mobility.

In pace with the progress of detente and the increase in Poland's economic activity in the international arena personal travel has continued to increase at a dynamic rate. According to official statistics, 9.6 million foreign tourists visited Poland in 1976, or 3.3 percent more than in 1975 (56.8 percent of this volume was accounted for by visitors from the GDR who may enter Poland merely by showing their personal identity cards). During the same year nearly 800,000 tourists visited Poland from the non-socialist countries, or 2.3 percent more than in 1975. It is a characteristic of this group of countries that there was an increase in the number of tourists from those very countries with which Poland is developing good economic relations, namely from Austria (an increase of nearly 13 percent), Switzerland, the United States, France, and Denmark. An upward trend is also apparent in the area of foreign travel by Polish citizens. Altogether during 1976 10.5 million Polish tourists went on trips abroad, or 29.2 percent more than in 1975 (including travel to the GDR--7.1 million

persons). There was also an increase in the number of trips made by Polish tourists to the non-socialist countries; during 1976 the number of travellers in this category reached 436,500.

The increase in the amount of personal travel engaged in by Polish citizens becomes even more apparent when compared with the statistics on this subject from earlier years. For example, in 1970 1.9 million foreigners visited Poland, while only 0.8 million Poles took trips outside the country. The number of people leaving Poland on temporary trips to Western countries participating in CSCE increased in 1976 by 252 percent in comparison with 1970.

In view of the fact that in international relations nation states are the subjects which exercise rights and assume obligations, it is the policy of Poland and of the other socialist countries to emphasize their fundamental role of the state in cultural and information exchanges and in cooperation in the humanitarian field. In this connection the positive aspects of the state's role are stressed, i.e., the setting in motion and the funding of exchange programs. The accentuation of the state's role in all this is not meant to diminish the role of the individual. Under a socialist system state organs have a wide range of opportunities by which they assist people financially, organizationally, and in other ways to participate as individuals in international exchange programs.²⁰ This positive role played by the state was affirmed by the CSCE Final Act, under the terms of which the participating states pledged that they would conduct their mutual relations in a way that would contribute to active and positive work in the humanitarian field.

The legal foundations of Poland's policy on foreign travel by Polish citizens consist in the Law on Passports of 17 June 1959 and in the order of the ministers of internal affairs and foreign affairs of 22 May 1967 on the rules, working procedures, and competence of passport issuing offices.²¹ Of fundamental importance in this regard is article 4, paragraph 1 of the abovementioned Law, which states that "every citizen is entitled to hold a passport, provided that he furnishes the required documents and pays the necessary fee." Legal provisions have also been made to cover instances in which authorized organs may refuse to issue a passport. These provisions apply in the event that criminal proceedings are instituted against a person applying for a passport, in order to protect the interests of persons under the care of the applicant, and for other reasons associated with the public or national interests. In an effort to provide for the financial support of Polish citizens while they are abroad, out of consideration for the fact that many countries grant visas subject to the provision of assurances as to the means of support for the visa-holder while residing in the host country, the law requires

that evidence be furnished of the receipt of an invitation from the person whom the applicant for a passport will be visiting. Such an invitation is not required if the applicant submits a declaration from a bank testifying to the applicant's ability to pay for his own travel costs or a declaration testifying to the receipt of a foreign exchange allowance.

So, in brief, this is how things look from a legislative standpoint. In actual practice additional measures have been adopted aimed at making it easier for Polish citizens to travel abroad. Most importantly, decisions were made to decentralize the decision making authority of passport offices, with the result that voivodship organs are now authorized to issue passports. Application handling procedures have been shortened so that it now only takes 2 weeks to process a passport application, while in urgent and emergency cases this processing time can be reduced to just a few days. In spite of the fact that Polish currency is not convertible and notwithstanding that Poland's foreign exchange reserves are limited, the government has assumed the burden of financing trips made by Polish citizens to free exchange countries by setting up a system of foreign exchange allowances. The amount of foreign exchange assets earmarked for financing group tourist excursions has also been increased. One should also include among the financial arrangements which have been made to facilitate foreign travel the steadily growing freedom to open foreign exchange bank accounts. It still happens that not every application for a foreign exchange allowance can be approved, but substantial progress has been made in this area with each passing year, thereby testifying to the government's good intentions in this regard.²² In terms of our relations with the socialist countries 1976 witnessed the introduction of further measures designed to simplify the foreign travel of Polish citizens in these countries. In the past travellers to these countries were required to insert many extra pages in their passports to accomodate all of the visa stamps, but this practice has now been replaced by simple entries noted on the traveller's personal indentivity card. As far as travel to Western countries is concerned, visa requirements have been abolished in our relations with Finland, Austria, and Sweden. Other measures have also been gradually adopted--on a unilateral basis--in order to facilitate customs and other procedures, both for the benefit of Polish citizens travelling abroad and for the benefit of foreigners visiting Poland.²³ The steady development of land, waterborne, and air transportation services should also be mentioned.

The development of the tourist services infrastructure is also helping to promote personal contacts. At the beginning of 1976 Poland has 332,700 spaces available for the accomodation of travellers in tourist facilities open to the general public. It is projected that by 1980 the number of accomodation spaces will increase by 77,500, which will increase our ability to cater to the needs of foreign tourists. In this connection

there are two important characteristics of the expansion of the Polish tourist infrastructure that should be pointed out:

--first, the more important facilities of this infrastructure have been incorporated into a system of international space reservations, which is indicative of its integration with the European-wide infrastructure;

--second, hotel facilities are being built up in accordance with the site planning concept, that is, they are being distributed evenly throughout the country (to avoid the creation of what amounts to tourist ghettos). In practical terms this means that it will be easier for foreign tourists to establish direct contacts with the local population.

Polish policy on the issuance of passports, the arrangements it has made to facilitate tourist travel, and the laying of the material foundations for the development of personal contacts are furthering the complete implementation by Poland of the provisions of the Final Act. This applies in particular to travel for personal or business reasons, the improvement in conditions for individual or group tourism, and the expansion of contacts between government and public institutions and organizations. Group tourism is being promoted on an especially large scale. The state is playing a very active role in supporting youth (especially on a non-foreign exchange basis) and athletic exchange programs.

Poland does not impose any restrictions on marriages between citizens of different countries. In addition, no restrictions are imposed in principle (except for economic reasons) on contacts and regular meetings based on family ties.

Religious contacts are also being promoted. Foreign travel by representatives of Polish church institutions and travel to Poland by foreign religious officials involves hundreds of persons. Clergymen and representatives of religious institutions have met with no barriers in leaving Poland to attend all kinds of religious ceremonies. During 1976 alone eight international religious meetings were held in Poland, including the First Conference of the Rectors of European Catholic Universities and a meeting of the Secretariat of the Christian Peace Conference. Around 100 Roman Catholic priests and nuns have left Poland to do ministry work in missions or in Polonia.

A somewhat more lengthy discussion should be devoted to Polish efforts on behalf of the unification of families. The appropriate section of the Final Act states that applications for permission to leave a country for purposes of family unification should be considered "in a humanitarian spirit," but this does not mean that a favorable decision will automatically be made. Thus, the way is left open for state organs to try and prevent

unwarranted economic emigration or "brain drains." There are several particular provisions that call for the enactment of various measures intended to extend privileges to persons who are taking advantage of an opportunity to be reunited with their families, but at the same time these provisions suggest that consideration should be given not only to the rights of the persons concerned, but also to their responsibilities. This is indicative of the concern that is being shown for the proper regulation of public interests, in the case of alimony claims for example, and of the desire to prevent the further breakup of families.

As is the case in other areas of humanitarian concern, Poland had already made a substantial contribution to the settlement of affairs connected with the unification of families prior to CSCE. Even in a period of strained relations with the FRG, during the years 1949-1969, Poland, guided by its humanitarian motives, gave permission for approximately 450,000 persons to emigrate to the FRG so that they could be reunited with their families who were residing in that country. During the period 1971-1975 more than 62,000 persons left Poland for the FRG.²⁴ All of this happened in spite of the fact that another problem (of a humanitarian nature par excellence) affecting Poland-FRG relations had still not been resolved, i.e., the problem of reparations for the moral and physical suffering and the forced labor endured by the hundreds of thousands of victims of Hitlerite oppression in Poland.²⁵ At the time of the historic meeting in Helsinki, which took place at the conclusion of CSCE, the ministers of foreign affairs of Poland and the FRG, acting in the spirit of the Final Act, reached agreement on what is referred to as the protocol settlement, in which Poland declared its willingness to grant permission for the emigration of another group of persons to the FRG, in accordance with previously agreed upon criteria and procedures.²⁶ The stipulations of this agreement have been consistently carried out.

During the time that has passed since the signing of the CSCE Final Act Poland has continued to strictly adhere to its humanitarian approach to the problems of family unification. And yet the fact remains that it takes time to deal with these problems, and it is hard to imagine hasty action when it comes to questions of alimony, the separation of children of divorced families, the problems of people left behind without any means of support, and so on. Many people, who have been deceived on more than one occasion by the unscrupulous propaganda campaigns launched by certain institutions in the West, are indeed motivated by a desire to improve their material living conditions, even though most applications [for permission to emigrate] are submitted by persons who are already financially well off. A large number of such applicants have close, and often numerous relatives in Poland, and so the emigration of these persons would be tantamount to the breaking up of their families. In many cases foreign sponsors do not know the people they are sponsoring,

and for all practical purposes the departure of such people from Poland would amount to economic emigration.

Poland is guided in practice by all of the provisions of the Final Act dealing with the unification of families, concerning which it has taken a consistently humanitarian position. The basis for the initiation of proceedings in this regard can only be a legitimate application submitted to the proper Polish organs by a Polish citizen who intends to emigrate. Other practices (action by foreign official organs on behalf of Polish citizens or suggestions to the effect that joint commissions be established, and so on) are out of the question, since they would in essence constitute a violation of the sovereign rights of the Polish state. The reasons that motivate a person to leave the country should be strictly humanitarian; it is one thing to desire the unification of families, while it is another thing altogether to claim the freedom to emigrate, which in the specific case of Poland--as well as in the case of many other countries--would be contrary to its economic and other national interests. It should be borne in mind that Poland is entering that phase of economic and demographic development in which it is being forced to contend with a serious shortage of manpower, especially in the form of highly skilled workers.

Emigration for the purpose of family unification cannot be allowed to proceed if it is found to be detrimental to family interests. Persons convicted of and penalized for the commission of crimes may not be the subject of procedures relative to the unification of families until such time as they have served out their sentence. Moreover, the Polish Government--for understandable reasons--has an interest in seeing to it that host countries honestly live up to the obligations imposed by the CSCE Final Act in the area of providing for the proper care of Polish citizens (education, medical care, social welfare, and so on) who have left Poland for purposes of family unification.

Poland's current passport policy is clearly indicative of the steady improvement of existing procedures and of its humanitarian approach in the area of family unification.²⁷ In cases where there is no doubt as to the genuinely humanitarian nature of the questions at issue, the Polish authorities have been utterly scrupulous in their handling of all relevant matters.

At this point it is worth noting that the retention in the FRG of legislation, in accordance with which a large group of Polish citizens continues to be regarded as being of German nationality (in keeping with the provisions of a 1913 law), is not helping to resolve questions of a humanitarian nature or to settle problems involving consular protection.

For the past several years, especially during the post-CSCE period, Poland has also been enacting far-reaching measures designed to facilitate

and simplify procedures connected with the travel of persons to Poland. The abolition of visa requirements in our relations with Austria, Finland, and Sweden was mentioned above. But this is not the only thing we have accomplished in this area. Poland has also introduced the practice of issuing visas at border-crossing points for tourists who are citizens of certain countries, depending on the status of our mutual relations with those countries (e.g., the Scandinavian countries, France, and the Benelux countries). In addition, visa and passport requirements have been rescinded for commercial airline crews; measures have been enacted to grant fiscal privileges to students; and visas for diplomats, business representatives, and so on are now being issued on a priority basis.

Polish visa application forms only contain questions regarding basic information, and the waiting time for visas has been reduced to from 1 to 3 days or to the minimum amount of time required for technical processing reasons. Further, in emergency cases of a humanitarian nature visas are issued on a priority and immediate basis.²⁸

Unfortunately, the humanitarian practices of the Polish authorities are not always reciprocated. The visa application forms used by some countries contain an unusually large number of questions, which frequently delve into the personal lives of applicants.²⁹ Some countries (e.g., France, Canada, Switzerland, Italy, and the USA) require that applicants furnish proof of their financial means of support or that sponsors in the host country put up cash bonds, which often amount to large sums of money. It is hard to overlook the fact that these kinds of visa procedures discourage personal contacts and deviate from the spirit of the provisions of the CSCE Final Act. Incidents have even occurred in which Polish citizens have been sent directly from airports back home, in spite of the fact that they hold valid visas; some countries impose point-of-entry restrictions, permitting foreigners to enter their countries only at designated border-crossing points, and then there are regulations on the basis of which a visa becomes effective only after the passage of a specified period of time since it was recorded in a passport.

In the time that has passed since the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki there has been no improvement at all in the situation of Polish citizens employed in many Western countries. It is true that they are usually placed on an equal footing with the local citizenry in the area of social security insurance, but they are often employed in jobs for which they are over qualified and also underpaid.

A number of problems also exist in the area of resolving humanitarian questions connected with the activities of consular offices. Poland is currently trying to conclude consular conventions with its western partners, acting on the proper assumption that such conventions will contribute to the settlement of various human relations problems. Poland has already

concluded agreements of this type with Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, the USA, Great Britain, and Italy; negotiations on similar agreements are now underway with Canada and Greece.

Consular agreements are a convenient instrument that can be used to take care of the constantly growing number of problems that often complicate not only relations between governments, but also the personal lives of individuals. It is a common occurrence for there to be delays in serving notice of the death of Polish citizens abroad and in the release of inheritances and for difficulties to arise in connection with acquiring the civil records of the deceased; passports are confiscated and impounded, and travelers entering a country are interrogated by immigration officials (which is sometimes accompanied by personal baggage searches, the reading of personal papers, and so on). Some countries, such as Italy and Belgium, apply the principle of numerous clauses against employees of Polish diplomatic, consular, commercial, and other offices [a ceiling on the number of personnel that may be employed by such offices]. It is hard to deny that this kind of artificial barrier is not at variance with trends toward the advancement of mutual relations and cooperation.

Table 1

1) Państwo	(13) Ilość kwestio- nariuszy	(14) Ilość fotografii	(15) Ilość pytań	(16) Czas oczekiwania
2) Polska	3	2	14	17) 1 dzień
3) Belgia	3	4	16	18) 2-3 tygodnie
4) Dania	3	3	22	19) 2-3 tygodnie
5) Hiszpania	3	3	28	20) do 3 tygodni
6) Holandia	6	4	16	21) 2-3 tygodnie
7) Norwegia	3	3	22	22) 2-3 tygodnie
8) Wielka Brytania	2	2	13	23) 2-6 tygodni
9) Włochy	4	4	22	24) około 15 dni
10) Szwajcaria	1	1	20	25) około 1 mie- sięca
11) Kanada	1	3	16	26) różnie — od 27) około 3 tygodni do 5 miesięcy
12) USA	2	2	35	zależnie od przypadku, na- wet do 5 mie- sięcy

Visa Formalities in Various Countries

Key:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Country | 15. Number of questions |
| 2. Poland | 16. Waiting time |
| 3. Belgium | 17. 1 day |
| 4. Denmark | 18. 2-3 weeks |
| 5. Spain | 19. 2-3 weeks |
| 6. Netherlands | 20. up to 3 weeks |
| 7. Norway | 21. 2-3 weeks |
| 8. Great Britain | 22. 2-3 weeks |
| 9. Italy | 23. 2-6 weeks |
| 10. Switzerland | 24. around 15 days |
| 11. Canada | 25. around 1 month |
| 12. USA | 26. varies from around 3 weeks to 5 months |
| 13. Number of questionnaires | 27. depending on the individual case, as long as 5 months. |
| 14. Number of photographs required | |

Incidents in which Polish citizens abroad are placed under arrest represent a more serious problem. As a rule only those countries with which Poland has concluded bilateral consular conventions regularly inform Polish consular officials of incidents where Polish citizens have been arrested. It is worth emphasizing in this connection that Poland has assumed responsibility for notifying foreign consular officials of similar incidents in this country, while at the same time making appropriate provisions for this in its internal laws.³¹

Difficulties persist with regard to the handling of problems in the area of international legal transactions. This refers to proceedings in alimony cases, which are clearly humanitarian in nature. Thus far, Poland has entered into legal aid agreements in civil, family law, and criminal cases with the following countries: the GDR, the USSR, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, France (with provisions for national jurisdiction in alimony cases), and Great Britain.

Quite a few problems also arise in connection with searches for missing family members. Only a few countries make available the addresses of persons that are being sought after; for example, in the Netherlands, Greece, Denmark, Norway, and the FRG it is practically impossible to find out the address of such persons. In most Western countries the only way to determine the address of a missing person is to try to look it up in a telephone book. In Poland, on the other hand, anyone can go to a city directory office and, for a nominal fee, obtain the address of the person they are looking for.

Among the numerous questions of a humanitarian nature, which ought to be resolved in a reasonable manner on the basis of reciprocity, one should

also include one more problem involving the protection of citizens of one country who are temporarily residing on the territory of another country. This is primarily in reference to the problem of the disparity of health care costs. This is frequently a serious problem in view of the existing differences between price levels and service standards and given the foreign exchange difficulties that are bound to occur. In general, persons residing in Poland pay the equivalent of from 12 to 20 U.S. dollars for one day's stay in a hospital. There are frequent cases in which medical services are obtained free of charge. A Polish citizen is confronted with a different situation in most Western countries. For one day's stay in a hospital he is required to pay in excess of 100 dollars (the average cost is 150 dollars, and in cases where the services of a specialist are needed as much as 370 dollars). What is more, there are countries in which a hospital will demand that a Polish consulate give assurances to the effect that a bill will be paid before it will admit an ill patient, and it will even turn away urgent cases if this demand is not met. The disparity between health care costs is just one of several examples attesting to how differences of social organization in the Western and socialist countries can make cooperation difficult. However, it goes without saying that such difficulties can be overcome gradually and without major complications, if only through the conclusion of agreements on the reciprocal provision of medical services for the citizens of the countries concerned, similar to the agreement which was concluded between Poland and Great Britain for example. But the point of all this is that our western partners should not just treat certain problems as humanitarian issues, rather they should take a broader view of all the various questions which ought to be settled in a humanitarian spirit.

This review of Poland's experience's in the area of the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act dealing with personal contacts serves to illustrate the great magnitude of its accomplishments in this field which are having a significant impact throughout Europe, often surpassing the standards set by the document signed in Helsinki. The policies of the Polish government are characterized by its humanitarian approach and spirit of goodwill. There is no doubt but that the further development of cooperation would be promoted by the application on a larger scale than in the past of the principle of reciprocity on the part of the West. For there are still many specific problems of a humanitarian nature which are yet to be resolved.

In August of 1977, 2 years will have passed since the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki. This is not a long time when considered from the standpoint of the gradual implementation of the provisions of this document dealing with international personal contacts. Many of the decisions that are now being made with respect to measures designed to facilitate these personal contacts will only produce concrete results over the long run.

As time passes the importance of the specific groups of issues related to personal contacts in terms of their impact on the proper development of relations between states will also be more clearly discernible. One might expect, for example, that there will be a decline in the importance of issues which are vestiges of the cold war (for the simple reason that they will have been resolved once and for all), while there will be an increase in the importance of other issues, such as legal and consular protection for example.

These initial experiences permit one to conclude that the hopes entertained by conservative circles in the West as to the exploitation of increased personal contacts for the purpose of influencing the social system in the socialist countries have proved to be illusory. The efforts that are still being made here and there to foster such illusions only serve to retard the development of personal contacts and to diminish mutual trust. It is high time for western official circles to cease avoiding their responsibility for the advancement of personal contacts and cooperation in this area. The argument concerning the independence of certain institutions and organizations under the western political system is becoming an anachronism which limits possibilities of cooperation.

The full implementation of the provisions of the Final Act calls for positive action. It is especially important to search for those kinds of solutions which would be capable of showing how the agreed upon resolutions should be carried out in practice and which--as a result of the Belgrade meeting--might be applied generally on a European-wide scale.

Another important matter in this connection is the creation of a favorable political atmosphere for such measures and the harmonious advancement of cooperation in all areas. The integral fulfillment of all of the provisions of the Final Act, in all of its parts, is the condition sine qua non for the successful resolution of problems of a humanitarian nature and for the development of international personal contacts.

FOOTNOTES

1. R. Bierzanek, "Structural and Functional Reforms of the Foreign Services of the Capitalist Countries," *SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE*, No 3, 1975 p 103.
2. P. H. Coombs, "The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy," New York, 1964.
3. M. Dobrosielski, "Z teorii i praktyki pokojowego współistnienia. Filozofia - ideologia - polityka" (On the Theory and Practice of Peaceful Coexistence. Philosophy - Ideology - Policy), Warsaw, 1976, especially pp 77-78 and 174-177.

4. For the Polish translation of the text of the CSCE Final Act see SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 10, 1975.
5. B. Liberska, "The Migration of Skilled Workers to the Highly Developed Countries," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 3, 1976, pp 103-111. For the sake of clarity it should be mentioned that the CSCE Final Act is not concerned with questions of emigration; no proposals were even made on this subject.
6. M. Dobroczynski, "International Economic Cooperation and Detente," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 1, 1976 p 21.
7. It is worth mentioning that Poland is trying to encourage the selection of Warsaw as the site of the central office for the planning of the superhighway which is supposed to pass through Poland (with a ferry-boat connection to Sweden), the CSSR, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece, with an extension that will permit a link-up with superhighways to Iran and Syria and with an eventual branch highway to Romania.
8. There are ten such groups, which the text of the Final Act describes as follows: contacts and regular meetings based on family ties; the unification of families; marriages between citizens of different countries; travel for personal and business purposes; the improvement of conditions for individual and group tourism; youth meetings; athletics; the expansion of contacts (which concerns contacts between governmental and public institutions and organizations and group travel to foreign countries); there are two additional problems also covered in this section: the promotion of agreements on consular affairs and support for religious contacts.
9. "First Semiannual Report by the President to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Report Submitted to the Committee on International Relations. December 1976, 94th Congress. 2nd Session," Washington, 1976 p 10.
10. For a discussion of discriminatory practices against Polish citizens see below pp 21-23.
11. Interview with S. S. Nikitin, head of the Main Office for Foreign Tourism attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 3 March 1976.
12. The abovementioned presidential report (op cit, p 41) admits that this matter has already cropped up as an issue in Soviet-American relations. This is because the number of Soviet citizens visiting the United States has recently increased.

13. In passing, it is worth noting that the abovementioned U.S. presidential report has given rise to a misunderstanding concerning Polish policy on mixed marriages. In a statistical table giving data on the number of permits issued by certain countries for marriages with citizens of other countries, the corresponding figure under the heading "Poland" was listed as "0." This suggests that Poland did not issue any marriage licenses at all. The fact is that in Poland official consent is not required, rather all that is required is a statement to the effect that there are no legal obstacles standing in the way of such a marriage. In other words, the same procedure applies as in the case of marriages between Polish citizens.
14. "First Semiannual Report.....," p 43.
15. Op cit.
16. It is worth adding that the invitation from the organizational committee to the so-called Nuremberg Hearings, which was concerned with examining the crimes of the military junta in Chile (24-26 November 1976), was signed by 40 prominent personalities in the social and cultural life of the FRG, including Heinrich Boell, Martin Niemoeller, Werner Bartsch, 12 members of the Bundestag, and so on. The refusal to issue visas also applied to professor Czeslaw Pilichowski, director of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland.
17. Compare with W. Winter, "Who is Living Up to Basket Three of the CSCE Final Act?" AUSSENPOLITIK, No 4, 1976, pp 363-377.
18. On this subject compare with S. Cieniuch, "The International Youth Movement and East-West Relations," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 11, 1976, pp 68-81.
19. Compare with A. Kwilecki, "Polonia in Europe," PRZEGLAD ZACHODNI, Nos 5-6, 1975, pp 1-10; H. Kubiak, "Polish Scholarship on the Problems of Polonia," ALMANACH POLONII, 1975, p 63; and S. Poznanski, "When Do We Talk About Polonia Tourism," op cit, p 107.
20. Compare with J. M. Nowak, "Culture, Education, Information, and Personal Contacts and Security and Cooperation in Europe," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 10, 1975, p 69 and by the same author, "East-West Cooperation on Humanitarian Issues After CSCE," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 9, 1976, p 37.
21. Full text in DZIENNIK USTAW, No 17, 1967 and in DZIENNIK USTAW, No 21, 1967, item 97.

22. In 1977 the prevailing two-year quota for trips to the socialist countries was the equivalent of Z 6,000. For trips to the capitalist countries and to Yugoslavia the prevailing quota continues to be 130 dollars for a period of 3 years.
23. As of May 1976 it was no longer required to fill out customs declarations at border-crossing points, which helped to ease restrictions on the flow of tourist traffic. The official decrees concerning the granting of permission to foreign legal and physical persons for the opening of representations on Polish soil for the purpose of engaging in business activities and for the purpose of conducting such activities (including, among other things, hotel and tourist services) are also bound to help promote an increase in personal travel.
24. According to information furnished by the German Red Cross (FRG), quoted by A. D. Rotfeld, "Legal and Political Problems Affecting the Normalization of Relations Between Poland and the FRG," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 1, 1977, p 31.
25. For a broader discussion of this subject see op cit, pp 34-35.
26. TRYBUNA LUDU, 10 October 1975.
27. Considered from a legalistic point of view in relation to permanent emigration from Poland, the operative legislation here consists of general regulations governing both private and official travel. The rule is that individual decisions are rendered for each specific case.
28. Poland's flexible approach to visa problems is also attested to by the fact that it issues visas at the border to foreigners who are traveling to Poland for reasons other than tourism without visas--out of ignorance or misinformation. During the first 6 months of 1976 alone 784 such visas were issued to French citizens. In this connection there are not very many known instances in which other Western countries have applied the principle of reciprocity in similar cases. Polish citizens without visas in such situations are usually turned away from the border.
29. More detailed data pertaining to these problems are contained in the table titled "Visa Formalities in Various Countries."
30. Frequent discriminatory practices include bans against taking up any kind of employment, bans against engaging in certain occupations (such as doctor, merchant, craftsman), and bans against holding certain kinds of offices (e.g., in the FRG, occasionally in Italy, the Netherlands, Denmark, and elsewhere).
31. The Code of Criminal Procedure, articles 539, 540, and 541. The Law of 19 April 1969, in DZIENNIK USTAW of 14 May 1969, No 13, item 96.